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# WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE DARK CONTINENT

FROM SAVAGERY TO CIVILIZATION.

THE STRANGE STORY OF A WEIRD WORLD FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO  
THE PRESENT, INCLUDING THE

## WAR WITH THE BOERS

EMBRACING THE EXPLORATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS, WARS AND CONQUESTS, PEOPLES AND GOVERNMENTS, RESOURCES AND PRODUCES, OF THIS THE LEAST KNOWN, YET BY NATURE ENDOWED AS THE RICHEST AND MOST WONDERFUL OF CONTINENTS,

AND A DETAILED HISTORY OF

THE CAUSES AND EVENTS OF THE BRITISH-BOER WAR

By WILLIAM HARDING

*The Noted Writer, African Traveller, Cable Editor, and Author of "Dreyfus; the Prisoner of Devil's Island," "China," and other Famous Works.*

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**SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC**  
**ORANGE FREE STATE**  
**AND**  
**CAPE COLONY.**

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

With all due respect to the past, one enters upon a review of ancient history with feeling of trepidation. We are all entitled to put our hands in the same old store of musty facts and we can only pull out somewhat dry historical chestnuts. But, even when preparing to peruse a bright and entertaining history it is necessary to glance backward, to form some idea of events which led up to the more exciting occurrences of the present day. With this fact in view, let me sketch as briefly as possible the history of South Africa.

There always has been and probably always will be a question as to who is right or who is wrong in maintaining that the advance of civilization has justified many apparent injustices perpetrated upon the weak by the strong. So much so, that it seems to me that it is best to leave the matter to individual opinion, and I shall not attempt to draw any deductions from the history of South Africa.

Bartholomew Diaz, the Portuguese navigator, discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the southernmost point of South Africa, in 1486, and first landed at Algoa Bay, on the southeast coast, after having been driven out to sea by a storm. On his way back to the west coast he again "doubled" or passed the South Cape and gave it the name of Cabo Tormentoso, or Cape of Storms. Later, however, the King of Portugal bestowed upon it the name it now bears, as it afforded the hope of a new and easier way of reaching the Indies, which was the great ambition of all the mariners of that age.

Vasco de Gama, the great Portuguese navigator, doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1497 and carried the flag of Portugal into the seas of India. But, the Portuguese do not appear to have established a settlement of any importance at the Cape, and it remained for the Dutch, on the decline of the power of Portugal, to recognize the importance of the Cape of Good Hope, though they did not regularly colonize it until 1652, when the Dutch East India Company, headed by Jan Van Riebeck, formed a small settlement there. That portion of South Africa was then inhabited by a people called Quaeguae, to whom the Dutch gave the name of Hottentots.

As usual in such cases, for a time the territory of the colonists did not extend beyond a few miles outside of the town, now known as Cape Town. But, gradually, the Dutch drove the natives back or reduced them to a state of slavery, in which they were assisted by a number of European adventurers, mostly Germans and Flemings.

In 1686 the European population of Cape Town received the addition of a number of French refugees, who had left their own country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which was the charter of the Huguenot, or French Protestant liberty in France. From that time on the European wave slowly but surely spread, with the Dutch in control. The Hottentots lost more and more of their country and, in time, the larger part of them were reduced to slavery. These Dutch colonists seem to have drifted into rough, arbitrary methods of dealing with the natives and others in the colony and some of the characteristics of these colonists of Holland can be traced in the South African republicans of the present time. A number of these Dutch colonists soon developed a dislike of organized government and sought to escape from control by moving northward. These men were the forefathers of the Boers of the present day. In their attempts to escape from the power of the Dutch, the early Boers attempted to form an independent government outside the borders of Cape Colony, notably in the district since termed Graaf-Reinet.

During the year 1740 the Dutch, who had previously considered the Gamtoos river as the boundary between the Hottentot and neighboring, Kaffir, races, began to enter the Kaffir country, had a number of collisions with the Kaffirs and, in 1780, extended the Dutch colonial frontier to the Great Fish river.

The Cape Colonists, about 1795, animated by the revolutionary spirit of the age, rose against their Dutch rulers, whereupon the British sent a fleet of warships to support the authority of the Prince of Orange and they took possession of the country in his name. Cape Colony was ruled by British governors until 1802, the Dutch having other troubles on hand, when, by the Peace of Amiens, it was restored to Holland. But, on the renewal of the European war in 1806, the colony was taken by a British force under Sir David Baird and was finally ceded to Great Britain, by the King of Holland, at the peace of 1815.

The area of Cape Colony then was about 120,000 square miles and the population was but little over 60,000 souls.

## CHAPTER II.

### PROGRESS OF CAPE COLONY.

The trouble with the Kaffirs, which had been brewing, owing to the aggression of the Boers, for many years, came to a head in 1811-1812 and still more seriously in 1819, with the result that the boundary of Cape Colony was extended from the Great Fish river to the Keiskamma. In 1835, in consequence of a third war with the Kaffirs, the boundary was advanced to the Kei, but the Keiskamma and Kei country was, later, restored to the Kaffirs.

Another Kaffir war broke out in 1850, and it may be said not to have ended until 1853, when a good portion of the Kaffir country became a crown colony.

In the meanwhile, British emigrants to the number of about 5,000 had reached Algoa Bay and by 1820 they had founded several settlements on the east coast, including the important towns of Port Elizabeth and Grabonis. These settlements eventually became the most thriving portions of the colony.

The slaves of Cape Colony were emancipated in 1834, in spite of the opposition of the Boers, who therefore became more disgusted with British rule than they had previously been. Later, large numbers of the Boers resolved to remove with their families outside British control and, after selling their farms at great sacrifices, they crossed the Orange river into Kaffir country. After much fighting with the natives and after enduring many hardships, one party of Boers, under Peter Retici, crossed the Drakenberg mountains and took possession of the Natal district, where they formed a republic and fought the Zulu Kaffirs until 1842, when the British took possession of Natal.

Those of the Boers who had settled beyond the Orange river, west of the Drakenberg, managed to maintain their independence until 1848, when the British declared supremacy over their territory and called it the Orange River Sovereignty. Soon afterwards the Boers in Natal, under Andrew Pretorius, revolted against the British.

Pretorius crossed the Drakenberg mountains with his followers and was joined on the western side by large numbers of other disaffected Boers. The British governor, Sir Henry Smith, thereupon

crossed the Orange river at the head of a force of troops and defeated the Boers at Boem Plaats. Pretorius and his followers then retreated beyond the Vaal river, the northern boundary of the Orange River Sovereignty, and they there established a government of their own. In 1852 these Boers were absolved from allegiance to the British Crown by treaty.

The Orange River Sovereignty became turbulous in 1853-4, and the British resolved to abandon that part of the country. This was done, and the Orange Free State was constituted, as a republic, with a president at its head and a people's council (Volksraad) elected by almost universal suffrage.

Previous to this Cape Colony had been convulsed by what was known as the "Convict Agitation" and which led to the establishment of a free representative government for the colony. After the British Government had discontinued sending convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, it was proposed to send convicts to the Cape, and the Governor of the Colony was instructed to ascertain the feeling of the Colonists on the subject. Owing to a misunderstanding, however, a vessel, the Neptune, was sent to Cape Town before the opinion of the Colonists had been obtained. Among the convicts on board were John Mitchell, the Irish agitationist, and his associates. The people of the Colony became very excited when the Neptune arrived at Simon's Bay. They assembled in large numbers and rioting followed until the governor agreed not to land the convicts and kept them on board, while awaiting instructions from the home government to order the vessel to proceed to Van Diemen's Land. The Colonists, after this victory, continued their agitation and, as already stated, succeeded in obtaining a representative government and a constitution of great liberality.

A startling delusion, in 1857, arose among the members of the Kaffirs of a certain section of Kaffirland. Their seers told them that if they sacrificed their lives and property a resurrection would take place at a certain date, in which all the dead of the nation would arise in new strength. The Kaffirs believed this and about one-third of the tribe referred to, about 50,000 men, perished in a national suicide, which depopulated large tracts of country, which were afterwards settled by Europeans, including many Germans.

Diamonds were discovered in the districts north of the Orange river

in 1867, which drew the attention of the world to the Colony and promoted every branch of industry. Incidentally, it led to the annexation by Great Britain of the large territory of Griqualand West.

By this time the Basutos, a division of the Bechwana Kaffirs, occupying the upper valleys of the Orange river, after a long period of warfare with the Boers of the Free State, were, on the petition of their chief, Moshesh, proclaimed British subjects. This was in 1868. Their territory formally became part of the Colony in 1871.

Large tracts of southern and northern Kaffirland, in 1874 and 1875, besides Griqualand East, on the southern border of Natal, and other territory, were gradually brought under British rule; in all cases, it is claimed, by the free consent of the inhabitants.

And so the work of building up Cape Colony progressed.

At the census of 1875 the Colony had an area of 191,416 square miles and a population of 720,984, of which number 236,783 were Europeans. In 1891 the population of the same area was 956,485, including 336,938 Europeans, an increase of 32.66 per cent during the sixteen years.

The following table gives the area and population of the Colony and dependencies according to the census of 1891:

POPULATION IN 1891.

	AREA, SQUARE MILES.	EUROPEAN OR WHITE.	COLORED.	TOTAL.	PER SQUARE MILE.
Colony proper . . . . .	191,416	336,938	619,547	956,485	5.00
Griqualand West . . . . .	15,197	29,670	53,705	83,375	5.49
East Griqualand . . . . .	7,594	4,150	148,468	152,618	20.10
Tembuland . . . . .	4,122	5,179	175,236	180,415	43.77
Transkei . . . . .	2,552	1,019	152,544	153,563	60.16
Walfish Bay . . . . .	430	31	737	768	1.79
Total . . . . .	221,311	376,987	1,150,237	1,527,224	6.90

Griqualand West is now incorporated in the Cape and constitutes four of the seventy-seven divisions.

When Pondoland was annexed to Cape Colony in 1894 it had an estimated area of 4,040 square miles and a population of 166,080.

In November, 1895, the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland was incorporated with Cape Colony. The area annexed was 51,424 square

miles, and the population in 1891 was 72,736, of whom 5,211 were whites.

Of the white population of Cape Colony, according to the latest reports, 27,667 were born in England, 6,646 in Scotland, and 4,184 in Ireland, while 6,540 were German. Of the colored population 13,907 are Malays and 247,806 a mixture of various races; the rest are Hottentots, Fingoes, Kaffirs and Bechuanas. Of the whites 195,956 are males and 181,031 females, and of the total population 767,327 are males and 759,897 females.

The Colony had a public debt of £27,282,405 January 1, 1898, including £2,666,617 raised for corporate bodies.

The total revenue of the divisional councils in 1897 was £180,749, and expenditures £169,066. The total municipal revenue in 1897 was £662,788, and expenditures £659,733. The total debt of the divisional councils, December 31, 1897, was £43,571 and of the municipalities, £1,624,010.

The whole Cape peninsula, in which is the naval station of Simon's Bay, is fortified by a series of forts and batteries. For the defence of the Colony a military force is maintained—the Cape Mounted Riflemen, 1,015 officers and men. Every able-bodied man in the Colony between 18 and 50 is subject to military service beyond as well as within the colonial limits. There were, besides, a body of 7,000 volunteers in 1897. The Cape police, which consists of 68 officers and 1,843 men, with 1,683 horses, is available for defense in case of emergency. On the Cape and West African station, a squadron of sixteen British ships is usually maintained.

In the year ending May 31, 1898, the chief agricultural produce of the Colony and native territories was wheat, 1,950,831 bushels; oats, 1,447,353 bushels; barley, 907,920 bushels; mealies, 2,060,742 bushels; Kaffir corn, 1,140,615 bushels; rye, 287,679 bushels; oat-hay, 48,850,184 bundles of about 5½ pounds; tobacco, 3,934,277 pounds. There were 83,759,031 vine-stocks, yielding 4,861,056 gallons of wine, 1,387,392 gallons of brandy, and 2,577,909 pounds of raisins. There were also fruit trees (peach, apricot, apple, pear, plum, fig, orange, lemon and naartje) to the number of 4,195,624. The chief pastoral products were: wool, 39,141,445 pounds; mohair, 8,115,370 pounds; ostrich feathers, 294,733 pounds; butter, 2,623,329 pounds; cheese, 36,729 pounds. In 1898 there were 1,201,522 head of cattle, 382,610 horses, 85,060 mules



and asses, 12,616,883 sheep, 5,316,767 Angora and other goats, 239,451 pigs, 267,693 ostriches.

Some of the sheep-farms of the Colony are of very great extent, 3,000 to 15,000 acres and upwards; those in tillage are comparatively small. In 1875 the total number of holdings was 16,166, comprising 83,900,000 acres; of these 10,766, comprising upwards of 60,000,000 acres, were held on quit-rent.

At the census of 1891 there were 2,230 industrial establishments, employing altogether 32,735 persons, having machinery and plants valued at £1,564,897, and annually producing articles worth £9,238,870. Among these establishments were flour mills, breweries, tobacco factories, tanneries, and diamond, gold, copper, and coal mines.

Of the total imports in 1897, the value of £4,569,000 (gross), including £65,911 specie, was duty-free, while the value of £13,429,000 (gross) was subject to duty. The customs duties amounted to £2,189,580, or slightly over 16 per cent of the imports subject to duty.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE TRANSVAAL AND MAJUBA HILL.

Having sketched the history and growth of Cape Colony, we may turn our attention to the Transvaal, or South African Republic.

The history of the Transvaal may be said to begin with the "Great Trek" or exodus of the Boers of Cape Colony who were dissatisfied with British rule, in 1833 and 1837, when they "treked" or moved, with all their belongings, northward. Some thousands of them had already crossed the Vaal, the river of South Africa, forming the southern boundary of the Transvaal, in 1836, and had entered the country ruled over by Mozelkatze, a refugee Zulu chief, whose principal kraal, or collection of huts, was at Mos-ega, on the west frontier. In 1837, to avenge the massacre of some bands of emigrants, the Boers attacked and routed Mozelkatze, and, the following year, the chief withdrew beyond the Limpopo river, where he founded Matabeleland, now a part of the British possessions. Further fighting with the Zulus of the east, and the Boers were only saved from extermination by Andrew Pretorius, who defeated the Zulus in 1838 and again in 1840.

After Pretorius, in 1852, had induced the British Government to sign the Sand river convention, the political independence of the Transvaal was practically established, and the death of Pretorius and his rival for power, Potgieter, led to a long period of peace under the eldest son of Pretorius, Marthinus Wessels Pretorius, first president of what was then termed the "Dutch African Republic", which title was altered in 1858 to that of the "South African Republic." The great difficulty with the republic seems to have been its determination to treat the natives as slaves, which policy was officially sanctioned in 1858 by the Grond Wet, or "Fundamental Law," which declared that the "people will admit of no equality of persons of color with the white inhabitants either in state or church" and which led to further ill-feeling upon the part of the Boers and the British, who treated the natives fairly and whose emancipation of the slaves in Cape Colony did much to lead to the Boer trek from that colony. This bad feeling has been constantly growing and culminated in the present war, though there is good reason to believe that other influences have had much more to do with the

conflict than the feeling of irritation existing between the people of the two nations.

The British, as a result of the complaints against the Boers, and for other reasons, annexed the Transvaal April 22, 1877.

In December, 1880, the Boers revolted against the British, and a treaty of peace was signed March 21, 1881. According to the convention ratified by the Volksraad October 26, 1881, self-government was restored to the Transvaal, though Great Britain retained her "sovereignty" over the republic, to the extent of reserving to herself the direction of the Transvaal's external affairs, while giving the Boers control of their internal affairs. A British Resident was appointed at Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, and this was the state of affairs until February 27, 1884, when another convention between the Transvaal and Great Britain was signed in London, known as the London Convention, in which, the Boers claim, Great Britain made no mention of her suzerainty over the Transvaal, while the British hold that the sovereignty of Great Britain over the republic was maintained. In any case, instead of a Resident at Pretoria, the British Government appointed a Diplomatic Agent to represent her at the Transvaal capital.

This point, however, was not reached without difficulty.

The discontented Boers in the revolts of 1880-81 were successful in their contests with the British troops, which led to their regaining their independence under the suzerainty of Great Britain.

Sir George Colley, the governor of Natal, who led the British forces against the Boers, attacked the latter at Laing's Nek, a pass leading into the Transvaal, January 28, 1881, and was repulsed with heavy loss. On February 8, 1881, the British were again defeated with heavy loss on the Ingogo river, after having been twelve hours under fire.

Finally, General Colley met with a third defeat at Majuba Hill and was killed on the field of battle.

The attack on Majuba Hill, which overlooks Laing's Nek, was made by the British during the night of February 26, 1881. They numbered over 600 men, marched from their camp at Mount Prospect and ascended the hill with the intention of surprising the Boers in camp at Laing's Nek. But the Boers were on the alert, and at 10:30 A. M. the following day they attacked the village, scaled the hill and drove them down the other side after a fierce fight, killing numbers of the

fleeing soldiers. The Boers are said to have lost about 150 men, which is not admitted by them, while of the 350 British troops engaged, three officers and about eighty-two men were killed, many were wounded, 120 prisoners were captured and a number were reported missing. Sir George Colley, who was shot through the head, and who died with his face to the enemy, is, according to some reports, said to have shot himself when he saw the British were defeated. This has never been confirmed, so far as the writer knows.

An incident in connection with Majuba Hill stands out sharply at the present time. In the thick of the fighting, Lieutenant Ian Hamilton, of the Gordon Highlanders, went to Sir George Colley and asked leave to charge down hill with the bayonet at the head of the Scots. Colley refused. One seems to see him turning toward the eager young face and muttering to himself, "I can't let him go!" It might have been death to Hamilton, but experts, both Dutch and English, say it would have meant the defeat of the Boers. They claim that if only two of the Highlanders had reached them with the bayonet General Joubert's stormers would have run. We need not detract from the courage of those who climbed the hill when we mention a fact of real value in computing the chances of any future fighting. They operated under conditions where they were practically invulnerable by ordinary infantry. They outnumbered the British, and while the latter shot badly the Boers shot like an army of picked marksmen.

But, strange to add, Ian Hamilton, now Colonel Hamilton, was destined to sternly avenge Majuba Hill. As will be shown in a later chapter, Hamilton, in the recent fighting in Natal, led his gallant Gordon Highlanders up the steep hill of Elands Lgaate, and, cheering and yelling "Majuba," the Gordons captured the Boer position and, at the point of the bayonet, put the enemy to flight.

An armistice followed and then the convention was drawn up and eventually agreed to. The British troops left the Transvaal in December, 1882, and in May, 1883, S. J. Paul Kruger was elected President of the Transvaal.

Before entering into further details regarding the Transvaal, it may be wise to sketch the constitution and government of that country, which has been frequently mended down to January, 1897.

The supreme legislative authority is vested in a parliament of two chambers, each of twenty-seven members, chosen by the districts. Bills



RECEPTION AT THE PRESIDENCY DURING THE BLOEMFONTEIN CONFERENCE.  
MEETING OF SIR ALFRED MILNER AND PRESIDENT KRUGER.



THE RAADZAAL OR GOVERNMENT BUILDING, IN PRETORIA.



VIEW IN THE BURGHERS' PARK IN PRETORIA, THE TRANSVAAL CAPITAL.

passed by the second chamber do not become law until accepted by the districts. Members of both chambers must be thirty years of age, possess fixed property, profess the Protestant religion, and never have been convicted of any criminal offence. The members of the first chamber are elected from and by the first-class burghers, those of the second chamber from and by the first and second-class burghers, conjointly, each for four years. First-class burghers comprise all male whites resident in the republic before May 29, 1876, or who took an active part in the war of independence in 1881, the Malaboeh war in 1894, the Jameson Raid in 1895-6, the expedition of Swaziland in 1894, and all the other tribal wars of the republic, and the children of such persons from the age of sixteen. Second-class burghers comprise the naturalized male alien population and their children from the age of sixteen. Naturalization may be obtained after two years' residence, and registration on the books of the fieldcornet, oaths of allegiance, and payment of £2. The executive council has also the right, in special instances, to invite persons to become naturalized on payment of £2. Naturalized burghers may by special resolution of the first chamber, become first-class burghers twelve years after naturalization. Sons of aliens, though born in the republic, have no political rights, but, by registration at the age of sixteen may, at the age of eighteen, become naturalized burghers, and may, by special resolution of the first chamber, be made first-class burghers ten years after they are eligible for the second chamber, or at the age of forty.

The President and Commandant-General are elected by the first-class burghers only; district commandants and fieldcornets by the two classes of burghers conjointly.

The executive is vested in a President, elected for five years, assisted by a council, consisting of four official members (the State Secretary, the Commandant-General, Superintendent of Natives, and the Minute-keeper), and two non-official members. The State Secretary, Superintendent of Natives, the Minute-keeper and Secretary, and the two non-official members, are elected by the first Volksraad.

The Vice-President is General P. J. Joubert, elected May 13, 1896.

The executive council consists of: Official members—P. J. Joubert, Commandant-General (Vice-President); F. W. Reitz, State Secretary; Commandant P. A. Cronje, Superintendent of Natives; J. H. M. Kock, Minute-keeper. Non-official—J. M. A. Wolmarans, S. W. Burger.

The area of the republic at the outbreak of the war was 119,139 square miles, divided into twenty districts, and its white population, according to a very incomplete census of 1896, was 245,397, of whom 137,947 were men and 107,450 women; the native population in April, 1896, was estimated at 622,500.

The State Almanack of the Transvaal for 1898 gives the population as follows: whites, 345,397 (137,947 males and 107,450 females); natives, 748,759 (148,155 men, 183,280 women, and 417,324 children); total population, 1,094,156. The boundaries of the state are defined in the convention of February 27, 1884—since altered by a supplementary convention, by which the former New Republic (Zululand) was annexed to the South African Republic as a new district, named Vrijheid, and, by the terms of the convention regarding Swaziland, comes under the administration of the Transvaal.

The seat of government is Pretoria, with a white population of 10,000.

The largest town is Johannesburg, the mining centre of the Witwatersrand goldfields, with a population within a radius of three miles, according to census of July 15, 1896, of 102,078 (79,315 males and 22,763 females).

The population consisted of 50,907 whites, 952 Malays, 4,807 coolies and Chinese, 42,533 Kaffirs, and 2,879 of mixed race. One-third of the population of the republic are engaged in agriculture.

The South African Republic, some time previous to the outbreak of the war, had no standing army, with the exception of a small force of horse artillery of 32 officers, 79 non-commissioned officers, and 289 men, all able-bodied citizens being called out in case of war. There were three foot and six mounted volunteer corps, numbering about 2,000 men, subsidized by the government. The number of men liable to service in 1894 was 26,299.

The South African Republic is specially favorable for agriculture as well as the stock-rearing, though its capacities in this respect are not yet developed. It is estimated that 50,000 acres are under cultivation. The agriculture produce, however, is not sufficient for the wants of the population. There are about 12,245 farms, of which 3,636 belong to the government, 1,612 to outside owners and companies, and the rest to resident owners and companies.



Gold-mining is carried on to a great extent in the various gold-fields, principally Barberton and Witwatersrand.

The total value of gold production from the year 1884 has been:

YEAR.	
1884	£10,096
1885	6,010
1886	34,710
1887	169,401
1888	967,416
1889	1,490,568
1890	1,869,645
1891	2,924,305
1892	4,541,071
1893	5,480,498
1894	7,667,152
1895	8,569,555
1896	8,603,821
1897	11,476,260
Total	£53,810,508

The official returns date from the year 1891. Of the gold output in 1897, 3,034,678 oz. (£10,583,616) were from Witwatersrand; 113,972 oz. (£398,902) from De Kaap; 50,942 oz. (£178,296) from Lydenburg; 84,781 oz. (£296,733) from Klerksdorp; 223 oz. (£791) from Zoutpansberg; 5,120 oz. (£17,922) from Swaziland, etc.; total output of 1897, 3,289,720 oz. (£11,476,260). In 1897, according to returns furnished by seventy-two companies, the number of whites employed at the mines was 8,060, the amount paid to them in wages being £2,521,603; the number of natives employed, according to these returns, was 50,791, but the total number employed was estimated at about 70,000. Working for silver, lead, and copper has been suspended since 1894; tin is found in Swaziland. Coal of a fair quality is found near Witwatersrand and other goldfields; the total output in three years has been: 1895, 1,133,466 tons; 1896, 1,437,297 tons; 1897, 1,600,212 tons (value, £612,668).

The principal exports of the Transvaal are gold, wool, cattle, hides, grain, ostrich feathers, ivory and minerals. The value of imports on which dues were charged amounted in 1894 to £6,440,215; in 1895, £9,816,304; in 1896, £14,088,130; in 1897, £13,563,827. The import

duties amounted in 1896 to £1,355,486, and in 1897 to £1,289,309. The total imports in 1897 have been estimated at £21,515,000, of which £17,012,000 were from Great Britain, £2,747,000 from the United States, £1,054,226 from Germany, and the remainder from Belgium, Holland and France. In the official returns for 1897 the largest imports were clothing, £1,254,058; machinery, £1,876,391; railway material, £869,443; iron ware, plates, etc., £864,126.

Various railway lines connect the republic with the Orange Free State, Cape Colony, Natal, and Portuguese East Africa. The total mileage open in September, 1898, was 774; under construction, 270, and projected, 252.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

Having given our readers some idea of Cape Colony and the Transvaal, before concluding the chapters on the early history, we must refer more fully to the Orange Free State, which took up arms in support of the Transvaal against the British.

The Orange Free State, as previously outlined, was also originally founded by the Boers who treked from Cape Colony in 1836 and the following years. It is separated from Cape Colony by the Orange river, has British Basutoland and Natal on the east, the Transvaal on the north and the Transvaal and Griqualand West on the west. After the declaration of its independence, February 23, 1854, a constitution was proclaimed, April 10, 1854, and was reversed February 9, 1866, and May 8, 1879. Legislative authority is vested in the Volksraad, of fifty-eight members, elected by suffrage of the burghers (adult white males) for four years from every district, town, and ward, or field-cornetcy in the country districts. Every two years one-half of the members vacate their seats and an election takes place. The members of the Volksraad receive pay at the rate of £2 per day. Eligible are burghers twenty-five years of age, who are owners of real property to the value of £500. Voters must be white burghers by birth or naturalization, be owners of real property of not less than £150, or lessees of real property of an annual rental of £36, or have a yearly income of not less than £200, or be owners of personal property of the value of £300, and have been in the State for not less than three years. The executive is vested in a President chosen for five years by universal suffrage, who is assisted by an executive council. The executive council consists of the Government Secretary, the Landdrost (Magistrate) of the capital, and three unofficial members appointed by the Volksraad, one every year for three years.

The President of the Orange Free State is M. T. Steyn, elected February 21, 1896.

There is a Landdrost appointed by the President to each of the nineteen districts of the republic, the appointment requiring the confirmation of the Volksraad. In every ward there are commissioners for

various purposes, the members of which are elected by the burghers.

The area of the Orange Free State is estimated at 48,326 square miles; it is divided into nineteen districts. At a census taken in 1890 the white population was found to be 77,716—40,571 males and 37,145 females. Of the population 51,910 were born in the Orange Free State and 21,116 in the Cape Colony. There were, besides, 129,787 natives in the State—67,791 males and 61,996 females—making a total population of 207,503.

The capital, Bloemfontein, had 2,077 white inhabitants in 1890 and 1,382 natives. Of the white population 10,761 were returned in 1890 as directly engaged in agriculture, while there were 41,817 “colored servants.”

The system of education in the Orange Free State is national. Small grants are also made to the Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches. The government schools are managed by elected local boards, which choose the teachers, who are appointed by the President, if he is satisfied with their qualifications. Education is not compulsory, nor free except for very poor children. In 1894-95 about £40,000 was allotted to education, a portion of which consisted of interest on a capital of £200,000 set apart by the Volksraad for this purpose. Besides this amount a considerable sum was spent upon school buildings under the public works department.

The following is a statement of revenue and expenditure of the Orange Free State, for the three years ending February, 1895, for the ten months ending December, 1895, and for the calendar years 1896 and 1897:

YEARS.	REVENUE.	EXPENDITURE.
1892-93 . . . . .	£310,372	£378,922
1893-94 . . . . .	293,790	323,899
1894-95 . . . . .	306,653	319,221
1895 . . . . .	259,589	271,935
1896 . . . . .	374,774	381,861
1897 . . . . .	402,230	381,589

The republic had a debt of £40,000 in 1897, but possessed considerable public property in land, buildings, bridges, telegraphs, etc., valued at £430,000, and in its share in the National Bank, amounting to £70,000. Bloemfontein has a municipal debt of £7,000.

The frontier measures about 900 miles; of this 400 miles marches with Cape Colony, 200 Basutoland, 100 Natal, and South African Republic 200 miles.

There were no real fortifications on the frontier at the outbreak of the war.

Every able-bodied man in the State above sixteen and under sixty years of age is compelled to take arms when called upon by his field-cornet (equal to the rank of a Captain), when necessity demands it. The number of Free State burghers available was 17,381. Two batteries of artillery were stationed at the capital, Bloemfontein; 80 officers and men, with 350 passed artillerists, as a reserve. The number of officers and men was increased by fifty men during 1896, and a new fort was being built on a hill at the north end of the town.

The Orange Free State consists of undulating plains, affording excellent grazing. A comparatively small portion of the country is suited for agriculture, but a considerable quantity of grain is produced. The number of farms is 10,499, with a total of 29,918,500 acres, of which in 1900, 250,600 were cultivated. There were in the same year 248,878 horses, 276,073 oxen, 619,026 other cattle (burthen), 6,619,992 sheep, 858,155 goats, and 1,461 ostriches.

The diamond production in 1890 was 99,255 carats, valued at £223,960; in 1891, 108,311 carats, valued at £202,551; in 1893, 209,653 carats, valued at £414,179; in 1894, 282,598 carats, valued at £428,039. In 1896 the diamond exports were valued at £452,509, and in 1897, £440,964. Garnets and other precious stones are found, and there are rich coal mines. Gold has also been found.

As the exports and imports pass through the ports of Cape Colony and Natal, they are included in the returns for these colonies. The imports, besides general merchandise, from Cape Colony and Natal, comprise cereals, wool, cattle, and horses from Basutoland. The exports to the Cape, Natal and South African Republic are chiefly agricultural produce and diamonds, while other merchandise goes to Basutoland. The trade is estimated as follows for two years:

	IMPORTS FROM, 1896.	IMPORTS FROM, 1897.	EXPORTS TO, 1896.	EXPORTS TO, 1897.
Cape Colony . . . . .	£845,812	£913,158	£612,313	£735,883
Natal . . . . .	224,440	185,469	116,961	127,253
Basutoland . . . . .	116,205	107,987	70,751	59,368
So. African Republic. . . . .	.....	25,085	944,459	871,738
Total . . . . .	£1,186,457	£1,231,699	£1,744,484	£1,794,242

The capital of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein, is connected with Natal, Transvaal and the Cape Colony by telegraph; 1,500 miles of telegraph have been constructed. A railway constructed by the Cape Colony Government connects the Orange river at Norval's Point with Bloemfontein, 121 miles, and Bloemfontein with the Transvaal (at Viljoens drift on the Vaal river), 209 miles. There are roads throughout the districts, ox-wagons being the principal means of conveyance.



A BOER FAMILY OF SHARPSHOOTERS AT JOHANNESBURG.



THE NATAL INFANTRY ON FIELD SERVICE.



## CHAPTER V.

### THE GOLD AND DIAMOND MINES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

When the British forces left the Transvaal, the resources of the Boers were few and the treasury was empty. There were no railroads, and it was forty days' travel by ox-cart to Cape Town.

A man named Arnold, in 1884, told a farmer named Geldenhuis that there was gold on his land. Geldenhuis did not believe it, but repeated the gossip and sold his farm to two adventurous brothers named Struben, who put up a mill and began to work the grayish, powdery dirt that has since proved the richest gold ore the earth has ever shown.

The Boer Government proclaimed nine farms public goldfields. Then the rush began. The Boers, always slow where enterprise wins out, were unbelieving. They could not make up their minds to abandon the certainty of cow-punching for the uncertainty of mining, even with rich claims crying for takers. Only a few settled on the Witwatersrand and went to work.

In the meantime the news of the find had spread into British territory. The news caused a sensation in Cape Town, and a horde of adventurers at once set out. Within a year nearly every working-claim was under the spade and nearly all were in English hands. The Boers, on the spot, had made up their minds too late.

The workings of the Witwatersrand—White Water Range, in English—were thirty miles in length when all were developed. The gold was found in a formation seen nowhere else in the world. Regular beds, or "reefs" of dry, powdery conglomerate, in thickness from two to twenty feet, were found throughout this district. This black veldt is the ore. Nowhere else is gold mined and worked so easily or so cheaply.

In 1887, midway in the district and on the site of a hamlet that had become the centre of the industry, a hustling, bustling town was laid out, the city of Johannesburg. It was named after the surveyor. Its altitude is 5,600 feet above the sea. In twelve years the finest and largest city in South Africa had sprung up on the bare mountain side, and the hills have been lined with the huge chimneys, the reservoirs, the

engine-sheds, the stamping-houses and the offices of great works that employ 60,000 native miners and 10,000 Europeans.

Fifteen years ago £10,000, at the outside, would have bought from the burghers that entire group of farms that is now valued at £300,000,000. The gold finds of the Witwatersrand were followed by others within the Transvaal's borders—at De Kaap, at Zoutpansberg, in the Northeast mountains; at Lydenburg, in the same direction; at Malmani, on the Bechuanaland border; at Klerksdorp, and at Heidelberg. All of these develop gold in well-paying quantities.

The capital of the 198 gold mines working at the end of 1897 was £72,772,750. Of these, twenty-eight mines, with a capitalization of £10,000,000, paid £2,950,000 in dividends, or nearly 30 per cent. Sixty-four other mines were producing gold, but paying no dividends, and the remainder were in the course of being opened. The total value of the gold yield in 1897 was £11,650,000, an increase of £3,000,000 over the year before.

In spite of this, there were great losses during 1897, due to unscrupulous speculation, more than four hundred companies having been formed for stock jobbing purposes in localities where no gold existed. Some weak companies went to the wall also.

During the year 1898 the 198 companies had decreased to 137, but those paying dividends had increased from twenty-eight, in 1897, to forty-five. These forty-five companies paid dividends of £5,089,785 on a capital of £20,294,675, or something more than twenty-five per cent.

An English writer, the Earl of Dunmore, in a magazine published in London in 1895, described the tenth day of July of that year as a red letter day in the calendar of the Transvaal, because the chairman of the British Stock Exchange in Johannesburg was able to make the extraordinary announcement that the output of gold for the month of July, 1895, had reached the hitherto unprecedented amount of 200,941 ounces, representing in money a sum equivalent to £775,000 (\$3,875,000).

The quantity of gold mined in the Rand, the local name for the Witwatersrand gold reefs, had, therefore, for a long time exceeded the best records of California, Australia or any other of the great gold sections. During 1893 alone the shipments of gold amounted to £5,500,000; and the Rand reefs were said to yield, in 1895, over 25 per cent. of the total gold supply of the country.

From 1887 until the first part of 1895, 10,110,000 tons of ore had been extracted, yielding 6,544,384 ounces of gold, worth about £3 8s an ounce, and having a gross value, in round numbers, of £22,000,000. The dividends paid in the same period amounted to, in round figures, £4,600,000, or 20 per cent. of the output.

The value of the output of the fifty producing mines on the first day of January, 1895, was £32,000,000.

The output per year, in ounces, since gold was discovered in the Transvaal up to 1896, was as follows: 1887, 28,754; 1888, 240,266; 1889, 366,023; 1890, 479,302; 1891, 727,912; 1892, 1,150,519; 1893, 1,381,128; 1894, 1,837,773; 1895, about 2,000,000.

This meant that the increase in the world's output was due, to the extent of 56 per cent., to these mines.

Who could wonder that the British coveted them?

While the British coveted the gold mines of the Transvaal, the Boers had an equal longing for the diamond mines at Kimberley, Cape Colony.

The diamond mines of Kimberley furnish from ninety to ninety-five per cent. of all the diamonds sold.

Yet the discovery of diamonds in South Africa dates about thirty years back. One day in 1867 the children of a Boer farmer, who lived on a farm seventeen hours' ride west of Hopetown, on the bank of the Orange river, were playing with some stones they had found in its bed.

An ostrich hunter named O'Reilly happened to pass, and the Boer farmer, Van Niekerk, called his attention to an especially brilliant stone that a Griqua boy had found. O'Reilly was startled. He scratched on a pane of glass with the stone, and immediately decided that he had a diamond in his hand. He promised the Boer half of whatever it proved to be worth, and wanted to follow up the search at once.

O'Reilly, after many wanderings went to a physician in Graham's Town, a Dr. Atherstone, who was the first to recognize the great value of his "find." He recognized it as a diamond in a moment, and estimated its weight at 21 3-16 carats. A little later this stone was sold to Sir Philip Wodehouse, then governor of Cape Colony, for \$2,500. O'Reilly soon brought another stone from the same locality, which weighed 8 7-8 carats, and it was sold to the same person for \$1,000. One of the most beautiful of the South African diamonds

later came from Van Niekerk's farm on Orange river, the so-called "Star of South Africa," weighing 83 1-2 carats, found by a Kaffir. The brilliant that was later cut from it came into the possession of the Earl of Dudley for \$125,000.

Very soon after the first report of these discoveries the Orange river was crowded with white, black and yellow Europeans, Kaffirs and Hottentots, and here and there they succeeded in finding a few diamonds. Thence the search spread to the bed of the river Vaal, and here on the property of the Berlin Missionary Society, at Poniel, camps were pitched and the work began in earnest.

New diamond diggings were discovered in 1870, again by children playing with stones. This was on the high tableland, where their existence had not been suspected. It was on the farm of Du Toits Pan, between the Vaal and the Modder rivers. It was in the mud, which had been used to build his house, that the children saw a shining object, and dug out a diamond. In pulling up a plant another child found a diamond weighing eighty carats clinging to the roots.

In July, 1871, the richest mine of all was found on the Kolesberg-Kopje. The old mines were abandoned, and then came De Beers' "new rush." The town of Kimberley was founded in the neighborhood of this mine, being named after the British colonial secretary at that time, Lord Kimberley, and the mine was known as the Kimberley mine. Later some small diggings were found in the Orange Free State, Kossifontein and Jagersfontein, from which some of the diamonds of the first water have since been taken.

Confusion and disorder reigned among the frenzied fortune hunters, and political confusion followed in the claim of the Orange Free State to Kimberley and the mines around it. The British government held that this was British territory, and to make its claim good purchased the claim of an old Griqua chief to this land.

The British referred the matter for arbitration, notwithstanding the protest of the Orange Free State, making a British officer the umpire. Of course it was decided in favor of Great Britain. The Free State protested in vain against the decision. Great Britain claimed that its power was necessary to preserve order, and the Free State was obliged to accept £90,000 for its claim. The incident was not forgotten by the Free State Boers, and was no small incentive to them to decide to aid the South African Republic.

Eventually the miners began to combine for the formation of companies to purchase machinery that they might go to the deeper levels where the famous "blue ground" lay, filled with diamonds. By 1885 many of these companies were at work, and then a further combination of their interests took place in the formation of the De Beers Consolidated Company, Limited. The moving spirits in this combination were Barney Barnato and Cecil Rhodes. This company now pays a dividend of ten millions annually on a nominal capital of twenty millions.

The latest improvements in mining machinery have been adopted, and the best engineers, including many Americans, are engaged in conducting the work. The "yellow earth" of the surface, in which the early prospectors found their wealth, has been dug through and the "blue ground" is being worked to unprecedented depths. This peculiar formation appears to be practically inexhaustible.

Nowhere else is this peculiar blue quartz to be found, so it has been called kimberlite. It is very hard, but alters and softens under moisture and air. The miners have taken advantage of this, and the large companies haul the blue ground to the surface and spread it out to disintegrate naturally. It is spread out on floors surrounded by armed guards night and day, and there it is first harrowed by two engines some 500 yards apart dragging the harrows over it.

There it stays for six months or a year, and it is then sent to the crushing works, where it is washed and rolled by machinery until every bit of foreign matter has been removed and the diamonds alone remain. Some bits that do not pulverize under the harrow are called hard blue, and are picked out by hand and carefully treated separately, for large stones are sometimes in these hard masses of rock.

The work in the mines is done chiefly by Kaffirs, who wield the drills and use the dynamite for the blasting with little inconvenience. They are engaged for a specified number of weeks, during which they are kept in a well-guarded compound, fed, and, if ill, treated by the company. Only at the end of their term of service are they paid and permitted to leave, when they return with what seems to them untold wealth, to buy a wife and set up housekeeping in their home, some weeks' journey away.

All kinds of precautions are taken to prevent them from stealing diamonds which they find while at work. As each man leaves the

mine he must strip to the skin and submit to a search of mouth, ears and nose. Even if he were to swallow a diamond he would be caught. The companies try to prevent stealing by offering premiums for the finding of large stones, but, strange to say, all of the precautions have not prevented the largest diamonds from reaching the market through private persons.

The diggings at Kimberley have done much to explain the formation of the diamond itself, for kimberlite is recognized by all authorities as being of eruptive origin, and the diamond in it must have been formed by the tremendous heat generated at the time of the eruption. In fact, the mines look like chimneys, or "pipes," as they are called, the blue ground running down toward the center of the earth like a huge water pipe.

The depth of the mines is very great, a level in the Kimberley being 1,520 feet down and in the De Beers 1,500 feet. Most of the mining now is done underground by galleries running to the central shaft. This prevents many accidents, and is a great economy in space and time.

To give some idea of the amount of work done in these mines, at the De Beers, during twelve working days in November, 1897, eight and three-quarters tons of dynamite, 65,100 feet (twelve and one-third miles) of fuse and 32,500 fuse caps were used. This mine never yields less than 900 pounds of diamonds annually, washing 2,409,030 tons of blue ground for them.

The sorting of the stones is an art and science in one. Good eyes and judgment are necessary. Here are found some with deep tints of brown, pink and yellow, which are most valuable, being classified as fancy stones. Those with slight shades are least valuable, and the pure white rank next.

The largest diamond ever found in the world was discovered here in 1893, and is known as Excelsior. It weighed 971  $\frac{3}{4}$  carats, and was discovered at Jagersfontein. It far surpassed the De Beers, found some time before, which weighed only 428  $\frac{1}{2}$  carats, yet was quite a diamond itself.

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE BOER OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Before going any farther into the history of the Transvaal and its troubles, it may be interesting to give some idea of the Boers of the Transvaal as they are to-day, or, perhaps, as they were just before the outbreak of the war with Great Britain. There are different ways of looking at things. In England they look at the Boer from one standpoint. Americans can see the Boer from another point of view. Therefore, we will first show the Boer as seen through British spectacles. The following sketch of the Transvaal Boers is from the London Times, the great "thunderer" of the British press, written some three years ago, or just as the crisis which brought about the present war was slowly but surely simmering over the fire of politics.

In remote places and upon the frontiers, the Transvaal Boer lives much as his father did a hundred—nay, two hundred—years ago. You may still find here and there the ancient evening custom of washing the feet—a black servant performing the office; the great Bible is solemnly read night and morning, and prayer offered up; corn is still trodden out among the smaller farmers by means of horses and mules, and winnowed by casting in the air on a windy day; the good man still banks his money in the great chest and keeps it under his bed. He has heard of banks, but he doesn't believe in them, and laughs at the idea of a man paying you to take charge of your money. This refers, of course, to the more primitive sort of Boer.

In some farm houses where timber is scanty the Dutch farmer keeps by him, sawed up and stored away in a corner, the planks for his "dood-kist," or coffin, ready against the time when his last hour shall have come. You will sometimes find a Boer who still believes, as did his great-great-grandfather before him, that dried tortoise blood is good for snakebite. Many wild beliefs and superstitions, indeed, have the more ignorant Boers. The English writer has been assured by some of them that a fabulous creature with the head of a rock-rabbit and the body of a huge serpent lives in the mountains. This dragon-like belief is, curiously enough, very widespread. In the smaller farm house you will find the Boer, his vrouw and family still sleeping

in their clothes, as their fathers did in the days when nocturnal alarms constantly threatened. And you will find, too, that the family ablutions are of the scantiest. Yet ablutions are not too generously resorted to even in many parts of Britain, and water is often a scarce commodity in South Africa. As for superstitions, "spooks," and the like, you may find them flourishing to this hour, not only in Ireland and the wilder parts of Scotland, but even in the quieter nooks of overcrowded England itself.

Big, brawny, and strong as are these people, one cannot call them a handsome race. There is too often a lack of expression, a dull vacancy in their faces, such as one sees elsewhere among a people who live in solitudes far apart from their fellow men. Such a look you may often see among the Norwegians living in gloomy and remote "dals." Indeed, there is a strong resemblance between many of the Norwegian peasant-proprietors and the Boers of South Africa. The Boer is, however, a much wealthier man than the Scandinavian. Now and then one sees a really good-looking Dutchman. The writer met on the Limpopo river, not long since, one of the handsomest old men he ever saw. His fine old head was a perfect picture. Curiously enough, his name was a Huguenot one.

Paul Kruger, the Transvaal President, is a very good type of the shrewd, slow, yet dogged and determined South African Dutchman. Broad, homely features, such as his are to be seen everywhere. No doubt, if the Boer were clipped, trimmed and smartened up, he would be a much more presentable figure. The writer has seen one or two Dutchmen, settled in British Bechuanaland, who, from mingling with the English, had adopted some of their habits—especially that of shaving—so transformed for the better as to be hardly recognizable for men of their class.

The women, as a rule, do not approach the fresh and simple beauty so often to be found among the girls and young women of Norway. Here and there you will find a handsome Dutch girl, but not often. Their dress, usually plain stuff or print, and the hideous poke sun bonnets they affect are not calculated to add to their attractions. They are, too, curiously afraid of exposing their complexions to the bright sunshine of their splendid climate, and are often pale and pasty in appearance. It is amusing to see the care with which a plain Boer woman on trek, living in her wagon, will guard her complexion, and



carefully keep her hands beneath her black apron upon every available opportunity.

Yet, despite their somewhat plain appearance, the Boer vrouws of South Africa are excellent women, sharp in business matters, full of the strongest affection for their land and people, able and willing to endure all sorts of toil and privation, the best of wives and mothers, strong and of sound constitution. The Boer is the "family man" personified. He has usually a large family, he is excessively uxorious, and it is amusing to find how, even on distant hunting expeditions, when he is in eager quest of ivory and skins, he is yearning to hurry home to his family. Tell him that you have a wife and children, and you go up a hundred per cent. in his estimation. The writer was trekking through North Bechuanaland recently and met with some rough Waterberg Boers. We outspanned together, had coffee and a smoke, and later on some practice with a new magazine carbine of mine. We got on very well together, but, directly I happened to mention that I had a wife and children, their friendliness became redoubled. I was plied with all sorts of questions on the subject, and had in turn to submit to the several family histories of my Dutch acquaintances. These farmers spent a long afternoon on my wagon, as we trekked slowly along; we sampled one another's tobacco, exchanged ideas, and parted the best of friends.

A curious instance of this trait of the Boer character happened at the battle of Boom Plaats in 1848, when Sir Harry Smith defeated the Boers of the Orange Free State, then known as the Orange River (British) Sovereignty. A British soldier was wounded, and about to be again shot at by the Dutch farmers. The man knew their ways and cried out for quarter, adding that he was father of a family. The Boers not only spared his life, but rendered him assistance, although themselves under fire.

Lord Randolph Churchill, in his book on South Africa, made some very severe and, in the main, unfair strictures on the Transvaal Dutchmen. He mentions various things that might be done "if God had only given a glimmer of intelligence to the Boer." He predicts of these people that "they will pass away unhonored, unlamented, scarcely even remembered, either by the native or European settler." And again he says: "It may be asserted, generally, with truth, that he never plants a tree, never digs a well, never makes a road, never grows

a blade of corn." I entirely differ from these conclusions. That which I have already stated will, I think, sufficiently disprove the first two quotations. As to the planting and agriculture, with the exception of the British and German farmers in the Eastern province of Cape Colony and of Natal, the Boer has been the only man who has made the land his home and attempted to improve it. The magnificent vineyards and fruit farms near the Cape, the trees of Cape Town, the splendid old oak avenues of Paarl and Stellenbosch, the fruit trees and foilage of Graaff Reinet, Uitenhage, and most other towns of Cape Colony, all these are the handiwork of the old Dutch settlers.

Beyond the Vaal it is notorious that, except at Johannesburg, which is entirely an English city, the only tree-planting and fruit-growing, and, indeed, agriculture generally, is done by the Dutch settlers; the wells, the dams, such roads as do exist, are mainly the work of the Dutch. The roads, I will admit at once, whether in Bechuanaland (British territory) or in the Transvaal and Free State (Dutch territory), are not good. They are, indeed, mere tracks. But it is to be remembered that spaces in South Africa are immense, and that the upcountry population is very sparse, and one cannot expect to find roads in new and little-settled territories kept as are roads in England. In Cape Colony nearly the whole of the wheat-growing is done by the Dutch farmers of the Western province. More wheat might certainly be produced, but the population is sparse, farmers are not overburdened with capital, and markets are usually very far distant from the place of production. In the interior the bulk of the grain used is supplied by the Transvaal Dutch farmer. Nearly every bag of Boer meal (used for bread-making) comes from the Transvaal. The whole of the fruit crop is produced by the Boers. In Rustenberg and Marico, as you drive along, you pass homestead after homestead where groves of magnificent oranges, peaches, nectarines, apricots, pears, quinces, and other trees are burdened with delicious fruit. The corn lands and crops here are magnificent, water is plentiful, irrigation largely made use of; the homesteads are often equal to English farm houses, threshing machines are in use, and agriculture is good and systematic. Even far up in Bechuanaland you will find Boer wagons from these districts loaded up with oranges, fruit, oat-forage, and other produce.

The towns of Zeerust, Rostenberg, Potchefstroom, and Pretoria

are well planted with trees, and are bountifully supplied with fruit gardens. Yet all these places are founded and planted by the Dutch, and exhibit to-day the results of the care, labor, and forethought of the early "voor-trekkers" who conquered and took possession of the soil.

It is to be remembered that the average Boer is not, like the average Briton, Jew or German, anxious to make his fortune and leave the country. He looks, and will always look, upon Africa as his home. He desires only to live in a moderate degree of comfort, in a rude plenty, to provide for his children as they grow up, and to be let alone. He shuns towns, shopkeeping, and gold-mining. I am not sure that the South African pastoralist, in his primitive, simple way of life, is not a far happier man than the millions who are toiling, fighting and elbowing one another to death for a living in a highly civilized community. Is not the quiet, slow-moving Boer a thousand times better off in his healthy life, blessed with space, freedom, and perennial sunshine, the finest climate in the world, and as much as he requires to eat and drink, than, say, three out of the four millions of people who inhabit London? He is not highly educated or cultured, it is true—far from it. But how many of the millions of Great Britain have the time or the opportunity to acquire any better culture than they may snap from a perusal of the daily paper? The Boer looks at Johannesburg; he sees there a few men growing enormously rich, a great many struggling for a living as at home, crowded together, often in a state of excessive discomfort; he sees an immense amount of hard drinking and a good deal of chicanery, cheating, vice, and even crime. Is it to be wondered at that he shakes his head as he drives out with his ox-wagon, and congratulates himself that he is still a Boer? Nay, he may ask himself whether John Kaffir or April Hottentot, even, who live in the free air and under God's sunshine, and have enough to eat and drink, are not better off than numbers of the meaner of these civilized European folk.

But there are Boers and Boers. Many of the richer, less bigoted, and more shrewd of the farmers have begun to find that the influx of the English, their gold discoveries, and the wealth they are bringing into the country are not such ill things after all. Contact with the British has indeed worked wonders already. Even the more primitive of the farmers have discovered that the Englishman is not so bad a

fellow. It is curious to see these heavy Dutch farmers coming into English hotels in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, enjoying the table d'hôte fare, and rubbing elbows with their quondam foes. Many of the Boers have benefited largely by the sale of their land as gold properties, large numbers by the opening of new markets and the constant demand for cattle and farm produce. Some few, such as Kruger, Joubert, and others, have profited by their opportunities, and are now very wealthy men. Some of the wealthier farmers are now sending their sons to be educated in Europe; some have English governesses in their houses; a considerable proportion of the rising generation can speak the English language. The majority of these men, the wealthier, the more reasonable, the least ignorant, although resisting as long as possible the inevitable transformation of their country into a practically British settlement, may be trusted in the future to settle down under British supremacy and British guidance. As for the remainder, there are strong signs that they are preparing quietly to betake themselves from the bustle and turmoil of modern civilization, which they see rapidly approaching, and seek new homes elsewhere.

A certain element of the Transvaal Boers, the Doppers—a severely Calvinistic sect; the frontier men and hunters; the poorer, the discontented, and those still bitten with the restlessness, the hatred of taxation, of any form of government, exhibited by their forefathers, have been gradually filtering out of the country. In 1877-78 there was a great trek toward Ovampoland, the remnant of which, after long wandering and terrible sufferings in the wilderness, is now settled in Portuguese territory, near Mossamedes. Other small expeditions have been slowly moving out of the Transvaal.

During the past year the old trek spirit has suddenly and wonderfully revived. Large numbers of Boers are preparing to settle in N'gami-land, the Kalahari, and the country beyond. Others are starting for Gazaland, to the northeast of the Transvaal. A deputation of "voortrekkers" was actually sent by sea to Zanzibar a year or so ago to spy out the land in Central Africa and see if some country could not be found, free from any government, taxation, or white population, whither thoroughbred Boers might trek and rest in peace.

Cecil Rhodes, apparently, is not very desirous to see this class of Boer—a somewhat unmanageable one—settled in Mashonaland or Matabeleland, and has been favoring their movement toward the North

Kalahari and N'gamiland. From personal experience of this region I cannot say that it is very well fitted to support such an influx of farmers. Probably the trek Boers will find out their mistake and move farther afield. The Portuguese are, it seems, not desirous to have more of them on the west coast, and we may therefore hear, within a few years, of fresh Boer settlements in Katanga, and even far into Central Africa. It is quite possible—nay, even probable—that within fifty years the descendants of these wanderers may be found settled near the sources of the Nile, still in as primitive a state of civilization as were their forefathers at the Cape two hundred and fifty years ago.

Those Boers who remain behind and decline to take part in further northward treks will probably, as is the case in Cape Colony, form the settled rural population of the country, commanding a large share of the voting power, steadily progressing, and mingling more and more with the British. Already in British Bechuanaland (till lately a Crown colony) one may see very healthy signs of the future. There, month by month. Dutch farmers from the Orange Free State and Transvaal have for some years been taking up land and settling down with perfect contentment under a direct imperial rule. But, whatever is to be the future of South Africa, the sturdy old Boer stock, compounded by many virtues and of pardonable failings, will never, it may be safely predicted, die out from the land. Rather will it grow and thrive, a source of strength and backbone to future generations of colonists.

The following account of the trouble between the Boers and Outlanders is from Frank Owen, a graduate of the Royal School of Mines, London; an associate member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, London, and also a member of the American Institute of Mining Engineers of New York. Mr. Owen spent some time in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa. Writing from Boulder county, Colorado, Mr. Owen said, shortly after the war broke out :

So much misapprehension seems to prevail among the American people and press regarding the present attitude of the British in South Africa that a true statement of some of the leading features of the case may not be inopportune. As an Englishman and as a mining engineer who is well acquainted with the Transvaal gold-fields, I have had as good opportunities of judging the situation as most people, and certainly far better than many self-constituted critics. The able letters of Julian Ralph, in the Brooklyn Eagle, and the lucid

statements of the eminent American mining engineer, John Hays Hammond, in the New York Herald, are so far the only impartial criticisms of the subject that I have seen in this country. Mr. Hammond's views especially, both from his long acquaintance with South Africa and his deservedly high reputation as an engineer, should be entitled to the highest consideration.

To those who know of the enormous sums of secret service money—collected, by the way, entirely by heavy imposts on the unfortunate Outlanders—expended by the government of the South African Republic, it is not surprising to see their side of the question is so prominent. The Standard and Diggers' News, which represents the Transvaal interests in Europe is well known to be a heavily-subsidized Boer organ. People who really know anything about life in South Africa would just as soon think of attaching importance to the hysterical nonsense written by Olive Schreiner as they would to "Ouida's" quaint ideas of life in English society. It is amusing to Englishmen to see the views of a notoriety-hunting nonentity like Stead treated seriously over here, as it would be to Americans to see prominence given in England to Edward Atkinson's opinion on the campaign in the Philippines.

The government of the South African Republic has from the very first consistently crippled and injured the mining industry of the Witwatersrand by every means in its power. Competent experts have estimated that their exactions have increased the cost of mining \$2 per ton. That, in spite of all this, so much gold has been produced and a profit has been made, is only due to the wonderful extent and permanence of the auriferous deposits and to the skill and energy of the engineers on those fields, many of them Americans.

The whole question finally resolves itself into the same principle for which George Washington took up arms, namely, that there must not be taxation of a people without adequate representation. Every adult Outlander has to pay a yearly poll-tax, and this without conveying any accompanying civil right. This same tax caused a popular uprising in England in the fourteenth century and was, consequently, abolished. The Boer burghers, or voters, of whom there are some 30,000, as against 120,000 Outlanders, in Johannesburg alone, pay no taxes of any kind.

The government has conceded to a German, Edward Lippert, the

exclusive privilege of the manufacture of explosives in the Transvaal for a term of years. Thus, the very first essentials of mining are only procurable at more than double the price at which they could be imported from America or Europe, and of poor quality at that. This state of things might do in Venezuela or Santo Domingo, but people who came from a civilized country cannot be expected to tolerate it. The English language is not allowed to be taught in the public schools to the children of English-speaking people—indeed it took years to get the privilege of having schools at all.

It was only after the sanitary condition of Johannesburg became so pestilent on account of the abnormally rapid increase of population, so that typhoid was rampant in all quarters, that the foreign inhabitants were allowed to organize a sanitary commission to carry out what was necessary—not a municipality. Even then, this commission, though composed entirely of English-speaking people, were actually compelled to conduct their proceedings in the taal (Cape Dutch), through the medium of an official interpreter. The right of public meeting to discuss these and many other grievances is denied, and the meetings are broken up by force of arms.

The English, in short, are only struggling to obtain a tithe of the political privileges so freely accorded to the Dutch inhabitants of Cape Colony and Natal under British dominion.

The matter was brought to a crisis early in the present year by the brutal murder of a British subject by a Boer policeman. Edgar, the victim in question, was peaceably attending a public meeting of Outlanders, when he was deliberately shot down, without provocation. The appeals of his unfortunate widow for justice were largely the cause of at last directing serious attention in England to the state of affairs in the Transvaal, with the present result.

The estimates I have seen quoted in this country as to the fighting strength of the Boers are considered largely exaggerated by those best acquainted with South Africa. Considering the brutal treatment the Kaffirs invariably receive from the Boers (who, indeed, look on them as slaves) it is not likely, as stated in some quarters, that the blacks will fight for their oppressors. I have seen a miserable Kaffir tied to the wheel of a wagon and unmercifully flogged with a "sjambok" (a rawhide whip) by a young Boer, while a large crowd of older Boers looked on, laughing and applauding. In the British colonies no

man may lift his hand against a native without swift and certain punishment. It is far more likely that in parts the blacks will take the opportunity of rising against the Boers.

When I was in Swaziland, in 1895, such an uprising of the natives was imminent and was only quelled by the influence of the British residents. The Swazis number about 35,000 fighting men of fine physique. They hate the Boers, and have repeatedly begged to be incorporated in the British Empire. To conciliate the South African Republic the latter were allowed by Great Britain to have this country annexed in 1896.

A great deal is said about the Boers being such earnest Christians. They cannot, however, study their Bibles to much purpose, since all who know them can bear evidence that the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Commandments are practically a dead letter in the Transvaal. From personal experience I can testify that the Boer is as filthy in his person as in his morals.

England does not want war, and has nothing to gain by war with the Transvaal; but must fight to protect the rights of her down-trodden subjects and so maintain her position as the paramount power in Africa. On the contrary, the cost of the war will be exceedingly high and the material interests at stake are enormous. This can be seen when it is remembered that (according to the Engineering and Mining Journal of September 2, 1899), the Transvaal mines produced gold to the value of \$78,070,761, against the entire output of the United States of \$65,082,430. English people all the world over, and especially in America, will be grateful to President McKinley and his advisers for their wise and dignified attitude during this crisis, and will rejoice over the well-merited snubs administered to Bourke Cockran and General O'Beirne. Deeply as all right-thinking Englishmen appreciate the good will and esteem of the great American people, even these could have been too dearly purchased were the price national self-respect.

Having pictured the Boer and Outlander from the British standpoint, it will be refreshing to see the Boer pictured by an American. Benjamin Davis, of New York City, September 12, 1899, gave the following version of the Boer:

The social status of the Transvaal may be summed up in a view of each of the three classes of people composing its population. The





SCENE AT A RECRUITING STATION IN CAPE TOWN.



SOME OF THE OFFICERS OF THE 1ST GRENADIER REGIMENT OF FOOT GUARDS—BRITISH ARMY.

Boers are the descendants of the original Dutch settlers. They are the proprietors of the government, and guard their public offices very jealously from the intrusion of foreigners. The Boers know too well that foreigners would soon be in possession of all the available offices if they get a loophole. The Boers in fact are a degenerate class when compared with their ancestors, and the same degeneracy which makes them inferior mentally makes them less able to carry out a war than their fathers were before them. It would take some time for them to become as accurate marksmen or as reliable soldiers. Their fathers lived in the open and made hunting and fighting their daily occupation, while to-day more fighting goes on in the streets of their cities than ever takes place in the open.

The cause of a great deal of disturbance in the South African Republic is the presence of the Kaffirs, who are maltreated and looked down upon by everybody, and used in a most ruffianly manner whenever sufficient motive dictates. The Kaffirs are the original natives of the country, and are brought down in large numbers from lands north of the Transvaal to work in the rich gold mines of the foreigners. Agents make a profitable business of securing labor from the chieftains, whose word is law in their own tribes. To do this, the agent must go among the Kaffirs and live with them as one of them, sharing their hospitality and eating out of the same bowl with them. When the proper stage of friendship has been reached, the agent goes to the chief and asks for a hundred men. If he is successful, the chief orders them to go with him and hire themselves out to the owners of whatever mine he may direct. For this the chief receives perhaps fifty cents a head, and the agent takes his hundred men to the railroad, packs them away in trucks, conveys them to the most promising mine owner, and turns them over at ten dollars each. From that time on the Kaffir receives weekly wages of seven dollars and a half, but he is like a dog in a city, carrying a license-tag with him wherever he goes.

The Kaffir is not allowed like other men to walk on the sidewalks of Johannesburg. He must stay in the street, and infraction of this law involves a heavy penalty. A Kaffir is frequently taken to jail for two weeks and given twenty-five stripes for no greater offence, while killing of the Kaffirs for resistance when invited to their punishment is an every week occurrence. Killing, indeed, is carried on among all classes on rather a larger scale than the ordinary civilized

country sees. Johannesburg may be fairly said to equal the descriptions which the comic papers publish to represent the American West. People sitting on the veranda of their hotel at six o'clock in the twilight which prevails at that time are murdered without apparent reason. Kaffirs think it no unusual deed to kill and rob the storekeeper who furnishes them with the various necessities of life. Bank robberies take place in open daylight, following the usual programmes of fiction.

The foreigners in the Transvaal represent the moneyed population and are the chief capitalists interested in the immense mines of the country. These mines are the most extensive in existence, the region in which they are stretching for hundreds of miles across the Transvaal. The amount of gold contained in this reef is now known, but no one has been far enough down to get below it. Others estimate that there is sufficient to provide undiminishing returns for a hundred years to come, although the output at present is enormous and increasing day by day. The profit on most kinds of importation and customs is frequently one hundred and fifty per cent. The cost of living is not much higher than elsewhere.

Augustus Hopper Kruger, a half-brother of President Kruger, who was in the United States on his way home in October, 1899, discussing the prospects of war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, said:

"If war should be declared by the British I think the Boers will win, for the reason that they are fighting for their independence, just as the Americans were in 1776. They know every foot of their territory; they command all the important passes; they are as good shots as the United States soldiers, and can pick off the British just like shooting redbirds off a fence; they have the right on their side; they know if they lose their identity they will be forever swallowed up in the mighty British Empire; they love their freedom and will willingly die rather than surrender it, and before the English conquer the country they will wade through blood, sacrifice fully fifty thousand lives of their own troops and expend fully \$500,000,000, if not more.

"I have sons and grandsons in Nebraska who will follow me to South Africa in a few weeks. I am about sixty years of age, and yet I am a good rifleshot, and before I cross the Jordan I hope to take a few Englishmen with me. That is how all the Boers feel. They think the present prospective war is simply a trick on the part of Mr.

Chamberlain to gain possession of the Transvaal, and they know Chamberlain to be purely an unscrupulous politician, who will stop at nothing. However, he merely represents the British idea of aggrandizement. The English are relentless. They make up their minds to do a thing, and they will do it, no matter what the cost. Only twice have they failed, and both times against the United States. They gave up this republic because it was simply unconquerable, and acknowledged themselves beaten because the United States can defy the world and come off victorious.

“The Boers are good shots, as I have said, and they will send many an Englishman to his eternal account. If we lose in this fight, we lose everything. Therefore, we had better die, and the best thing we can do is to make the bloodiest fight possible. I have one nephew in Nebraska, fifteen years old, a fine shot with a rifle, who will leave soon for South Africa, and his main ambition before he dies is to kill an Englishman. That is the temper of our people.”

The language of the Boers in South Africa is grammatically the language of the people of Holland. They speak Dutch as their forefathers in Holland spoke it, and as it is spoken there now. They are called Boers because that is a Dutch word which describes them. It means a farmer, and agriculture is the main pursuit of the compatriots of Oom Paul. A knowledge of Dutch would supply an explanation of the odd-looking words that are used now and then in the news reports from the Transvaal. It would also enable one to pronounce these words as they should be enunciated.

Dutch diphthongs are not given the same sounds as their equivalents in English. The double “o,” for instance, in Dutch has the same sound as “o” in Rome, while the diphthong “oe” is pronounced by the Dutch as we pronounce “oo” in boot. The English pronunciation of these two diphthongs is the reverse of that given them by those who speak Dutch. And “ou” has the sound of “ow” in owl. The sound of “ui” is nearly like that of the English “oy” in boy. The Dutch double “aa” is the same as the English “a” in war. As there is no “y” in Dutch its place is taken by “ij,” which is sounded as “y” in defy.

If one, therefore, would pronounce Oom Paul properly he would say it as if it were spelled Ome Powl. The family name of General Joubert would, for the same reason, be pronounced as if it were spelled

Yowbert. The word Boer is pronounced by the Afrikander as if it were of two syllables, the first long and the second short, thus: Boo-er. The plural is not Boers. It is Boeren, and it is pronounced Bo-er-eh, because the final "n" is slurred.

Here are some of the Dutch words that are oftenest in print in connection with the news of the Transvaal, and their pronunciation and meaning:

Bloemfontein (bloom-fon-tine) . . . . .	Flower fountain
Boer (boo-er) . . . . .	Farmer
Buitenlander (boy-ten-lont-er) . . . . .	Foreigner
Burgher (buhr-ker) . . . . .	Citizen
Burgerregt (buhr-ker-rekt) . . . . .	Citizenship
Burgerwacht (buhr-ker-vokt) . . . . .	Citizen soldiery
Jonkherr (yunk-hare) . . . . .	Member of the Volksraad; gentleman
Oom (ome) . . . . .	Uncle
Raad (rahd) . . . . .	Senate
Raadsheer (rahds-hare) . . . . .	Senator
Raadhuis (rahd-hoys) . . . . .	Senate House
Rand (rahnt) . . . . .	Margin; edge
Staat (staht) . . . . .	State
Staatkunde (staht-kuhn-de) . . . . .	Politics
Staatsraad (stahts-rahd) . . . . .	Council of State
Stad (stot) . . . . .	City
Stemmer (stem-mer) . . . . .	Voter; elector
Transvaal (trons-fahl) . . . . .	Circular valley
Trek (treck) . . . . .	Draught; journey
Trekken (treck-eh) . . . . .	To draw; to travel
Trekpaard (treck-pahrd) . . . . .	Draft horse
Uit (oyt) . . . . .	Out; out of
Uitlander (oyt-lont-er) . . . . .	Foreigner
Vaal (fahl) . . . . .	Valley
Vaderlandsliefde (fah-ter-lonts-leef-te) . . . . .	Love of one's country;
. . . . .	patriotism
Veld (felt) . . . . .	Field; open lands
Veldheer (felt-hare) . . . . .	General; commandant
Veldwachter (felt-vock-ter) . . . . .	Rural guard
Volksraad (fulks-rahd) . . . . .	Lower House of Congress



HON. J. H. HOFMEYER,  
Leader of Afrikaner Bond Party in Cape  
Colony.

GEN. SCHALK BURGER,  
In Command of Boers on Eastern Transvaal  
Border.

HON. W. P. SCHREINER,  
Premier of Cape Colon .

COMMANDANT WEILBACH,  
Prominent Boer Commander.

GENERAL CRONJE,  
In Command of Boers on West-  
ern Transvaal Border.



OFFICERS IN BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN SERVICE.  
MAJ.-GEN. HILDYARD. MAJ.-GEN. FRENCH.  
MAJ.-GEN. SIR H. E. COLVILLE.  
COL. T. C. PORTER. MAJ.-GEN. FITZROY HART.



Voorregt (fore-rekt) . . . . .	Franchise; privilege
Vreemdeling (frame-da-ling) . . . . .	Stranger
Witwatersrand (vit-vot-ters-ront) . . . . .	Margin of the white water

Pretoria, the capital of the South African Republic, is named in honor of its first President, Pretorius, who led the Dutch in the great trek, or journey, out of Cape Colony sixty years ago, and into the Transvaal to escape the dominion of England.

Johannesburg is easily translated into English as Johnstown.

The term Afrikander is used to differentiate the Dutch from the other white people of South Africa.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE OUTLANDER OF THE TRANSVAAL.

Having presented to our readers the Boer of the present day, as viewed by the British, we must now, from the same standpoint, show the Outlander of to-day. The Outlander, or Uitlander, is the general term applied to foreigners in the Transvaal, or, for that matter, to foreigners in the Orange Free State. The Outlander is the bete noir of the Boer of all classes. The Boer never loves a "foreigner" of any description, though he may feel somewhat kindly to the "foreigner" of any other nationality than Great Britain. He has quite a regard for the foreign Dutch and for the Germans; he may put up with the presence of Portuguese or—well, almost any other nationality than the British. For the British Outlander he has no sort of regard and the heartiest kind of hatred. This grows out of the history of the past, strongly intensified by the happenings of recent years. The British Outlander, to the Boer, represents the cause of his trekking from Cape Colony in years long gone by, and, above all, he represents the dreaded ascendancy of the British in South Africa, constantly threatening, in various ways, to overwhelm by electoral or other processes, more likely the latter, the two little republics squatting in the midst of rampant imperialism. But, enough on this subject for the present. Let us get down to the Outlander as he is looked upon by the British. The same correspondent who, about three years ago, described the Transvaal Boer for the Times of London, also at the same time gave his ideas of the Outlander. He said:

The population of the Transvaal is divided into three great sections—the Boer, the Outlander, and the Kaffir. Of these sections two are foreign and one is native to the soil. The Kaffirs have occupied the country from time immemorial; the other two sections are both of them new-comers of the last half-century. The first and the smallest foreign section is that composed of the Boer of Dutch descent and British colonial extraction born in Africa, who, trekking from what he conceived to be the oppression of British rule in the Cape Colony, wrested a footing for himself in the native territories across the Vaal by force of arms from the original inhabitants. The estab-

lishment thus made was first recognized as having a political existence by the Sand River Convention of 1852. The Boers claim to have made good their position in 1846. In either case their presence as a power in the state now known as the Transvaal is of less than fifty years' duration.

The number of adult males in this section of the population of the state is estimated at 15,000.

The second foreign influx, to which the Outlander section of the population owes its existence, is of still more recent origin. No exact date can be fixed for the first appearance of Outlanders in the body politic of the Transvaal. Their presence may perhaps be said to have made its first public manifestation in the movement which led to the annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain in April, 1877, after twenty-five years of precarious existence maintained by whip and rifle, in the teeth of constantly encroaching hordes of hostile natives.

The prosperous second birth of the Transvaal state dates from 1880, when, after the power of Great Britain had been exerted to break up the savage military organizations that threatened the existence of the white community, and the successful termination of the Zulu and Secocoeni wars had given security to life and property across the Vaal, the Boers rose in arms against British authority, and reasserted the independence of the republic. The battle of Majuba Hill was fought in February, 1881 (as already referred to), and the convention signed in August of the same year gave to the republic a complete measure of self-government in relation to its internal administration, with the exception of certain conditions to be observed in regard to native affairs, but reserved the rights of suzerainty of the British Crown. Within five years gold was discovered at Johannesburg, and under the guarantee of British suzerainty an Afrikaner, British, American, and European population poured rapidly into the country. These various elements compose the Outlander body of the present population. The number of adult male Outlanders, occupied chiefly in commercial and industrial development, is estimated at 60,000,

The number of the Kaffir population are estimated at 250,000, but this total includes wives and children.

It has been said by a learned student of history that progressive nations are those in which the rights of free men are enjoyed by the largest number of persons within their borders, and that decaying

nations are those in which the rights of free men are restricted to the smallest number, the most advanced symptom of decline being a state of despotism in which one man alone is free and he the tyrant of the rest. In the Transvaal, under its present constitution, the condition of affairs has approached dangerously near to the last stage. The largest body in the state has been deprived by conquest of all rights; the next largest has been excluded by law from the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship; in the third and smallest body, although the franchise has been extended to children of sixteen, power has practically been concentrated in the hands of an Executive Council, supported by a vote in the First Raad, which needs only to number thirteen in order to have a constitutional majority. In all, twenty-five men more than cover the number who for a given term of years hold absolute power in their hands. Of this small number a considerable proportion are not members of the original Boer section of the community. They are Hollanders imported direct from Holland, partly for the natural reason that they speak the language of the Boer, partly with the object of more effectually controlling the Outlander of non-Dutch-speaking origin. Thus, while the original Boer section of the population has remained the dominant section and has jealously reserved all the rights of citizenship for itself, the executive power of even this section comes very near to being represented in the one individuality of a president three times re-elected, and maintained consecutively in the first position of the state during the fifteen years' existence of the second republic.

The Boer suffers little under this system. The President—though the last election of President Kruger was far from being by a unanimous vote—is, after all, the President of his choice, and the Boer is scarcely interfered with by the administration. He lives still mainly in isolation upon the land. He consumes his own produce, which is untaxed; he has few wants which force him to contribute to the revenue raised upon foreign commodities; he has no desire to concern himself with trade; he takes no part in the development of mineral wealth; he has no wish for education. He hears of corruption in the finances and inefficiency of the civil service. It matters nothing to him; the taxes by means of which the treasury is filled are not levied upon him, and as it is not his money which is wasted he cares little what becomes of it. He asks for no service from the administrative departments. It is all the same to him whether the mining inspectors know their business, or

the police do their duty, or the schools respond to the requirements of the urban population. Patriarchal government was evolved from the conditions of life of a pastoral people. The Boers are to this day a pastoral people, hardy, frugal, simple in their needs, and patriarchal government suits them well enough. Besides, to the simplest of minds there is an infinite satisfaction in the sentiment of belonging to the dominant race. The Boer is a burgher of the state from the age of sixteen. All the privileges of burgherdom are reserved to him, and President Kruger knows his people well enough to know what are the privileges they will value.

The position of the Outlander, under a despotism based on the solid conservatism of the Boer and directed by the ingenuity of the Hollander, is the element which threatens subversion of the whole. The Boer already has, and the Hollander means to have, the entire control of the wealth and policy of the country; but the producers of the wealth and the persons to bear the consequences of the policy are neither Boers nor Hollanders. They are the Outlanders. Their position has long been intolerable, and the patience of the Outlanders now shows signs of having reached its limit.

At the time of the annexation to Great Britain the Transvaal was practically bankrupt. It was in debt and the treasury was empty. But for the intervention of Great Britain and the check given to native enemies of the Transvaal by the Zulu and Secocoeni wars, it is not improbable that the first struggling Dutch Republic would have been finally wiped out in massacre. Courage was never wanting to the Boer, but his numbers were too few, his means too limited, to sustain the struggle of which Great Britain relieved him. The second republic of 1880 was practically a new creation, and in the fifteen years of its existence the Outlander has contributed far more to its construction than the Boer. He discovered and he has worked the mineral wealth. In ten years his numbers have increased comparatively from a handful to a population estimated the other day for the Rand alone at 136,000. He has paid the taxes; he has built the towns; he has constructed the railways; he has established the commerce; he has settled on the land; he has fought in the wars. The state which he found nearly bankrupt has this year an accumulated surplus which was calculated to have reached £2,000,000 sterling. He has not been a mere bird of passage, passing through the land, accumulating wealth

and returning to spend it in his own country. He has made his home, so far as he has been allowed to do so, in the Transvaal. His children have been born there. The magnificent climate and the wealth of the soil, neglected by the Boer, give every guarantee of the permanent settlement of generations. By law his children are still aliens, but it is impossible that they should feel themselves to be aliens in the country of their birth, and it is impossible that the fathers of these children should continue to acquiesce in a total denial to them of civil rights of which the inheritance is so legitimately theirs.

The franchise law of the old republic of the Boers was of the simple kind customary in new states. One year's residence was required, and the newcomer had as little trouble in securing his vote as the London householder who changes his address. After the foundation of the second republic the limit of time was extended to five years, but admission to full burgher rights was still possible of attainment at the end of that period. The delay was felt to be excessive in a country so young as the Transvaal, and the contrast with the franchise law of the Orange Free State, where aliens are admitted to full burgher rights after one year's residence with a property qualification, or three years' residence without a property qualification, was felt to justify strong representations on the subject to President Kruger. The results of these representations were such as have attended most of the peaceful remonstrances addressed by the unfranchised Outlanders to the Transvaal Government. The franchise law has by successive steps been surrounded with difficulties that remove the possession of full burgher rights by the alien into the region of the impossible.

The invention of a second Volksraad, the franchise for which is offered to the Outlander after a period of two years' residence and naturalization, was a device which savored rather of Hollander ingenuity in deception than of Boer downrightness of opposition. The franchise which is offered is worthless, for the first condition of the creation of the second Raad was that the acts of this body must be presented to the consideration of the President and can only become law if he decides to submit them for the approval of the first Raad—and this approval is gained. The legislative capacity of this body is absolutely dependent upon the supreme will of the President, and all real power is divided between the first Raad and the Executive Coun-

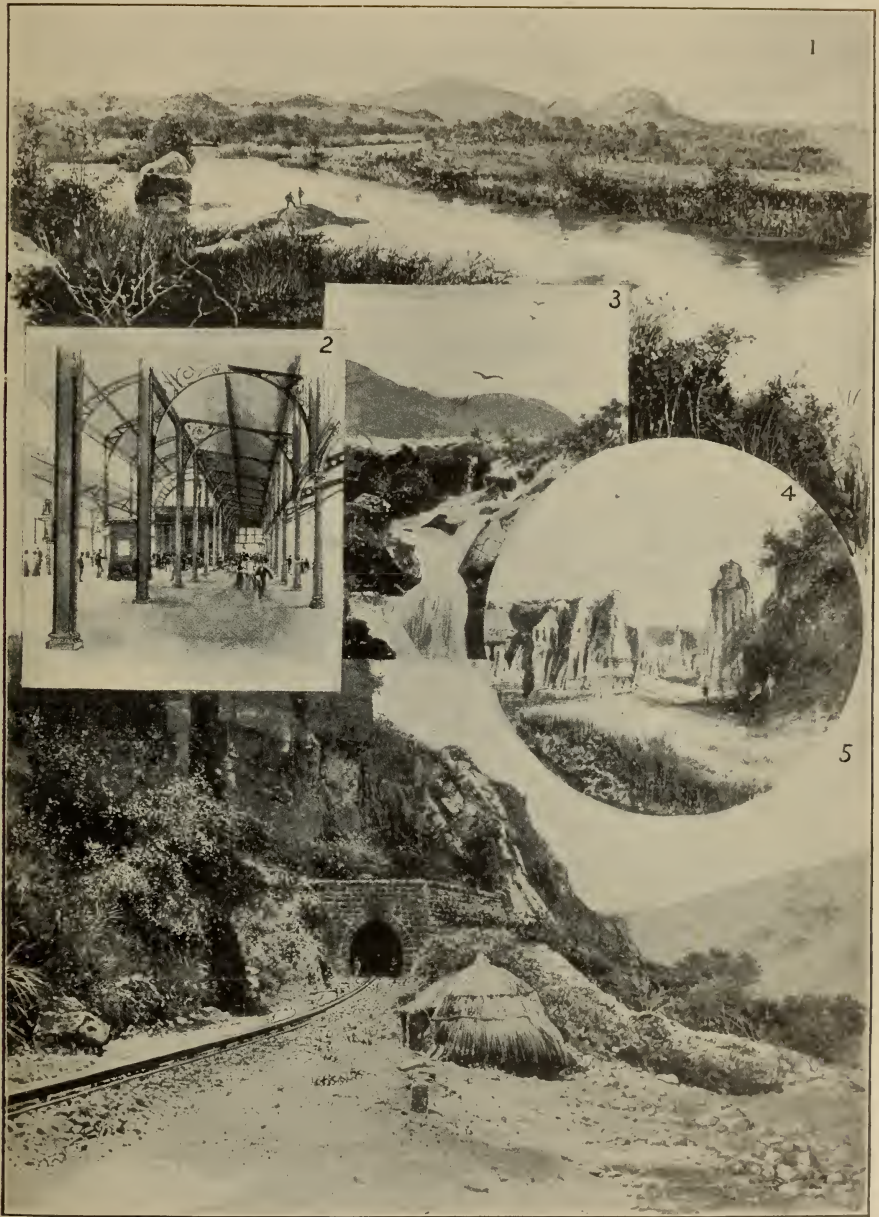
cil. The first Raad, it should be stated, is composed of four and twenty members, and the Executive Council numbers, according to circumstances, ten or twelve. Thirteen votes in the first Raad suffice to maintain the President constitutionally in any position he chooses to assume, to regulate the taxation, and to make the laws of the entire population. As the franchise law at present stands, it is provided that every resident in the Transvaal must register himself on the Fieldcornet's books within fourteen days after his arrival or suffer a fine. He is thenceforth subject to taxation, and, after two years of registered residence, he may become naturalized and acquire by this act the right to vote for the second Raad. In order to become naturalized he must, of course, forswear allegiance to his own country and become liable for military and jury service in the Transvaal. In return he obtains nothing but the nominal privilege of voting for the second Raad. After a further period of twelve years he may, by a special resolution of the first Raad and a petition in his favor by two-thirds of the burghers of the ward to which he proposes to belong, be invested with full burgher rights. But at the end of his fourteen years of residence, if the conditions named are absent, he may still find himself excluded from a burgher's rights. For this off-chance at the end of fourteen years—a period almost as long as the entire existence of the new republic—he is asked to forswear the country of his birth, and, in order to force him to accept naturalization on these terms, it is further provided that the children of non-naturalized persons cannot become burghers by the mere fact of birth within the country, but must follow the course prescribed for aliens.

In presence of such a law it is evident that burghers' rights, including the right to vote for the presidential election and for the only effective legislative assembly of the country, will not be accorded to the Outlanders by any existing constitutional authority except under irresistible pressure. Petitions signed by yearly increasing numbers of Outlanders have been sent again and again to the Volksraad and have been received with scorn. The petition of 1894 was signed by 13,000 persons, a number nearly equal to, and the petition of April, 1895, was signed by 38,500 persons, a number more than twice as great as that of the total number of burghers' votes recorded for the election of the President. In both cases the petitioners expressed their readiness to take the very properly required oath of allegiance to

the republic. The petition was received in the Raad by the comment of one member, who announced that he neither knew nor cared whether the memorialists were Englishmen or Coolies, and by the challenge of another member, M. Otto, to the Outlanders to fight for their rights if they dared. It is only fair to add that other members of the first Raad rebuked the language of M. Otto, and that a committee was appointed to investigate the question. It was, however, a committee appointed to do nothing, and, rightly or wrongly, the Outlander community recognize in the expression of M. Otto the frank attitude of the Boer, and in the appointment of the futile commission the no less determined, though less open, opposition to reform of the Hollander element of an antagonistic government.

The franchise question lies at the bottom of all the grievances of the Outlander community, for with this settled the right remedy could with time be brought to all. It is not improbable that the knowledge of the long list of grievances which lies behind hardens the determination of Hollander and Boer alike to resist the claim for representation.





SCENES IN SOUTH AFRICA.—1. Crocodile River. 2. Railway Station, Johannesburg. 3. Crocodile Poort. 4. Alkmaar. 5. Tunnel on Netherlands—Delagoa Bay Railway.



DEFENCES OF THE KIMBERLEY DIAMOND MINES.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE BOERS' SIDE OF THE CASE.

With the British and American views of the Boer before us, this presentation would be incomplete without something about the Boers from their own standpoint. Dr. F. V. Engelenburg, editor of the Pretoria Volksstem, recently wrote the following account of the Boers and the situation. He said:

South Africa is poor, extremely poor, in spite of its gold output of nearly two millions a month and its diamond export of five millions a year.

The disabilities from which South Africa suffers are manifold. The climate is glorious, the soil fertile, but the rainfall is uncertain and irregular. There are large tracts where rain falls only once every four or five years; and, where circumstances are more favorable, there are no natural reservoirs in which water can be stored, or certainly none to any appreciable extent. The rivers, dry in summer time, become foaming torrents in the rainy season, and pour the whole of their waters into the sea. If the Witwatersrand were not situated alongside an extensive formation of dolomite, which absorbs rainwater and stores it up like a sponge, it would have been utterly impossible for its unrivalled gold industry to attain its present condition, and the Boers to-day would be enjoying the rest and peace which they have ever longed for and deserve.

But with the industrious European colonist, schooled and disciplined by labor, can South Africa not produce what is necessary for his support? The white population of this part of the world amounts, in round numbers, to 2,000,000—a very generous estimate—inhabiting a vast extent of country, larger than France, Germany and Italy together. This population is dependent on the outside world, not merely for the products of technical industry, but also for those of agriculture. Should this supply ever be cut off, a large portion of our white and other population would simply starve, or at any rate be deprived of the comforts of life. Only the Boers, who eke out a frugal existence on their secluded farms, and have not yet become dependent on frozen meats, European butter, American meal and Australian potatoes—only the Boers, who

with rare endurance, the heritage of their hardy race, boldly face years of drought, rinderpest, locusts and fever, could survive such a collapse of the economic machinery of a country so severely dealt with by nature.

The first European power which acquired a firm footing in the East Indies, the Portuguese, simply ignored South Africa. The Portuguese were succeeded by the Hollanders, who, not until after much hesitation and two futile attempts to conquer Mozambique, decided to take possession of Africa's southern extremity. And the English, in common with the Hollanders, never desired aught but the few harbors which South Africa possesses; the interior had no value in the eyes of the European maritime powers, which only looked on the opulent East. A clear illustration of this is furnished by the fact that, although possessing Walvisch Bay, England quietly acquiesced in Germany's protectorate over the hinterland; and another instance is to be found in the anxiety which England has recently shown to get hold of Delagoa Bay and Beira. The possession of these harbors would give to the British Empire control of the seaway to the East and to the English merchants such trade with the interior of South Africa as circumstances might permit. Neither the Dutch East India Company nor the British rulers bestirred themselves in any way with the steady expansion of the white colonists of the hinterland.

Under the Dutch East India Company friction often arose between the two white elements of the colony, and when the Cape fell into the hands of the British, in the beginning of the present century, the old antagonism continued to exist. As long as the imperial authorities left the inland colonists to themselves, and only exercised a general repressive control, the relationship between the two white communities of South Africa remained satisfactory, but as soon as the strings were pulled too suddenly from Europe, and the Cape authorities had to carry out a grasping, despotic policy, the two elements inevitably came to loggerheads. The best South African politicians—both British and Boer—are those who have frankly admitted that the political key to South Africa lies in an intelligent insight into the limit which should be allowed to Briton, Boer and Black. In other words, let each of the three fulfill the mission which nature has allotted to him, and then this much vexed continent will enjoy the rest and peace of which it so urgently stands in need.

The first beneficent breathing space which was granted to South

Africa by the fatal British policy was when, in 1852 and 1854—after numberless mistakes had been committed by the Imperial authorities, mistakes which no historian now attempts to deny—the South African Republic and the Free State were respectively left to their own resources, by solemn covenants with the British Government—in other words, when the formal principle was adopted by England that the Briton should be “baas” of the coast and the Boer of the hinterland. The circumstances under which this took place had in the meantime become very grievous; the Boer states never had a fair start; the British maritime colonies levied enormous duties on goods consigned to the interior, and squeezed as much out of the Afrikaner republic as they possibly could.

The generous policy of 1852 and 1854 was only too short-lived. The lucid moments of the Anglo-African politicians have been, alas! few and far between. First came the ruthless annexation of Basutoland by the British authorities, just at the moment when the Free State had clipped the wings of the Basutos and rendered further resistance futile. Then came the unrighteous annexation of Griqualand West, which suddenly found favor in the eyes of the British on account of the discovery of diamonds, and on which arose the Kimberley of to-day. This was followed by the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, with all the bitter feeling that naturally resulted therefrom. And then the Sir Charles Warren expedition, by which the Boers were deprived of Bechuanaland, because Mr. Cecil Rhodes—whose fortunate career at the Kimberley diamond fields enable him to give the rein to his restless ambition—wanted to open up a pathway to the north, to the Rhodesia of to-day. Then came the establishment of the Chartered Company, followed by the notorious Jameson raid.

In 1897 the inquiry by the official industrial commission took place, the result being a substantial lowering of railway tariffs and import dues. But the “grievances” still remained, and increased in 1897 in sympathy with the gold output, which had now reached the large figure of eleven and a half millions. Still more “unbearable” were these “grievances” in 1898, during which year sixteen and a quarter millions of gold were dug out of Transvaal soil. This was the year of the Edgar affair and of the Outlander Petition, and in the same year forty-five gold companies of the Rand (the share capital issued being £20,294,675) paid out in dividends no less than £5,089,785—an average of 25 per cent!

The output for 1899 has already been estimated at twenty-two and a half millions, and the number of dividend-paying companies increases every month.

There are undoubted grievances in the South African Republic, but they are not the exclusive property of the Outlanders; a discreet silence is observed with respect to the wrongs of the Transvaal burghers, and I do not feel it to be my task to dilate upon them now. But still they exist, although the absorbing selfishness of the mining magnates keeps back the light of day; the lust for gold stifles all generosity, compassion, mercy, brotherly love and respect for the rights of the weak.

What Monomotapa was to the Phoenicians and Arabs, Witwatersrand is to our present gold seekers, and to most of the Outlanders—a temporary land of exile, which they only endure for the sake of the gold. Can we picture the wise King Solomon demanding the franchise for his subjects in the realms of the Queen of Sheba?

The Boers do not ask for mercy; they ask for justice. Those who keep up the unfair agitation against the South African Republic are the last men, however, to listen to the voice of righteousness or to be guided by any noble impulse; political corruption is the seed they sow, and by their unexampled opportunities they feel confident of reaping their criminal harvest. Up to the present they have gathered only tares; a still more bitter time of reaping has yet to come. In the past the Boers have been able to fight against immensely superior odds. They feel that the final victory will be theirs, for they know they have right on their side.

A FIELD DAY OF TARGET PRACTICE AMONG THE BOERS.





PRACTICING WITH A SEVEN-POUNDER IN RHODESIA.



## CHAPTER IX.

### THE HOME LIFE OF THE BOER.

The London Graphic recently published a pretty description of a Dutch farm in the Transvaal, which we think well worth reproducing here. The writer said:

Let me introduce you to a Dutch farmhouse in the Transvaal as I saw it one fine afternoon two or three years since. It was situated some miles from any town or village; the typical Boer does not desire near neighbors. The way to it lay over the high veldt, along vast plains, with here and there a range of hills presenting the appearance of huge pudding-molds turned upside down, only slightly more rugged of surface, but scarcely less bare. The road (by courtesy so called), led over small heaps of stones and reddish sand, varied by deep ruts and sluits, the beds of dried-up rivers, and now and then gliding gradually into the burnt-up pasture-land, over tufts of straggling, unwholesome-looking grass. There were no hedges, no fences, no walls.

Our vehicle was a kind of buggy, a hybrid between a Cape cart and an old-fashioned gig. Winding around the base of one of the big pudding-basins we came upon a little valley, in which two or three green trees of the willow species showed the presence of water, and soon afterward arrived at the house. It was a low building of stone, with a corrugated iron roof; along the front ran the stoep, which is a raised causeway or veranda, built also of stones laid one upon another, and covered with earth beaten down hard. This is the place where a Boer loves to lounge, smoking his eternal pipe and ruminating, when he is not laying down the law with regard to Roineks (Englishmen), or Outlanders generally. At the back were two little paddocks inclosed by stone walls loosely put together, and a cattle-kraal, also of stone, but partly thatched. Two mules were standing in the afternoon sun, winking their long ears in futile attempts to scare the flies, which were exploring every portion of their lean bodies. A yoke of oxen browsing at some distance completed the prominent features of the landscape, until, at the sound of wheels, a couple of dogs of the lurcher kind appeared and greeted us with furious barks. Two black boys, called

Sunday and Shilling, came to take charge of our horses and conveyance, and we were ushered in by the back entrance through the kitchen.

The distinguishing feature of the apartment, after the general squalor of the whole, was a stout cord stretched across one end, with strips of meat hanging over and tied to it; this was the greater part of a sheep, which, I afterward understood, was killed the day before. The practice is to cut it all up, without any apparent regard to joints, in various shapes and sizes, and to hang it in the air, or often in the sun, to dry; this constitutes the biltong which they use on their journeys, or in war time, and which is said to be a most nourishing and sustaining food. We passed on into the inner room, which was breakfast-room, dining-room and drawing-room combined; it was rather long and narrow, with a deal table, also narrow, and a few wooden chairs. Against one wall was a wooden box, which, with two or three cushions on it, posed as a couch. A small harmonium stood at one end, and in two corners were little cupboards or whatnots, draped with cretonne or colored print. The floor was composed of a mixture of clay and cow-dung, beaten down hard and firm. I was informed that this kind of floor was considered very good for health. I was introduced to my bedroom, leading out of the dining-room, and found it simply, but a little more comfortably, furnished, muslin curtains to the windows, but no blinds! As I stood on the stoep, later, there came to me a fairy vision of farm-houses in dear old England, with their trim, smooth lawns, vegetables and flower gardens, and I thought, oh, for a little industry and enterprise in this desert, which could be made to blossom as a rose! The soil is so fertile that it is commonly said if you throw a plant at the ground and water it, it will grow. Here all around it was little better than a wilderness; a pool lay at the bottom of the bare patch, which should have been a garden, and a few ducks stood among the reeds, or disported themselves on the water. No green fields of wheat or barley waved in the soft, sweet air. The Boer does not seem to believe in cultivation, save for a little ground roughly scratched over for patches of Indian corn, here called mealies, of which, when finely ground and sifted, they make their bread; very good it is when quite fresh, but after a day or two it becomes hard and sour.

Through all the years in which the Boers have held the Transvaal it seems never to have occurred to them that, with some labor and care they could have made this country both profitable and fair to

look upon. Water is to be found generally at a depth of thirty feet; certainly locusts and drought are formidable foes, but in Natal, where these drawbacks are also known, and the climate much hotter, a good deal of land is under cultivation. It is not that the Boer bestows much time on mental attainments or the study of books, on aesthetic culture or care of personal appearance; his only book, usually, is the Bible, his letters are never written, his toilet accessories are of the most primitive kind and those not often used. The average Boer does not undress when he retires to rest, consequently his whole attire is of the frowsiest; he is unshorn, unwashed, unbrushed. His skin, hair and clothing are all of the same hue, in close affinity with the color of the ground—thence, we may conclude, arises their favorite appellation, “sons of the soil.”

As the sun sank behind the hills and the short twilight faded into darkness, a dismal sound arose from the aforementioned pool and its neighborhood—the loud croaking of many frogs, resembling the distant lowing of cattle. Supper over I went to bed. Though wearied with my journey, sleep did not visit my eyelids; a restless feeling came over me and soon I became aware that the blanket covering me was, apparently, the camp of armies of insects of the sprightly kind, whence they issued in battalions and attacked me at every vulnerable point. Added to this misery, a heavy thunderstorm, with rain dashing against my window, came on, so I was fain to light my candle and while away the greater part of the night with a book. Morning at length came, and with it our breakfast; the strips of meat I had seen on the string in the kitchen the day before now appeared on the table, cooked, evidently, in a frying-pan. This, with Boer bread and butter, tea and coffee, furnished our frugal meal. I chose coffee, but immediately afterward fervently wished I had asked for tea; both were sufficiently bad, but Boer coffee is simply execrable; compounded of various mixtures in which ground mealies bears a large proportion, and some coffee, which is often roasted at home, this concoction is both meat and drink, and it is said to be in consequence of their drinking it so many times a day that the Boer women attain to such gigantic proportions as they frequently do in middle life, and sometimes in youth also.

Several male relatives of the household came in to breakfast and displayed very good appetities. One peculiarity of the men's clothes is that they appear to be borrowed; they never fit (I am speaking now, of

course, of the low-class Boer); there is too much ankle, often stockingless, shown, and too much wrist to agree with the modern idea of fitness. It was a brilliant morning and the sun soon dried up the excessive moisture of the previous night. Presently three members of the family offered to accompany me on a ramble. We walked some distance and came upon the ruins of another farmhouse—a few stones left one upon another, and the same utter poverty of surroundings, no trees, no trace of garden, no orchard. On returning to the house coffee was served, but I did not take any. Now came a surprise, and I ceased to wonder at my lively visitors in the still hours of the night before when I discovered that in two corners of the dining-room, under the two arrangements of shelves or whatnots, were two hens sitting on eggs. Moreover, the other hens and young chickens wandered in and out from the stoep at their own sweet will.

In this particular household it seemed the rule to begin to think of preparing dinner when everybody felt very hungry, and we did not dine before 2:30 o'clock. Later on a party of Dutch arrived, trekking in an ox-wagon from one farm to another. I noticed that they all seemed to regard me with suspicion and to examine me much as they would have done some strange animal newly imported. I, on my part, was not carried away with admiration or consuming respect for these gentlefolk, but submitted to their questioning and gave information with regard to my own doings with as good grace as I could command. They are very inquisitive; but it is pleasant to add that they are usually kind and hospitable to such strangers as can converse with them in the taal, which is Low Dutch, in the same language as that in which His Honor, the Staat-President, preaches in the little Dopper Church, near to his residence, at Pretoria. Among the people you see young girls, fresh-looking and rather pretty, but they grow terribly fat or miserably lean with increasing age. I have seen ugly old women in different parts of the world, but, beyond doubt, for utter and hopeless ugliness, the aged Dutch vrouw carries the palm! Some of these old women are more bitter against the Roineks and Roibatjies (i. e., English soldiers) than even the men, who often hate the English simply because they are English and more refined than themselves. So the evening again passed away, and early next morning I departed on my way to Johannesburg.

The London Field recently published a neat sketch of a Boer farm,

which gives a fair insight into the life led by the soldier farmers of the Transvaal. The writer said:

Hearing that the "Flatfontein" hunters had returned from their annual trip into the huntings veldt, I decided to walk over to their farm and see the young game which they had captured. To those unacquainted with South Africa I would say that the Boers hunt in winter (May to August), as it is then dry and cool. No rain falling during this season, it is consequently healthy; they get back to their farms before the wet summer season begins.

On the morning of my projected trip I rose early and, after a cup of coffee and a light repast, started off across the veldt in company with a Dutch-speaking friend. It was the South African spring. The vast plain, so lately dry and brown, was now covered with the young green grass; the trees were sending forth their leaves, and their blooms filled the air with perfume. The insect world, nurtured by the hot sun, was full of life and activity, and every here and there that intense whirring note was heard which is given forth by that insect so familiar to dwellers in this vast land, and which, although so piercing to the ear, seems to harmonize with the quivering air of the African summer day.

After a long walk we reached the top of the gradually rising plain and saw before us, in the distance, the white walls of the Boer's house, close to which ran a small stream, dignified by the name of river—a little shallow rivulet of water, seemingly engaged in the hard task of threading its way through the loose sand in the river bed, and forming here and there small pools, drinking places of the trusty trek ox.

But what are these—these brown-looking animals feeding leisurely away to our right? I look at my companion. "Quahhas," says he, and, slightly altering our course, we hold on with quickened steps to pass close by them. As we get nearer we can make out the stripes encircling their handsome forms. There are twenty of them all told, from the handsome full-grown black and white stallion to the yearling filly, with her thick, soft jacket tinged with brown. They look at us unconcernedly, moving a few paces out of our way. Roaming at large on the plains as did their forefathers before them, the halter and "reim" with which each is fettered shows that they have accepted the inevitable, and have come under the sway of the ever-encroaching human, not, however, without a sharp struggle in some far off bush veldt. As we jump the clear water at its narrowest part we note an unusual activity

by the six acres or so of cultivated ground, which is as much of a thousand or two acres which he possesses as the Boer thinks it necessary to cultivate.

This disturbance is caused by the unseemly invasion of a small army of young locusts, not long hatched, and that seem bent on devouring the small patch of succulent green stuff, the year's handiwork of the industrious Boer. Mynheer has armed himself with a long pole with a flag at the end, and, together with attendants similarly armed, is flapping the ground and diverging the stream of locusts into the hard pathway along which they clank, for all the world like a Lilliputian regiment of cavalry.

After exchanging salutations with Mynheer by raising our hats, my friend discourses with him about the locusts. Mynheer is grave; the locusts are one of the plagues sent by the Almighty. It would be useless to attempt to destroy them—nay, it would be courting further disaster to enter into competition with the All Powerful. After expressing these views and calling to the Kaffirs to flap their weapons vigorously he turns and walks with us to his house.

As we pass along we come to a shed near which are lying six young eland calves, all bulls; these are all very young animals and in poor condition. One cannot imagine their growing into the mighty animals the old wild bulls are. They have traveled from afar and keep has been scarce on the road home; however, they will soon pick up and are, I believe, already sold. A clattering of hoofs and a young Boer rides by on a black gelding. "Salted," says my friend, "and worth £60, for he has galloped down much live game." But neither his form nor his pace fills the eye, and from the English point of looks he appears decidedly dear at the price.

Now we enter the abode of our host. This consists of a building of mud walls, which look red and hard; the roof is thatch; it is refreshingly cool inside, but rather embarrassing, as the room has an excessively large table and is crowded with Dutchmen, no less than seven men, and also two stout ladies. One has to struggle round the table shaking hands with each person in the most phlegmatic and insipid manner, stumbling over the legs of the others meanwhile. At length I subside into an antique chair and sit, hot and awkward, while the company present sit and stare hard at the despised "Roinek." Although I am of quite medium size at home, I feel conscious that each Boer pres-

ent—aye, and woman also—looks capable of overcoming two such as myself.

After a tedious half-hour we sally forth again, and, passing around the end of the house, come upon a small antelope calf lying resting on the ground, tethered to a small outhouse. This, our host tells us, is a “moff hartebeeste” (Anglice, Lichtenstein hartebeeste), which takes the place of the ordinary kind (Khama) in Southeast Africa. This little fellow looks well, is suckled by a cow, and our host expects to get a good price for it. Tethered out on the veldt some distance from the house are two outcasts, a pair of young spotted hyenas, commonly misnamed “wolves” by colonists. These miserables, tied to pegs driven in the ground, with short chains, have no protection from the hot sun, and lie panting, snarling and parched. At our suggestion a screen is put up for them to keep off the sun.

We now bid adieu to our host and walk on to the farm of another hunter, where we see two koodoos and three “kringhats” (water bucks), as well as some more elands and quahhas. I may mention here that these latter are a variety of the Burchell’s zebra, all of which are always misnamed quah-ha by the Dutch, and quah-ka by the English. The true quagga is extinct.

On our way home again we pass close by some yearling swart vet pens (black, white belly, i. e., sable antelope). We linger to watch these animals, one of the handsomest species of the antelope tribe, and in my estimation the best flavored. I shall never forget the dinner I made off a young bull after a two months’ diet of tinned meat and coarse bread; but enough! Let us return to the specimens before us. One little fellow comes up to the wire to inspect us, and as we push our hands through and stroke his horse-like quarters, lowers his head and capers around shaking his horns wickedly, reminding one that in a couple of years he will be a gentleman best kept at a distance.

These live things, survivors of a rapidly decreasing race, are only here saved from their usual fate of being slaughtered and eaten on the veldt, from the fact that the Boers have discovered that they are much more valuable alive than dead, and are eagerly sought after by dealers for sale to European zoos.

In setting out on their annual trips the Boers require, for the capture of these animals, some good horses which have had the sickness from which so few recover, and which are then termed “salted.” Some

milch cows for suckling very young animals are also desirable, and generally taken. When a herd of antelopes or zebras is sighted, some sharp work follows—hard gallops, perhaps, through thorns and bush, or over rock ground, till the younger members of the herd are overtaken and run to a standstill, when they are secured with ropes or reims. After a struggle they become subdued; and I have seen young zebras caught in the morning walking loose in the evening among horses, donkeys and other zebras, and allowing one to come up and touch them. I often wonder why Englishmen in Africa did not buy up and save in their own native wilds these rare and grand animals before it became too late. They could have been bred to good profit, to say nothing of the benefit of saving them as ornaments for future generations. However, although some suppose us to be a nation of sportsmen, we have allowed this destruction to take place until all, or nearly all, are exterminated; a sorry record, indeed, of our boasted sporting instincts to be handed down to posterity.

And now a long trudge homeward. Why is it that one generally walks over these far-reaching plains in silence? Is it that the mind is dominated by this far, unending land, this land which stretches away on every side with vague sameness, and over which one always walks straight ahead so different from the ever changing rambles in the lanes of the old country?



## CHAPTER X.

### PRESIDENT "OOM" PAUL KRUGER AND HIS HELPMATE.

Before delving any deeper into the troubles of the Boers we must glance at the leading characters of the great struggle in South Africa.

Standing head and shoulders in importance over all other men in South Africa at the outbreak of the great war was President Paul Kruger, the Chief Magistrate of the Transvaal. A sturdy old fighter and a shrewd diplomat, he may be said to have kept his rifle in one hand throughout his life, while holding the Bible in the other, trusting to both of them in his struggles with the British.

Mr. C. Van de Watring, formerly private secretary to President Kruger's Cabinet, recently wrote the following account of the Boer President:

It has been my good fortune and privilege to know Oom Paul personally and to watch and follow him in his daily life. For three years, from 1895 to 1898, I occupied the position of private secretary to the Executive Council, or Cabinet, of the republic, and my duties placed me in intimate relations with the entire official force of the Government. Consequently what I have to say will have the virtue of accuracy and genuineness.

The many descriptions and anecdotes recently published concerning President Kruger go far toward giving a correct picture of that remarkable man. Standing full six feet and an inch in height, weighing two hundred and twenty pounds, his stooping shoulders and scraggy beard make it easy to believe that he has already passed three score years and ten and now is rounding out his seventy-fifth year.

And yet his massive frame still is that of a Hercules and his physical strength prodigious. An incident in my acquaintance with him well illustrates the propulsive force of the physical man. As is well known, he rarely sets foot outside of his own home without a stout cane with which, as he walks, he thumps vigorously upon the sidewalk with each step. A few days after the ill-starred Jameson raid and after the capture of the English invaders I was driving with the old gentleman in Pretoria. His anger at the attempted raid still was at its height, and he expressed himself in his usual vigorous fashion as we drove, empha-

sizing his well-turned periods with successive thumps of his cane upon the bottom of the carriage. His indignation finally reached a climax, and with a sudden motion of the sturdy arm the cane was raised and banged down with such force that it crashed straight through the solid bottom of the well-built vehicle.

Much has been said of the dress of the man which would give the impression that he is untidy in appearance. The contrary is nearer the truth. I never have seen him in anything but black broadcloth, of the best material, and scrupulously kept, the coat always of the Prince Albert style.

What does give to him an air of grotesqueness, however, is his trousers, which never condescended to reach his ankles, thus exposing a good part of the leg of the old-fashioned high-topped boots which the gentleman always wears.

Besides the ever-accompanying cane, Oom Paul always is seen with his much-beloved pipe. So indefatigable is he in the use of it that it goes with him, in full operation, even to the sittings of the Volksraad. At these sittings he occupies a chair by the side of the presiding officer, a huge cuspidor at his elbow. The smoke curls from the pipe when the owner is not delivering himself of one of his forcible lectures. As he warms up to his work, however, he invariably emphasizes his remarks and directs his words to this or that offending legislation by seizing the pipe by the bowl and wielding the stem as a baton.

Intoxicating liquors he never touches, nor do the Boers generally. But both he and they are inveterate drinkers of coffee. Nor has he an exalted notion of those who do indulge in alcoholic stimulants.

On the eve of the Jameson raid, which was hourly expected to develop, I was dispatched to the Kruger mansion after midnight to announce to the President the report that the raiders were en route for Pretoria. I was permitted to stand outside the door of his sleeping room and deliver my message. The gruff query came back: "Well, haven't they rum with them?" I replied that it was more than likely, whereupon the interview was cut short with the growl from within: "Go back to bed; they will not disturb us while their rum lasts."

Gruff as Mr. Kruger is in demeanor, his heart is a kindly one and his love of jesting is proverbial. My first interview with him was for the purpose of soliciting the appointment which I afterward obtained.

He listened to my own story of myself, paying little heed to my credentials and references, and at length blurted out: "Well, man, come now, are you a good man or a rascal?"

His gray eyes lighted up after my rather disturbed reply that I was not conscious of being a rascal, and then, with a burst of laughter, his tobacco pouch was handed to me. From that moment I felt that I had his confidence.

Naturally, though, his one great horror is Great Britain. Upon coming to his office one morning he found upon his table, with his mail, an English almanac, possibly sent to him by an enemy or a wag. With the snort of an enraged bull he tore it to tatters and threw it from the window with as much satisfaction as if it had been the form of Cecil Rhodes.

He speaks neither English nor French, the Dutch language being the only one with which he is conversant, though it is suspected that he has more knowledge of English than he cares to admit. That he is beloved by his people goes without saying. He is in all things the highest type of the Boer race. His whole life has been devoted to his people, and no scandal has ever stained his name.

In Joubert and Cronje he has two able subordinates in the field of arms. The two men differ in this, however, that Joubert is not beloved, and perhaps not entirely trusted, while Cronje holds the affection and confidence of all. So completely did he impress his generosity and gallantry upon the Jameson followers, that when, as prisoners, they were being led from Hengersdorp to Pretoria, Cronje was greeted with the heartiest of English cheers as he passed them on the road, a well-deserved tribute to the victor for his humanity toward the vanquished.

He speaks ill-advisedly who speaks now of an easy British victory in the present struggle. Even the engagements already fought are quite likely to assume a different aspect when the facts are gleaned from other than British sources. As a fact, the British have not yet come into actual contact with a real Boer army. The genuine Boer, under Joubert and Cronje, is yet to be heard from. When heard from he will be found upon the defensive upon his own soil, or, if attacking, doing so only when success is assured. The conflict, too, upon Boer soil, will have some bitter surprises for the British. As a bushwhacker the Boer is well-nigh invincible, and bushwhacking will be forced upon the

invaders. The spirit and bravery of the Boer, too, are of the highest type, while his contempt for the British is deep-seated.

Shortly after the Jameson raid I heard two sturdy burghers at Pretoria discussing the English flag. One of them maintained that it was a white flag, while the other declared that it was red, white and blue. To settle the controversy the former finally protested: "Well, I know; for I have been in three wars with the English and have seen the white flag flying over them in every battle!"

President Kruger has been described in this country as a queer, shaggy-headed old man, with his face like a coarsened composite picture of Horace Greeley and Peter Cooper; his frowsy, ill-fitting suit of clerical black; his ancient high hat and his cotton umbrella—the very type of a stage colporter—that is the man who with perhaps 60,000 lumbering half-farmers at his back is defying the mailed Colossus of the world to trial by combat.

"I will be at the head of an army of Boers some day," he has said again and again in his youth, "which will sweep those English into the sea."

With his octogenarian decade close at hand there was scant time in which to make good his words, and to Oom Paul's masterful, half-fanatical mind his words spoken were as dispensations.

Those who have seen this strange figure which is now overwhelming the world with its rugged heroism say that he has aged a good deal within the past ten years. At sixty-four his colossal form was as full of resistless vigor as it was in the very prime of manhood. But at seventy-four his shoulders are stooped, his face is flabbier and there is age in his tread. But the fire of youth still burns in his eye and his words when he is aroused come with their old swift impetuosity. In his conferences with English emissaries he always speaks in his own tongue. He does not quite admit the weakness of loathing the language. He says by speaking in Dutch and through interpreters he has better opportunity to weigh his thoughts and the words in which he will either clothe or conceal them.

With the young burghers of the Transvaal the stories of Oom Paul's feats of strength and courage in his earlier days are related as were the exploits of the gods of ancient Greece. As a runner nobody could equal him. On one occasion he ran a foot race with the pick of Kaffir chiefs. The course was an all-day's run, passing many well-known

landmarks, among others his father's house. Paul was so far ahead of his competitors that he went in and had dinner and took a light rifle with him when he set out again. Soon he encountered a lion in his path. He tried to shoot and his gun missed fire. Man and savage beast were face to face, glaring into each other's eyes. The calm courage of the man's gaze won. The lion skulked away. Paul went on and won the race.

With his rifle he was an unerring shot. Riding a horse at full gallop, he turned in his saddle and shot a pursuing buffalo fair between the horns. His bodily strength was prodigious. He once seized a buffalo that was standing in a stream by the horns and by sheer strength of muscle twisted his neck until his head was under water and the brute was drowned.

These and a thousand other tales of prowess are among the folklore of the Transvaal. He had no chance for schooling. His father was too poor to buy him shoes even, let alone books, and yet he has baffled the wisest men's learning with his sagacity. His intuitive knowledge of human motives is marvelous. Once in Johannesburg there was an elected school board which was becoming daily more powerful. The members were mostly English, among them a Mr. Holt, of ultra-English views. The board was the only hope of the English element for securing control of Johannesburg. In November, 1894, President Kruger issued an edict that only the Boer language should be used at the meetings of the school board, and only those who could speak that language should be qualified for membership. The English fumed and protested; but it was either submit or resign. They resigned.

When the Jameson raid was met and crushed in a manner which left no doubt that Oom Paul had had secret knowledge in advance of the movement, it was firmly believed for a time that there had been a traitor in the camp. That was not true. Oom Paul had the information, but he did not get it from a traitor. He got it by one of the little devices which are peculiar to him. Suspecting something was in the wind, he enlisted all the pretty barmaids in Johannesburg in his service—made them a wing of his detective bureau. Through them he learned that new men were being enlisted at the Cape and that new guns were being shipped week after week from England. The Englishmen babbled all their secrets over their cups, in a word, and straight they went to Oom Paul's ears.

There has long been an unwholesome tallowy look in Oom Paul's face which English writers have dwelt upon with a suspicion of satisfaction at the hint it gave of some fatal malady. Under his eyes are great, baggy sacs which wrinkle and unfold curiously as he talks or laughs. But his health is of the ruddiest, notwithstanding these suggestions of kidney troubles. His sallowness might very well come from his excessive coffee-drinking. And then he is an inveterate smoker. His long black pipe is always associated with him in the minds of those who have talked with him. In the use of alcoholic drinks he is so moderate as almost to come in the category of a total abstainer. Yet he does not deprecate a reasonable use of stimulants in others. Many tales are told of his frugality, as, for instance, when nearly mad once with toothache he indignantly refused to pay the dentist's moderate price for pulling the tooth, and with his jack-knife then and there dug it out himself.

It is not merely through his political sagacity, his indomitable force of will, his shrewdness, leonine physical courage and his well-known absolute devotion to his country that Oom Paul holds sway over his people. He is, to their fervid piety, a sort of prophet as well. In all the Transvaal there is not a preacher who is anywhere equal to him. There is an impetuous, rushing force to his oratory which sweeps all before it. Himself imbued with blind, devoted faith in the literal Scriptures, he interprets them as one inspired to his hearers. He sees in everything the hand of God. He has proclaimed from the pulpit that the hand of God diverted the bullets which the Jameson raiders fired, and directed to their mark those which flew from the relentlessly aimed Boer rifles. The war now waging he has and is preaching as a holy war. An ignorant man himself, a semifanatical enthusiasm bears him on as it bore Cromwell, and inspires his followers as Cromwell's followers were inspired.

Oom Paul is never so dangerous, it has been said very often, as when he begins to quote Scripture. At the very beginning of the recent friction with Great Britain his deep voice began ringing like a war trumpet with sonorous quotations from Holy Writ. Those who knew the man best knew that that was an ominous tone.

There is no denying that Mrs. Kruger, the wife of the Transvaal President, is a worthy helpmate of her illustrious husband. She is the typical Boer woman of the better class and is respected by all who know her or who have heard of her many good qualities.

As in every case in the story of the Transvaal, there are two ways of looking at Mrs. Kruger—the way the British see her and the manner in which other people look upon her.

Oom Paul, who has the reputation of using few words, and those only after abundant consideration, has set Queen Victoria down as a “troublesome old shrew,” and his own wife as an example to all women.

According to a Boerish custom, his pleasure had been made known. Mrs. “Oom” Paul, who was then only gentle, blue-eyed Miss du Plessia, came forth timidly to greet him in a gown so simple that she could surely never have expected to win a suitor through it. And these are the words she said, with downcast eyes and cheeks of rosy red:

“I can bake.

“I can stew.

“I can sew.

“I can clean.

“I can scrub.”

And, behold, it was enough. Her suitor was at her feet. He who was then only Stephen Johannes Paulus Kruger, esteemed for his courage and his piety, took her from that moment to his heart—to him she was the most rarely accomplished of all women.

Through this woman a fortune of twenty-five millions was saved for her husband. And future generations of wives will ask, “How did she do it?” The secret was revealed when, on the memorable day of her wedding, she replied:

“I can bake.

“I can stew.

“I can scrub.

“I can sew.”

Since then honors have been heaped upon her. She has seen her husband a farmer, a herdsman, a hunter, a soldier, a clergyman, an ambassador, a financier, head of the army and finally President of all the Boers.

Some one told Mrs. Kruger that their husbands draw yearly some \$15,000 more salary than her Oom Paul. She answered with enthusiasm: “They must have just \$15,000 more every year to put away.” Then she asked eagerly: “Do they have coffee money?”

On this coffee money which has supported them for years the Krugers have entertained diplomats and travelers of all nations. And

no one has come out from that hospitable mansion hungry. She is her own chef. And she is her own butler. Yes, Tanta Kruger, the wife of the man whose salary is \$35,000 a year, and who recently presented the Pope with a \$4,000,000 diamond.

On the occasion when she has guests she wears her very best Sunday-go-to-meeting black gown. She puts it on just before she announces "Dinner is served." This is done at the last moment, because before that she has been adding pinches of salt to the stew, and the last dustings of pepper to the soup. Then one of her daughters remains in the kitchen, while the first lady of the Transvaal, just as the scorching African sun is going to rest, takes a second to wash off and put on her single holiday gown.

When she appears in time for dinner her face is shining with its recent scrubbing. And over her best Sunday-go-to-meeting gown she has a large clean white apron.

She is prepared to do honor to her position—as butler.

The income of \$25,000,000 and to do one's own cooking!

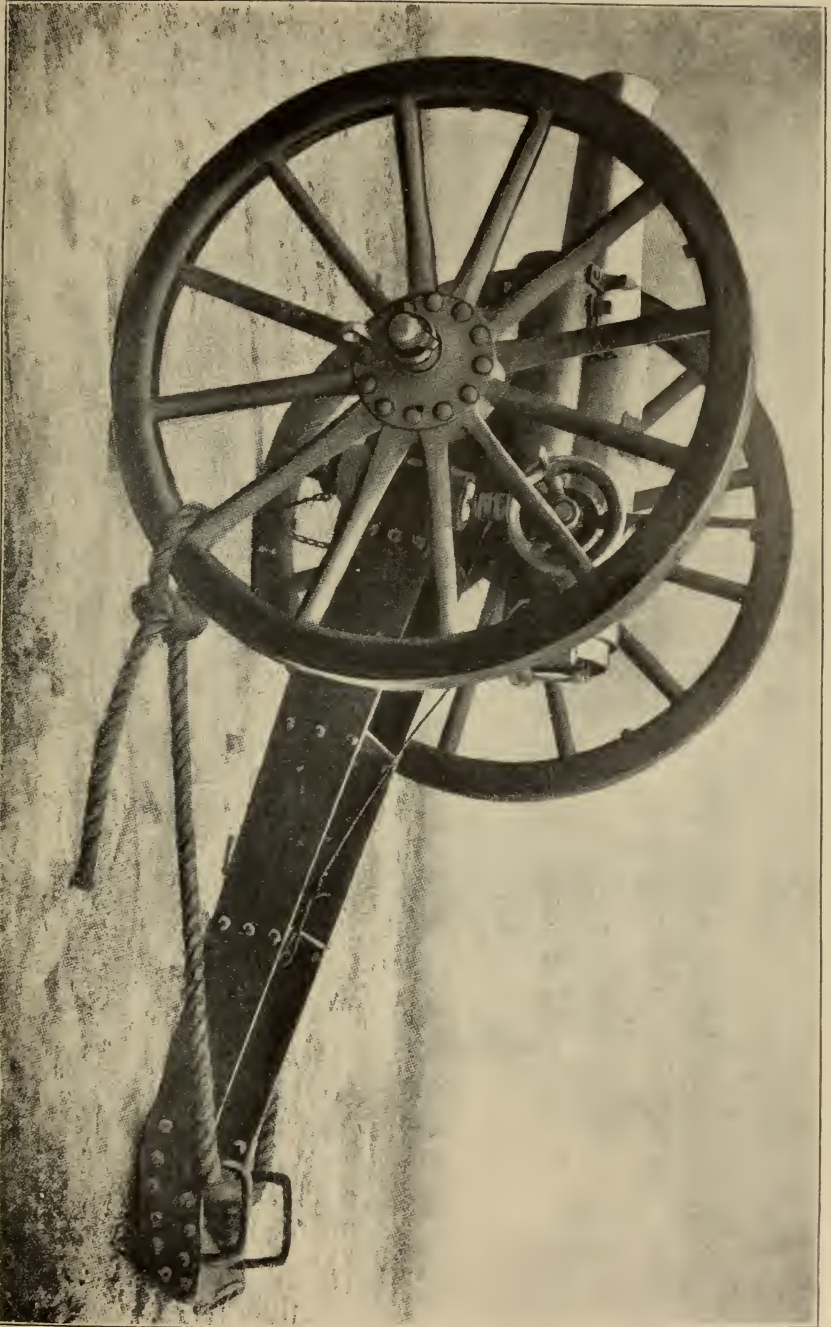
To fuss and fume and fret and stew over a boiling stove in a hot, hot land rather than spend the money on a maid! And not only to cook, for it is whispered—and loudly in tourist and English circles in Africa—that she very often takes a hand in the washing and that she scrubs and rolls the clothes with the skill and strength of the best of them.

She also insists upon making her own beds. This may be because "the Kruger" needs an untroubled pillow, a sheet without a wrinkle to ease him from the arduous duties of scheming to make empires and millions, but if she does the rest of the hard work it is probable she makes the bed also to save the penny—or whatever the money is in that land.

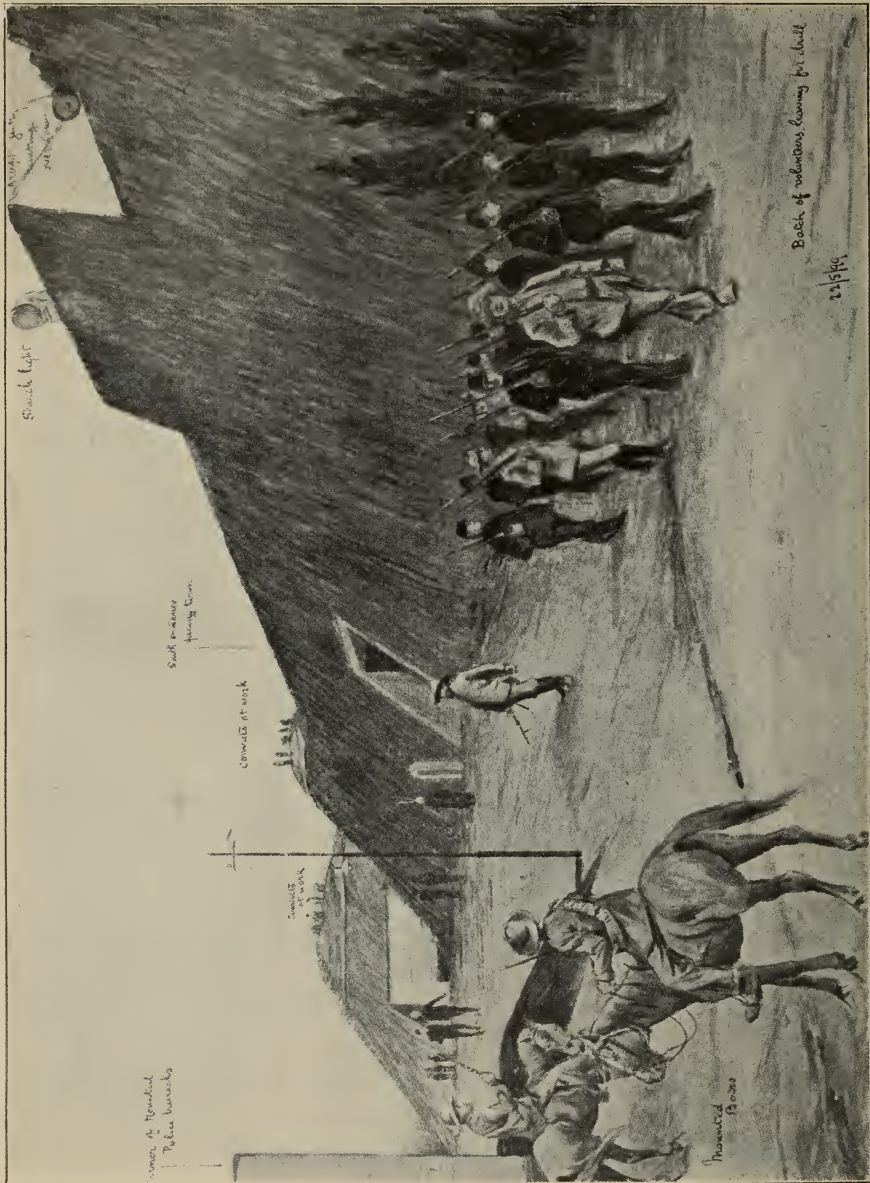
When her husband has state guests to dinner, this is, indeed, the time the good lady shines; here she shows the stuff of which she is made, and does honor to her millions and her position as wife of the President.

Not at the foot or at the head of the table, but in passing the dishes. To no butler will she ever trust so great a responsibility. There might be a slip, a mishap, that she couldn't guard against. So, shining and splendid, with large white apron over her capacious form, she waits on each guest.





MAXIM-NORDENFELDT QUICK-FIRING GUN FOR THE CAPE.



BOER MILITARY PRECAUTIONS AT JOHANNESBURG.

"Surely," she argues, "no hostess can take care of a guest better than this."

Every plate is then heaped to perfection, each glass kept well filled to the brim, no slightest wish from any one goes unnoticed.

If any one is rash enough to extol to Tanta, or "Auntie," Kruger, as everyone calls her, the glories of her wealth, and the immense amount of monthly pocket money she has to control, she will tell that person a secret, one of which she is proud, one in which she glories.

It is this: "That she and the President have never lived beyond their 'coffee money.'"

She is Mr. Kruger's second wife—his first lived but nine months after marriage—and has borne him sixteen children, eleven of whom are living, including five daughters.

There is now quite a large clan of President Kruger's descendants. Mr. and Mrs. Kruger live in a small, unpretentious house used as the Presidency, standing in one of the streets of Pretoria. They are still very early risers. It is said Oom Paul is never in bed after five o'clock. Before six divine service is held, the whole household being present, and the President conducting. Then the morning coffee is served, frequently on the stoep or veranda, for the morning sun at Pretoria is hotter than at home, and cloudy days are less common.

If the Volksraad is in session the President is in his office by half-past seven, and has usually dispatched considerable business before the Raad opens at nine o'clock.

If the Raad is not sitting he breakfasts at home and then drives to his office by 8:30. He is home again about four or five in the afternoon, and goes on receiving visitors, or sits smoking in the bosom of his numerous family until about nine. Then he and his good wife and everybody else retire.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE PRESIDENT OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

Next in importance to President Kruger, at the outbreak of the war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, was President Marthinus Theunis Steyn, of the Orange Free State, a shrewd, rough and ready man of the stamp of President Kruger and born in the same town, Winberg, sixty miles from Bloemfontein, as the fighting President of the Transvaal.

President Steyn was born October 2, 1857, when the Orange Free State was just three years old. His father was a wagon-maker and a farmer. His grandfather, on his mother's side, was one of the Boer leaders during the "great trek" of 1834. His name was Wessels. Steyn's mother was a typical Boer woman, sturdy, self-reliant. During one of the uprisings of the natives, and before the Orange Free State had become a definite political entity, the British government forbade the importation of gunpowder into that region. Powder was a highly important article to the Boer farmer, who was likely to be face to face, at almost any time during his wanderings with hungry lions and none too peaceable natives. Wessels, therefore, was not disposed to regard the dictation of the British, and during one of his treks, which brought him to Colesburg, he took good care to lay in a supply of powder. When the sixteen yoke of oxen were "out-spanned"—that is, put out to feed—that night and the party were well away from Colesburg, Mrs. Wessels noticed a party of Cape police riding toward their camp. She surmised that they had been informed of the purchase of powder, and knew that they would certainly appropriate it if they could find it. Her husband was away from the camp at the moment and the responsibility rested entirely upon her. It didn't take her long to decide what to do. Before the police had approached near enough to see distinctly what she was doing she removed the bags of powder from the wagon and arranged them in a pile very close to the camp fire. Then she calmly sat down on the bags, arranging her ample skirts so that the powder was completely concealed. By the time the police had reached the camp she was industriously poking up the fire. The police searched the wagon carefully and beat the brush in the vicinity of the camp, but

they couldn't find a trace of the powder, and, of course, the good woman knew nothing about it. Finally, the men gave up the search and rode away, baffled by quick wits and generous skirts.

Mrs. Wessels had a way of saying to her sons: "You are free men, see to it that you remain free." It was from such timber as this that the President of the Orange Free State sprung. As a lad and a young man he was an all-around athlete, a good foot-ball player and boxer, a skillful rider and a fine shot. He killed his first springbok when but eleven years old and was an accomplished and fearless hunter of lions and elephants before he had got his full physical growth. He was more than six feet tall and big in proportion.

Poultney Bigelow gives this description of the Free State's President:

The whole expression of his face is eminently that of harmony and strength. His nose is a strong one, but not, as in President Kruger's case, an exaggerated feature of the face. Both Presidents have the large ears characteristic of strong men, and both are broad between the cheek bones. The full beard of President Steyn gives him so great an aspect of dignity that I was much surprised at learning he was not yet forty years old. His ample forehead adds to his dignity and he has also, from much poring over books, allowed one or two folds of his skin to droop upon his upper eyelids.

President Steyn got his education at the Gray College, in Bloemfontein, where he used both English and Dutch text-books. When he was nineteen he was sent to Europe to study law, and he passed the ensuing six years in Holland and England.

Upon his return to his native country he immediately began practice. He was elected attorney general very soon afterward and became a judge when only thirty-two years of age. It was in 1896, immediately after the Jameson raid, that he became candidate for President of the Free State, and it was said that Dr. Jim's exploit was a great help to Steyn's candidacy, his opponent being a man having the British name of Fraser, and whom he defeated by a majority of six to one. Some idea of his conception of the importance of his office is shown in the following extracts from his inaugural address:

"Here in the Free State, where we have raised the banner of republicanism, and will continue to uphold that banner, sustained by true republican principles, where from all quarters strangers are coming to

us, is it not a glorious task to incorporate these strangers with us, and amalgamate them in one republican people? \* \* \* \* Shall we, as sensible men, allow a wretched freebooter (Jameson) to put race hatred into our hearts? Or shall we allow him to take us a hair's breadth out of the path our fathers have pointed out to us and followed, which leads to peace, friendship and fraternity? \* \* \* \* Here we have the Free State, situated in the heart of South Africa, surrounded by states and colonies. Is it not our duty to evoke from them a spirit of union and lay the foundation of a unity for which every right-thinking Afrikaner yearns?"

## CHAPTER XII.

### CECIL RHODES, DR. JAMESON AND BARNEY BARNATO.

While there are many interesting personages on the Boer side of the South African tug-of-war, there are a few on the British side who must be mentioned, namely, Cecil Rhodes, formerly Premier of Cape Colony, resident director of the British South Africa Company and so-called "Napoleon of South Africa"; Dr. "Jim" Jameson, his lieutenant, and the late Barney Barnato. The latter, it may be said, is hardly worth a chapter here; but, on the other hand, he was the most picturesque figure of his class at one time, and can hardly be left out of the gallery of celebrities if we aim to present a complete picture of South Africa.

The Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes is a younger son of the late Rev. F. W. Rhodes, rector of Bishop Stortford, England. He took his degree at Oxford and went to South Africa, like many other younger sons, to court Dame Fortune. He did so most successfully. During his early days in Cape Colony, however, Rhodes had a hard struggle to get on his feet, but, he staggered up, slowly but surely, and became one of the world's magnates of finance.

When the De Beers diamond mines were far from prosperous Rhodes was prominent in the efforts made to gather such interests together, and he succeeded in so doing and in establishing a long list of valuable securities, generally known as "Kaffirs." He then turned his attention to Cape politics. He was elected to the Assembly from West Barkly, and for a time held a position in the Scanlon Ministry. On the fall of the Spriggs Ministry Rhodes became Premier of Cape Colony. This was in 1890. He held office until 1896, when, as a result of the Jameson raid into the Transvaal, he resigned, but did not cease to work heart and soul for the accomplishment of the great dream of his life, the establishment of a vast British Dominion in South Africa, with a British railroad "from the Cape to Cairo," and to include under the British flag everything includable.

Mr. Rhodes has advanced considerably toward the accomplishment of his self-imposed task. He was the prime mover in obtaining mining rights in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, and, as a result of his enterprise, immense tracks of British territory in South Africa are now

grouped under the name of Rhodesia. Until 1896 Mr. Rhodes was resident director in South Africa of the British South Africa Company, an organization somewhat similar to the famous East India Company which built up the British Indian Empire.

In this country Mr. Rhodes would be looked upon as an unscrupulous capitalistic hustler of the most aggressive nature. He is a man to dare and do almost anything in the accomplishment of his ends.

When the trouble between the British and Chief Lobengula of Matabeleland began in 1893 Rhodes went to Fort Salisbury, from which place he directed the operations of the company's armed forces against the Matabeles, which resulted, eventually, in the utter defeat of Lobengula and the conversion in five years of the chief's capital, Buluwayo, then (in 1893) consisting of one trader's shanty and a collection of native huts, into a prosperous city with hotels, a theater, clubs, well-kept streets, horse car lines, water works and an electric light plant, with a railroad leading to and from the centers of British civilization in South Africa.

The policy of Mr. Rhodes at that time met with the most enthusiastic approval at the Cape, and he was, in consequence, banquetted at Cape Town in January, 1894. In a speech of thanks upon that occasion Mr. Rhodes, in defending his policy, outlined the United Africa which he then hoped to see in the near future, covering all the country south of Zambesi, "one in the question of tariffs, of railway communication, of law and of coinage, although possessing full local government in local matters."

This very ambitious man was sworn in as a Privy Councillor of Her Majesty Queen Victoria in February, 1895.

After resigning office at the Cape, Mr. Rhodes visited England in 1896, and, after a long interview with the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, he suddenly returned to South Africa and devoted himself to the development of Buluwayo and Rhodesia generally. He also took an active part in suppressing a revolt of the Matabeles, who, for a time, closely besieged Buluwayo, and in arranging the terms of peace, although he gave up his managing directorship of the British South Africa Company. Mr. Rhodes again visited England in 1897 and gave evidence before the South Africa committee appointed by the British Parliament to investigate, or partly whitewash, the Jameson raid, after which he again returned to the Cape.



and took up his work in Rhodesia, also resuming his place on the board of directors of the British South Africa Company. In 1898 he re-entered the political arena, being elected to the Cape Assembly by two constituencies.

The stories told of Mr. Rhodes, his sayings and doings, are innumerable. For instance, it is said, that some sixteen years ago an acquaintance of his, then a man of small means and little influence, watched him examining a map of Africa and asked him if he was trying to locate the town of Kimberley. The "Napoleon of South Africa" is said to have made no reply for a few moments and then to have placed his hand over the map, covering a large part of South and Central Africa, from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans.

"All that British," Mr. Rhodes is alleged to have remarked. "That is my dream."

The friend is said to have replied:

"I will give you ten years to realize it."

"Give me ten more," the man of great ambitions is said to have retorted, "and then we'll have a new map."

There remained, at the outbreak of the war, only two small spaces on the part of the map covered by Mr. Rhodes' hand which were not British and those were the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

"You don't steal diamonds," Barney Barnato is reported to have said to Mr. Rhodes fifteen years ago, "but you must prove it when accused. I steal them, but my enemies must prove it. That's the difference between us."

No, Mr. Rhodes did not steal diamonds, but he is very strongly suspected of attempting to steal two republics.

There is this great difference between the two South African magnates: One would steal a diamond, the other would steal a nation, or several of them, for the honor and glory of the British flag, and, incidentally, for the very great benefit of the British South Africa Company.

This remarkable man is said to be a firm believer in the saying that "every man has his price," and he is credited with using money when other forces have failed to accomplish his ends.

Groote Schuur, the home of Mr. Rhodes near Cape Town, is a luxurious country palace with a large zoological garden, to which the public is admitted, attached to it. Some time after the Jameson

raid, which Mr. Rhodes is charged with having instigated, the main building was burned to the ground, and it was said that this was the work of incendiaries who were desirous of obtaining possession of the private papers of Mr. Rhodes. Whether this is true or not, one thing is certain, Mr. Rhodes saved his papers and laughed scornfully when asked if the fire was the work of his enemies.

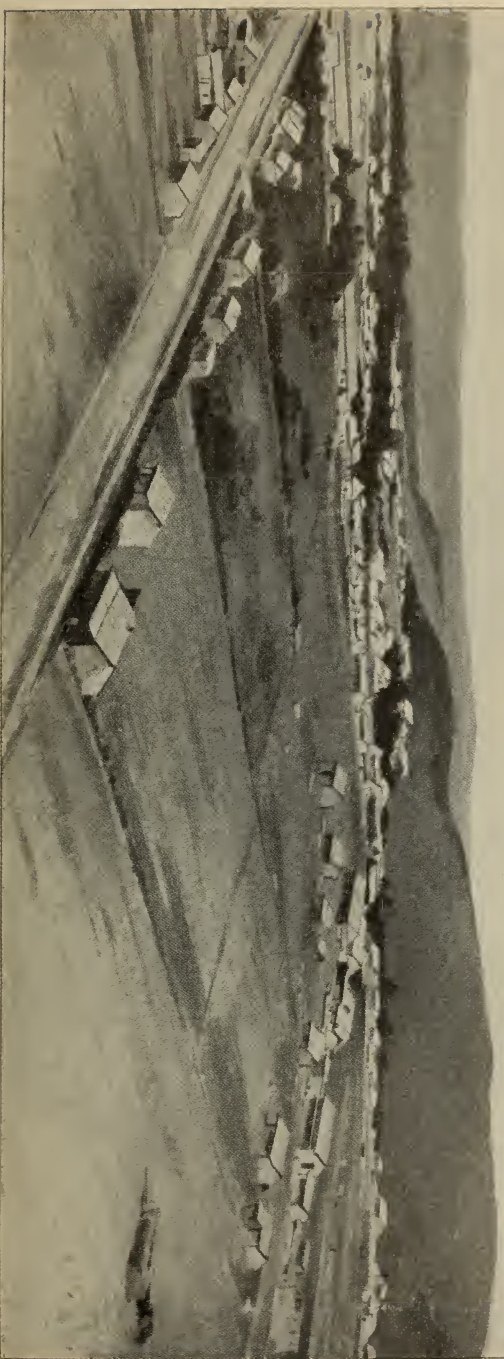
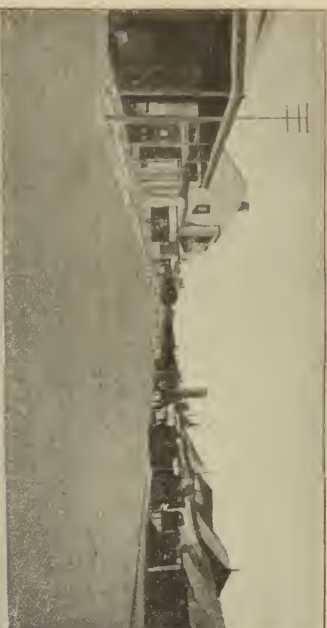
Personally, though a hustler in every sense of the word, Mr. Rhodes poses as an indolent man, and says that a man who does more work than his physical needs require is a fool. He walks as little as possible, and his only exercise consists of an hour's canter on horseback in the early morning. He is a very generous man, spending money freely everywhere, and standing firmly by his friends. But he has a peculiarity frequently noticed in very rich men, he rarely has enough money in his pocket to provide for his immediate wants. He is a man of very few words and great decision of character, wears shabby clothes while in Rhodesia, and, if necessary, camps out like a pioneer.

Mr. Rhodes is not married, and is reputed to be a woman hater.

Finally, Mr. Rhodes is quoted as saying:

"No man should ever leave money to his children. It is a curse to them. What we should do for our children, if we would do them the best service we can, is to give them the best training we can procure for them, and then turn them loose in the world without a sixpence to fend for themselves. What happens when you leave children fortunes? They have no longer any spur to effort. They spend their money on wine, women and gambling, and bring disgrace upon the name which they bear. No; give your boys the best education you can, and then let them make their own way. As for any money you may have, it should all go to the public service—to the state in some form or another. They tell me," he is said to have added, laughing, "that that is state socialism. I cannot help that. These are my ideas, and they are right."

Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, popularly known as "Dr. Jim," was, previous to the raid, administrator of the British South Africa Company in Mashonaland, and a faithful lieutenant of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. Jameson may be said to have developed under Rhodes' influence into an amiable freebooter or land pirate of the jingo species. He attempted to seize for his friends, under the shadow of the British flag,



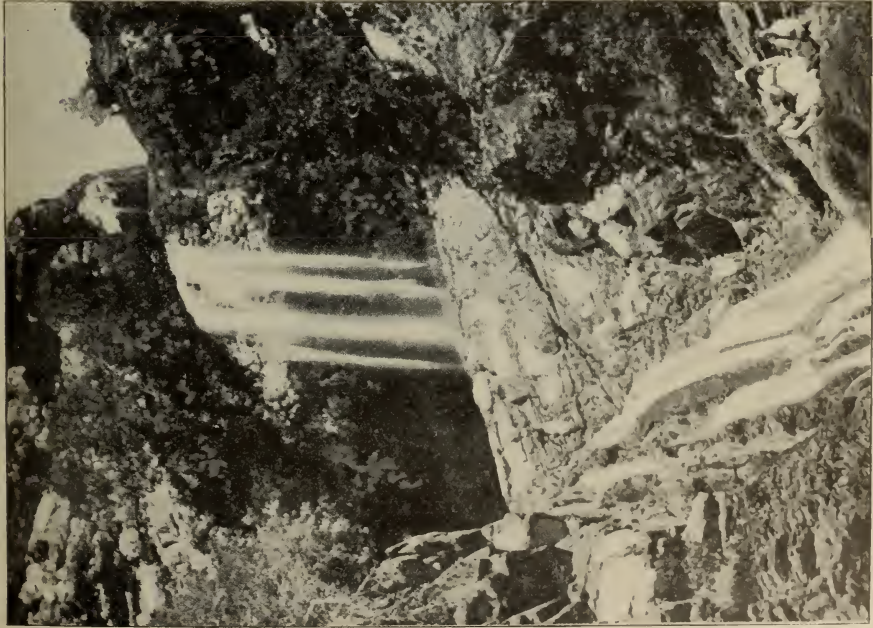
VIEWS OF LADYSMITH. BRITISH ADVANCE POST IN NATAL.



A TYPICAL BOER WIFE.



A TYPICAL WEALTHY BOER.



KRUGER'S WATERFALL, NEAR JOHANNESBURG.



TELEPHONE TOWER AT JOHANNESBURG.



MAJUBA HILL.

the Great Transvaal gold center of Johannesburg, was beaten ignominiously and captured by the Boers, who were with difficulty persuaded to abstain from hanging him, and was eventually returned to England and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment "for violating the Enlistment Act." He was pardoned on the plea of ill-health, after serving seven months in a comfortable London prison.

Nothing that Dr. Jameson would attempt in the way of daring adventure, or accomplish through his impetuous but thoughtful audacity, would astonish those who have closely followed his career.

Of all the men who have gained fame in Africa none is more picturesque than "Dr. Jim." He was born and bred in Scotland, of an ancient Scottish family. His father was writer for the Signet. But those who knew Dr. Jameson in his youth tell strange stories of his dash, cleverness and adventures. He was educated as a physician. He had had an admittedly distinguished medical career, and had taken honors in arts when he sailed away to South Africa, settling in Kimberley. He speedily gained a large practice and a commensurate income. He was the leader in his profession. His fame as a medical man alone was very great.

Cecil Rhodes soon saw the stuff of which Dr. Jameson was made and offered him the opportunity of playing a part in the opening of a new country. He embraced it gladly. At that time, the fat, luxurious and cunning Lobengula, Chief of the Matabele nation, was bitterly opposed granting concession to the British South Africa Company, and its budding operations in that direction were in danger of destruction. The first emissary sent to him, a man named Thompson, saw Lobengula kill a chief for advising the concession. The British emissary was glad to escape with his life.

Dr. Jameson, alone and unarmed, then started for Lobengula's court. Few dared hope that he would return. None dared dream that he could succeed. But "Dr. Jim" boldly sought the craftiest of South African chiefs, or kings, who ruled 100,000 Zulu warriors.

The fame of Dr. Jameson's medical skill stood him in good stead in his journey to the king, but menaced him with additional danger after he arrived there, for the king was suffering from a malady which his medicine man could not check, and which threatened to kill him at any moment. If Dr. Jameson failed to cure he knew he would be killed. But science conquered, and Lobengula granted the concession and

permission for the pioneer force to pass through Mashonaland.

Dr. Jameson next explored and established a new route to the ocean, difficult enough, and which gained him supreme command of the South Africa Company in Mashonaland. But it was not to be compared with his journey to the great Chief Gungunyana through the worst country in South Africa. This was a two months' journey, practically on foot, through a marshy country, with compass alone to guide. At the start all provisions were lost. Dr. Jameson pushed on. He and his small band lived on fruits. It rained for eleven days. Fourteen days were passed in the gloom of a dense African jungle. During the whole journey the only game that was seen was a skunk. The three white men were stricken with fever, yet they pushed on and accomplished the mission.

From that time the daring doctor controlled Mashonaland, and he rose superior to every crisis. He had much trouble with King Lobengula, and he warred against the savage warriors in 1893, with remarkable success. Hostile natives attacked the Mashonas. Dr. Jameson gave them a warning. He was told that Lobengula could not control his young men.

"Take back those whom you can control and I will deal with the others," was Dr. Jameson's message.

He ordered an invasion of Matabeleland and it resulted in the downfall of the great chief.

Among the personages who attracted the attention of the world while the Johannesburg wires were being pulled some five or six years ago by British and Boers in South Africa, was Barney Barnato, the millionaire mine-speculator, who subsequently committed suicide by jumping overboard from the steamer *Scot* while on his way from Cape Town to London. He was a fair representative of the successful speculator in diamonds and "Kaffirs," or South African securities, and the list of his eccentricities was as long as the record of his strange doings and sayings. There have been many versions of the "story of Barney Barnato" published, and none of them agrees with any other in anything but the main facts. Report had it at one time that he was originally a clown with Barnum's circus, which has been denied by his family, while another version of his early life was that he earned his first capital by exhibiting a trained donkey through South Africa, which, we believe, is practically admitted to be true.



In any case, for two years the effect of his name in London was magical. Everything that he touched became profitable and English investors went crazy over Barnato stocks. Much was known about his financial operations, but very little definite information could be obtained about the man's history. Barnato's millions were not myths if the stories about him were, and he seldom took the trouble to deny the latter.

What purports to be practically an authorized biography of Barnato was published some years ago under the title "B. I. Barnato; A Memoir." Harry Raymond, the author of it, was a reporter on a South African newspaper during the years when Barnato was fighting his way to great wealth, and knew him intimately. Mr. Raymond told his story in a simple, straightforward fashion, without attempting to portray Barnato other than as a shrewd financier with a ready wit and the money-getting instinct.

It was in 1871, when there were gathered in the diamond fields in a series of camps some 4,000 white men and four times that number of Kaffirs, that a young Hebrew named Henry Isaacs made his appearance in Kimberley, and, assuming the name of Barnato, began to give public entertainments for the miners. Harry Barnato did not take long to discover that he could make more money in diamonds than on the stage, and at the end of a year he sent home for his brother, Barnett Isaacs, to come out and help him gather profits. Barnett Isaacs also assumed the name of Barnato, and it was his genius which guided the new firm to success. They were the sons of a pious Hebrew in London named Isaac Isaacs, and the grandsons of a rabbi of some reputation. When Barney Barnato became famous and one of his friends chided him on the amusement that he derived from the absurd stories told about him, he replied:

"Well, why shouldn't I? A man who doesn't care twopence about me comes with a yarn and asks me if it is true. I say, 'Oh, I suppose so; go and ask So-and-so—he will tell you what really occurred.' Now, if I was to say there was not a word of truth in the whole story I should not be believed. I have had hundreds of men come to me for details of my career. If I told them the truth they wouldn't believe me; if I didn't tell 'em anything at all they would go off angry and try to write nasty things. So I let them talk, find out what they want to hear and then tell it to them; and they believe it all and go away and

say what is, perhaps, the only absolutely true thing they will say, that I am not a bit ashamed of my origin and never put on style. If you do not like it, tell me what else I can do better."

According to this biographer Barnato was an amateur actor of great repute in South Africa, and his favorite characters were Bob Brierly in "The Ticket-of-Leave Man" and Matthias in "The Bells."

As an illustration of Barnato's business methods, this incident is related:

"On one occasion, after being very little in the office for some twelve days, he suddenly entered and asked what the balance at the bank was and what business had been done. When told he sat down and made some brief calculations.

"'No, that is not right,' he said. 'Have you gone through the books?'

"'Yes; I have checked everything this week. All is in order.'

"'Well, you are wrong, I tell you. You are about £4,000 out. You had better find out where it is.'

"The books were re-examined, every detail of the business of the firm was closely scrutinized, and in the end—after six weeks' continuous work—it was found that an employe had misappropriated a single parcel of shares of a little over £4,000 in value, consisting of 100 Kimberley Centrals at £41, and had very cleverly falsified the entries. Barnato had no knowledge of the misdeed and never dreamed of suspecting the individual; but he happened to want to know the exact position of affairs, and he could at any time roughly balance the whole of his vast business to within a few pounds. I never heard him enunciate the time-honored maxim 'Look after the pence, the pounds will take care of themselves'—he generally preferred to clothe his thoughts in his own terse phrases—but it was never better exemplified than in his conduct of business."

Barnato's philosophy was of the get-there kind, and Mr. Raymond quotes him as saying:

"If you are going to fight, always get in the first blow. If a man is going to hit you, hit him first and say, 'If you try that, I'll hit you again.' It is of no use your standing off and saying, 'If you hit me I'll hit you back. D'ye understand?'

"'Yes, I understand,' I answered; 'but you are quoting Kingsley in "Westward Ho!"'

“Who was Kingsley and ‘Westward Ho?’” he sharply queried.

“After I had explained and quoted the passage from Drake’s letter to Amyas Leigh, he said:

“Ah, I did not know anything of Kingsley, but when he wrote that he knew what life was and he was right and I am right, though it is queer for me to get a supporter in one of your parsons. If he was a true man he would also have to agree with our law of ‘an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,’ but, being a Christian, of course he couldn’t do that. Pah! never let a man wrong you without getting square, no matter how long you wait; and never wrong a man if you can help it, because he will wait his time to get back on you, and at the worst possible moment. I don’t care whether it is Jew or Gentile, it is all the same.’”

Barnato was a member of the Cape Town Assembly and he was delighted in mildly scandalizing the members of Parliament. During a debate, in 1893, on the Cape Liquor Law, which prohibited the sale of intoxicating drinks on Sunday, except as an accompaniment of a substantial meal—a local Raines Law—Barnato said:

“A few Sundays ago I walked some distance from Cape Town, for, being busily engaged in mentally reviewing the course of business of the Honorable House, I went on much further than I had intended without noticing the time. I at length retraced my steps, and, being then both hot and thirsty, went into a decent and most respectable hotel for refreshment. I only wanted to quench my thirst, but, according to law, a drink would only be supplied as the accompaniment of a bona fide substantial meal. Mine host set before me a bottle of beer and a leg of roast pork. He had no other eatables. What was I to do? If I ate the pork I broke the Law of Moses. If I drank the beer without eating, I broke the law of the land. Between the chief rabbi and the chief justice I stood in a very awkward position.”

Barnato had no sympathy to waste on the brokendown adventurers who came to South Africa to live by borrowing. When he became known as a very wealthy man he was frequently bothered by requests for small loans.

“At Johannesburg, some years ago,” says his biographer, “a well-known individual of a type rather common there borrowed £10 from Barnato, and, although asked for the money several times, always put off payment. One day Barnato said, openly, to some friends: ‘Mind,

none of you ever lend F. D—— any money. He has £10 of mine, and it is time he was stopped.'

"The man heard of this, and, coming up to him said: 'I hear you have been talking about me.'

"'Yes, I want my money.'

"'Well, here is your £10, and don't talk about me any more.'

"A short time afterward the same man asked Barnato for the loan of £25, as he was hard up.

"'No; can't do it,' was the reply.

"'Why not? I do not owe you anything.'

"'I know you don't; but you've disappointed me once. You paid me back £10 I never expected to get, and I won't risk another disappointment.'"

Barnato's education was very elementary and he almost never read books or newspapers. He did read Kipling's "Story of the Gadsbys" on one of his trips from England to Cape Town. His nerves were badly shattered and when he found that he could not sleep Mr. Raymond gave him Kipling's story. "I did not see him again until the second morning after, and then asked how he liked the book.

"'I like it very much; it is very good, very clever. I did not begin it until yesterday morning, and then wondered what you had given me. The first chapter is all about girls and darning stockings. But, do you know, I put it in my pocket when I went down to the office, and, looking at it again, I sat there till I had finished it. I did what I do not ever remember to have done before, and clean forgot a board meeting. C—— reminded me of the meeting, but I sat to finish.'

"'If it made you forget yourself for a while you had better try the same prescription again.'

"'No, it takes too much time. The "Herriott Woman" played her cards badly, but she had no chance.'

"We discussed the loves of Captain Gadsby until breakfast time. I repeatedly tried to induce him to make another incursion into light literature, but without success. He had no time for it, he said. The last occasion on which I saw him was about a fortnight before he left England, in November, 1896, for the trip to South Africa, from which he was not to return alive. He said:

"'I'll get the book of Kipling's you lent me in Johannesburg. I think it will do me good to read it again.'"

One of Barnato's early partners in Kimberley was Louis Cohn. They rented a little corrugated iron shanty, and there they bought diamonds and lived. Mr. Cohn tells a new story to illustrate Barnato's shrewdness. He says:

"There was one man then, a diamond buyer in a comparatively large way, whose business we both envied. He seemed to have a regular and large connection, and made constant rounds, riding an old yellow, rather lame pony. We tried to follow him several times to see which way he went, and who, among the wilderness of tents, huts and debris heaps, he called on, but without avail.

"One day Barnato said to me, 'That chap —— has a rare good connection; we must get hold of a bit of it somehow.'

"'All right; we want it bad enough.'

"At that time we were very hard up indeed, and prospects were poor. A few days later Barnato came to me in great glee.

"'I know what we have to do to get ——'s customers. I've seen him come home three days running.'

"'If you had seen him go out and followed him up it would be more to the purpose, I should think,' I answered, rather sharply perhaps, for I thought he was fooling.

"'Have patience, Lou, and I'll tell you if you give me a chance. Look here, I've seen him come back from his rounds three days running, and he always stops first at Hall's canteen. Mind this, however; he does not guide the pony to that place, but just sits still all the while with loose rein and the pony stops of his own accord. Now, it is my firm conviction that all day long he rides just the same way, and that the pony knows all the stopping places. I've known this for some days, but it didn't help so long as he had the pony; to-day he has seen some other beast he likes better, and wants to sell his whole present outfit.'

"I agreed. We bought that old, worn-out yellow pony and its bridle for £27 10s., and with it the man's whole connection, for the morning after the purchase Barnato started out early, and the pony, without trouble, took him in and out among the debris heaps to every one that chap had been in the habit of calling on. We paid £27 10s. for it, but it brought us a good connection and very much money."

To lend Barnato small change was to say good by to it. He never repaid small loans. He was also absent-minded.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.

The British Empire may be said to have been built up by companies like the British South Africa Company. Backed by almost any amount of capital, these "entering wedges" as the companies really are, partly, commercially absorb territory and eventually get themselves into trouble enough to warrant the intervention of the British imperial forces. The next process is the formal annexation of the companies' lands to the British Empire.

The company operating in South Africa is a particularly powerful organization and its brain-piece is Cecil Rhodes. Before the Jameson raid, the Duke of Fife, son-in-law of the Prince of Wales, was prominent in the affairs of the company, but the Jameson scandal, or miss-fere, it is believed, compelled him to resign. The Duke of Abercorn, an official of the Prince of Wales' household, is now the chairman of the company's board of directors and some of the most influential men in great Britain are directors or shareholders in the concern, which obtained its charter October 29, 1889, ostensibly for the exploitation of Rhodesia, though its influence extends far beyond South Africa.

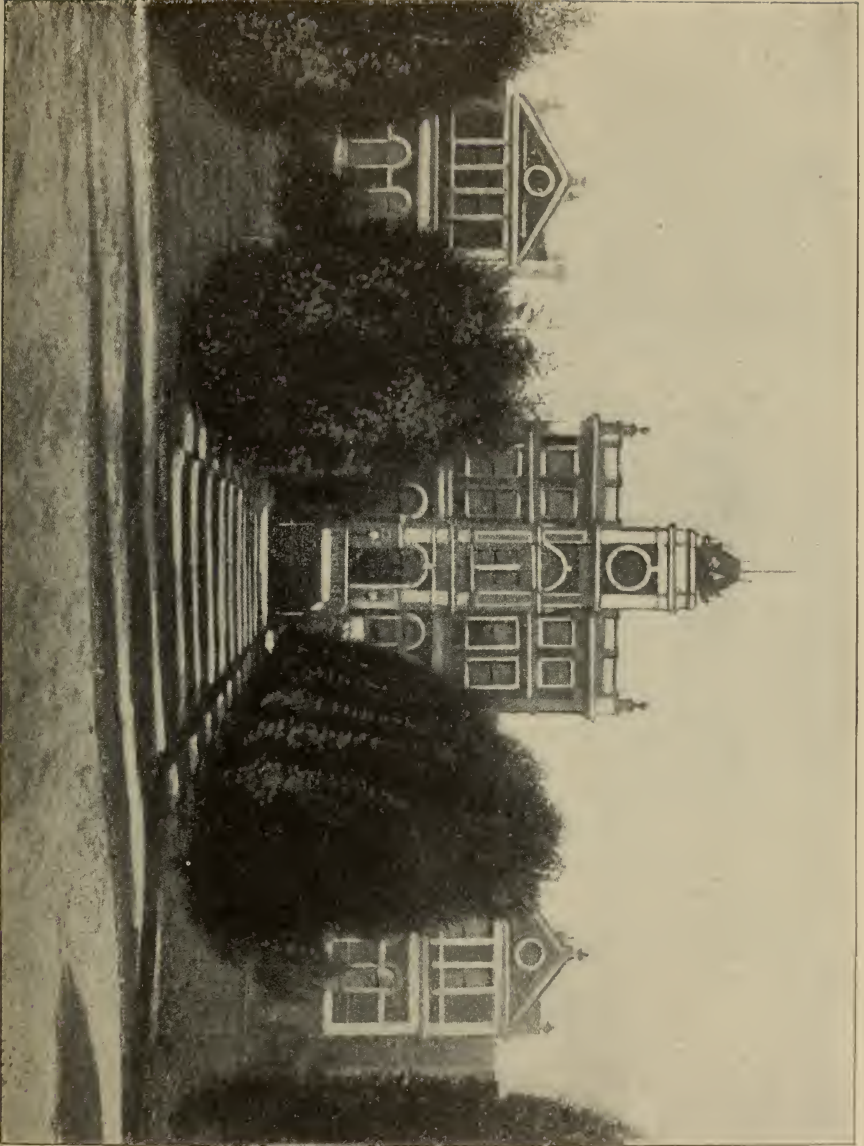
In order to give our readers a clear idea of the power of the British South Africa Company, we think it best to publish the official correspondence on the subject, as it enters into all the details of the company's powers. The correspondence grew out of the movement to reconstitute the administration powers of the British South Africa Company (one of the results of the Jameson raid), which was done on the basis given below.

A British parliamentary paper, issued February 24, 1898, contains the following documents:

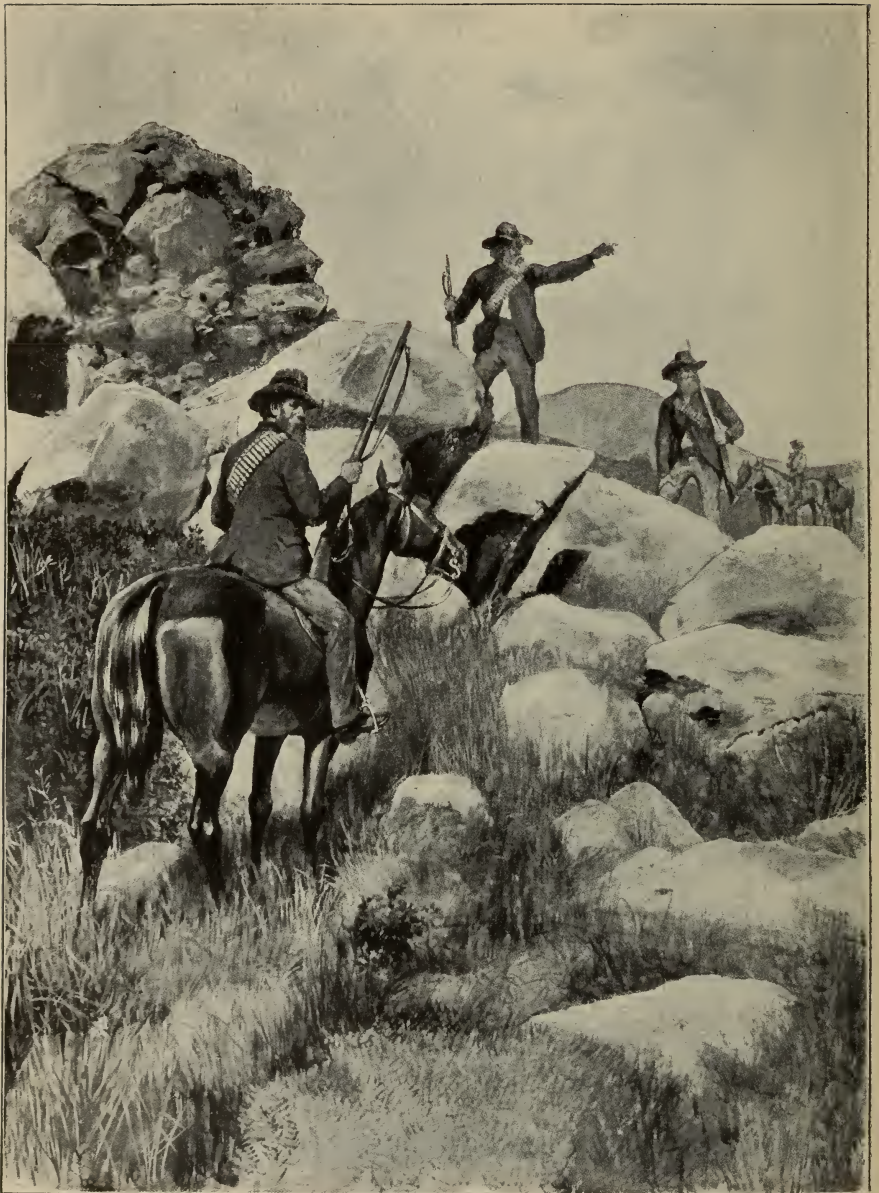
MR. CHAMBERLAIN TO HIGH COMMISSIONER SIR ALFRED MILNER.

Downing Street, January 13, 1898.

Sir: I have, as you are aware, for a long time past given my earnest attention to the question of the future exercise of its administrative powers by the British South Africa Company.



HOSPITAL AT JOHANNESBURG.



HILLOCKS BEHIND WHICH BOERS SEEK SHELTER IN ACTION.



2. I deferred coming to any final decision in the matter until I had had an opportunity of learning your views after your visit to Rhodesia. I have now formulated the proposals which are contained in the accompanying memorandum.

3. Much as I should like to relieve the High Commissioner of some of the already heavy duties of his office, I have deliberately come to the conclusion that to preserve consistency of administration throughout the British sphere in South Africa it is necessary that the control of the Crown over the local administration of Rhodesia must for the present continue to be exercised through the High Commissioner, and it will be seen that the proposed measures aim not so much at setting up new machinery for the control of the company's administration by the Crown as at rendering that which is already provided for the purpose more effective in its action.

4. I shall be glad to learn the views of the Government of the Cape Colony on the proposals herein contained, as well as your own views as High Commissioner for South Africa.

5. I am anxious to communicate the proposals of her Majesty's Government to Parliament as early as possible, with any observations that may be made upon them, and I should therefore wish to receive a reply at the earliest convenience of yourself, and your ministers.

I have, etc.,

J. Chamberlain.

1. The authority of the Crown over the British South Africa Company is, in theory, already elaborately provided for by the charter, "The South Africa Order in Council, 1891," and "The Matabeleland Order in Council, 1894."

2. By the charter the company's ordinances require the approval of the Secretary of State. They have always been duly submitted to and frequently modified by him.

3. If the company should have any difference with a native chief or tribe, the Secretary of State may require the company to submit the matter to him and to act in accordance with his decision. If the Secretary of State should object to any proceedings of the company in regard to the natives, the company must act in accordance with his directions.

4. The company is required to furnish annually accounts of its administrative expenditures and of its public revenues, as distinguished

from commercial profits, for the previous year, and estimates of like expenditure and revenue for the ensuing year. The company is also required to furnish any reports, accounts, or information which the Secretary of State may desire.

5. Finally there is the power to revoke the charter of the company should it fail to observe and conform to its provisions.

6. The proposals under this head are confined to the territories administered by the company south of the Zambesi known as Southern Rhodesia. The question of the administration of the territories north of the Zambesi is reserved for future consideration.

7. The administration of Southern Rhodesia is regulated by "the Matabeleland Order in Council, 1894." Previous to that date general powers of legislation and appointment of officers were exercised by the High Commissioner for South Africa, under the South Africa Order in Council of May 9, 1891. These powers are preserved by the Order of 1894, but are now exercised, in regard to the appointment of officers, only so far as is provided, by the Order of 1894, and in regard to legislation, by proclamation, which is still largely resorted to.

8. Under the Order of 1894 the administration is conducted by an administrator appointed and paid by the company, but whose appointment and salary are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and who may be removed by the Secretary of State, or by the company with the approval of the Secretary of State. The administrator is assisted both in executive and legislative functions, by a council consisting of the Judge of the High Court *ex-officio*, and three other members appointed by the company, with the approval of the Secretary of State, and removable by the company.

9. The administrator in council may legislate by "regulations" which are subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and to disallowance within one year by the Secretary of State or by the company. It appears, however, that taxation cannot be imposed by regulation.

10. The High Commissioner may, as already stated, legislate by proclamation.

11. The company (in London), as already indicated, may legislate by ordinance, approved by the Secretary of State (under the Charter).

12. A High Commissioner's proclamation may not without his

consent be amended or repealed by a regulation or an ordinance. An ordinance may be suspended by a regulation, and a regulation may be amended or repealed by an ordinance.

13. The High Commissioner has thus complete control of local legislation.

14. As regards the administration of justice, the Judge or Judges of the High Court are appointed and paid by the company, but their appointments and salaries are subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and they are not removable except by the Secretary of State. The appointment of magistrates requires the High Commissioner's approval, and is subject to the Secretary of State's confirmation. The High Commissioner may suspend, and the Secretary of State may remove, a judge or magistrate.

15. That the authority provided for by these instruments has in the past proved ineffective may be ascribed to the (perhaps necessarily) great latitude given at first by the board of directors to their officers in South Africa, and to the absence, until 1896, of any officials on the spot to represent the Crown.

16. Early in 1896 the first step was taken with a view to remedying this defect. All the armed forces in Southern Rhodesia were placed under the direct control of the Crown. The commandant and other officers, though paid by the company, are appointed by the Crown. The present commandant is also Deputy Commissioner.

17. In accordance with a recent understanding, the appointment of Native Commissioners is subject to the High Commissioner's approval. It is proposed that in future the appointment and removal of native commissioners shall be subject to the same conditions as those of magistrates.

18. The administrative functions of the company are so ultimately connected with its finances that it would be impossible, without giving rise to an erroneous idea as to financial responsibility, to make any great change in the constitution of the company or the form of local administration. All that can be done is to make such changes as will render perfectly effective the safeguards already provided in theory; and it is through effective local control rather than through changes in the constitution of the board of directors that this end can best be attained.

19. The British South Africa Company have themselves suggested

a reconstitution of the Administrator's Council by the addition of four elected members—two from Matabeleland and two from Mashonaland—and of as many members nominated by the company as will preserve to them a majority so long as they are responsible for meeting the expenditure. It is proposed to agree to this modification of the constitution of the Council.

20. It is also proposed so to modify the existing arrangements as to legislation and administration in Southern Rhodesia that the control of the High Commissioner may be more direct, and may be based upon full information obtained locally through an imperial officer specially appointed for that purpose.

21. With regard to legislation, it is proposed that the enactment of ordinances by the board of directors shall be discontinued, and that all legislation, including the imposition of taxes, shall be effected in South Africa, generally by ordinances to be enacted by the Administrator in Council, and, in exceptional instances, by proclamation of the High Commissioner. As at present, a proclamation by the High Commissioner would be of superior force to an ordinance of the Administrator in Council, and would not be liable to amendment or repeal by an ordinance without his previous consent. Ordinances would be subject to confirmation by the High Commissioner and to disallowance by the Secretary of State at any time within one year.

22. It is proposed that the imperial officer mentioned in paragraph 20 should be styled Resident Commissioner; that he shall be appointed and paid by the Crown; that he should not, except as regards the employment of the armed forces, interfere with the work of administration, and should have no power to overrule the Administrator or Council, or to deal directly with the subordinate officers of the company; but that he should have a seat on the Council with a right to speak, but not to vote, and full power to call for information or reports on any subject through the Administrator. On the information furnished by him the High Commissioner would act in confirming, reserving, or disallowing ordinances, and in giving or withholding his approval of appointments and removals from office.

23. It is proposed that the commandant of the forces should be appointed and paid by the Crown, but should no longer be Deputy Commissioner. As regards the employment of the forces under his command for ordinary police purposes, including the suppression of

internal disorder, he would be authorized to act on his own discretion, but would be ordinarily guided by the wishes and requirements of the Administrator and his subordinate officers; but should he in any case think it undesirable to comply with their wishes and requirements, he would refer for instructions to the Resident Commissioner, and he would in no case take action of the nature of a military operation without the authority of the Resident Commissioner.

24. If the company so desire, there would be no objection to the appointment of two separate Administrators—one for Matabeleland and the other for Mashonaland; in that case, each Administrator would have a separate executive council, but there would be one Legislative Council for the whole of Southern Rhodesia of which both the Administrators would be members, and one of them would be President.

25. Except as modified by these proposals or by the efflux of time the provisions of the Matabeleland Order in Council would be maintained.

26. Of the three most immediately important questions of local administration, viz.: (1) the border relations of the company; (2) local self-government; and (3) the settlement of the natives; the first is covered by the practical effect given to the provisions of the charter by the control of the armed forces being vested in officers directly responsible to the Crown; as to the second, Administrator's regulations have already been passed and approved by the High Commissioner to provide for the constitution of municipalities (which, it is understood, the company intend shortly to establish at Buluwayo and Salisbury), and it is proposed, as above stated, to introduce an elective element into the Council; as to the third, elaborate provisions in the form of a "regulation" by the Administrator in Council are now under the consideration of the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State, which will, it is hoped, amply provide for the just interests and due protection of the natives.

27. It is believed that the proposals in the preceding paragraphs would render effective the already extensive powers of the Crown over the local administration of the company without assuming any responsibility to its shareholders and debenture-holders. That responsibility must remain with the board of directors.

28. It is, at the same time, desirable that her Majesty's Government should have more ample information than they have hitherto

been able to obtain as to the transactions and general financial situation of the company.

29. The creation of a Board of Commissioners somewhat similar to that created by the India Act, 1784, for the control of affairs of the East India Company, is an expedient which naturally suggests itself.

30. The India Act empowered the Crown to appoint a Board of Control, consisting of a Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other Privy Councillors, not exceeding four in number. This Board was invested with very great powers, which give it practically complete control over all the transactions of the court of directors, and, therefore, very great responsibility for those transactions.

31. It is authorized "to superintend, direct, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in any wise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies." All the members of the Board were to have access to all papers and muniments of the company, and were to be furnished with such extracts or copies thereof as they might require. The directors were required, within eight days of their passing, to deliver to the Board copies of all minutes, orders, resolutions and other proceedings, so far as they related to the civil or military government or revenues of the British possessions in the East Indies, and also copies of all dispatches from the East Indies immediately on their arrival, and copies of all dispatches proposed to be sent. The directors were to pay due obedience to, and be governed and bound by, such orders and directions as they might receive from the Board of Control touching the civil or military government or revenues of the territory, but had the right of appeal to the Privy Council when they considered that such orders did not relate to these subjects.

32. To apply such a system in its entirety to the British South Africa Company would amount to the creation of a separate public office with full responsibility for the government and revenues of the territories in question, and therefore by implication, with a certain responsibility for the finances of the company, from the funds of which a great part of the cost of administration must for some time to come be supplied.

33. The creation of a similar board for the affairs of the British South Africa Company would necessarily, therefore, involve changes which, while quite feasible, would differentiate it considerably from its

Indian prototype, and, in view of the proposed changes, in the local administrative machinery, it is not at present proposed to do more than to define explicitly and to strengthen the existing powers of the Secretary of State and to indicate the way in which they may be exercised.

34. It is proposed that the Board of Directors shall be required to communicate to the Secretary of State within eight days of their being passed all minutes, orders, or resolutions, of the Board dealing with administration, and that the Secretary of State shall have power to veto or suspend the operation of any such minute, order, or resolution which may seem to him objectionable.

35. It is further proposed that the Secretary of State shall, through such persons as he may from time to time appoint, have access to all the records of the company, and be furnished with copies of all correspondence between the London board and the Administrator or other officials of the company in South Africa, and with such other documents, special reports, and accounts as he may require, and that he shall have power to remove from his office any director or official of the company in London who fails to comply with his requirements. As at present proposed, the powers of inspecting records and correspondence would be exercised through officials of the Colonial Office specially appointed for the purpose.

36. The constitution of the Board of Directors would, at the same time, be altered by the withdrawal of the life directors appointed under clause 29 of the original charter, leaving the whole body of directors to be elected by the shareholders, any official or director removed by the Secretary of State not being eligible or re-eligible without the consent of the Secretary of State.

The draft scheme having been transmitted to the High Commissioner at the Cape for his opinion and for that of the Government of Cape Colony, Sir Alfred Milner expressed his approval of the general principal of the scheme and the Cape Ministers, in a memorandum upon it, said:

“We note with satisfaction the practical recognition of the representative principle and regard it as an indication of preparation for the time when self-government will be accorded to the territory, probably in the form of a federal union with Cape Colony.”

The Government of Natal also had the scheme laid before them, but decided to “offer no remarks upon it at this stage.” The British South

Africa Company, to whom this draft scheme was sent for consideration, made, through the secretary of the company, the following observations:

“My directors concur with the proposal that all legislation shall in future be passed locally, but in view of the financial responsibility of the Board of Shareholders, and of the increased powers proposed to be intrusted to the local administration, they submit that the power at present vested in the company of directing and controlling all fiscal legislation should remain intact, and that authority to disallow all legislation passed by the Legislative Council, subject, if so desired, to the approval of the Secretary of State, should be retained by the company.

“With reference to clause 24, my directors desire power to appoint two separate administrators, one for Matabeleland and the other for Mashonaland, but would submit for the consideration of the Secretary of State that the manifest advantage of promoting uniformity of administration throughout Southern Rhodesia, and the difficulty of constituting two equally efficient executive councils occasioned by the various heads of departments being stationed permanently at one centre, alike point to the advisability of establishing one executive council only.”

\* To this the Colonial Office replied as follows:

“I am to say that Mr. Chamberlain thinks it not unreasonable that the directors should continue to have a voice in controlling the legislation for the company’s territories, on the ground that much of it may affect the financial responsibilities of the Board. He is therefore ready to modify the proposal in paragraph 21 of the memorandum of proposals by giving authority to the Board of Directors to disallow ordinances passed by the Legislative Council, subject to the power of the Secretary of State to overrule their veto. Probably the wishes of the Board in the matter will be sufficiently met by providing that the Secretary of State may within a year disallow an ordinance, either of his own motion or at the request of the Board of Directors.

“Mr. Chamberlain agreed with the Board of Directors that in present circumstances it would not be advisable to have more than one executive council for Matabeleland and Mashonaland.”



## CHAPTER XIV.

### RHODESIA.

Rhodesia, the brilliant creation of Cecil Rhodes, at the outbreak of the war, covered an area of about 750,000 square miles. The Zambesi river flows through it, dividing the territory into Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

Southern Rhodesia consisted of the two provinces of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Mashonaland was bounded on the north by a line running roughly in a southeasterly direction from Zambo, on the Zambesi, to the intersection of the river Mazoe with 33 degrees east longitude; on the southwest by Matabeleland, and on the east by the Portuguese province of Lorenzo Marques. The capital, and the seat of government of Rhodesia, was Salisbury, with a population of 1,800. The other principal townships were New Umtali, Melsetter, and Enkeldoorn. A railroad was being built, running inland towards Salisbury from Beira, on the coast, and it was already sixty miles beyond Umtali. Its completion would place Salisbury in direct communication with the sea over a line 382 miles in length. It was then proposed to connect Salisbury with Buluwayo. The African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company had constructed a line between Umtali and Tete, and from there on to Blantyre, in British Central Africa, and to Zambo, Fort Johnston, Kota Kota, on the western shore of Lake Nyassa, and Karonga, at the northwestern end of the lake. The survey on to Lake Tanganyika was practically completed. Matabeleland lay between the Limpopo and middle Zambesi rivers, and was bounded on the northeast by Mashonaland and on the south by the Transvaal and Khama's country. The principal town, and the chief commercial centre in Rhodesia, was Buluwayo, with a population of 5,000. Telegraphic communication existed between Cape Town and Buluwayo, and Salisbury, and in the Buluwayo district the telegraph system had been considerably extended. Buluwayo also had telephone communication with the principal stations. The extension of the Cape Government Western Railroad system through Kimberley and Vryburg to Buluwayo was completed in October, 1897, and was officially opened November 4. The distance from Cape Town to Buluwayo is 1,360 miles.

Northern Rhodesia consisted of the whole of the British sphere north of the Zambesi, lying between Portuguese East Africa, German East Africa, the Congo Free State, and Angola, with the exception of the strip of territory forming the British Central Africa Protectorate, which was under direct imperial administration. North of the Zambesi the country has as yet been little prospected. Coal has been found on the shore of Lake Nyassa. The North Charterland Exploration Company, which held a grant of 10,000 square miles north of the Zambesi, was engaged in trading, agriculture, and stock-breeding operations. A new industry had recently been started in fibre, on which the representative of a large London company had been experimenting with satisfactory results.

Public roads in Rhodesia had been made to the extent of 2,230 miles, and telegraph lines to the extent of 1,856 miles of line and 2,583 miles of wire. The rinderpest, which for several years had been devastating Africa, traveling slowly through the continent from north to south, made its first appearance in Matabeleland in February, 1896. The adoption of the drastic regulations which the Administration decided to enforce had to some extent checked the progress of the epidemic, when the outbreak of the Matabeleland rebellion put a stop to all precautionary measures. The effects of the disease were far-reaching, and, apart from considerations of human life, were more disastrous than those of the native rebellion. During the twelve months succeeding the outbreak of the rebellion, agriculture was practically at a standstill. Since the pacification of the country considerable tracts of land have been placed under cultivation, and fresh stock, including Angora sheep and Merino goats, have been imported. Throughout the country the conditions of soil and climate are suitable for all kinds of European cereals and vegetables; and, in addition, many trees, shrubs and plants, peculiar to subtropical regions, can be successfully cultivated. Good results have already been obtained from the introduction of fruit and other trees. Tobacco occurs in a wild state, is grown universally by the natives, and has been produced of excellent quality by white farmers in several districts. India rubber, indigo and cotton are similarly indigenous, and will probably well repay cultivation. The Rhodesian forests produce abundance of hard timber of fine quality, and a company was formed to work this industry with a view to meeting the large demand for building and other purposes in Salisbury and Buluwayo.

In addition to gold, silver, copper, coal, tin, plumbago, antimony, arsenic and kieselguhr have been discovered. The arrival of the railroad at Buluwayo gave an impetus to the mining industry; and many mines have machinery on the ground. The crushings at the Geelong mine for the month of September, 1898, averaged  $19\frac{1}{2}$  pwts., including tailings, to the ton. In Southern Rhodesia a company was formed to develop the India rubber industry on a large scale. Full advantage was taken of the facilities afforded to the Administrator in Council by the Matabeleland Order in Council, in 1894, to legislate locally by means of regulations, and upwards of forty measures have been thus passed.

In consequence of the Jameson raid into the Transvaal the control of the military forces of the powerful British South Africa Company was removed from its hands and placed in the hands of the Imperial Government.

## CHAPTER XV.

### EXPLORATIONS IN THE DARK CONTINENT.

The name of Africa was bestowed upon the Dark Continent by the Romans; by the Greeks it was called Libya.

As to the meaning of the name, the language of Carthage supplies an explanation; the word "Afrygah," signifying a colony, or separate establishment, as Carthage was of Tyre. Naturally the Phœnicians of old may have spoken of their Afrygah in the same manner as we refer to colonies. The Arabs of the present day give the name of Afrygah, or Afrikiyah, to the territory of Tunis.

The attention of the whole civilized world is now directed toward the Dark Continent, Africa, the vast peninsula which is connected with Asia by the Isthmus of Suez. Northeastern Africa was the home of the Egyptians, the first civilized nation of the world, and the powerful State of Carthage afterward occupied Northern Africa, which eventually became a part of the great Roman Empire. There is good reason for believing that the peninsula form of Africa was known to the ancients, and it is believed to have been circumnavigated by the Phœnicians. The Arabs were the first to explore the interior of Northern Africa, and the Portuguese navigators of the fifteenth century were the first to complete the known circumnavigation of Africa. In our chapter on the early history of South Africa we have described the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the colonization of that part of the world by the Dutch and English, so in this chapter we will touch on Africa of the ancients.

The Phœnicians formed colonies on the northern coast of Africa about three thousand years ago, and the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses dates from the year B. C. 525. The coasts of Egypt, of the Red Sea and of the Mediterranean were settled and well known to the ancient Asiatics, who passed constantly across the narrow isthmus which divided Asia from Africa and led them from sun-dried deserts into a fertile valley watered by the Nile. It is not definitely known whether they were much acquainted with the western coast of Africa, and the eastern coast on the Indian Ocean. But Necho, King of

Egypt, sent an expedition of Phœnician seamen for the purpose of circumnavigating Africa, and on their return the Phœnicians asserted that they had sailed around the continent. The story is not much credited, although several modern writers contend that the circumnavigation of Africa was actually performed upon this occasion.

Some fifty years after this supposed expedition the account of another voyage, along the western coast, has been handed down, and has also been the subject of many long discussions among geographers.

Under the Ptolemies, the great patrons of science and promoters of discovery, Egypt, having the advantage of the only great river which runs from the interior of the African continent into the Mediterranean, made little or no progress beyond its ancient boundaries, and the Romans, who subsequently took possession of Egypt, extended their discoveries no further than Fezzan, in one direction, and as far as Abyssinia and the regions of the Upper Nile.

Very little is known of the progress made by the Carthagenians in the exploration of interior Africa, though it has been asserted that Carthagenian merchants reached the banks of the interior river, now called the Niger.

The Arabs are the people from whom we derive the first authentic information regarding the interior of Northern Africa. By means of the camel, otherwise the "Ship of the Desert," the Arabs were able to penetrate, across the Great Desert, to the center of the African Continent, and as far as the Senegal and the Gambia on the west, and to Sofala on the east coast. On the latter coast the Arabs explored far beyond any of the supposed limits of ancient discovery and planted colonies at Sofala, Mombas, Melinda and at a number of other places.

A new era in maritime discovery began in the fifteenth century, when the voyages of the Portuguese gave fairly accurate outlines of the coast of Africa, and the discovery of America and the islands of the West Indies led to the traffic in African negroes which caused so much trouble to various nations before it was suppressed. In fact, the slave trade is not thoroughly stamped out at the present moment, for the Arab slave-traders of certain parts of Africa are still powerful, in spite of the efforts of the colonizing powers to kill the trade entirely.

When the English and French settlers reached Africa a systematic survey of the coast and interior began.

In 1788 an association for the promotion of the exploration of Inner

Africa was formed in London. It led to important discoveries by Houghton, Mungo Park, Hornemann and Burckhardt. This association was, in 1831, merged into the Royal Geographical Society.

More has been done during the last sixty years to develop the geography of Africa than during the whole 1,700 previous years.

Mungo Park, in 1795, traveled from the River Gambia, on the west coast, to the Niger and traced this river as far as the town of Silla. He also explored the intervening countries and determined the southern borders of the Sahara.

In 1805 Mungo Park started on a second expedition into the same regions, intending to descend the River Niger to its mouth, but on this occasion he added but little to the discoveries made, and lost his life while on the journey. He passed Timbuctoo and reached Boussa, where the traveler was killed by the natives.

A Portuguese traveler, Dr. Lacerda, in 1798, who had previously explored Brazil, made the first great exploration of Southeastern Africa, going inland from Mozambique and reaching the capital of the African king known as Cazembe, in whose territory Lacerda died.

In 1796-98 Hornemann traveled from Cairo to Murzuk and obtained valuable information regarding the countries to the south, notably Bornu, where he perished.

Two mercantile traders in the employ of a Portuguese firm made the first actual crossing of the Dark Continent between the years 1802 and 1806. They passed from Angola, eastward, through the territories of the Muata Hinavo and the Cazembe, to the settlements on the Zambesi.

The British Government, in 1816, sent an expedition under Captain Tuckey to the River Congo, which was then believed to be the lower course of the Niger. The additions to the geography of Africa were but slight, as the expedition only ascended the river to a point about 280 miles distant.

Three travelers, Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, in 1822, left Tripoli, crossed the Great Desert, and, February 4, 1823, reached Lake Chad and explored the surrounding countries as far as Mandara in the south and Sakatu in the west. Oudney died in Bornu. Clapperton started on a second expedition from the coast of Guinea, crossed the Kawara, and arrived at Sakatu, where he died.

Caillié, in 1827-28, started from the Rio Nunez, on the western

coast, reached Timbuctoo, and returned through the Great Desert to Morocco.

The head of the Niger River was not found until 1830, when it was located by Lander and his brother. They traced the river from the Yaouri down to its mouth.

A great Niger expedition, consisting of three steamers, was dispatched by the British Government, in 1841, under Captain Trotter. It resulted in great loss of life and turned out to be a complete failure. Duncan, one of the survivors of this expedition, added to the geographical knowledge of the world (1845-46) by his journey to Adafoodia. In a second attempt, in the same region, made for purpose of reaching Timbuctoo, Duncan died.

The Church Missionary Society, in 1845, established a station near Mombas, in about latitude four degrees south, on the east coast of Africa, and the missionaries made explorations into the interior. In 1849 the Rev. Mr. Redmann discovered the great snow-clad mountain of Kilima-njaro, rising on the edge of the inland plateau. Dr. Krapf, a companion of Mr. Redmann, going in a more northerly direction, sighted a second large snow-clad mountain named Kenia, directly beneath the equator. The missionaries also heard reports of vast lakes in the interior, beyond the mountains they had discovered, which aroused much interest in this region.

In 1849 an expedition was organized by James Richardson for the purpose of concluding commercial treaties with the chiefs of North Africa as far as Lake Chad, the idea being to extend trade with that part of Africa and to abolish the system of slavery. This expedition had almost reached its destination, when Richardson died, and one of his companions, Overweg, also succumbed. A third member of the party, Dr. Barth, continued the work of exploration until 1856, traversing almost the whole of the Northern Soudan, and collecting material of a most valuable description regarding the Central Negro States.

Dr. Livingstone, an agent of the London Missionary Society, who had traveled in the countries immediately north of Cape Colony since 1840, began in the summer of 1849 the remarkable travels in the interior of Southern Africa which continued until he died. The discovery of Lake Ngami, the central point of the continental drainage of South Africa, was the great discovery made by Livingstone during the first year of these explorations.

A Portuguese traveler named Graca, in 1846, succeeded in reaching the country, from Angola, of a South African king named Muata Ynavo. Graca was followed by a Hungarian named Ladislau, who explored the central country from 1847 to 1851.

Dr. Livingstone, between 1851 and 1853, made two journeys northward from his headquarters in the land of the Bechuanas, and had the honor of being the first European to embark upon the upper course of the Zandeze. He then led a party of natives westward, upstream, to little Lake Dilolo, and from there to the western slope, reaching the Portuguese coast on Loanda in 1854.

A part of the southwestern country, inhabited by the Damaras and Ovampo, was explored during 1851 by Galton from Walfish Bay to a point in latitude 17.58 south and longitude 21 east. He succeeded in determining accurately a number of positions in that region.

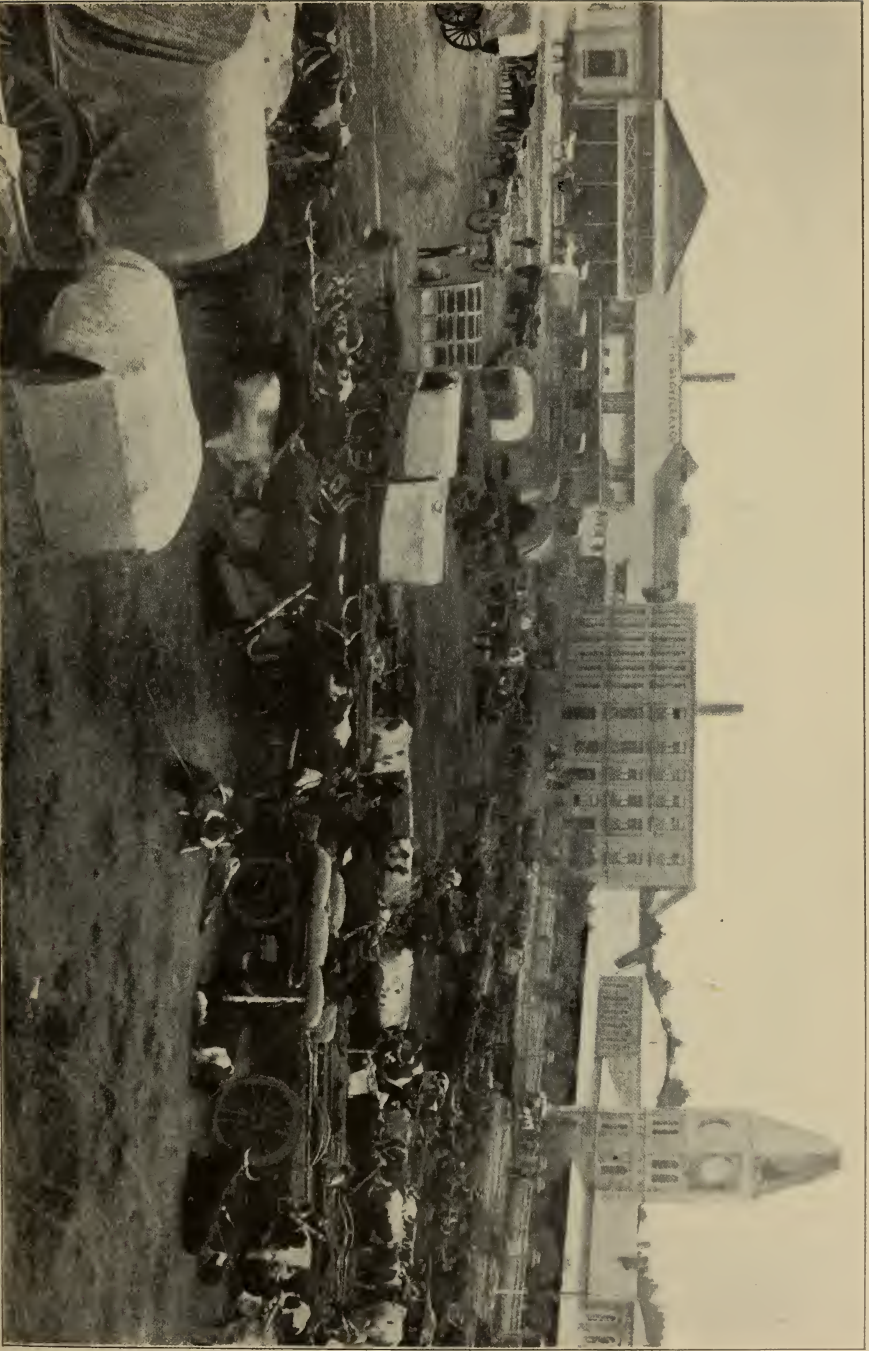
Silva Porto, a Portuguese trader, left Benguela in 1853, took an eastward route, parallel but to the northward of Zandeze, over an unknown country, and rounded the southern end of Lake Nyassa, which was afterward explored by Dr. Livingstone, and crossed the east coastland to the mouth of the Rovuma, taking a year and two months to finish his journey.

Another remarkable journey was made by Dr. Livingstone (1855-56), who, returning by a somewhat more northerly route than he had followed in going westward to Loanda, went down the Zandeze to its mouth at Quilimane, and discovered on his way the wonderful Victoria Falls of the river.

The year 1857 was one of great interest to African travelers. In the southwest Damara Land was explored by Hahn and Rath, as far as the southern limit of the Portuguese territory. Dr. Bastian explored the interior of the Congo and Angola, and Du Chaillu started on his journey to the forest country of the Fan tribes, on the equatorial west coast.

Captains Burton and Specke, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, two travelers who had previously distinguished themselves by a perilous journey to Harar, a trade headquarters in the Somali and Galla country, of the East African promontory, started from Zanzibar to explore the great inland lakes spoken of by the Mombas missionaries. They succeeded in discovering Lake Tanganyika, and the southern portion of what was then supposed to be perhaps a greater





THE MARKET-SQUARE AT KIMBERLEY



MARKET-SQUARE AND TOWN HALL-IN BLOEMFONTEIN.



THE PRESIDENCY AT BLOEMFONTEIN, CAPITAL OF ORANGE FREE STATE.

lake, northward, believed by Specke to be the head reservoir of the Nile.

Several travelers in 1858 added considerably to the stock of information above the Upper White Nile, from the Egyptian side, while in the northern part of Africa Duveyrier, a French traveler, explored the Sahara Desert south of Algeria.

Captain Specke, in 1860, accompanied by Captain Grant, again left Zanzibar and reached a point on the northwestern shores of the great lake which he had previously discovered and which he named the Victoria Nyanza. From there he traced the outflowing river to the White Nile at Gondokro, thereby completing a great link in the chain of African discoveries.

Dr. Livingstone in the meanwhile had attempted to find a way to his newly discovered Lake Nyassa, from the mouth of the Rovuma, a large river flowing into the Indian Ocean near Cape Delgado, which was reported to take its rise in that lake. But the river turned out to be unnavigable beyond a point only a short distance from the sea. The traveler then returned to the Shire River, and, carrying a boat past the rapids on that stream, began to explore the whole length of Lake Nyassa.

A second great reservoir lake of the Nile was discovered in 1864 near the latitude of the Victoria Nyanza by Baker, who was pushing southward from Gondokoro. He named this lake the Albert Nyanza.

Du Chaillu, in 1864-65, explored the gorilla country of Ashango, south of the great Ogowai River.

Walker, in 1866, navigated the Ogowai River for two hundred miles from its mouth, and the same year Hahn and Rath extended their exploration of Damara Land, while on the eastern side Wakefield and New, of the Monbas Mission, made several short expeditions into the Galla country, collecting valuable information about the countries between this coastland and the great lakes of the Nile basin. Dr. Livingstone, in that year, again entered the Rovuma River, starting on the journey from which he never returned. Letters received from Livingstone from time to time enabled the scientists to trace his movements from 1866 on. He passed up the Rovuma River to the confluence of its main tributary branches, one coming from the northwest and the other from the southwest. The traveler followed the latter and went round the southern end of Lake Nyassa. Then traveling in a north-

westerly direction he crossed the head waters of the Aruangoa tributary of the Zandeze, ascended a highland and came upon a portion of the Chambeze River. Continuing in a northwesterly direction Dr. Livingstone discovered Lake Liemba, a southern extension of Lake Tanganyika. This was in April, 1867. From there the explorer turned to the Cazembe's town, and making journeys from that place, he discovered two great lakes—Moero, in September, 1867, and Bangweolo, or Bemba, in July, 1868.

During the year of 1869 Dr. Livingstone had made his way to Ujiji, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika. He crossed the lake and penetrated the dense tropical forests and swamps of the Manyema country, in the center of the southern portion of the African Continent. During his travels in 1870-71 Dr. Livingstone traced the River Lualaba, which flows out of Lake Moero, to a second and then to a third great lake.

Owing to reports of the death of Dr. Livingstone near the Nianza an expedition to search for him was sent out by the Royal Geographical Society in 1867, and it was ascertained that he was still alive, though no news had been received from him then for more than two years.

The New York Herald, in 1870, sent Henry Stanley, a member of its staff, in search of Livingstone. History has it that James Gordon Bennett simply cabled to Stanley, saying:

“Go and find Livingstone.”

Be that as it may, Stanley sailed from Bombay in October, 1870, reached Zanzibar on the east coast of Africa early in January, 1871, and November 10, the same year, he found Dr. Livingstone at Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, where the great explorer had just returned from the southward. Stanley furnished Dr. Livingstone with supplies, explored the northern part of Lake Tanganyika with him, and remained in the traveler's company until 1872, when Dr. Livingstone started on the last stage of the journey from which he never came back. Stanley returned to England in July, 1872, and was received with great enthusiasm. Queen Victoria presented him with a gold snuff box set with diamonds, and the Royal Geographical Society, in 1873, bestowed on him the patron's gold medal.

As a result of his successful journey to Africa Stanley was sent by the New York Herald and the London Daily Telegraph on another African expedition. He reached Zanzibar in the autumn of 1874, and,

hearing that Dr. Livingstone was dead, he was ordered to go north-westward and explore the region of Lake Victoria Nyanza. After many encounters with the natives and the loss by death or desertion of one hundred and four men out of his party of three hundred, Stanley reached the lake in February, 1875, and found it to be the largest body of fresh water on the globe, having an area of 40,000 square miles. He then pushed westward in the direction of Lake Albert Nyanza and satisfied himself that it was not, as had been generally supposed, connected with Lake Tanganyika.

The hostility of the natives forced Stanley to return to Ujiji, but he determined to descend the great river discovered by Dr. Livingstone, and believed by the latter to be the Nile. Other explorers, however, thought this was the Congo, and Stanley ascertained that this was correct. It had been named by Livingstone the Lualaba, but Stanley named it the Livingstone. In descending the river, chiefly by the use of canoes, Stanley occupied about eight months, and lost thirty-five of his men. On reaching the coast a Portuguese vessel took Stanley to St. Paul de Loanda, from which place a British vessel conveyed the party to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to Zanzibar. Stanley reached England in February, 1878.

Stanley visited Africa again in 1879-82, having been sent there by the Brussels International Association with the object of developing the great basin of the River Congo. King Leopold of Belgium devoted \$250,000 per annum from his private purse toward this enterprise.

In 1884 Stanley had completed his work, having established trading stations along the Congo River, from its mouth to Stanley Pool, a distance of 1,400 miles by the river.

In 1887 Stanley made a fourth journey to Africa, this time for the purpose of relieving Emin Pasha, Governor of Equatorial Africa, whose condition, in Europe, is said to have been at that time precarious. Stanley succored Emin Pasha and brought him and his party back to Egypt, after the most severe hardships and with the loss of over four hundred out of the six hundred and fifty men he had taken with him. He occupied nearly three years in this journey, and among the important geographical results were the discovery of the Semliki River; of Mount Ruwenzori, believed to be about 17,000 feet high; of Lake Albert Edward, and of the southwestern extension of Lake Victoria.

It turned out that Lake Albert Edward was the primary source of the White Nile, and it was shown that its waters connected, through the Semliki, with Lake Albert Nyanza.

In order to afford support to Dr. Livingstone and add to the geography of Equatorial Africa, the Royal Geographical Society fitted out two expeditions in 1872. One of them, led by Lieutenant Cameron, was to follow in the footsteps of Dr. Livingstone. This expedition left Zanzibar early in 1873 under the auspices of Sir Bartel Frere's mission, and gathered considerable information regarding the interior. The other expedition, known as the Livingstone Congo expedition, under Lieutenant Granby, passed from the west coast to the interior by following the River Congo and also added to the fund of information about Central Africa.

It is hardly necessary to add that volumes could be written about the exploration of Central Africa, but we think we have thoroughly outlined the subject in this chapter, and have referred to the prominent explorers of the Dark Continent and their journeys in the interest of science and civilization.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### PHYSICAL FEATURES OF AFRICA.

In form Africa may be likened to a triangle, or to an oval of irregular shape. The area of Africa has never been accurately determined, but it is estimated to be about 9,858,000 geographical square miles, exclusive of the islands. Africa is larger than either Europe or Australia, but smaller than Asia and the American continent. The African coast line is very regular and unbroken, and presents few bays and peninsulas. The Gulf of Guinea, with its two secondary divisions, the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra, form the chief indentations.

The physical configuration of Africa may be placed under two heads—the great tablelands, with their mountain ranges, of Central and Southern Africa, and the great lowlands and plains of Northern Africa. The latter comprise the Sahara, the Lake Chad region and the valley of the Lower Nile.

The Sahara, popularly believed to be a desert, is by no means only a plain, for the greater part of it rises into tablelands, with mountain groups here and there. Some of the mountains are quite high and heavy snowstorms have been known to occur on the mountains bordering the Sahara Desert.

The great portion of the African plateau land is to the southward of the tenth parallel of north latitude and is prolonged on the eastern side almost to the north coast of the continent by the tableland of Abyssinia, the highest surface of Africa, and by mountains which extend from it between the lower course of the Nile and the Red Sea. Jebbel Attaka, which rises immediately west of Suez to a height of 2,640 feet, may be said to be the terminal point of the highland. From this point to the southern end of the continent the eastern edge of the great plateau runs in an almost unbroken line. The most prominent heights before the tableland of Abyssinia is reached are Mounts Elba, 6,900 feet, and Soturba, 6,000 feet in elevation, near the middle of the African coast of the Red Sea.

There are a number of high mountains in Africa, including Mount Abba Jared, 15,000 feet above the sea; Mount Kenia, 18,000 feet, and Mount Kilimanjaro, 18,715 feet. The highest point in all Africa

marks the eastern edge under the equator. Further south, on the inland route from Zanzibar to the Tanganyika, the edge is known as the Rubeho Mountains, with a height of 5,700 feet at the pass by which they are crossed on the caravan route.

In the Transvaal Republic, where the Drakenberg joins the Kooge Veldt, the edge attains a height of 8,725 feet at the summit, named after the explorer Mauch, but it is highest where it forms the interior limit of Natal, and where Cathkin Peak rises 10,357 feet above the sea level.

The western edge of the African plateau is, as a rule, lower than the eastern, and the whole slope of the continent is more or less from the great heights on its eastern side, toward the west.

Rounding the western side of Cape Colony three ridges run together and decrease somewhat in elevation as the mouth of the Orange River is approached. Their elevation at the place where they join in Little Namaqualand is still very considerable. There Mount Welcome reached 5,130 feet and Vogelklip, north of it, is 4,343 feet high.

Through Benguela and Angola, northward, a more broken series of ridges mark the descent to the interior plateau. The great Congo river breaks through to the coastland at the place where it forms the cataracts of the Yellala.

The northern edge of the great African plateau runs eastward between the fourth and eighth parallels of north latitude to a point where the Nile falls over its slope, forming the succession of rapids above Gondokoro. Beyond the Nile the margin of the plateau curves northward.

According to the best authorities, the general elevation of the surface of the great African plateau may be said to be from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea, though its surface presents great undulations.

The Blue Mountains are the most prominent of the interior masses. They were discovered by Baker, rising from the western shore of Lake Albert to a height of about 10,000 feet.

Another great central line of height runs from the north of Nyassa. It is called the Lobisa plateau, and extends through the Muchinga Mountains, which separate the drainage of the Lualaba and its lakes from that of the Zanbeze basin.

Beyond the lower land of the Sahara is the plateau of Barbary, a distinct and separate highland, stretching from Cape Bon, on the Mediterranean coast, in a southwesterly direction, through Tunis, Al-



geria and Morocco, to the Atlantic coast. The eastern portion of this plateau, in Algeria and Tunis, rises from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in general height. Where it enters Morocco, on the west, the outer ridges draw together and form the high ranges of the Atlas Mountains, which attain 11,400 feet at Mount Miltsin, the extreme summit. The continent of Africa has been the least disturbed by volcanic action. The known volcanoes are those of the Camaroon Mountains, on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea, and the Artali volcano, in the depressed salt desert region between the Abyssinian plateau and the Red Sea. Then there is the Njemsi volcano, in the country between Mount Kenia and Lake Victoria. Earthquake shocks appear to be almost unknown in any part of Africa.

Salt is widely distributed throughout Africa, though in some districts it is wholly lacking. For instance, in the Abyssinian highland the salt, which is carted up in small blocks from the salt plain on the Red Sea coast, is of such hardness that it is used as money currency, and in some of the native kingdoms of South Central Africa the salt districts are royal possessions and are strictly guarded.

Metals are not very abundant in any part of Africa, and gold is probably the most generally distributed. The gold fields of the Transvaal and of the country extending thence to the Zambeze are numerous and are fully referred to elsewhere.

Copper exists in large quantities in the mountains of the central South Africa, while the diamond fields of Kimberley and other places are famous the world over.

The Nile is the oldest of historical rivers, and at one time afforded almost the only means of subsistence to the earliest civilized people on earth—the Egyptians. It drains a larger area than any other river of Africa, over 100,000 square miles. It passes during a great portion of its lower course through the desert belt of North Africa, and, receiving no tributaries there, loses much of its volume by evaporation, and is thus far surpassed by the Congo in the quantity of water conveyed to the ocean. The limit of the Nile basin on the south is formed by the high mountains which rise to the westward of Lake Albert. It is to this river and its tributaries that the fertility of lower Egypt is mainly due, for each year a large quantity of Abyssinian mud is carried down the stream to be eventually spread by the overflow of the Nile delta.

The chief streams running into the Mediterranean are the Sheliff,

in Algeria, and the Muluya, in Eastern Morocco, from the highland of Barbary.

There is a stretch of 1,100 miles of waterless coast where the desert belt touches the Atlantic, intervening between the Draa, a water course which has its rise on the inner slope of the highland in Morocco and which runs into the Atlantic, and the Senegal River, which is at the beginning of the pastoral belt in latitude 15 north. The Senegal rises in the northern portion of the belt of mountains which skirt the Guinea coast, and has a northwesterly course to the sea. It is navigable during the rainy season for 500 miles, from its mouth to the cataract of Feloo, for vessels drawing twelve feet of water, but at other times it is not navigable for more than a third part of that distance.

The Gambia has its sources near those of the Senegal and flows westward in a tortuous bed over the plain country. It has a navigable channel of 400 miles, up to the falls of Barra Kunda.

In point of area of drainage and volume the Niger is the third African river. It is formed by the union of the Quorra and Benue. Its course is northeast as far as the city of Timbuctoo; then it turns due east and afterward southeast to its confluence with the Benue at a point 200 miles north from the coast of the Gulf of Guinea. Its delta is much more extensive than that of the Nile, measuring about 14,000 square miles of low, alluvial plain, covered with forest and jungle.

The Congo is the second river in Africa in point of area and drainage. The head streams of this vast river are those which supply the great lake system discovered by Dr. Livingstone. At the furthest point on the Lualaba reached by Dr. Livingstone, in about latitude six degrees south and longitude twenty-five degrees east, this great river has a breadth of from 3,000 to 6,000 yards.

The great lakes of Africa are the Victoria and Albert Lakes of the Nile basin, the former about 3,300 feet above the sea; Lake Chad, Lake Baringo, northeast of the Victoria; Lake Bangweolo, or Bemba, having an elevation of about 4,000 feet; Lakes Kamalombo, or Ulenge, and Victoria Nyanza, one of the sources of the Nile; Lake Nyassa, Lake Tanganyika, Lake Albert Nyanza and Lake Mgami.

Africa is the hottest continent of all, though the greatest heat is not found under the equator, for the whole of the central belt is protected by a dense covering of forest vegetation, which is supported by the heavy rainfall. But in the dry exposed desert belts, on the margin

of the tropics, the Sahara in the north and the Kalahari in the south, the heat is excessive. The highest temperature is found throughout the Sahara, especially in the portions toward the Red Sea. Some idea of the heat may be gained from the fact that in Upper Egypt Nubia eggs may be baked in the hot sands, and the Arabs say, "In Nubia the soil is like fire and the wind like a flame."

The African Continent is not much under the influence of the regular winds, excepting the monsoons of the Indian Ocean, the great movement of the atmosphere depending chiefly on the oscillation of the continent beneath the sun during the seasons.

In the northern and eastern regions of Africa the winds and rains are as much governed by the heating and cooling of the Asiatic Continent as that of Africa itself.

The Sahara and the Kalahari regions are almost rainless, but wherever there is a sufficient elevation to intercept a cooler stratum of the atmosphere rain is not wanting even in the midst of the great desert.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA.

Besides her South African colonies, Great Britain owns immense slices of other parts of the Dark Continent, and France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain have some share of Africa. For instance, there is British East Africa, a large area on the mainland, including the East Africa Protectorate and the Uganda Protectorate, together with the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, which are nominally governed by their Arab Sultan. The southern boundary of this territory extends in a northwest direction from the north bank of the mouth of the River Umba, going round by the north of Kilimanjaro, where the first parallel of south latitude cuts Lake Victoria; thence across the lake and westward on the same parallel to the boundary of the Congo Free State. To the north and east the British sphere is bounded by the Juba River up to six degrees north latitude, by that parallel as far as thirty-five degrees east longitude, and by that meridian northward as far as the Blue Nile. The total area embraced is probably 1,000,000 square miles. Treaties have been made by Great Britain, or, rather, by her enterprising agents, with almost all the native chiefs between the coast and Lake Albert Nyanza, and with the Somali tribes occupying the interior between the Juba and Tana, by which commercial access to the Galla country was opened.

The dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar were delimited in 1886, that is to say, they were recognized by Great Britain as including only a continuous strip of coast, ten miles in depth, reaching from Cape Delgado to Kipini, on the Ozi River. Outside this tract Great Britain and Germany agreed that the latter power should have as a sphere of influence the country stretching inland from the River Rovuma northward to the Umba River, Great Britain's sphere of influence extending northward from the Umba River. To the north of Kipini the Sultan of Zanzibar was allowed to retain several stations. But some of these were ceded to Italy in 1892, and the Italian Government took over their administration in 1893.

The German East Africa Association, in 1888, acquired the right to

administer the Mrima, or mainland, including the customs of the Sultan's ports, from the Rovuma to the Uмба River on the north, for which the Sultan was paid the munificent sum of 4,000,000 marks.

The British Imperial East Africa Company acquired the right to administer the coast from the Uмба to Kipini, for fifty years, on condition of an annual payment to the Sultan, and in 1889 the company further acquired the ports and islands to the north of the Tana.

Later a further settlement of territorial questions conferred on Great Britain the protectorate of Zanzibar, including the Island of Pemba, and placed under British influence the territory from the Uмба north to the Juba River, including the territory of Witu, which, for a time, was placed under the control of the British East Africa Company. By the end of 1892 this company had acquired the country as far as Uganda, and between that and Lake Albert Edward and the East Semliki. By arrangement under the British Government the company retired from Uganda in 1893, and in 1894 a British protectorate was declared over Uganda proper. The company also withdrew from the administration of Witu in 1893, which temporarily was placed under the administration of the Sultan. A British protectorate over the whole territory was proclaimed June 15, 1895, from the coast to the boundaries of Uganda, including Witu, and June 20 of the same year the company evacuated the territory leased from the Sultan, the administration being taken over by the British Government. During the month of August, 1896, an official announcement was made to the effect that all the territories in British East Africa, except Zanzibar, Pemba, and the Uganda Protectorate, were, for administrative purposes, included in one protectorate, under the name of the East Africa Protectorate.

The British African Colony of the Island of Mauritius, situated 500 miles east of Madagascar, with its dependencies, Rodriguez, Diego Garcia and the Seychelles Islands, covers about 172 square miles, and has a total population of about 372,000 souls.

The British Niger Coast Protectorate occupies the whole of the coast line between Lagos and the Cameroons, excepting the territory between the Forcados and Brass Rivers, which are included in the Niger territory. Space will not allow us to touch upon the boundaries in this protectorate, which was acquired by treaties made in 1884. In 1891 the government was entrusted to an Imperial Commission and

Consul-General. No trustworthy estimates can be found of the population or area.

The Niger territories are governed by the Royal Niger Company, under a charter issued in 1886, though its formation dates from 1882, when it was formed under the title of the National African Company, Limited, with the object of obtaining those regions for Great Britain, which was done by means of about 300 treaties with native tribes and states, including the territories of Sokoto and Borgu. The capital of the Niger territories is Asaba. The total area of the company's territory and regions secured to its influence by agreements of various descriptions is about 500,000 square miles, with a population estimated at from 20,000,000 to 35,000,000.

The British West African colonies, four in number, include the Gold Coast, Lagos, Gambia and Sierra Leone.

The Gold Coast Colony stretches for 350 miles along the Gulf of Guinea; the chief towns are Accra and Cape Coast Castle; area about 15,000 square miles; population about 1,500,000.

Lagos is an island on the Slave Coast, to the east of the Gold Coast. Area 1,500 square miles; population about 100,000.

Gambia is at the mouth of the Gambia River. Area about 2,700 square miles; population 50,000.

Sierra Leone includes the Island of Sherboro and considerable adjoining territory. Area 15,000 square miles; population about 180,000.

Zululand is a British possession administered by the Governor of Natal, who is also Governor of Zululand. Area over 12,500 square miles; population about 170,000.

The ancient empire of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, is independent. It has an area of about 150,000 square miles, and a population estimated to number 3,500,000.

Bornu, or the Land of Noah, is also independent. It is probably the largest and certainly the most populous Mohammedan state in Central Soudan. Its approximate area is 50,000 square miles, and the population is estimated at 5,000,000. The majority of the inhabitants call themselves the "People of Light." They are of mixed negro and Dasa descent. The Sultan, whose official title is Mai, but who is generally referred to as the Sheikh, is an absolute monarch.

The Sultanate of Wadai is the most powerful state in Central Sou-

dan. It occupies, with the tributary states, the region between Darfur and Lake Chad, and extends from the border of the Sahara southward, nearly to the divide between the Chad and the Congo basins. Total area, including Wadai and Bagirmi, about 172,000 square miles; population about 2,500,000. The Arabs, there collectively termed *Aramka*, have been settled in that part of Africa for over 500 years. The Sultan has absolute power, limited by custom and the precepts of the Koran.

The Egyptian Soudan covers 950,000 square miles, with a population of 10,500,000. Before the revolt of the Mahdi, in 1882, the Khedival possessions beyond Egypt proper comprised the whole of East Soudan and Nubia, between Wadai on the west and the Red Sea on the east, with the northwest section of Somaliland and the coast lands between Abyssinia and the Gulf of Aden, with a total area of 1,000,000 square miles and a population of about 12,000,000. It included the regions of Durrfur, Kordofan, Lower Nubia, Upper Nubia, the Zeriba lands of the White Nile, and the Danakil, Adal and Somali lands about the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. It is estimated that three-fifths of the population of the Soudan have perished through war, famine and slave trading during the last seventeen years.

The British Central Africa Protectorate, constituted in 1891, lies along the southern and western shores of Lake Nyassa and extends toward the Zambesi. Population about 900,000; area not stated in the best reference books.

The principal colony of France in Africa is Algeria, consisting of three provinces—Algiers, Oran and Constantine, with a total area of 184,474 square miles and a population of about 4,500,000. The French Chambers alone have the right to legislate for Algeria.

In addition to Algeria, France has a Senegal colony, the French Soudan, and a Gaboon and Guinea Coast colony, with a total population for this group of 5,000,000 and an area of about 514,000 square miles.

In the Congo region France has 258,000 square miles and a population of 5,000,000; in Madagascar she has a valuable colony of 227,750 square miles, with 3,500,000 population, and on the Obock and Somali coast she has 46,320 square miles and a population of 200,000.

Besides these colonies in Africa, France has several African islands, including Reunion, the Comoro Islands, Mayotte, Nossi-Be and Sainte

Marie, giving her a total of 1,232,454 square miles of African territory, with a population of about 18,000,000.

Germany has big colonies in Africa, including Togaland, with an area of 23,160 square miles and a population of 2,500,000; the Cameroons, area 191,000 square miles, population 3,500,000; German Southwest Africa, area 320,000 square miles, population 200,000; and German East Africa, 380,000 square miles, population 4,000,000.

The dominion of Italy in Africa extends on the coast of the Red Sea, from Cape Kasar to the southern limit of the Sultanate of Raheita. Area about 88,500 square miles; population, nomadic, about 450,000.

Portugal in Africa has Portuguese East Africa, 261,700 square miles, population 1,500,000; Angolo, Ambriz, Benguela, Mossamedes and Congo, 457,000 square miles; Portuguese Guinea, 14,000 square miles, 800,000 population, and the Cape Verde Islands, 1,650 square miles, and 110,930 population.

Spain has Rio del Oro and Adrar, 243,000 square miles and 100,000 population, and some small islands, which give her a total area in Africa of 243,877 square miles and a population of 136,000.

The Republic of Liberia, on the Guinea Coast of Africa, has a constitution modeled on that of the United States. It is governed by a President, Coleman, and the legislative power is in a parliament of two houses, called the Senate and House of Representatives. There are thirteen members of the Lower House and eight members of the Upper House. The President, who, with the House of Representatives, is elected for two years, must be thirty-five years of age and have real property to the value of \$600. The Senate is elected for four years.

Liberia has about 500 miles of coast line, extending back about 200 miles, on an average, with an area of about 14,360 square miles and a population, all colored, of about 1,070,000, of which number some 18,000 are American-Liberians. Monrovia, the capital, has about 5,000 population.

The Sultanate of Morocco has an area of about 220,000 square miles, with 2,500,000 to 9,000,000 population, as near as can be estimated.

The Sherifian (or Sultanate) umbrella is hereditary in the family of the Sherifs of Taflet. Each Sultan is supposed, prior to his death, to indicate the member of the Sherifian family who, according to his honest belief, will best replace him.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE LAND OF EGYPT.

In hieroglyphics the name of Egypt is Kem, and its sense is "The Black Land."

The history of ancient Egypt dates from so far back that much of it is veiled in obscurity, in spite of the great progress made in scientific research.

The history of Egypt, however, is generally looked upon as beginning with what is known as the First Dynasty, that of Mena or Menes, the first earthly King of Egypt, the earlier reigns being mythological.

Egyptian mythology does not contain any allusion to the deluge, nor does it connect with the Mosaic narrative. Consequently, the Egyptian ideas of their prehistoric age are isolated, when compared with those of most other nations of remote civilization, which agree in at least some particulars with the Genesis. The duration of the prehistoric age in Egypt cannot be conjectured with any degree of accuracy, though it has been computed that a space of 3,000 to 5,000 years before the First Dynasty was sufficient for the development of the civilization attained at the time of the Fourth Dynasty.

The history of the Egyptians can be traced further back than that of any other nation. Their records, carved in stone, in clay, or written on leather or papyrus scrolls, have survived for thousands of years, thanks to the dryness of the air in that part of the world and the fact that the hot, dry sand of the desert hermetically sealed up anything buried beneath it. The inscriptions on monuments, etc., confirm the list of Kings and their dates prepared by the priest Manetho, who was employed by King Ptolemy II, B. C. 284-246, to translate the historical works preserved in the Egyptian temples. Manetho's history was lost, but the list of Kings was preserved and transmitted to us in part by Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian, and partly by Christian historians. By this means the history of the Egyptians has been divided into the Primeval Monarchy, from, say 5000 B. C. to 2850 B. C.; the Middle Monarchy, from 1850 B. C. to about 1280 B. C.; the New Empire, from about 1280 B. C. to 525 B. C.; the Persian Dominion, 525 B. C. to 323 B. C.; the Period of the Ptolemies, from 323 B. C. to A. D. 27;

the Roman Period, from A. D. 27 to the year 395; the Byzantine Period, 395 to 638; the Mohammedan Period, 638 to 1798; the French Period, 1798 to 1803, and the period of the Khedives of Egypt.

Here, it may be said that this land of pyramids and ancient monuments, mummies and papyrus, highly attractive mythology and ancient traditions, is an immense mine of historical gems which we can now only glance at and pass on to the more vigorous events of modern history.

But, we may mention that Rameses II has been looked upon in some quarters as the greatest figure in the long line of Pharaohs. When he was but ten years old no monuments were executed without his orders, and it is concerning his character that the best idea can be formed. He must have lived about a hundred years and was a great warrior and held first place among the architect Pharaohs, many of the vast buildings found throughout Egypt and Nubia having been constructed under his supervision. He married three queens and seems to have had 23 sons and at least 13 daughters. In all he had 170 children, of whom 111 were sons and 59 daughters.

The Exodus took place at the close of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

With Alexander the Great, the Macedonian dominion began and lasted about 302 years. After having defeated Darius on the Granicus and at Issus and captured the Philistine town of Gaza, Alexander marched to Pelusium and was received by the Egyptians with open arms, who regarded him as their deliverer from the yoke of the Persians.

From A. D. 52 to A. D. 31 were the famous years of Pompey, Cleopatra, Caesar, Brutus, Cassius and Anthony, ending with the suicide of Anthony, following his defeat by Octavianus and after he had been declared by the Roman Senate to be an enemy of his country. Previous to this, as we all know, Anthony had spent years in gorgeous debauchery with the beautiful Egyptian Queen, who caused her own death by the bite of an asp after hearing of Anthony's suicide.

In A. D. 639 the Arabs conquered Egypt and, under its Mohammedan rulers, the country was completely changed. The Mamelukes, chiefly military slaves from the Caucasus, seized the country in 1250. They had grown into power through the favor of Sultan Saladin and were not subdued until 1517, when they were defeated by Sultan Selim. Their descendants, however, kept the country in a disturbed state for more than 200 years more and, in the first half of the eighteenth



THE PAARDEKRAAL MONUMENT.



THE BOER DEMONSTRATION AT THE PAARDEKRAAL MONUMENT.



KRONSTAD, SECOND IMPORTANT TOWN IN ORANGE FREE STATE.



A BOER AND HIS TEN SONS EQUIPPED FOR FIELD SERVICE.

century, when the Ottoman Empire was hard pressed by Russia and Austria, Egypt again fell under the sway of the Mamelukes, who continued in power until the French invasion of Egypt in 1798, under Napoleon Bonaparte, who hoped to destroy British trade in the Mediterranean. When the French capitulated at Cairo and Alexandria to the British, their evacuation of Egypt followed, and Mohammed Alee (or Ali) Bey, the Turkish commander, or Pasha of Egypt, put an effectual damper on the Mamelukes by murdering all their leaders. Finally Mohammed became so powerful that he defied the Turkish Government and, on the plains of Nizeeb in Syria, gained such a decisive victory over the Turks that he obtained a treaty confirming to Mohammed Alee the Viceroyalty of Egypt, as a fief of the Ottoman Empire, hereditary in his family.

Ismail Pasha, the fourth successor of Mohammed Alee, was educated in France and did much to found manufactories, and build canals, railroads, bridges and telegraphs in Egypt. But, he was extravagant and unscrupulous, and the powers finally deposed him, June 26, 1879, after providing a joint administration of the country. Ismail was succeeded by his son Tewfik.

While at the height of his power, Ismail, on the payment of a large sum of money to the Sultan of Turkey, was raised to the rank of Khedive, or Viceroy, having up to that time only borne the title of Vali, or Governor of a Province.

The Suez Canal was cut and opened during the reign of Ismail.

The rebellion of Arabi Pacha in 1881 against the Egyptian Government led to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet, July 11 and 12, 1881, the landing of a British army of occupation and the subsequent virtual control of Egypt by a British High Commissioner.

During the fall of 1883 an extensive rebellion broke out among the Nubian tribes of the Soudan, under the leadership of Mohammed Ahmed, known as the Mahdi, or Prophet. An Egyptian force of about 10,000 men, under a British officer, General Hicks, was annihilated in November of that year by the Dervishes, or fanatical followers of the Mahdi and a second force of 3,500 men, led by General Baker, was utterly destroyed in February, 1884, by the forces of the Mahdi.

On February 18, 1884, General "Chinese" Gordon, one of the most gallant and distinguished officers in the British Army, after a perilous ride across the desert, reached Khartoum, capital of the Soudan,

intending to save the place from falling into the hands of the Mahdi. There he was besieged by the Dervish forces.

The British troops under General Graham defeated the Dervishes, March 1 and March 13, at El-Teb and Tammanieb. But, as the Mahdi continued the siege of Khartoum, after much apparently unnecessary political discussion, a relief force of 7,000 British troops, under General Wolseley, was sent up the Nile in an attempt to relieve General Gordon. The progress made was very slow and it was not until the beginning of 1885 that Wolseley was able to concentrate his forces at Korti, between the third and fourth cataracts, where the Nile makes a big bend. From that point Wolseley sent a flying column of 1,500 men to cross the desert to open communication with Khartoum from Shendy, while the main body continued the ascent of the Nile. The flying column, under General Stewart, crossed the desert in safety, winning victories over the Dervishes at Abu Klea and Metemmeh, where Stewart was mortally wounded.

On January 24 a small British detachment, under General Sir Charles Wilson, left Gubat, on the Nile, on board two steamers sent to them by General Gordon, but they reached Khartoum, January 28, only to find that the place had fallen, through treachery, January 26, and that Gordon had been killed in the fighting which accompanied the entrance of the Mahdi's troops into Khartoum.

The Mahdi died, in due course of time, and was succeeded by the Khalifa, who caused so much trouble that an Anglo-Egyptian expedition of about 25,000 men was sent in 1897 to destroy his armed camp at Omdurman, near Khartoum. After most successfully building a railroad to a point near Berber, General Kitchener's force, after several minor victories, attacked the Dervishes, who numbered about 30,000, near Omdurman, September 2, 1898. The British lost about 200 men, while several thousand, some reports said 8,000, Dervishes were killed or wounded.

There was another battle, November 23, 1899, between the Anglo-Egyptian forces, under General Wingate, and the Dervishes, in which the latter were utterly defeated with great slaughter, among the killed being the Khalifa Abdullah, the successor of the famous Mahdi, and nearly all his Emirs. Osman Digna, the great Dervish general, however, succeeded in escaping.

The present Khedive, or sovereign of Egypt, is the seventh ruler

of the dynasty of Mohammed Alee, or Ali. His name is Abbas Hilmi, and, when, recently, he showed signs of breaking away from the British leading strings, it was proposed to dépose him and make his brother, Mohammed Ali, a great admirer of a Philadelphia heiress, his successor.

Egypt, which is administered by native ministers, who are subject to the ruling of the Khedive, has a total area of about 400,000 square miles, but the cultivated area only covers about 13,000 square miles. The population is about 7,000,000, largely Arabic and Mohammedan, with about 100,000 Europeans.

The Egyptian Soudan has an area of about 950,000 square miles and some years ago its population was estimated at about 10,000,000. Khartoum, until recently the nominal Dervish capital, is now occupied by British troops and it looks very much as if Egypt and the Egyptian Soudan were regarded in some quarters as part of the British Empire.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### THE CONGO FREE STATE.

The Congo Independent State, having an area of 900,000 square miles and a population of about 30,000,000 souls, is the successor of the Congo International Association, founded in 1883, by King Leopold of Belgium. The Association, having obtained the recognition of its sovereignty by treaties, in 1884 and 1885, with most of the European nations and the United States, adhered, February 26, 1885, to the resolutions of the Congress of Berlin, which, collected in a general act, established freedom of trade in the basin of the Congo, its tributaries and the lakes and canals connected with it. The resolution also lay down rules for the protection of the natives and the suppression of the slave trade, and imposed on the framers which signed the act the obligation to accept the mediation of one or more friendly governments should any serious dispute occur concerning the territories of the conventional basin of the Congo. In 1890 an international conference at Brussels authorized the Government of the Independent State to levy certain duties on imports. The State was placed under the sovereignty of King Leopold on the basis of a personal union with Belgium, but it has declared itself perpetually neutral in accordance with the general act of Berlin. The King of Belgium, by a will dated August 2, 1889, bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights in the State; the territories of the State, July 31, 1890, were declared inalienable, and, by a convention, July 3, 1890, between Belgium and the Independent State, reserved to Belgium the right of annexing the latter after a period of ten years.

The central government of the Independent State is at Brussels, and consists of King Leopold and, under his orders, a Secretary of State, who is chief of the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance and the Interior. The King is represented at Boma, capital of the Independent State, by a Governor General, who administers the territories of the State in accordance with the King's orders. The territory is divided into fifteen administrative districts, Banana, Boma, Matadi, The Falls, Stanley Pool, Kwango, Oriental, Kassai, Lake Leopold II, Bangala, Equator, Ubangi, Welle, Stanley Falls, Aruwimi and Lulaba.



The inhabitants of the Independent State are of Bantu origin, and their languages comprise many dialects, almost every tribe having its own. The language spoken by the natives who have been under Arab influence is Kiswahili, which is also spoken by the missionaries. The religion of the natives may be described as fetichism of the blackest description, but the missionaries are making progress. There are now about seventy mission stations with some 230 missionaries, of whom 115 are Catholic and 108 Protestant. There are three agricultural colonies where children are collected and instructed, the missionaries co-operating with the Government in the work of education.

The revenue of the State is estimated at about \$3,000,000 to \$3,500,000, and the expenditures a little less. This revenue is derived from customs, postage, state forests, transport and from a subsidy of \$200,000 per annum granted by King Leopold from an advance of money by the Belgium Government, in 1890, for a term of ten years, at the rate of \$400,000 a year.

The State has an armed force, under the command of Baron Dhanis, and there is more or less trouble in progress at all times. This force consists of about 16,000 men, divided into 23 companies and has 234 European officers. There are six camps of instruction for the soldiery.

The lands are divided into three classes: those occupied by natives, registered lands, comprising private estates of non-natives, and the crown lands, which include all vacant lands. The chief products are rubber, ivory, palm nuts and palm oil. Coffee grows freely, but it is not exported, owing to the difficulties of transport. Tobacco is also grown, but is not exported. The Government has established plantations of Havana and Sumatra tobacco.

There has been a rapid expansion of the commerce of the Independent State. The special exports in 1887 only amounted to about \$200,000, but in 1892 they had reached about \$1,100,000, and in 1897 they footed up about \$4,400,000.

The chief imports were arms and ammunition, machinery, metals, drinks, food substances and tissues and clothing. Belgium has the great bulk of this trade, with Great Britain second.

There were 201 vessels, of 342,809 tons in all, entered at the ports of Boma and Banana, on the Congo, in 1897. The river is navigable

for about 100 miles from its mouth to Matadi. On this section six State steamers are engaged in transportation service.

There is a railroad about 250 miles long, running at about twenty miles south of the river, connecting Matadi with Stanley Pool. A public transport service, employing twenty-two steamers, has been organized on the Upper Congo by the Government.

In 1895 the hanging of an English missionary trader, Charles Stokes, convicted of selling arms to the natives, by Belgium officials in the Independent State, nearly led to trouble between Great Britain and Belgium, but the British Government was satisfied with an indemnity and a second trial by court-martial of the official implicated, Captain (afterwards Major) Lothaire. He was twice acquitted of the charge, once at Boma and the second time at Brussels, to which city he had been recalled.

In referring to Blue-books since 1890, it will be seen that Captain Lugard, commander of the forces of the Royal Niger Company, had several quasi-friendly encounters with Mr. Stokes with reference to the disposal of arms and ammunition, those, however, taking place before this trade was prohibited by the Brussels treaty. Captain Lugard succeeded at various times in obtaining possession of large quantities of arms and ammunition imported by Mr. Stokes, and destined, doubtless, for disposal among the natives. The consequence of this, Mr. Stokes gave a voluntary undertaking to discontinue the importation of arms and ammunition, at the same time warmly denying and refuting the charge of smuggling this material.

On the other hand, statements existed in Mr. Stokes' own handwriting, in which he offered to the commanders of European stations immense quantities of arms and ammunition, particularly powder and Snider cartridges, packed in sardine boxes. Mr. Stokes married a Nyamezi woman, of the Wanyamezi tribe, by whom he had several children. She was the daughter of a powerful chief, and to this fact Mr. Stokes unquestionably owed much of his great influence among the natives.

It was said at the time that Dr. Michaux, attached to the Lothaire mission, protested strongly against the execution of Mr. Stokes. But, that did not even postpone the hanging, which was described as follows:

“Towards four o'clock in the morning of the day the lay missionary

was executed, Dr. Michaux rose and begged Lothaire to tell him where the prisoner was, in order that he might speak with him. Major Lothaire thereupon led the doctor outside his tent and showed him Stokes' dead body swinging from a bamboo-top. Dr. Michaux at once expressed his strong disapproval of what had been done, and demanded to be conducted back to Stanley Pool, stating that he would not remain a minute longer with the expedition. Major Lothaire granted the doctor an escort to Stanley Falls."

The spectacle of an execution of a slave by the natives years ago in the Congo territory was really terrible. Demoniacal evolutions and dances took place for hours around the condemned slave, who sat bound and helpless in the midst of a circle of bloodthirsty aborigines.

The victim was tied hands and arms with strong hemp to a roughly improvised chair, while his feet were bound to a stake in the ground a few feet before him. A stout bough stripped of leaves was held bent by a strong rope from a notch in the middle to a stake a few feet behind the condemned man's chair. Another rope suspended from the end of the bough was so adjusted around the victim's neck that when the bough was allowed to spring back to its natural position the head was torn off and hurled far away into the jungle. Then occurred the most ghastly scene of all—the scrambling for the finding of the head. The finder kept his trophy for several days and then cooked it. The brain was considered the greatest delicacy and was generally given to the chief of the tribe.

The tribes of the Bangala race believed that the more frightfully their victims were tortured the more tender it made their flesh, and consequently more palatable. It was shown that many of the slave-traders kept stocks of prisoners on hand and fattened them for slaughter.

According to Captain S. H. Hinde, who was one of Baron Dahnis' force on the Congo, there were 20,000,000 people in the Congo Basin who were eaters of human flesh. Though the Belgians have enacted laws against cannibalism, and some of the chiefs have been hanged, there seems little hope of entirely changing these deplorable conditions for some time to come.

In addition to this custom of eating human beings, another equally horrible existed, according to Captain Hinde's report. When a chief of any of these Congo tribes died, all his wives were buried with him.

A hole was dug in the ground, almost as large as an ordinary room, and in the middle of it the body of the chief was placed. One of the wives jumped down and seated herself at the head of the corpse, another wife squatted at the feet. Others sat around at the sides. If there was any room left, some slaves were brought in and made the outer fringe of the circle. Neither the wives nor the slaves manifested the slightest concern, but accepted their fate entirely as a matter of course.

How far the Belgians have gone in the work of correcting this state of affairs is a matter of conjecture.

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE CARAVANS OF THE DESERT.

The writer spent some years among the Arabs and learned to admire greatly the Ship of the Desert, or the gentle, submissive camel. Nothing can be more lamb-like than the behavior of these large, soft-eyed beasts of burden, who seem to exist only for the purpose of suffering as much as possible in the cause of heartless mankind. Without the camel and the horse, especially the former, the Arab would be lost and much of Africa now in a semi-state of civilization would be still plunged in the sleep of ages. First experiences on camel-back are not pleasant, as a rule; the jerky lifting, then squatting back motion which the camel imparts to you is likely to produce a feeling of sea-sickness on your part, unless you are well fortified against such weakness. In long strings, sometimes extending for miles, camels are loaded with goods, and wind over the parched desert, without requiring water for very long periods.

Caravan is a Persian word (Karawan), though Rikb (assembled riders) or Kafileh (wayfaring band), are the terms used in Arabia proper. According to the general acceptance of the term, a caravan consists of a party of merchants, salesmen, explorers or others who band together for their protection and travel long distances in company, the main object of such a gathering of interests being the hiring of an escort or guard of some sort to protect the travelers against the robbers who prey upon caravans when not confronted by superior force. Then, again, people who have had to travel over the deserts had to carry large quantities of supplies, tents, etc., with them, for there are no roads, much less hotels or other such accommodations, to be met with. Coffee houses and stores can be found in the small towns scattered here and there, long distances apart, but the caravan traveler depends upon himself and his companions. On arriving at a town a camp is formed outside the walls and then, after due preparation in the matter of dress, etc., the merchant rides in and attends to business. He may take some of the local merchants back with him and display his goods outside his tent, or he may take samples with him. Trading of this order has been generally of the give and take nature. That is to say,

the merchant from the coast takes with him the class of goods needed by the traders or others of the interior and they make an exchange, the traveling merchant taking back camel loads of ivory, dates, palm-oil, anything, in short, procurable, which he sells at the nearest point of shipment, and then begins over again.

The leading camel of a caravan is generally gaily decorated with brilliant-colored trappings, many tassels and bells, and is, for luck or guidance, preceded by an unladen ass.

When the route followed is rocky and steep, mules or asses are used in preference to camels. The wealthier of the party ride horses, while the servants and others foot it, under the shade of the camels, if possible.

When a merchant or chief travels with his family across the desert, the women and children are comfortably ensconced in howdahs, or silk-hooded little apartments, or nests, screened from the sun by fine netting, and provided with all kinds of luxuries. Even camel traveling can be made almost pleasant by such means. The number of camels or mules in a single caravan varies from a dozen or so up to 500, or even a thousand in the case of re-opening long-closed routes.

The organizers of caravans make their plans according to the seasons, and so do the wild Bedouins who attack them, if possible. The hottest and driest months are avoided, and so are the winters, in some parts, when severely cold weather may be encountered. According to a recommendation of the Koran, Friday is the best day for starting a caravan. Each day's route is divided into two stages, the first from about 3 or 4 A. M. to 10 A. M., when there is a halt, and the second from about 2 or 3 P. M. to 6 or 8 P. M., or until some camping place previously decided upon is reached. At an average pace, a laden camel will travel about two miles an hour, but there are riding camels which travel much faster. The British, in Egypt, have a trained camel corps of mounted infantry, which has done fine service against the Dervishes of the Soudan. As a rule, the Caravan-Bashi, or leader of the escort, decides the time of the departures, halts and arrivals at certain places of caravans. But such matters are in some cases settled by mutual consultation, after which the Caravan-Bashi may be called upon to give his advice. In cases where a detachment of regular troops forms the escort of a caravan, the officer in command is generally allowed to direct its movements. While a caravan is traveling the five stated daily prayers

of the orthodox Mohammedan are anticipated or curtailed. Two caravans are mentioned in Genesis, Chapter XXXVII, and the route they were traveling over seems to have been what now coincides with the route followed by the Syrian caravans on their way to Egypt.

In some parts of the more civilized portions of the North African world there are caravan-serai, or public buildings, for the shelter of caravans and travelers generally. They are usually built outside the walls of the towns and bear the form of a quadrangle, with a dead wall outside. Inside are cloister-like arcades, surrounded by storerooms resembling cells. There are also a number of living-rooms for those who can afford to pay the small gratuity which the guard of the caravan-serai expects, but which the municipality, which employs them, does not allow them to demand. Only water and shelter are provided at the caravan-serai. Provender and food must be obtained elsewhere if needed. But he who travels in the desert takes with him everything necessary to sustain and defend life.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### AN ARAB ATHLETIC MEETING.

Perhaps, in the midst of so much historical matter, the writer may be pardoned if, before leaving the subject of North Africa, he reproduces a personal narrative of an experience in Algeria, written when he was very much younger.

The writer was staying, some twenty-seven years ago, at Pálikao, Algeria, a small colony in every sense, situated about twenty miles from Mascara. It boasted of a caravan-serai, eight houses, no streets, and a wash house, this latter building being by far the most important structure of the place. It consisted of a large stone tank, twelve feet square and three deep. It was covered with a wooden roof, supported by four posts. The sides of the tank sloped down, to enable the inhabitants to wash their clothes thereon. It was generally surrounded by half a dozen dirty Arabian women, two or three German fraus, and half a dozen dilapidated French soldiers, who were stationed there to promote colonization, by helping the poor refugees from Alsace and Lorraine.

He had formed the acquaintance of the son of the Caid of an Arabian governor and judge, appointed by the "Bureau Arabe," to control the affairs of that district. By him the writer was invited to attend the great annual fete of the district. He mounted his horse and set out from the caravan-serai at about six o'clock one fine morning, and, under the guidance of a wounded Arab sent by his friend, the Caid's son, set out for the place of meeting. A rifle was slung across the writer's back and a brace of revolvers were in his holsters. But these precautions were needless, for the Arab had brought him a hat to protect his head from the sun, and all Arabs who saw him after he had put it on, bowed themselves in respect before him. It was a very broad-brimmed straw hat with a tremendously high crown, decorated with some curious insignia. A strap passed under the chin so that at will it could be thrown off, and it would lie on his back something after the fashion of a knapsack. One unlucky wretch, not happening to notice his head dress, was set upon by the conductor and unmercifully beaten, with a "mattrack," or stick, before the writer could interfere. As they neared



the place of meeting, he noticed thousands of white bedizened Arabs flocking like sheep on the hillocks around the Caid's house, some on foot, some on donkeys, some on horseback; others on camels and others on dromedaries. The women were all, as usual, muffled up to the eyes, and seated cross-legged on their various steeds, soft, downy cushions, or dirty rags, according to the wealth of their lords and masters, protecting them from too close a contact with the back of the animals.

Bright, flashing, dark eyes sparkled like stars from the only small opening in their face-covering that they were allowed to have to prevent them from suffocation. The Caid's tent was pitched in a little valley between two sand hills, close to his own house. This last structure was of a rather curious form; it was quite square, and had but one inlet or outlet and that was the grand entrance. It was built of stone, and had a flat roof. All the windows gave into a court-yard in the interior of the building. The kitchen was a building separated from the main structure and, by the noise and bustle that surrounded it, must have been in a high state of activity on that particular day. As the writer neared the building, the crowd opened and made way for his young friend. He was a tall, noble-looking fellow, and mounted on a splendid steed. As he was now, he looked the very personification of the noble Arab. He was about twenty-five years of age, and his flashing dark eyes sparkled with joy. Hastily dismounting, he hurried forward to meet the writer and pressing his hand he said:

"Welcome, my brother; welcome amongst the Children of the Desert."

After a few words of inquiry as to his health he led him towards a line of splendid silk tents, surrounded by hundreds of others of commoner make. They were of all sizes and shapes; some round, others square, oblong, conical, semi-conical, bell-shaped, egg-shaped, and mushroom-shaped. This last-named shape was used only by the lower classes, and instead of being made of silk, canvas, or canvas lined with silk, as the richer ones generally were, they were made of camel's hair. These last tents were by far the most numerous, and their curious yellow and black patterns contrasted prettily with the gorgeous tents of the chiefs.

The scene was worthy the pencil of the greatest artist. The day was beautiful, the sun falling in a graceful caress on the many-tinted

shades around, caused such a glow of color, that it seemed to transport him with joy, and ennoble his thoughts. The scene was truly magnificent. The Caid's son, Sidi Mahomet, conducted him to a tent seemingly of more importance than the rest. Round it, in picturesque groups, were the great chiefs, some on horseback, some standing, some sitting cross-legged on magnificent mats, others indulging in modern chairs. They were all dressed in gorgeous style, their rich and graceful burnous falling proudly from their shoulders. The Arab wears as many as six or seven burnous, one on top of the other. A burnous is a kind of cloak, something like the Mexican poncho, but provided with a hood. They are made of fine silk, cotton silk, or wool, according to the purse of the owners. They all wore white turbans encircled with fathoms of a kind of brown twine, something like spun yarn. The Arabs were nearly all well armed with double-barreled rifles, though an occasional glimpse could be had of the long rifle, with its curious stock and bands, peculiar to the Arab. Rich sabres were also to be seen at the sides of some of the chiefs, though in general they were fastened to the saddle.

Sidi then introduced the writer to his father, the Caid. He was a fine looking man of the ordinary type, and after shaking hands, he led the writer toward one of the most noble and venerable-looking men that he had ever seen. He was over six feet in height. Unlike the rest, his turban was green, and a long silvery beard fell upon his broad chest. He seemed to be the object of universal respect and veneration. They all bowed low as he passed, not in the respectful manner usually held as homage to a chief, but in a reverential way, bordering on the devotional. Sidi put his hand in the writer's as he was introduced to this venerable person, and whispered in French, "Kiss his hand." He did so willingly, for it seemed to him as if the shade of Abraham, Moses or Solomon had suddenly appeared before him, and it was a long time before he could get over the feeling of veneration that he had experienced while gazing upon that patriarch. Sidi afterwards informed him that he was a direct descendant of Mahomet.

Sidi was unremitting in his kind attentions. He made the writer seat himself in a chair under the grand tent, which had been thrown open for the purpose, had some absinthe brought, with a couple of long hookahs, and the host and his guest were soon wrapped in clouds of smoke. Under the direction of some of the minor chiefs, the crowd of

Arabs assembled were formed into an immense circle in front of the grand tent. Then, at a signal from the Caid, the sports began.

First, about a hundred priests formed themselves in four lines of twenty-five. At the back of each priest, or, as they are called, "marabouts," was an Arab bearing a colored banner. The banners were nearly all of green silk, and worked with curious devices in gold. Each priest had a drum slung across his back, the lower extremity of each drum protruding under the left arm of the bearer, so that he could play upon it with his two hands. The drums were of wood or earthenware, and the only thing they can be compared with is a length of drain pipe with a parchment head and bottom. Some of the drums had bottoms only. Then at a sign from the right hand man they began playing a kind of tune by beating their fingers on the drum-heads. It was always the same tune—

Tumpety, tumpety, tumpetty, tum,  
Tumpety, tumpety, tumpetty, tum, tum,  
Tumpety, tumpety, tumpetty, tum,  
Tumpety, tumpety, tumpetty, tum, tum.

At the end of each "verse" they broke out into a wild chant, which the crowd echoed. The marabouts then advanced towards the grand tent, every priest being the bearer of a purse. A servant of each of the chiefs distributed alms to them, and the writer forced Sidi to allow him to contribute his mite. They then dispersed themselves among the crowd, and, followed by their standard-bearers, continued the tum-tuming and begging till the end of the sports.

As soon as the ground was cleared two parties of young men advanced into the ring and stationed themselves in two opposite lines. They were quite naked, with the exception of a small cloth round their loins. Their strong, sinewy limbs, brown skins, and fierce looks were objects of universal admiration. At a sign from the starter, they advanced slowly and cautiously against each other, each man choosing the one directly opposite him as his adversary. Watching their opportunity, they dropped down on their hands, and throwing themselves round with wonderful agility, they aimed kicks at their opponents' heads. To render a man hors de combat, it was necessary that he receive a kick at the back of his head. The number was soon reduced to two, and it was a most exciting, and interesting sight to see

the feints, dodges, ruses, attacks, parries and blows tried by each man.

Sidi informed the writer that they belonged to two rival tribes, hence the interest that was taken in the fight. The crowd was mad with excitement. Guttural cheers rang on all sides, and several free fights took place between the friends of the antagonists. At last, one of the combatants, having received a fine kick at the back of his head, the other was declared winner. The next item on the programme was a fight with sticks, commonly called "mattracks." Then there was an interesting wrestling match, the combatants being naked and well greased with fat and oil. A square fall was declared when the loser had struck the ground.

Then the important part began. All the young chiefs mounted their horses and withdrew about three hundred yards from the grand stand, with their loaded rifles slung on their backs. At a word they sprang away, spurring their horses with fury and shouting horribly. As the winner of the race arrived at the post, i. e., the grand stand, with a lightning-like movement he unslung his rifle with one hand, and holding it at arm's length, fired a shot in the air. The rest followed in succession, and by the time the whole band had arrived before the stand, such a cloud of dust encircled the riders that it was hardly possible to distinguish one from the other.

Sidi then challenged the writer to a race. A horse was brought to the Arab chief, and another was provided for the visitor, who expressed astonishment at its not being his own, whereupon the Arab who brought the animal informed the visitor that the "Great Marabout" had lent him his horse to compete with Sidi Mahomet. The two riders were joined by some of the leading chiefs, who also wished to have a trial of skill with Sidi. The horse lent the visitor was a splendid thoroughbred, black as jet, and full of fire. At the start he got it away to the front at the first bound and kept the lead. Within a short distance of the post, the writer unslung his rifle and fired in the air, the shot from Sidi's rifle following his, probably out of courtesy, within half a second, the two horses at the time nearly touching each other.

The party returned to Sidi's tent and sat down to a good meal. It consisted of "kous-kous," that is to say, a mixture of mutton, venison, partridge and rice, the whole stewed together with herbs, and seasoned with spice. It was very good, and sitting cross-legged on mats all present made an excellent repast.



GEN. SIR REDVERS HENRY BULLER, COMMANDING BRITISH FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA.



GEN. SIR GEORGE WHITE, COMMANDING BRITISH FORCES AT LADYSMITH.



BRITISH PARADE OUTSIDE OF MAFEKING.



A NATIVE CHURCH IN MAFEKING.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE BREWING OF TROUBLE.

The British have made many complaints against the Boers, and, possibly, some of them were well founded. For instance, the British claim the Boers have repeatedly raided their territory, and they point to the fact that between 1881 and 1885 the Boers made two most determined raids, one of which succeeded, while the other failed; and they say that a third was only stopped by the determined action of Dr. Jameson. This was in connection with the Adendorff concession, and some excitement prevailed both in South Africa and in England as to the possible consequences. A large party of Boers was organized under the leadership of Colonel Ferreira with a view to occupying part of Mashonaland in June, 1891. Lord Loch, at that time Sir Henry, promptly issued a proclamation announcing that any attempt to occupy Banyailand would be regarded as an infringement of the rights of the chartered company. He also sent a sharp dispatch to President Kruger, who replied that he had "damped" the trek, and he certainly issued a proclamation forbidding any Transvaal burgher to take part in the movement. But a large armed party of Boers went northward to the banks of the Limpopo, which they attempted to cross, but they were stopped by a small body of the British South Africa Company's Police, and Dr. Jameson persuaded them to return without any fighting.

In the early part of 1882, profiting by the disturbed state of the country, certain Boers had leased farms from Chief Oham, on condition that they should help to prevent incursions into his territory. These Boers had invited others, and their number greatly increased. This was contrary to the Convention of Pretoria, which had contained the agreement that the Boers were not to extend their territories east of thirty degrees east longitude.

The following is a sketch of events in Zululand during 1884: In May the Boers proclaimed Dinizulu king of Zululand, and in return they received from him large tracts of land, which they proclaimed an independent state, under the title of the New Republic. As the imperial authorities found that the Boers from the New Republic were gradually annexing the whole of Zululand, the British flag was hoisted at

St. Lucia Bay December 21, 1884. Next year further steps were taken. Then, as now, desirous of reaching the sea, the Boers, both of the South African Republic and of the New Republic, laid claims to St. Lucia Bay; these claims, however, the British Government refused to admit. Reinforced by fresh arrivals from the Transvaal, the Boers of the Republic gradually extended their boundaries until, by the end of 1885, they included about three-fourths of Zululand. Dinizulu tried to repudiate his agreement, but the Boers showed him that with them possession was all the law.

While matters were thus proceeding at the east of the Transvaal, there were also continual disorders on the western border. Immediately after the retrocession of the Transvaal marauding began. Two Transvaal chiefs and two under the protection of Great Britain were at war with one another, and under pretext of helping the various chiefs, a body of Boers established themselves in the country, driving out the lawful owners, and establishing two independent Dutch republics, known as Stellaland and Goshen. A correspondent of Sir Bartle Frere stated that a Transvaal official equipped six burghers on their promising to give him half the cattle they captured, and they were to return horse, saddle and gun to him. Cattle known to have been raided were publicly sold in the Transvaal, and yet the Transvaal Government denied having anything to do with the raids, though they admitted that they could not restrain their own people. Adrian de la Rey and Gert van Niekerk were masters of the situation for a time. On September 10, 1884, President Kruger issued a proclamation which, "in the interests of humanity, proclaimed and ordained" the contending chiefs, Moshette and Montsioa, to be under the protection of the South African Republic. But this proclamation was withdrawn at a word from the High Commissioner, and Sir Charles Warren's expedition sent to occupy the country. Meanwhile, the Cape Ministry treated with the freebooters, and made a provisional agreement for the annexation of Goshen to the Cape Colony. But the Imperial Government refused its sanction, because the terms proposed were "equivalent to recognition, as a de facto government, of freebooters who had made war on the British Protectorate, and to acknowledgment of the bona fide character of the claims of the brigands to land in Montsioa's territory." Accordingly, Sir Charles Warren's expedition was hastened, and the terms of his commission were "to remove the filibusters from Bechuan-



aland, to pacificate the country, to reinstate the natives in their land, and to take such measures as were necessary to prevent further depre-  
dation, and, finally, to hold the country until its further destination was known."

The three leaders in these events were Lucas Meyer, Gert van Niekerk, and Groot Adrian de la Rey. Lucas Meyer is now a member of the First Volksraad of the South African Republic and a strong Progressive, in favor of dual language in government offices. Gert van Niekerk died recently, and was accorded a public funeral, with military honors, being Chief Commissioner of Police at the time of his death, while Groot Adrian de la Rey publicly stated his readiness to start raiding again at the head of 2,000 Boers.

From the earliest times the Outlanders, especially the British of the Transvaal, have had grievances against the Transvaal, and some of them appear to have been well-founded. But the grievances themselves might have been settled amicably, in due course of time, had it not been for the fact that the great wire-pullers of South Africa and their friends and supporters, associates and others seem to have taken advantage of this state of affairs to attempt the accomplishment of objects they had long held in view, namely, making Great Britain, or the British South Africa Company, paramount beyond dispute, with the possibility, in the distant future, of absorbing the rest of Africa, or, at least, the best portion of it.

However, it is not the province here to draw conclusions. It is for the great American people to do that. We simply try to present without bias all the main facts in the case.

The Transvaal Outlanders, especially those of Johannesburg, have for many years been complaining that they have been unfairly taxed without representation, pointing out that though they constituted the majority of the population of the South African Republic, owning more than half the land and at least nine-tenths of the property, yet, in all matters affecting their lives, liberties and properties they had no voice. The Outlanders also charged the Transvaal administration with gross extravagance, bribery and corruption and with intense hostility to the English. The last charge is proved beyond a doubt, and the others have been supported by unprejudiced Americans.

Matters grew worse and worse as passion on both sides became more heated. Early in December, 1895, the situation at Johannesburg was

threatening, and there were persistent rumors that the miners were secretly arming and that warlike preparations were being made. Owing to these rumors the women and children were leaving the Raad, and General Joubert, commander-in-chief of the Transvaal forces, had been summoned to Pretoria from Natal.

The American and German residents in the Transvaal, it was added, sided with the Government.

The London Times' correspondent in Paris, the next day, quoted the *Journal des Debats*, a semi-official organ, as arguing upon the danger to French interests of allowing Great Britain to seize the Transvaal; and the action of the Outlanders, according to a dispatch from Berlin, gave rise to an unusually violent explosion of anti-British feeling in the German press.

"Germany, Portugal and possibly France," said the *Berlin National Zeitung*, "cannot allow the Boer republics to become the exclusive prey of England, and especially of such a dangerous personage as Mr. Cecil Rhodes." Other German papers expressed similar sentiments, saying it could not be denied that, while the relations between the British and German governments were in no way cordial, a widespread feeling of animosity against Great Britain existed in Germany.

The London Times, December 9, 1895, in a long article, explaining the Transvaal trouble, said:

"Equality of representation with taxation, language, law, responsibility of the administration to the legislature, and the removal of religious disabilities are among the chief of the Outlanders' demands, while they agree to maintain republican institutions."

The Times also complained, editorially, that the French and German press criticised Great Britain without "properly grasping the history or geography of the question," and declared that it believed that no desperate remedy, such as an appeal to force, would be required, and that some reasonable concessions, even though not all that the Outlanders might rightfully claim, might avail to postpone a conflict."

By December 30, 1895, the political crisis at Johannesburg had reached a most acute stage. The exodus of women and children was increasing, all trains leaving the place being crowded; the prices of foodstuffs had become high, while the Government had notified the burghers to be ready for active service in case of an emergency. The Mercantile Association had formed itself into a town guard to preserve



VEREENIGING, FIRST STATION IN THE TRANSVAAL FROM CAPE TOWN.



MARKET STREET IN SOUTH PRETORIA.



LIEUT.-GEN. SIR GEORGE WHITE, COMMANDER OF BRITISH FORCES IN NATAL.

order and protect life and property, and had asked the Government for arms and ammunition, pledging itself not to take part in a revolution or riot. It was expected that several of the leading mines would close down immediately.

In the course of an interview, President Kruger, at the time, expressed regret at the agitation, and said:

"If the situation is aggravated, many disastrous consequences are to be feared, especially in mining and commercial enterprises. The present attitude of the Outlanders does not conduce to calm consideration of their alleged grievances. The Government will give them an opportunity for such free speech on their grievances as does not incite to rebellion, but the Government is fully prepared to stop any movement aiming at a disturbance of law and order."

Professor James Bryce, M. P., author of "The American Commonwealth," who had at that time just returned to London from South Africa, said, in response to a request for his views upon the situation in the Transvaal:

"There is a pretty widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing condition of affairs in the Transvaal. Much will depend on President Kruger's attitude. It is hoped that the Transvaal Government will recognize that the situation is, or may become, serious. The population of Outlanders is increasing rapidly."

The feature of business on the London Stock Exchange on December 30 was the weakness of South African securities, due to the situation in the Transvaal, the prices of "Kaffirs" declining steadily.

"It is a curious anomaly," wrote Major Ricarde-Seaver, in December, 1895, "to see, at the end of the nineteenth century, a minority of 15,000 burghers, all told, ruling a majority of 60,000 enlightened, wealthy and prosperous aliens, who, although they possess the richest and most valuable portion of the country, have no voice in its management. The franchise must be extended to all qualifying for citizenship, and when this is done, the Outlanders, as a class, will cease to exist. They will become citizens and the control of the state will pass into the hands of the majority, or, in other words, the Anglo-Saxon race."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### THE JAMESON RAID AND THE UNDOING OF DR. "JIM."

A cable message was received at Berlin, December 31, 1895, from Pretoria, Transvaal, which stated that an armed force of the British South Africa Company, numbering 700 men, with six Maxim guns and other pieces of artillery, was reported to have invaded the Transvaal territory.

The dispatch from Pretoria further said that the British force had already reached the vicinity of Rustenberg and was advancing upon Johannesburg.

On learning of the news President Kruger ordered that the further advance of the invaders should be prevented by force of arms, and issued a proclamation calling upon all burghers to defend the country.

This, the first news of the famous Jameson raid, caused a thrill of excitement throughout the civilized world, and the feeling was intensified January 1, 1896, when a dispatch was received from Cape Town, reading:

"In consequence of a letter signed by the leading inhabitants of Johannesburg, which was sent to Dr. Jameson, at Mafeking, Saturday, Dr. Jameson, on Sunday, crossed the Transvaal frontier near Mafeking with 700 men. It is known that he passed Malmani at 5 o'clock on Monday morning."

The letter to Dr. Jameson was dated December 28, and said:

"Matters in this state have become so critical that we are assured that at no distant period there will be a conflict between the Government and the Outlander population. The position of thousands of Englishmen and of others is rapidly becoming intolerable."

The letter then proceeded to complain that the Transvaal Government virtually compelled the Outlanders to pay the whole revenue of the country, while denying them representation, adding:

"The internal policy of the Government has incensed not only the Outlanders, but a large number of Boers, while its external policy has exasperated the neighboring states to the extent of endangering the peace and independence and the preservation of the republic.

"We must consider what must be the condition of things in the

event of an armed conflict. Thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race will be at the mercy of the well-armed Boers, while property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We all feel that we are justified in taking any steps to prevent the shedding of blood and to insure the protection of our rights."

The London Times, in an editorial, January 1, 1896, said:

"Mr. Chamberlain's action indicates that no adequate justifications exist for Dr. Jameson's apparent breach of the law of nations. It was known in official circles yesterday (December 31, 1895) that in the course of the day Mr. Chamberlain had wired Dr. Jameson, ordering him to return without delay to the company's territory. The adoption of this course manifestly places a serious responsibility upon the shoulders of the Colonial Office. It is believed that the Boer forces have been mobilized under General Joubert, and that an explosion is possible at any moment.

"Mr. Chamberlain is believed to have addressed himself to President Kruger as clearly and as firmly as to Dr. Jameson. He called upon the Boer leader to do his utmost to prevent hostilities, and has offered Great Britain's aid to promote a peaceful settlement.

"If no rising has occurred, Mr. Chamberlain's attitude will commend universal approval; but if British blood has been shed which might have been saved, it is inevitable that some part of the blame, however unjustly, should attach to his intervention.

"President Kruger would do well to accept the British offer of mediation, but it is rumored that he had been ill-advised enough to resort to a measure of a very different kind. He is said to have been so far forgetful of the position of the Transvaal as subject to the suzerainty of Great Britain as to appeal to the French and German consuls for support. Conduct of that kind betrays a remarkable ignorance of the rights of this country over Transvaal and of her resolution to enforce them. Whatever else we may tolerate at the hands of the Boers, we will not endure foreign intervention in any shape within the Transvaal, nor suffer the Transvaal to fall in anarchy."

A member of the German diplomatic service in Berlin said, December 31, 1895, that Emperor William showed a lively dislike to the machinations of the British in the Transvaal, but his Majesty would decline to undertake a protectorate over the republic, as he considered the crisis a matter of internal politics. He, however, had promised his

moral support, and had indicated that he might even take "certain measures" if Great Britain persisted in her course.

Later it was announced that the cable message sent by Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, to Dr. Jameson, administrator of the British South Africa Company, ordering the return of the force of armed men which Dr. Jameson led into the Transvaal, could not reach him "until he arrived at Johannesburg," at which place, it was explained, there were arms enough to equip thirty thousand men.

Then Mr. Chamberlain issued an official statement that he was in communication with President Kruger in an endeavor to avert serious consequences of the "unauthorized and altogether unjustifiable act" of Dr. Jameson.

Governor Robinson, of Cape Colony, issued a proclamation publicly repudiating the act of Dr. Jameson, and caused to be published in the newspapers of Pretoria and Johannesburg an injunction, in the name of the Queen, to all her Majesty's subjects in the Transvaal not to give aid to Dr. Jameson, but to "obey the law and observe order."

Messengers were sent to overtake Jameson, conveying orders to him and every officer accompanying him to retire from the Transvaal territory immediately.

But the situation was aggravated by the fact that Dr. Jameson cut the wires behind him, rendering telegraphic communication with his force impossible.

Mr. Chamberlain next sent a dispatch to the British South Africa Company, asking them to repudiate Dr. Jameson and his acts. To this the company replied that they were entirely ignorant of Dr. Jameson's acts or purposes.

Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony, in connection with this reply, said that Dr. Jameson had acted without authority, adding that he, Mr. Rhodes, had tried to stop Dr. Jameson when he learned that he had gone into the Transvaal, but found that the wires had been cut and that, consequently, he could not communicate with him.

The Boers sent a messenger to Dr. Jameson asking him to withdraw from the territory of the Transvaal, but Dr. Jameson wrote to the Boer commandant at Maricoland, refusing to withdraw from the Transvaal and avowing that he would proceed with his original plans, which, in



acceptance of the invitation of the principal residents of Rand, were to assist them in their demands for justice.

The London Times, January 2, 1896, printed a dispatch from its Berlin correspondent, in which he said:

“The crisis in the Transvaal endangers British relations with Germany. The Government hitherto has endeavored to restrain the newspapers over which it has some control, but, judging from what has already been written, one does not like to contemplate what will happen when the restraint is removed.

“Inasmuch as the numerous German residents of the Transvaal cannot but be affected by a serious breach of the public peace, Germany cannot be at a loss for a concrete cause for interference if she is determined to interfere. There is some reason to believe that she is determined and resolved, under no circumstances, to tolerate a disturbance of the status quo in South Africa.”

Considerable excitement prevailed in Berlin over the crisis in the Transvaal, and the attitude of Great Britain was denounced on all sides. The *Vossische Zeitung* said:

“The proceedings of the British South Africa Company cannot be tolerated, and Germany must immediately take energetic steps to protect the South African Republic.”

The paper also expressed hope that Dr. Leyds, the diplomatic agent of the South African Republic, who was then in Berlin and in close communication with the German Foreign Office, had telegraphed to Pretoria that Germany would grant the Boers protection that would not be “merely diplomatic.”

The Cologne Gazette said that Germany had sent an official inquiry to Great Britain as to what steps were to be taken by the British Government in regard to the invasion of the Transvaal by the British South Africa Company.

Other reports from the South African Republic confirmed the news previously received of the gravity of the situation and Mr. Chamberlain issued the following statement:

“Having learned that Dr. Jameson had entered the Boer country, I have since been continuously engaged in an endeavor to avert the consequence of his extraordinary action. Sir Hercules Robinson, governor of Cape Colony, has by proclamation publicly repudiated Dr. Jameson’s act, and has enjoined the British subjects to obey the law

and remain quiet. Dr. Jameson and his officers have been ordered to retire immediately.

"It is hoped that a collision will be averted, but Dr. Jameson cut all the wires as he advanced. The British agent at Johannesburg is going forward to meet Dr. Jameson and to order him, in the Queen's name, to retire forthwith.

"I have called upon the charter company to repudiate Dr. Jameson's proceedings, of which the company says it is entirely ignorant.

"Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony, has stated that Dr. Jameson acted without his authority. As soon as he heard that he contemplated entering the Transvaal he endeavored to stop him, but found that the wires were cut."

The loyal subjects of the British Empire, January 2, 1896, were thrown into a state of consternation by the announcement from Johannesburg that Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, the popular Dr. "Jim," had been defeated by the Boers, that he had lost heavily and had surrendered to the forces of the Transvaal.

The British Colonial Office, next day, published the following cable dispatches from Sir Hercules Robinson, then governor of Cape Colony, British High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain:

"A messenger overtook Dr. Jameson ten miles the other side of Elans river. He has brought back a verbal message that the dispatches have been received and will be attended to. The force was then saddling up and immediately proceeded east into the Transvaal.

"Dr. Jameson thus received and disregarded my message.

"Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British agent in the Transvaal, telegraphs that fighting began at 4 P. M. yesterday. He was unable to obtain details from General Joubert, commander of the Transvaal, or Boer, forces, last evening, and had heard nothing beyond rumor.

"The Cape Times has a telegram from Pretoria, received there from Krugersdorp, saying that there had been hard fighting, the forces of the Chartered South Africa Company suffering heavily."

A second cable message from Sir Hercules Robinson read:

"The British agent at Pretoria telegraphs under date of January 2:

"I have just seen General Joubert and he says that, according to his information, Dr. Jameson has been driven out of several positions. The burghers have twenty-five of their (British) wounded as prisoners,

including three officers, and five corpses have been buried by the burghers.

“The fighting is still proceeding. No force has yet left Johannesburg to assist Dr. Jameson.

“The Government has received word that additional forces of the South Africa Company are mobilizing to enter the Transvaal, and that the Kaffir commander within the Transvaal, on the Bechuanaland border of the Free State, is ready to assist the Transvaal if required.

“Dr. Jameson is surrounded by a large force near Krugersdorp. The railway between Krugersdorp and Johannesburg has been broken up.

“The acting President of the Orange Free State telegraphs me that 1,600 burghers have been commanded to take up a position sixteen miles this side of the Vaal river.”

A third cablegram from Sir Hercules Robinson forwarded a dispatch from the British agent at Pretoria, definitely announcing that Dr. Jameson had surrendered.

Mr. Chamberlain immediately cabled to Sir Hercules Robinson, expressing regret at the fact that Dr. Jameson's disobedience led to deplorable loss of life, and asking the governor to do his utmost to secure generous treatment of the prisoners and care of the wounded, and to telegraph the names of the killed and wounded.

During the afternoon of the same day Mr. Chamberlain issued the following statement:

“The High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, is leaving Cape Town this afternoon for Pretoria to deal with the situation to the furtherance of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement in obedience to my requisition.”

The South Africa Company directors had already telegraphed to their managing director at Cape Town, directing him to immediately inform Dr. Jameson that the company dissented from and objected to the action he had taken, and required him to return immediately to the company's lands.

The British agent at Pretoria sent the following dispatch to the governor of Cape Colony:

“The Transvaal commanding general has positive information that 800 Bechuanaland troops, with six Maxim guns and other cannon,

carrying the British flag, have arrived near Bustenburg and are on the march to Johannesburg.

"The President of the Transvaal regards this incursion as a serious violation of the convention with Great Britain and hopes that immediate steps will be taken to stop any further advance of the intruders, as he cannot allow the country's rights to be violated in this manner."

The governor of Cape Colony replied:

"I declare that if the report is true the step was taken without my sanction or previous knowledge. I immediately wired my disapproval of the action and directed the troopers to retire without delay."

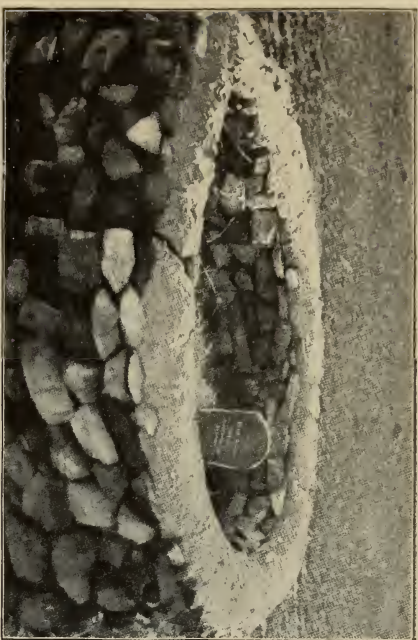
President Kruger, replying to a dispatch of inquiry from Mr. Chamberlain, cabled:

"I have not ordered the freebooters who are prisoners to be shot. Their case will be decided strictly in accordance with the traditions of the Republic, and in sharp contrast to the unheard-of acts of these freebooters. So many lies and false reports are published in even the influential newspapers in England that I deem it advisable to add that the freebooter prisoners have been treated with greatest consideration by our burghers, despite the fact that the latter have been more than once compelled to take up arms in defense of the dearly bought independence of our Republic. I hope you will kindly pardon the liberty I am taking when I say that our confidence in Rhodes has received such a rude shock that his repudiation of the proceedings at Buluwayo ought to be received with the greatest caution. Even now we have news that an armed force is collecting on our borders. If this is true I trust that not the word of Rhodes, but the influence of the Government will suffice to prevent further incursions. Will you, with a view to checking further lying reports, publish this?"

Mr. Chamberlain replied:

"I thank you for your message, which I will publish as you desire. The press has not given credence to the rumors about cruelty of your magnanimity. I have sent an Imperial officer to Buluwayo to see that my orders are obeyed, and to prevent a further raid. You may rest confident that I will strictly uphold all the obligations of the London convention of 1884."

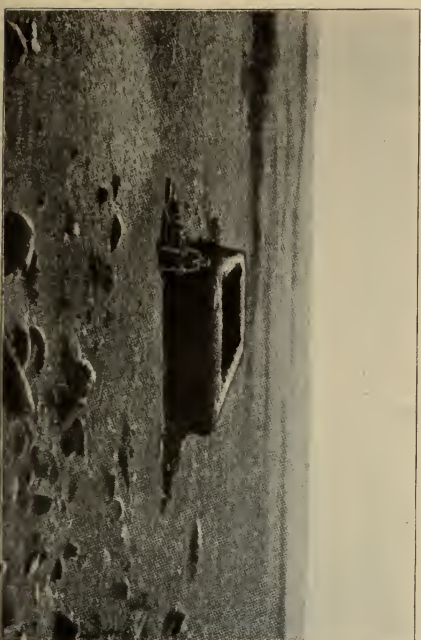
The same day a cable dispatch from Johannesburg was received at the office in London of the Johannesburg Standard, stating that in reply to an address presented to him by a deputation, President Kruger



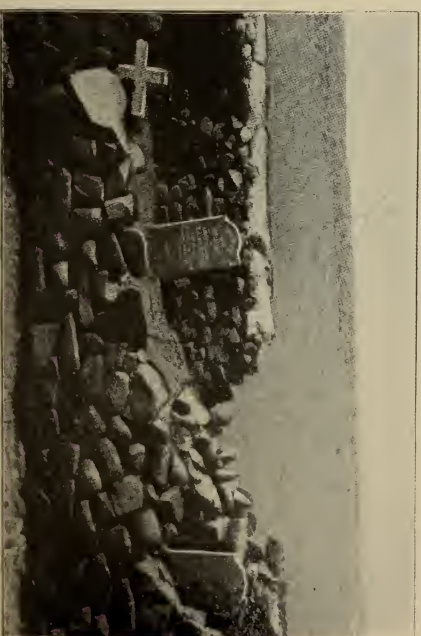
THE GRAVE OF THE REARGUARD.



GRAVES OF CAPT. MASWINEY AND LIEUT. HARRISON.



LONELY CEMETERY AT BRONKHORSTSPRUIT.



GRAVE OF LIEUT.-COL. ANSTRUTHER.



LEKUKU, KHAMA'S FIGHTING GENERAL, WHO HAS OFFERED TO HELP BRITISH AGAINST THE BOERS.

said that the Government would remove the duties on foodstuffs. He also promised that equal subsidies would be given to all schools, whatever language might be taught in them, and that the franchise would be made more liberal. The dispatch added:

“Nevertheless, in the quarters of the capitalists scheming is going on for active hostilities against the Government. Respectable merchants of all nations are combining to circumvent the aims of Cecil Rhodes. The merchants are forming a brigade to protect life and property. The wives and children of the capitalists left days ago. Secret enlisting is proceeding, and lectures on their political grievances are being given to the miners.

“Colonel Rhodes, a brother of Cecil Rhodes, Lionel Phillips, and Charles Leonard, three prominent capitalists, were asked to say that they disapproved of a revolution, but they have made no reply. The community fears the worst, but is prepared to defeat the conspiracy. In the meantime the Boer Government behaves admirably, and allows the freest speech. Loafers already admit that they are in the pay of the capitalists. It is undoubtedly a clear case of an attempt to pick a quarrel and grab the golden treasures of the Transvaal.”

As a precaution against a revolutionary outbreak the Transvaal Government swore in 1,000 volunteer police, consisting of men of all nations represented in the Transvaal. It was their duty to maintain order at Johannesburg and elsewhere.

There were many people in London who knew South Africa, who declared there was nothing to prevent Cape Colony and other British possessions from joining in a revolt for independence if their pet hero, Dr. “Jim” had been allowed to pay the penalty of his life for his last adventure.

Not only this, but public opinion in England was giving unmistakable evidence that it was strongly on the side of Jameson and his men. There was an astonishing and significant demonstration January 3 at the Olympic Theatre, London, where a popular patriotic play entitled “Cheer, Boys, Cheer,” was given before a crowded house. The whole audience at one point broke into cheers for Dr. Jameson.

There had been a similar outburst the previous night, and the management desired to prevent it. A body of police entered the theatre, ejected several who had led in the cheering, and the play went on up to the famous scene representing Major Wilson and his men on the

road to Buluwayo, making their last stand against the Matabeles. There was no restraining the house then. The audience rose and cheered themselves hoarse for Jameson, with loud cries such as:

“Down with Chamberlain! Chamberlain, the traitor!”

There had not been such spontaneous outburst of popular feeling in London in recent years.

Among Dr. Jameson's officers were Captain Charles John Coventry, second son of the Earl of Coventry, whose eldest son, Viscount Deerhurst, married Miss Virginia Bonyngé, of New York, and his two brothers, Henry T. Coventry and Reginald W. Coventry; Lord Annaly, a Captain in the Scots Guards; and Lieutenant Douglas Henry Marsham, a son of the Earl of Romney, who had been serving with the Bechuanaland Border Police. Captain Coventry was an officer of the Bechuanaland Police.

Dr. Jameson's force of about 800 men crossed the Transvaal border Monday, December 30, 1895, but it seems without the knowledge of the Outlanders. He cut the telegraph wires behind him to prevent being ordered back by the British Government, it is claimed, and pushed on for Krugersdorp, where he expected to meet 2,000 Outlanders.

In the meantime the Boers had not been idle. They seem to have been fully aware of Dr. Jameson's proposed raid, and gathered a force of about five thousand well-armed, well-mounted, well-trained farmer-huntsmen. This alarmed the Outlanders of Johannesburg, and many left the town during the night. When Dr. Jameson's force was first sighted in the Transvaal territory it was met by a messenger from the Boer commander, who requested them to withdraw. Dr. Jameson replied that he intended to carry out his original plans, which, he asserted, were not hostile to the people of the Transvaal.

Fighting began soon afterward near Krugersdorp, where the Boers occupied a strong position. The British force was actually commanded by Sir John Willoughby, assisted by Major Goold Adams, who gained fame in the Matabele war. The Boers outnumbered the British at least six to one. But, although the British were exhausted by their long night and day march without food, having expected to be met by the Outlanders in force with supplies, they only suffered a slight reverse in the first skirmish, losing nine killed. The Boers, however, captured twelve prisoners. The British then moved south-



ward to outflank the Boers, but the latter massed near Viakfontein. After moving southward on Wednesday, the British had to fight hard all night, so that when they reached Viakfontein, about six miles from Johannesburg, the next morning, they were famished and exhausted, and their cartridges were about gone.

Dr. Jameson's men fought stubbornly until noon, and then, their ammunition having given out, they were compelled to surrender. According to the best estimates, about 150 of Dr. Jameson's followers were killed and about fifty were wounded in all. The prisoners captured by the Boers numbered about 500. They were taken to Pretoria. After the surrender Dr. Jameson said:

"We simply failed owing to the lack of expected support. Although our allies failed us, we might yet have escaped if the railroad had been destroyed, as the Boers, as well as ourselves were without ammunition until an engine, pulling several truck loads of ammunition and supplies, arrived for the Boers. That settled it. We had neither ammunition nor food."

It was claimed that Dr. Jameson was honest in thinking the Outlanders were in the greatest danger from the Boers, and that he plunged in at the risk of his own life and reputation in order to make an attempt to rescue them. In Great Britain popular feeling in favor of Dr. Jameson ran high. The Times said:

"The march will remain a glorious tradition for the Anglo-Saxon race."

A dispatch from Cape Town said:

"A general feeling of nauseating contempt for the Outlanders of Johannesburg exists here. This feeling is based upon their obvious cowardice in sitting quietly down after luring Dr. Jameson into his blunder and offering him no assistance whatever."

A dispatch from Krugersdorp, dated January 3, reported that Dr. Jameson narrowly escaped being shot in the market place by the incensed Boers, but was saved by the commandant, who threatened to shoot the first man who raised a rifle.

Mr. Chamberlain, January 9, sent the following message:

"I have received the Queen's command to acquaint you that Her Majesty has heard with satisfaction that you have decided to hand over the prisoners to her Government. This fact will redound to your credit and conduce to the peace of South Africa and the harmonious

co-operation of the British and Dutch races which is necessary for its future development and prosperity."

President Kruger, replying to Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch, sent the following telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Cape Colony, for transmission to Mr. Chamberlain:

"It is my intention to hand over the prisoners, so that Mr. Jameson and the British under him may be punished by Her Majesty's Government. I will make known to Your Excellency my final decision in the matter as soon as Johannesburg shall have reverted to a condition of quietness and order. In the meantime, I request Your Excellency to assure the Queen of my high appreciation of her words and in proffering my respectful good wishes to express my thanks for the same."

Twenty-two members of the Reform Committee of Johannesburg were arrested at their club, January 9, on a charge of high treason, and were conveyed under escort to Pretoria. Conspicuous among them were Colonel Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, ex-Premier of Cape Colony; John Hays Hammond, an American engineer, and Lionel Phillips.

President Kruger, the same day, proved himself to be both humane and generous, by releasing more than four hundred of the Jameson filibusters. They were freed at noon and under strong escort were taken via Heidelberg and Paardekraal to Newcastle, Natal, where they were turned over to the British authorities.

In this trip they were compelled to go through the pass between Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill, where the British under Sir George Colley were so disastrously defeated February 27, 1881.

Dr. Jameson and the officers of the expedition, it was added, would be kept at Pretoria until the terms of the indemnity to be paid by the British South Africa Company were settled.

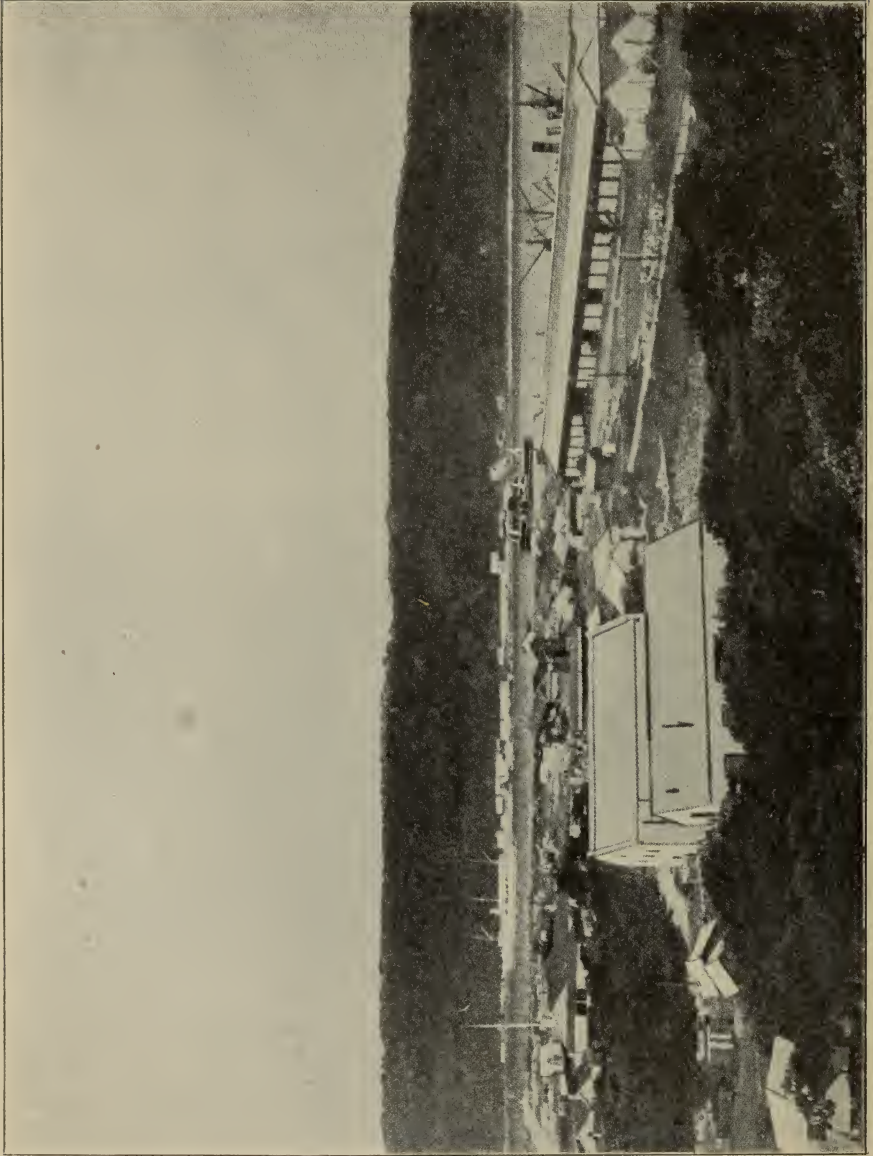
A large safe which was consigned to one Farrar, one of the imprisoned Rand leaders, was opened by the customs officers and was found to contain 100 revolvers and 7,000 rounds of cartridges.

A proclamation issued by President Kruger January 10, 1896, said that he had long meditated an alteration of the constitution, but that he could not accede to unwarrantable demands.

He had intended to submit to the next session of the Volksraad a law granting a municipality to Johannesburg. "Dare I do so," continued the proclamation, "after what has happened? I will give the



PANORAMA OF DURBAN AND THE BLUFFS FROM OCEAN VIEW HOTEL.



HARBOUR AT DURBAN, WHERE THE BRITISH TROOPS ARRIVE.

answer myself. I know that there are thousands in Johannesburg to whom I can with confidence intrust this. Let the Johannesburgers make it possible for the Government to appear before the Volksraad with the words, 'Forget and forgive!'

At a meeting at Manchester, England, January 15, presided over by Arthur J. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury, the chairman, in the course of an address, made incidental mention of Emperor William of Germany, which was greeted by his hearers with groans and hoots.

Referring to the Transvaal difficulty, Mr. Balfour declared that he could not discuss the gravity of the offense of those who would be arraigned for their operations in the South African Republic, but he said he was sure that those who were responsible for the movement there were not guided by mean, sordid motives. The Government, he said, was of the opinion that it was impossible for affairs in the Transvaal to reach a satisfactory condition while its Government was founded upon so artificial and inequitable a basis as it is at present, the Outlanders, who are vastly in the majority, paying the greater proportion of the taxes, and not having the smallest share in the government. President Kruger, Mr. Balfour admitted, had displayed great generosity and political wisdom, and he hoped, therefore, that the promised reforms would not be delayed longer than was necessary.

"It is beyond question," said Mr. Balfour, "that the Transvaal Republic is free in the administration of its internal affairs, but its external affairs are subject to the control of Great Britain. Call it suzerainty, or by any other name chosen, there is no mistaking this fact, and foreign interference will not be permitted."

Nevertheless, Mr. Balfour said, he was not aware that any foreign country was prepared to dispute the doctrine.

General N. H. Harris, of San Francisco, January 17, received a cable dispatch from Mr. A. Wiltsie, dated London, January 1, which read as follows:

"Hammond in solitary confinement; position most critical. Others all right. Strong demand on United States Government in his behalf necessary forthwith."

Another dispatch read:

"London, January 17, 1896.

"General N. H. Harris, San Francisco:

"Following cable received from Connor, Johannesburg: 'Use all

possible influence in Washington in behalf of American prisoners. My worst fears of their critical position is now confirmed. Hammond is likely to be sentenced to several years' imprisonment. Push Washington.'  
E. A. Wiltsie."

According to a dispatch from Cape Town Cecil Rhodes, the former Premier of Cape Colony, was interviewed previous to sailing for England, and said:

"I am no coward, and I shall not resign my seat in Parliament. I shall meet my detractors and shall be satisfied if civil rights are granted to the Outlanders. I intend to be present at the annual meeting of the Chartered Company in London, when I shall address the shareholders on recent events. It was also said to be quite untrue that President Kruger was aware of Dr. Jameson's intention to invade the Transvaal territory. On the contrary, the President, after having been told that Jameson had crossed the border, said:

"Don't tell me that Englishmen would do that. Whatever may be said of them, they are open and brave, and would not make a cowardly, unprovoked attack upon us."

President Kruger readily accepted the assistance of the governor of Cape Colony in bringing about a settlement of the disturbances, and they parted cordially.

Dr. Jameson and his officers, after having been released by the Boers, arrived at Durban, Natal, from Pretoria at daybreak, January 20, and were forthwith escorted on the British transport *Victoria*, which sailed for England the next day.

A London Times' correspondent also had an interview with General Joubert, commander-in-chief of the Boer forces, who said:

"I think there is only one braver than Dr. Jameson, and he is the devil. I would never have had the courage to break into another man's house as he did. Is Jameson a barbarian, or did he think us barbarians?"

General Joubert, in a speech at Heilbron, January 23, in which he thanked the burghers for their prompt, energetic and patriotic action in the troubles in the Transvaal, said that the raid of Dr. Jameson and his followers was not the work of the "honorable and noble section of the British residents," but, on the other hand, was a "cunning and insidious attempt to overthrow law and order."

Secretary Olney, January 31, requested the assistance of the British Government for the protection of the lives and interests of American citizens in the Transvaal and received a prompt and favorable reply.

By appealing to Great Britain for this courtesy the United States Government indorsed the Convention of 1884, by which British suzerainty was acknowledged over the South African Republic. At the same time it announced its determination not to recognize Emperor William's position as being well taken.

As soon as it was learned that John Hays Hammond, the American mining engineer, had been arrested at Johannesburg on a charge of treason in connection with the rising of the Outlanders, and that other American citizens might be in danger of similar treatment, Secretary Olney cabled instructions to the United States consular agent at Johannesburg, Mr. Manyon, to take such steps as were in his power for the protection of his countrymen in the Transvaal.

The Secretary also cabled to Ambassador Bayard in London asking him to call at the Foreign Office and secure the good offices of British representatives in South Africa on behalf of the Americans there, who are said to number about five hundred. Secretary Olney received an answer from Ambassador Bayard to the effect that the United States Government's request had been received in the most friendly spirit. Mr. Bayard was given prompt assurances by Mr. Chamberlain that the governor of Cape Colony would secure for Mr. Hammond and all other American citizens the same protection as would be accorded to British subjects in like circumstances.

For some time after the news of the surrender of the Jameson raiders had spread throughout the world there was a lull in the storm, though the air was full of conflicting rumors. The British Colonial Office received a dispatch, January 4, 1896, from the Governor of Cape Colony, saying:

"De Wet (Sir Jacobus De Wet, the British agent at Pretoria) wires: 'Everything is quiet and no further serious disturbances will occur. A deputation from the Johannesburg Reform Committee came over yesterday evening, giving guarantees to keep the peace and maintain order. I waited upon President Kruger and informed him of the guarantee. He gave me the assurance that pending your arrival, if the Johannesburg people keep quiet and commit no hostile acts or in

any way break the laws of the country, Johannesburg will not be molested or surrounded by the burgher forces. The deputation was highly grateful for this assurance and pledged the committee to preserve peace and order.

“I take this opportunity of testifying in the strongest manner to the great moderation and forbearance of the Transvaal under exceptionally trying circumstances. Their attitude toward myself was everything I could wish.

“The prisoners have just arrived. The casualties on their side are said to be severe, and on the side of the burghers very slight.”

Another dispatch from the Governor read:

“De Wet wires that Jameson’s wounded number over thirty. They are all at Krugersdorp and attended by doctors. Their names and the details of their wounds cannot yet be given. The number of killed is estimated at seventy, but no reliable information is obtainable. The bodies are still being picked up on the battlefield and buried.

“The Cape Town papers say that Dr. Jameson, Sir Charles Wilmoughby and Captain White (a brother of Lord Annaly) are lodged in the Pretoria jail. Grey and Coventry (Captain Charles J. Coventry of the Bechuanaland police and a brother of the Earl of Coventry) are wounded. The Boers captured about 500 prisoners.”

Later in the day a dispatch was received at the Colonial Office from Cape Town, and said the battle lasted from 3 o’clock in the afternoon until 11 o’clock at night. Dr. Jameson led the three principal attacks, and, it was added, his men distinguished themselves by their great gallantry.

This dispatch also gave the first details of the engagement. It said the Boer position was a right-angled one and Dr. Jameson attacked it at one point, and in entering the angle had the fire of the Boers on his front and flanks. The Boers, it appeared, were much superior in numbers and their position was unassailable. Dr. Jameson and 550 men were taken prisoners at Krugersdorp and were afterward sent to Pretoria.

A large deputation of merchants and others interested in South African matters called at the Colonial Office the same evening to urge the Government to take steps for the protection of their friends and relatives. Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, replied that, so far as could be seen, further disturbances were improb-



able. The British Government, he said, "sympathized with the undoubted grievances of the Outlanders." He also explained that the Government "acted in the most energetic fashion imaginable in trying to stop the raid and in attempting to avert further trouble."

Mr. Chamberlain added that Ministers of the Government proposed to adhere to their obligations under the Convention of 1884, and that they would continue to uphold that convention and all its provisions. From this position, he explained, nothing that had occurred could possibly induce them to recede.

The British press continued to rage against Germany, on account of Emperor William's dispatch to President Kruger, and the German newspapers violently attacked Great Britain. The Jameson raid brought out all the latent feeling of hostility in Germany to England, and evoked a similar outburst to that produced by President Cleveland's Venezuelan message in the United States. The general belief in Germany that the duplicity of the British statesmen was deliberate, in their policy of keeping Europe divided into two camps in order to facilitate British aggressions and encroachments in Africa and elsewhere, received supposed confirmation in the news of Dr. Jameson's piratical venture.

In spite of the disavowal of the British Secretary of State for the Colonies of any knowledge or responsibility for the step taken by Dr. Jameson, little doubt was felt in Germany that it was prompted in high quarters, and the weighty terms of the German Emperor's message were interpreted as indicating the same mistrust of British protestations as was felt in Government circles.

Everybody understood that the Emperor's message to President Kruger was not due to mere impulse, but was decided upon and drafted after a grave council of ministers, and it was regarded as an open pronouncement of a change in German policy toward Great Britain.

After immediate news of the invasion of the Transvaal was received the Emperor summoned the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, and Dr. Kayser, Director of the Colonial Office, to Potsdam and spoke to them in strong terms of the breach of international law.

Later an official note was sent to the British Government asking, curtly, the meaning of Dr. Jameson's raid and what steps would be taken to neutralize it. Moreover, it was asserted, the intention to land

German sailors at Delagoa Bay was abandoned only on the receipt of the news of Dr. Jameson's defeat. The consent of Portugal, it was added, had been asked for the transit of troops across Portuguese territory.

Another statement, made on good authority, was that Germany already had come to an agreement with France to arrest the British advance in South Africa, and that 1,500 German volunteers, well equipped, would start on board a North German Lloyd steamship for Delagoa Bay to assist the Boers.

At the New Year's reception at the palace Emperor William was frigid in his treatment of the British Ambassador, Sir Francis C. Lascelles. It was remarked that His Majesty addressed barely a few words to him and eyed him sternly. On the other hand, the Emperor's reception of the United States Ambassador, Mr. Theodore Runyon, was most cordial. Besides the usual congratulations, His Majesty took pains to manifest the undisturbed relations of intimacy between Germany and the United States, talking with Mr. Runyon most pleasantly and amicably for some time.

Then came another mild and unexpected thunder-clap. It was announced, January 5, 1896, that Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony, had resigned, but, it was further said, the Governor of Cape Colony had declined to accept his resignation.

Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to Pretoria asking if it was true that Dr. Jameson had been shot, adding that Mr. Rhodes had telegraphed a positive denial of the rumored gathering of a second force of the British South Africa Company's troops at Buluwayo.

President Kruger replied that he had given no order to shoot the captured freebooters, but that they would be punished according to law. He said they had been treated with the greatest consideration by the burghers, despite the fact that the latter had more than once been forced to take up arms in defense of the republic. President Kruger concluded with saying:

"Our confidence in Mr. Rhodes has received such a rude shock that his repudiation of the proceedings at Buluwayo ought to be received with the greatest caution. Even now we have news that another armed force is collecting on our borders. If that be true, I trust that not the word of Mr. Rhodes, but the influence of your Government will suffice to prevent the further incursions of freebooters,

although it was not successful in arresting the advance of Dr. Jameson."

Mr. Chamberlain thanked President Kruger for his assurances, and added that he had always felt confidence in his magnanimity.

Mr. Chamberlain also announced that he had sent an imperial officer to Buluwayo to see that his orders were obeyed and to prevent the possibility of another raid. He assured President Kruger that he could rest confident that the Convention of 1884 would be strictly observed.

Replying to the congratulatory message of Emperor William, President Kruger sent His Majesty the following reply:

"I testify to Your Majesty my very deep and heartfelt thanks for your sincere congratulations. With God's help we hope to do everything possible to hold our dearly bought independence and the stability of our beloved republic."

It was reported at the same time in Vienna that Prince Hatzfeldt, the German Ambassador in London, had informed the Marquis of Salisbury that Germany refused to recognize British suzerainty over the Transvaal, and it was believed that Austria supported Germany in this view.

Dr. Jameson's expedition into the Transvaal, it developed later, was undertaken on the understanding that there was to be an uprising of the Outlanders in Johannesburg to co-operate with him, and his raid might have been successful if he had received the expected assistance.

The failure of Johannesburg to take part in the fight at Krugersdorp, where Dr. Jameson met his disastrous reverse, was partly explained by cablegrams received in London, January 5, dated December 30, the day before Dr. Jameson's start, confirming the reports that President Kruger had received a deputation of aggrieved residents and had promised to take off the duties on foodstuffs, to give equal subsidies for schools of all languages and to advocate the desired change in the franchise.

This, it seems, satisfied the Outlanders, and the leading men of all nationalities united in trying to allay the agitation fostered by certain capitalists to bring on a conflict with the authorities which would give an excuse for Imperial intervention and give the conspirators a chance to gobble up a rich country.

The National Union, an organization of British subjects living in

the Transvaal, of which Charles Leonard was the chairman, issued a manifesto, December 26, addressed to the people of the republic, in which it announced that it would labor for these ends:

1. The establishment of a republic as a true republic under a constitution approved by the whole people.
2. An equitable franchise and a fair representation.
3. The equality of the Dutch and English languages.
4. The responsibility to the legislature of the heads of the great departments.
5. The removal of religious disabilities.
6. The establishment of independent courts of justice, with adequate pay for the judges, which shall be properly secured.
7. Liberal education.
8. An efficient civil service, with an adequate pay and pension system.
9. Free trade in African products.

The manifesto concluded as follows:

“We shall expect an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment at the meeting to be held January 6.”

The following telegram from Berlin, printed in the London Times, December 27, throws light on the then recent events in the South African Republic:

“It is hard to say what amount of significance should be attributed to the increasing attention bestowed in this country upon South African questions, with which, at first sight, Germany would seem to have little reason to concern herself. But it is worth noting that, of late especially, the position of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State appears to exercise the German mind as keenly as if those republics were the direct offshoots of the German Fatherland, and the dangers which are supposed to threaten them from the insatiable ambition of Cecil Rhodes, the Napoleon of South Africa, form a frequent and congenial theme of discussion in a spirit of anything but friendliness towards England.

“Now, if one may be allowed to vary a remark recently made by the North-German Gazette, with reference to British sentimentality leaving off where British interests begin, it may be said that German sentiment is not easily aroused where German interests are not believed to be involved, and one is driven to the conclusion that Germany would

not display so much sympathy for her very distant kinsmen in South Africa if she had not some special use marked out for them in the interests, either actual or prospective, of the German policy.

“As an illustration of the spirit in which these questions are approached by the moderate and responsible organs of German public opinion, I may quote the following passage from a letter in the Cologne Gazette, which, although dated from Amsterdam, would appear on internal evidence to have been inspired much nearer home. After recapitulating some of the statements and arguments set forth in the leading article of the Times of the 16th inst., it went on: ‘As for the Outlanders, whose “legitimate” claims are thus endorsed, it may be well to remember that if they form the majority of the population, they have only come into the Transvaal in order to make money as quickly as possible and then go away again. They refuse to surrender their British nationality, and yet they demand the same civic rights, including that of the suffrage, as the Boers. Originally, too, these rights were a matter of complete indifference to them, and it is only recently, and at the instigation of the Cape Government, that they have suddenly awakened to their importance.’

“Cecil Rhodes has certainly succeeded in sowing the seeds of discontent, and in view of the moral and intellectual standard of the Rand adventurers one may well expect that the explosive materials constantly imported from Cape Town will, before long, produce serious commotions. Then, of course, according to the calculations of the Cape politicians, British blood will be shed, England will have to intervene, and the rest will follow of itself—namely, the incorporation of the Boer republic with British South Africa. That so much irritation should all at once be displayed in England against the Boers is very significant, and it would seem to show that Mr. Rhodes has already laid his train to his own satisfaction, and that the signal to fire it may at any moment be given.”

The *Novoe Vremya* of St. Petersburg urged Russia to join the alliance of the Powers for intervention in South Africa. She would thus, it claimed, secure the Dutch and Portuguese coaling stations in the event of an Anglo-Russian conflict.

It was difficult to get any definite expression of opinion at that time in St. Petersburg upon the subject of the Transvaal difficulty, owing to the fact that Russia did not take much interest in that part

of the world. The Russian Government made it a point of invariably confining its attention to territorial questions immediately affecting the empire, and even about these it said as little as possible. The few opinions gathered, however, simply re-echoed the views current in Germany, nearly all the views given at the Russian capital being quoted from the German newspapers.

Emperor William's message to President Kruger, however, met with but little sympathy in St. Petersburg as not being in accordance with Russian ideas, and also because of its tendency to disturb the peace of Europe, the maintenance of which, Russian statesmen claimed, constituted the whole aim of Russia's policy at that period.

Emperor William gave an audience, January 6, to Dr. Leyds, the representative of the South African Republic. His Majesty, it was asserted, assured Dr. Leyds that the Transvaal republic could reckon upon the protection of Germany.

It was also said that the Emperor promised Dr. Leyds that Germany would recognize the independence of the Transvaal republic by appointing a German resident at Pretoria instead of a consul, as previously, and also assured the Transvaal representative that the Triple Alliance would recognize the independence of the South African Republic.

A member of the Portuguese legation in Berlin said, January 6:

"In the present juncture Great Britain is completely isolated. Even Italy and Austria refuse to accord her any support. The development of the present crisis, which may change completely the situation in Europe, is being followed with the greatest attention in Portugal. A Franco-Russo-German alliance seems to me to be extremely probable, but an understanding between them on various questions as they arise threatens the domination of England all over the world.

"Austria will try to bring about an amicable arrangement between Germany and Great Britain, without, however, expressing any disapproval of the Emperor's telegram to President Kruger."

Incidentally it was said that the British Government was hurrying troops from India to Cape Town. Frequent and prolonged conferences took place between Joseph Chamberlain, G. J. Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, and the heads of the War and Admiralty Departments. Field Marshal Lord Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief of

the British forces, and the entire headquarters staff busied themselves at the Horse Guards (War Office) until a late hour January 6.

The opinion in well-informed circles in Paris was that the exchange of telegrams between Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger showed that neither side was prepared to make any concessions. Emperor William's allusion to friendly powers which might aid the Transvaal republic in case of necessity was made the most of in President Kruger's reply to Mr. Chamberlain.

The situation then was: The Boers claimed their absolute independence and the abrogation of the treaty of 1884, which prevented them from concluding engagements with foreign powers. The German Emperor upheld them in this attitude. The British Government, on the contrary, declared that it would uphold the Convention of 1884 at all hazards, even if doing so involved war with Germany.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### EMPEROR WILLIAM'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT KRUGER.

Shortly after the news of the defeat and capture of Dr. Jameson and his followers had been given to the world Great Britain was startled by the announcement that Emperor William of Germany had sent a message of congratulation to President Kruger. The report turned out to be correct, and the message was worded as follows:

"I express my sincere congratulations that, supported by your people, and without appealing for help to friendly powers, you have succeeded by your own energetic action against the armed bands which invaded your country as disturbers of the peace, and have thus been enabled to restore and safeguard the independence of your country against attacks from outside."

This dispatch was not the result of impulse. It was a deliberate step taken by the German Emperor, for he conferred with the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, January 3, the morning before he sent the cable message to Pretoria. This nearly caused a war between Great Britain and Germany. His Majesty's action was most severely denounced by the British press. The Times said:

"It is grave and distinctly unfriendly, and, being composed after a conference with Chancellor Von Hohenlohe and the Foreign and Naval Secretaries, imparts to it the importance of a state act."

Continuing, the Times argued that Germany had no ground to contend that any doubt existed as to Great Britain's right of suzerainty over the Transvaal, and asks:

"Is our Berlin correspondent indeed right when he confesses that he is driven to the conclusion that Germany has gladly seized this opportunity to humiliate England?"

The Berlin correspondent of the Times expressed the fear that Emperor William's telegram would induce President Kruger to annul the Transvaal treaties with Great Britain.

The Morning Post of London said:

"It is evident that the Emperor considers war with England something to be prepared for. We cannot hide from ourselves that England stands alone. The proper reply to the Emperor's telegram is the



recall of the Mediterranean squadron to join the Channel squadron."

The Standard gave Germany to understand that England would brook no interference between herself and the Transvaal.

The Daily News (Liberal), on the contrary, said:

"There is nothing hostile in the Emperor's words. They are a warning, which is sorely needed in some quarters, that the encouragement of filibusters is playing with edged tools. England has no right to interfere with the internal affairs of the Transvaal."

The Berlin correspondent of the Telegraph telegraphed that Dr. Leyds had news that the fighting at Krugersdorp was desperate and lasted for twenty-four hours, with heavy slaughter. Dr. Jameson and all the survivors, the advices, state, were prisoners, and it was pretty certain that some of them would be hanged or shot as an example.

The Times thought that the complete cessation of news from the Transvaal was incompatible with the reports already received, and suggested that the Government should assume control of the Eastern Telegraph Company's offices, as it was empowered to do in an emergency.

A Berlin dispatch to the Post reported that the evening papers there hurled insults against England, the South Africa Company and Cecil Rhodes. The Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung headed its article "A Wild Dance."

The Berlin correspondent of the News said:

"The affair threatens to become a trial of strength between England and Germany. I learn that the cruiser Condor has been ordered to Delagoa Bay."

A dispatch to the Daily Telegraph said:

"The relations between England and Germany, which on Wednesday were dangerously near a formal rupture, have now reassumed their normal character. A German protectorate over the Transvaal has never been contemplated, and it is to be hoped that the Emperor's telegram to President Kruger, generous but impulsive, as is usual with him, will not be interpreted in England as an act of hostility. Mr. Chamberlain's prompt and just action in disavowing Dr. Jameson is warmly appreciated here."

The Standard said that Emperor William's message was a strikingly unfriendly act. It raised the presumption that he wished to either challenge or destroy British suzerainty in the Transvaal. Germany,

it added, had no more locus standing in the Transvaal than Great Britain had in Havana. Great Britain could and would not tolerate the slightest interference between the Transvaal and herself.

The paper then dilated upon German hostility to Great Britain everywhere, and avowed the latter's desire for friendship. It then issued a warning, saying :

"If Germany insists upon trespassing upon our rights we are well able to defend them. We are a peaceable people, but if others will not permit us to remain in peace we are capable of accepting the unwelcome ordeal with composure."

The Chronicle said :

"The Emperor's message comes near being an offer of armed resistance. We hope and believe that President Kruger will take no notice of it. The Emperor has nothing to do with this business, which Mr. Chamberlain is trying to settle on lines of perfect justice."

The Paris press was jubilant over the defeat of Dr. Jameson and his followers. The Figaro, in an article under the caption, "Will Cecil Rhodes Remain Premier of the Cape Colony?" said :

"How President Kruger must laugh at the result, and how abundantly justified he is in doing so."

The Gaulois said :

"The Boers merit the public esteem which their grand victory has gained for them by showing that they are as wise and liberal in their triumph as they are energetic in the hour of danger."

The Rappel said that Germany, France and Russia are in accord, and asked what England would do in the circumstances. "Having the United States already on her hands," the paper asked, "will she dare to defy the military powers of Europe?"

The Lanterne said :

"Great Britain's contention that foreign powers have no right to intervene in the Transvaal is neither more nor less than the application of the Monroe Doctrine, pure and simple, to her own advantage."

A proclamation issued by President Kruger the same day assured the Outlanders that the Government was willing that they should submit their grievances for the immediate consideration by the legislature.

To prevent suffering at Johannesburg the Transvaal Government removed all duties upon foodstuffs.

While these events were transpiring Great Britain, owing to

the attitude of Germany, had not been idle. She was resolved not to be caught napping and orders were sent to the dock yards at Portsmouth, Devonport and Chatham for the immediate commissioning of six ships to form a flying squadron, the object of which was to have a number of vessels ready for any required emergency. It was also decided to dispatch a British naval force to Delagoa Bay and the British Mediterranean and Channel squadrons were brought up to the highest point of efficiency. This had a calming effect, and though it was admitted that the action of Emperor William in congratulating President Kruger on his defeat of the Jameson raiders was premeditated, matters soon assumed a more peaceful aspect, though the warlike utterances on both sides continued. There was talk in Great Britain of calling out the Army Reserves and the British War Office staff was busy night and day.

The flying squadron was ordered to be ready for sea January 14, and the following ships were detailed for service in this connection:

The *Revenge*, first-class battleship; the *Royal Oak*, first-class battleship; the *Gibraltar*, first-class cruiser; the *Theseus*, first-class steel cruiser; the *Charybdis*, second-class steel cruiser; and the *Hermione*, second-class steel cruiser.

In addition, Rear Admiral Harry W. Rawson, C. B., in command of the Cape of Good Hope station, was ordered to proceed from Cape Town to Delagoa Bay, on board the flagship *St. George*, a first-class steel cruiser, accompanied by another cruiser, with all possible speed.

This step was in connection with the report that Emperor William had the intention of sending a German force to Delagoa Bay in order to support the Boers, and, it has been claimed, that he was only prevented from so doing by the news of Dr. Jameson's defeat.

Besides these preparations upon the part of Great Britain, the greatest activity was displayed at all the British dock yards. It was proposed to commission all the ships necessary for a European war, and the Naval Reserve lists were prepared in readiness for an emergency.

The British army officials made similar preparations. All the regiments of the British army, together with the Army Reserves, volunteers, militia, etc., were ordered to make immediate returns of their strength for mobilization. Among the volunteers and militia there was a strong feeling in favor of enrollment for active service, and

troops returning from India or bound for that part of the British Empire were ordered to call at Cape Town, so that all that was necessary was to instruct their commanding officers to land drafts at the Cape.

In short, Great Britain rattled her sword in the scabbard, and it seems to have had the effect of calming the feeling in Germany looking to intervention in South Africa.

The war spirit spread all over the British Empire, all classes eagerly supported the Government in resenting the attitude of Germany towards Great Britain and the British press was unanimous in its approval of the preparations of the naval and military authorities.

The Globe, an influential London afternoon newspaper, which frequently receives inspiration from high official sources, said January 8:

"There is absolutely no difference of opinion among Britishers in their keen resentment of the wholly unprovoked affront put upon this proud land by Emperor William and his foolhardy counsellors. Instead of working England harm with the Americans, the Emperor's insolent interference has revived the feeling of kinship and is making easier a friendly arrangement of the Venezuelan question."

Regarding the report that Germany had prevailed upon Portugal to allow German troops to traverse the Portuguese South African territory adjoining the Transvaal, with the view of re-enforcing the Boers, a dispatch from Berlin said it was rumored there that Portugal had positively refused to consent to any such movement upon the part of Germany.

The idea that a combination of the powers of Europe had been formed against Great Britain gained ground, and the Paris newspapers announced that the movement was really on foot to establish an anti-British alliance.

Oil was poured upon these troubled waters by a dispatch from the Governor of Cape Colony, saying:

"You may be satisfied that the crisis is over and that all danger of further hostilities is ended."

The clouds of war were still further cleared away when it was announced in Berlin that the German Council of Ministers did not fully approve of Emperor William's dispatch to President Kruger, but that the Emperor insisted upon having his own way and handed the message himself to the telegraph bureau, ordering that a copy of it be given to the semi-official newspapers.



ELANDSFONTEIN JUNCTION—"CHANGE HERE FOR JOHANNESBURG."



A WEDDING IN NATIVE HIGH LIFE IN ZULULAND.

Finally, the sun of peace broke through the clouds when the London Times, in a dispatch from Berlin, referring to the supposed purpose of Germany to dispatch troops to South Africa, said:

"It is now explained that Germany only desired to protect German residents and its consulate at Pretoria, and that no arrangement had been previously made with Portugal, and, after hearing that Dr. Jameson had started, Germany only had time to telegraph an explanation of its intended action to Lisbon. The news of Dr. Jameson's defeat arrived before Portugal had time to reply. It is a pity that this explanation was not published earlier."

On the Continent it was openly charged that not only was Cecil Rhodes fully aware of the movements of Dr. Jameson, but that the British Government was also aware of what was going on. Had the raid been successful, according to popular belief in Europe at the time, Great Britain would have stepped in and occupied the Transvaal, ostensibly to protect her subjects, but really to establish an occupation similar to that in Egypt, which would have been tantamount to the annexation of the South African Republic. But, as the raid resulted in a miserable fiasco, the British Government was accused of attempting to forestall condemnation by emphatically denying any prior knowledge of the proceedings and taking measures to prevent the departure of the Jameson expedition after it knew it had departed and had resulted in a failure.

These statements were denied in London, where the Government newspapers insisted that Mr. Chamberlain had acted throughout with clean hands.

Senator Morgan, of Alabama, in the United States Senate, January 10, introduced a resolution in behalf of the Transvaal republic, which gave color to the report that President Kruger had asked for the moral support of the United States. This resolution, which was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, read:

"Resolved, That the people of the United States of America, through their representatives in Congress assembled, convey to the President and people of the Republic of the Transvaal their earnest congratulations upon their success in establishing a free representative government, republican in form, and in their opposition to any foreign power that denies to them the full enjoyment of these rightful liber-

ties. The people of America, having realized, through the favor of the God of Nations, the blessings of government based upon the consent of the governed, entertain with confidence the pleasing hope and belief that the principles of self-government will be securely established through the influence of the Republic of France in her colonies, and of the republics of Liberia and the Transvaal, founded by the people in Africa, and that these republics will foster and give firm support to the peaceful progress of Christian civilization in the new and vast field now being opened to the commerce and institutions of all the nations of the earth throughout that great continent.

“Resolved, That the President of the United States is requested to communicate this action of Congress to the President of the Transvaal republic.”

At about the same time it was announced from Berlin that Germany had no intention to call a conference of the Powers or to propose an abrogation of the British-Transvaal Convention of 1884, and it was hinted that some future agreement between Germany and the Transvaal was all that might grow out of the then existing unpleasantness.

The correspondent of the London Daily News, at Berlin, telegraphed:

“The whole action of Germany was a mistake. She did not desire to quarrel with England, but only to prove the value of her friendship. In pursuance of this object Germany overstepped the limits of precaution.

“It is significant, however, that all the papers connected with the Government published statements about the abrogation of the Convention of 1884. And, although they have no correspondents at Pretoria, they display a suspicious acquaintance with the intentions of the Transvaal Government.”

Queen Victoria, January 10, addressed an autograph letter to Mr. Chamberlain, thanking him for his services in connection with the disturbances in the Transvaal, and Mr. Chamberlain went to Osborne, Isle of Wight, to visit Her Majesty.

Alfred Austin, the then newly-appointed poet laureate, published a poem entitled “Jameson’s Ride.” The concluding stanza was as follows:



“I suppose we were wrong—were madmen,  
Still I think at the Judgment Day,  
When God sifts the good from the bad men,  
There will be something more to say.  
We were wrong, but we are not half sorry,  
And, as one of the baffled band,  
I would rather have had that foray,  
Than the crushings of all the Rand.”

Eventually the trouble between Great Britain and Germany passed into history as a thing of the past, and it really led to a better understanding between the two countries, which, some people claim, was the aim which Emperor William had in view when he stirred up the vials of British wrath by sending his message to President Kruger.

During the incident it was announced that Emperor William had sent a conciliatory letter to his grandmother, Queen Victoria, in response to an autograph letter of rebuke sent to him by Her Majesty. Although correspondence was exchanged between their majesties, it did not have the color popularly attributed to it.

The Westminster Gazette, of London, commenting on the relations between the Emperor and the British royal family, said that these relations were offensive. The paper claimed that the German Emperor used the imperative in his intercourse with all his relations in England and Germany, and held himself to be the head of the family, next to Queen Victoria. It was added that, as the son of the British Princess Royal, he always contended that he was heir to the British throne, in connection with which the Frankfort Zeitung renewed the story that Emperor William, in the event of the death of Queen Victoria, would claim the throne of the United Kingdom and prepare to enforce his rights by force of arms, which caused considerable amusement in Great Britain.

A proclamation issued by the Governor of Cape Colony, January 11, removed Dr. Jameson from his position as administrator of Mashonaland. He was replaced by F. J. Newton, Secretary of the British Colony of Bechuanaland.

Delegates from the Orange Free State were sent to the Transvaal to confer with the Government of that republic regarding the steps to be taken in the event of the Orange Free State being asked to assist the Transvaal.

Among the members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee arrested on the charge of treason was Solly Joel, a nephew of Barney Barnato, and it was reported that it cost him \$60,000 to get out of the Transvaal.

Barney Barnato came in for his share of the Transvaal trouble. There was quite a scene January 14, when he faced a meeting in London of the shareholders in his South African Bank, which he had launched a few months previously without any statement as to its assets or purposes and without as much as a prospectus. Yet, the value of the shares almost immediately rose to such a figure that he was understood to have made a million pounds sterling or more in an hour. The meeting was held for the purpose of hearing a statement on these points. An extraordinary scene followed. The meeting was held in a great gilded chamber in the Cannon Street Hotel, and the gallery was filled with gayly-dressed ladies. By noon the whole hall was so densely packed that there was hardly room to move, and self-respecting business men had to climb upon stoves, shelves, or anything affording them points of vantage. Shortly before noon a ringing cheer hailed the arrival of Barney Barnato. Unfortunately, as Barney entered, a screen fell upon him and somewhat dampened the proceedings. He proceeded to make his statement, but as soon as the doubting shareholders began to ask questions he bundled up his papers and made his escape amid hisses and general confusion.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### INSIDE HISTORY OF THE RAID.

Under date of Johannesburg, January 8, 1896, Mr. Harold Boice wrote the following account of what he claimed to be the inside history of the Jameson raid. He said:

It has been impossible up to this date to communicate with John Hays Hammond, the American engineer, and his fellow-prisoners now held in durance at Pretoria, but I am able to throw some inside light upon the incidents which led up to the present state of affairs.

The real story of the revolution has not been told. Over a year ago plans were begun for a rebellion. Lee Metford and Martini-Henry rifles by the thousands and Maxim and Nordenfeldt guns were snuggled into the Transvaal from England. The rifles were consigned variously as diamond drills, iron pipe and sometimes as coke, an outer shell of coke making the deception successful. The big guns came as steam pumps, battery engines and electrical apparatus. As mining machinery is being constantly imported by the ship load to the gold fields, the Government made no discoveries.

Meat and breadstuffs, upon which there has been an exorbitant duty, were brought in as cyanide, the import duty on which is slight. So that at the beginning of the hostilities Johannesburg was prepared for a six months' siege. The chief fear was of a water famine, and at the outbreak of the rebellion the provisional government at Johannesburg detailed 2,000 armed men to guard the water works lest the Boers should cut off the supply and thus make capitulation necessary.

Much international sympathy for the Boers has been created by the reports cabled to Europe that the movement of the Outlanders was a downright attempt to take a free commonwealth by force, and absolutely usurp the rights of the original burghers. These reports have not told the whole story.

There are about 30,000 voters in the republic. These are the Voortrekkers, or pioneers, and their descendants. These Boers are unprogressive. With one of the richest countries, not only in minerals, but in agricultural possibilities, the country was bankrupt before the advent of the Americans and English. Even now, while Johannes-

burg offers every inducement for agricultural industry, the Boers raise only enough to live on, and are poor, with their farms untilled, with this city paying \$20 a sack for imported flour and about the same price for potatoes, also imported.

Nearly everything used in Johannesburg is imported. While the Boers will not raise anything themselves they will not allow any one else to develop the soil. Added to this, they have placed excessive duties on all the necessaries of life. The duty on pork, for example, is £4 (\$20) per 100 pounds. Every effort has been made to make living impossible in Johannesburg, the Boers saying that if the aliens do not like it they need not stay. The Voortrekkers want to remain unmolested in their careless hunter life. Therefore, they are opposed to all attempts to develop and civilize the Transvaal.

In Johannesburg, and in the fifty miles of mining camps along the Witwatersrand, the world-famous gold reef which runs through the city, there are, according to conservative estimates, over a quarter of a million of white people—English, American, German, Scotch, Irish, and various European nationalities. The exact number cannot be known, as the Government has prohibited the taking of a census, fearing that any public acknowledgment of the great preponderance of inhabitants denied any voice in the government would result in lowering the international status of the republic, and give the Outlanders tangible cause for their demand for citizenship.

All along the Government, in refusing to accede to any of the demands of the unenfranchised, argued that the country belonged to the original settlers and their children; that the community on the Rand was made up of brilliant adventurers, lured by the lust of gold, and that these men cared only to amass a fortune and return to their respective countries, and that the Government, in denying them citizenship, was not ignoring the rights of man, but was merely protecting itself from absolute overthrow at the hands of adventurous speculators.

So the burghers framed and ratified a *grondwet*, or constitution, virtually proclaiming as political outcasts not only the thousands of Anglo-Saxons and others already in the country, but the countless numbers who should come in in the future. Thus they established an oligarchy of pioneers. It was as if the Pilgrim Fathers had denied citizenship to all who followed them to the new world.

The Outlanders contended that they were not a horde of nonde-

script money grabbers. They had invested great amounts of capital in industries and would continue active at least one hundred years, as all the mineralogists and engineers here agree that the gold of the Rand cannot be exhausted within that time. Having, in addition to investing their capital, built their homes and brought their families here, the Outlanders maintain that they should be recognized as peaceable and well-meaning aliens. Their grievances they compiled at length and presented to the Government. They were living in a large city and paying excessive taxes, but receiving but little benefit therefrom. The taxpayer was vouchsafed no information as to the Government's disposition of the revenue. The city was wretchedly governed, conducted without regard to sanitary laws, unprotected by the police, its inhabitants denied the right of trial by a jury of peers, blackmail was extorted from merchants by license collectors, and altogether the city was suffering from a reign of mingled provincialism and cupidity.

Last year a petition signed by 40,000 Outlanders asking for the franchise was greeted with derision in the Volksraad at Pretoria, the capital.

This treatment made possible rebels of two-thirds of the Outlanders in Johannesburg. Every one knew that sooner or later there would be trouble. The Government also expected an uprising and appropriated \$1,500,000 for forts at Pretoria and Johannesburg.

One of the newspapers here, owned by Cecil Rhodes, fulminated war cries; at public meetings the grievances of the Outlanders were reviewed, and the phrase, "No taxation without representation," which did duty in Revolutionary times in America, became the shibboleth of the gathering sedition.

A manifesto issued by the Transvaal National Union, an organization controlled by the Consolidated Gold Fields, was generally looked upon as a declaration of war.

The position of the Americans was a peculiar one. They wanted to see a change in the constitution of the republic, but they did not want to join in any movement that should pave the way for British occupation of the country. The fact that meetings where resolutions were passed adjourned with the song "Rule, Britannia," gave a sinister suggestion to the movement.

The Americans wanted a complete democracy. They recognized all the grievances which the insurrectionists pointed out, but they did

not want to see the Boer flag pulled down to make room for the Union Jack.

Trouble would have been precipitated long ago in the Transvaal had it not been for the calmer counsel and more statesmanlike course of some of the leading Americans here. For, while J. S. Curtis, the well-known American geologist; R. E. Brown, of Cœur d'Alene, Idaho; V. M. Clement, of Idaho, formerly of Grass Valley, California; George Starr, of Grass Valley, and others held the more recalcitrant insurrectionists in check to prevent precipitate riots that should end in futile slaughter and sacrifice, they advocated a compromise on the basis of a just constitutional republic.

In the meantime arms and ammunition were being distributed. The news of this warlike attitude reached Pretoria, and intense excitement spread throughout the republic. While both the Government and the rebels were preparing for war, the news came to Pretoria and Johannesburg that a large force of mounted men from Bechuanaland had crossed the border and were en route to Johannesburg to assist in the revolution.

War now seemed inevitable. The Americans, hoping to bring about a pacific termination of the trouble, hurriedly called a meeting. Captain Mein, manager of the Robinson mine; Hennen and Sidney Jennings, of the house of Eckstein; Charles Butters, of San Francisco, manager of the Rand Central Ore Reduction Company; J. S. Curtis, John Hays Hammond, consulting engineer of the Consolidated Gold Fields; R. E. Brown, consulting engineer of the Research & Development Company; F. R. Lingham, of the Puget Sound Lumber Company; V. M. Clement, assistant consulting engineer of the Consolidated Gold Fields and manager of the Simmer & Jack, the largest mine on the Rand; A. W. Stoddart, of Grass Valley; George Starr, consulting engineer and manager of the Barnato mines; J. McDougall, of Butte, Montana; W. E. Mellen, of Arizona, secretary of the Research & Development Company; W. A. Bos, of Michigan, engineer with R. E. Brown; J. H. Davis, of San Francisco; G. H. Leggett, consulting engineer of the wealthy house of Neumann & Co., and about fifty others were present.

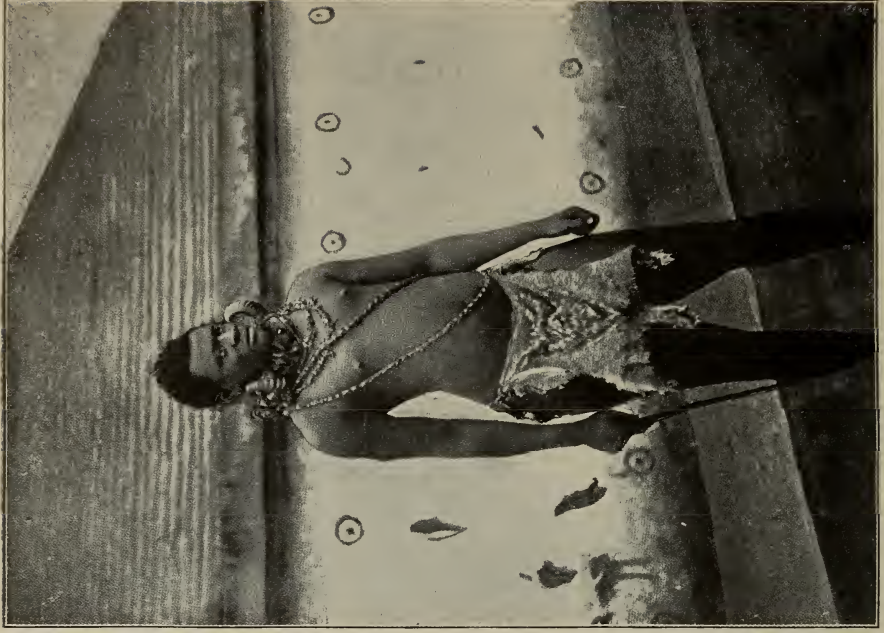
After discussing the situation it was decided to send a committee to the President to inform him that the Americans on the Rand wanted to unite with the burghers to maintain the republic; that the general



MRS. PAUL KRUGER, WIFE OF THE TRANSVAAL PRESIDENT.



OLIVE SCHREINER, ZEALOUS DEFENDER OF THE BOERS.



KING DINIZULU, CHIEF OF THE ZULU TRIBE.



M. T. STEYN, PRESIDENT OF ORANGE FREE STATE.





MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. P. SYMONS, VICTOR OF DUNDEE.



GENERAL YULE, SUCCESSOR OF GENERAL SYMONS AT DUNDEE.



A FIELD BATTERY FORDING A SOUTH AFRICA RIVER IN A FLOOD.

sentiment of the Outlanders was against any alien or domestic usurpation of the country; that war would mean the ultimate overthrow of the republic, and the military occupation of the country by the English forces, an event that many of the English inhabitants of the Transvaal, as well as the Americans, would seriously deplore; and that with these serious consequences of war confronting them the necessity for just concessions upon the part of the Government was imperative.

R. E. Brown, J. S. Curtis and F. R. Lingham were selected to go to Pretoria. They went the next morning, returned in the evening, and addressed a big mass meeting assembled at the Chamber of Mines to hear the report of the committee's conference with President Kruger.

Mr. Brown said that the President had received them in the most kindly way. The Chief Justice acted as interpreter, and the Executive Council gave up an hour's time to attend the conference. Mr. Brown was spokesman for the American delegation. He admitted that hitherto the demands made by the Outlanders either ignored the rights of the burghers or were indefinite. He then outlined some proposed constitutional amendments whereby the Outlander could secure justice and at the same time not nullify the political status of the burgher or usurp any of his inalienable rights. Mr. Brown suggested further that the Rand should be represented by two members in the Volksraad (the upper house), and according to population in the Raad (the lower house). This would give the Dutch absolute control of the most important legislative body and a fair representation in the other, and would satisfy the Outlanders.

But President Kruger argued that the country belonged to the Boers, and that to admit outsiders to the franchise would mean the political extermination of the original burghers. He refused to make any concessions. The storm was coming, the President said, and he was prepared for it.

The next day the news of the entrance of a mounted force from Bechuanaland was confirmed amid great rejoicing and preparations for war in Johannesburg. It was learned that there were 800 picked men of the Bechuanaland mounted police under charge of Dr. Jameson, Colonel Gray, Colonel the Honorable White, and Major Sir John Willoughby, all brave men who had earned glory in fearless campaigns in Matabeleland. They were taking desperate chances to reach Johannesburg. They had two hundred miles to ride across a wild country.

where every Voortrekker is a skilled rider and an expert rifleman. All the Dutch farmers in the Transvaal are trained hunters. Their method of warfare is exactly like that of the American Indians. They never fight in the open veldt, but always ambush themselves behind rocks or trees. Yet they are a brave people. They feel that God is on their side; that they are waging a righteous war in defense of their homes, and that the Outlander has come as a wealthy highwayman with a powerful retinue to deprive them of their country.

On the day of the confirmation of the report of Jameson's intrepid entry President Kruger issued two proclamations, one removing the special duty on breadstuffs, providing for English instruction in the Johannesburg public schools, promising the franchise to all friends of the state in the present trouble, and agreeing to enact laws to solve the labor difficulties. The other proclamation warned all people in the Transvaal to remain within the pale of the law.

Meanwhile Dr. Jameson and his daring band were riding on, cutting telegraph wires and making prisoners of the fieldcornets, who went out and read messages to them from President Kruger commanding them to withdraw. The commandant at Marico also sent a message requesting Jameson to return to Bechuanaland. But Dr. Jameson was riding in with secret orders to Johannesburg.

In reply to the command from Marico to leave the country, Jameson wrote to the Landdrost, saying that he intended to proceed with his original plans, which had no hostile intentions against the people of the Transvaal. They were there, he said, in response to an invitation from the principal residents of the Rand, to assist them in their demands for justice and the ordinary rights of every citizen of a civilized state.

While Dr. Jameson was riding night and day to reach Johannesburg the army of Outlanders, about 1,500 strong, was being drilled and intrenched on the outskirts of the city. Day and night the Reform Committee sat in star chamber session.

What would be Johannesburg's attitude toward the fearless man who was coming to help them fight for liberty?

Solly B. Joel, Barney Barnato's representative; Abe Bailey, who gave valiant lip service to the cause; George Richards, who, as the representative of Cecil Rhodes, was mysterious and oracular; Major Bettington, one of the Transvaal "horrors of peace," and W. St. John

Carr, J. P. Fitzpatrick, F. L. Gray, A. R. Goldring, W. Hosken, A. P. Hillier, Charles Leonard, J. W. Leonard, Max Langermann, F. Lowery, E. H. V. Melville, H. F. Strange and V. Wolff all gave grave counsel. They argued that Dr. Jameson's advent would, no doubt, assure the success of the rebellion, and as successful rebels they would all share the glory of his incomparable ride through a wild, hostile country. Therefore, they argued that they should be waiting to receive him loyally when he arrived.

On the other hand, there were grave dangers that he would be hemmed in by the Boers, and either shot without mercy or taken and hanged by the Boers or by the British Government.

These gentlemen called attention to the insecure position the leaders in Johannesburg would be in if Dr. Jameson met with defeat, if prior to that catastrophe they made any show of lending him aid. He had been ordered back by the High Commissioner; his immediate master had tendered his resignation in ostensible repudiation of his campaign in the Transvaal. If he succeeded in reaching Johannesburg he would be the hero of the nineteenth century. If he failed he would be a filibuster who undertook a sad mission in defiance to higher powers at Cape Town. Thus reasoned the politic rebels of the Reform Committee.

There were some brave men in the city who did their best to save Johannesburg the shame of abandoning the intrepid cavalry commander whom the leading citizens of the Rand had sent. But perfidy in the guise of a wise expediency prevailed. It was decided to keep on fortifying the town. Then, if Dr. Jameson arrived, they could escort him in triumphal entrance through the city, and if he failed they would simply be in a position of defending themselves without having violated any of the terms of international peace. If the Boers attacked them they could, as British subjects, call in the help of the Cape Colony and Natal armies; the Boers could not constitutionally appeal to England, for they would be in a position of having fired on British subjects who were defending themselves against any hostile people, whether they were Boers or filibustering British rebels, riding as guerrillas through the republic.

Thus Johannesburg secretly prayed that Dr. Jameson would arrive, while ostensibly fortifying the city against him.

The wild ride of Dr. Jameson's 800 will be remembered in history.

They rode ninety miles a day, fighting their way from Malmani to Krugersdorp. At Naauwpoort, twenty miles from Johannesburg, 2,600 Boers, under Malan and Cronje, met Dr. Jameson. He refused to lay down his arms, and a pitched battle ensued. Dr. Jameson's men were weakened from hunger and thirst and lack of sleep. But they fought desperately. It was a brave conflict. Out of it Dr. Jameson, with a brave remnant of his band, rode victorious over the Boers. About fifteen miles from Johannesburg, near Krugersdorp, Fieldcornet Lieutenant Eloff and several hundred Boers were taken prisoners. The boom of the guns could be heard in Johannesburg, but not a man left the city to help the men from Bechuanaland.

Meanwhile the Boers were riding in from all directions toward Krugersdorp. The wagon roads from the Hooge Veldt, from the Vilgen River, from Blaauwbank, Lichtenburg and Gemsbokfontein, were lined with determined burghers carrying rifles and mounted on fleet horses. No effort was made by the insurrectionists to intercept them, and no assistance was sent to Dr. Jameson. Famished, having gone without food and sleep for forty-eight hours, almost out of ammunition, Dr. Jameson and his brave followers charged on until they could be seen from the tops of buildings at Johannesburg.

Between Krugersdorp and this city, about ten miles distant, near the Steyn estate mine, Dr. Jameson found himself surrounded by 6,000 Boers ambushed behind rocks and eucalyptus trees on the Kopjes hills, near Doornkop. There the fearless wreck of the eight hundred fought with futile desperation, expecting every moment to receive the promised assistance from Johannesburg.

While Dr. Jameson was thus left to fight a forlorn battle, great crowds gathered about the Gold Fields Building and clamoring for news about him. There were thousands who would have gone to his aid, but they were kept ignorant of his whereabouts and misinformed as to his condition. To satisfy the crowds it was announced that he had routed the Boers and would be within the city in two hours. This caused the greatest enthusiasm. Dr. Jameson is a popular hero in South Africa. He won a great name in connection with the famous march of the Six Hundred from Mashonaland to Buluwayo during the Matabele war.

The leaders of the Reform Committee kept all news from the insistent crowd as long as possible. When at length J. W. Leonard

solemnly announced that Dr. Jameson had been forced to surrender to save his brave men from utter annihilation there were many demonstrations of grief, which gave way to bitter indignation against Mr. Leonard and his confreres. Some of the crowd wanted to wreck the building and tar and feather the members of the committee.

The people of the Rand, with 15,000 armed men at their disposal, rested supinely while Dr. Jameson's gallant band was being butchered. They fought for two days without food or water or sleep, after having ridden nearly 200 miles without camping. They looked for help from the Rand, which did not come. They were trapped and caught within sight of the armed forces of Johannesburg.

The spectacle of the desertion of the brave men from Bechuanaland is a sad commentary on the cowardice and double-dealing of humanity, but it was not without its comedies. One of the comical incidents was the inglorious retreat of Colonel Bettington, with a troop of mounted men. When it was learned that Dr. Jameson was within an hour's ride of town, Bettington led sixty rebels to meet him. Had Dr. Jameson reached the city Colonel Bettington would have marched in at the head of the column and would have eclipsed Sir John Falstaff with stories of his opportune valor in going to the rescue. But when they reached the settlement called Florida they met a trooper with dispatches to the effect that Dr. Jameson was completely surrounded. The trooper, after imparting this news, hurried on to the city. Colonel Bettington and his men considered a moment and then turned and fled after the trooper. Two miles out of the city they took to the hills above Auckland Park, where they could get a good view of the conflict at the Steyn estate. There, out of harm's way, they saw Dr. Jameson's men sacrificed. Later Colonel Bettington rode majestically into the city and received the cheers of the populace.

There was a feeling of relief in several quarters January 6, when it was learned that the resignation of Cecil Rhodes as Premier of Cape Colony had been accepted and that he had been succeeded by Sir J. Gordon Spriggs.

The same day belated dispatches from Johannesburg began to arrive. They said that, January 1, there was intense excitement, the people hurrying into the town from the mines and suburbs. The Central Committee constituted itself a provisional government for the town

and announced that ample provision would be made to defend it against any body of Boers.

The provisional government was established in the Consolidated Gold Fields Building, and three Maxim guns were placed in advantageous positions about it.

The new Government then sent an ultimatum to the Government of President Kruger, who proposed a conference at Pretoria the next day. The committee hesitated to go to Pretoria without safe conduct. Dr. Jameson was hourly expected, at Johannesburg crowds of people surrounded the Consolidated Gold Fields Building, and the work of recruiting was in full swing. Many people left town during the night in bands of fifty.

The Central Committee of the National Union was bitterly indignant at the terms President Kruger had imposed and declared the position the Outlanders were placed in was solely due to the Imperial proclamation forbidding British subjects to aid Dr. Jameson.

General Joubert guaranteed the safety of Johannesburg.

A dispatch received at Johannesburg from Krugersdorp that night reported that the survivors of Dr. Jameson's force were in a terrible condition, having had no food for days.

Later the committee sent the following communication to the Governor of Cape Colony:

"We have absolute information that a large body of Boers has been commanded to immediately attack Johannesburg and shoot on sight all who have been concerned in the agitation. Affairs are so critical that we ask you to intervene to protect the lives of citizens who have long agitated legally their rights."

It was reported that the Transvaal Government had demanded the banishment from the country of Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, and the payment of a large indemnity by the British South Africa Company.

The following statement was issued by the British Colonial Office:

"Governor Robinson, of Cape Colony, telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain from Pretoria, January 7: 'I communicated to F. J. Newton, Secretary of the Colony of British Bechuanaland, your telegram of the 5th, and received a reply from him that he had been absent from Bechuanaland nearly a fortnight prior to the raid into the Transvaal. He



arrived at Mafeking on December 29, and heard then, after the telegraph line had been closed, that Jameson's force was leaving. That night the wires were cut and the first message that got through, December 30, was yours, directing me to send Dr. Jameson an order to return. About one-fifth of Jameson's force started from Mafeking, and the rest from Pictsani, in the British South Africa Company's new territory. Jameson left only ten policemen in the whole of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and of these four were doing customs duty.'

"Governor Robinson telegraphed Mr. Chamberlain January 7: 'Johannesburg surrendered unconditionally this afternoon, and gave up arms. President Kruger has intimated his intention to hand over Jameson and the other prisoners upon the frontier of Natal. You may be satisfied that the crisis is over and all danger of further hostilities ended.'"

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE RAID.

A citizen of the Transvaal, G. Von Deth, who was in New York in February, 1896, received letters from his country in relation to the Jameson raid, and also files of the Amsterdam (Holland) Telegraaf, which threw additional light upon some of the most important features of the affair. The facts published in the Amsterdam Telegraaf were received by it from special correspondents and official sources in the Transvaal. Mr. Von Deth said:

Jameson and his fellow-traitors, who have just arrived in England, knew well that it was to their interests to maintain silence in regard to their conspiracy, and accordingly they agreed to say nothing for publication. He departed from his resolution in only one instance, and then he uttered a falsehood. He said he had killed at least 280 Boers, whereas it was officially reported by Sir Jacobus De Wet, the British agent at Pretoria, that there were killed in all five Boers. This was also cabled to Lord Salisbury by Sir Hercules Robinson, as soon as he arrived at Pretoria.

All that Jameson said while in Africa about his filibustering expedition had the same sort of basis.

But there are facts which have never yet been published, and which throw a new light over the whole history—facts which must shame every civilized nation, but particularly England, which pretends always to be the first to confer European civilization upon savage tribes.

It is well known how Matabeleland was conquered by the Chartered Company. They simply went to the poor Matabeles with Maxim guns and killed nearly the whole of the badly-armed Matabele nation. When but a few of them were left the Chartered Company declared themselves masters and owners of that country.

To treat the Boers to the same kind of civilization was the purpose of Dr. Jameson. Yet knowing by experience that the Boers were better shooters than the Matabele Kaffirs, the whole force of Dr. Jameson was armed with explosive bullets. Many thousands of cartridges loaded with explosive bullets were found in the possession of the prisoners and also on the battlefield. They were all of the latest pattern.



OFFICERS IN THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA SERVICE.

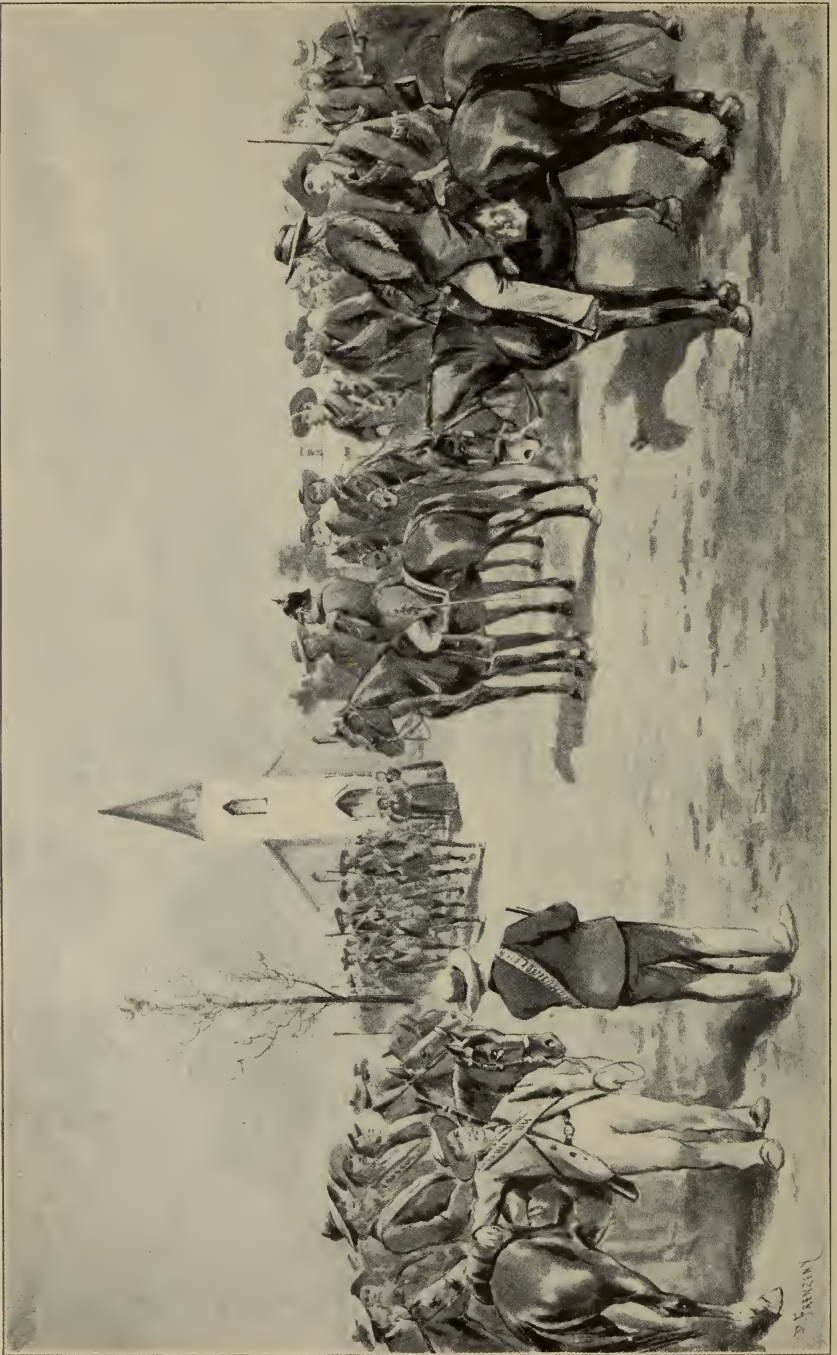
Colonel R. S. S. Baden-Powell.

Brigadier-General H. A. Macdonald.

A Typical Veteran British Officer.

Captain Rivers.

Major-General Sir Walter Butler.



INSPECTION BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE ASSEMBLED "COMMANDO" OF BOERS IN THE MARKET-PLACE OF A DORP.

General Joubert has satisfied himself personally that these explosive cartridges were all of the dimensions used by the Jameson troops.

The day after Jameson was made prisoner the Transvaal Government also found in Johannesburg 1,000,000 explosive cartridges of this same pattern. The Transvaal Government deemed it proper and pertinent to send packages of those explosives to the consuls of all the nations which were represented in South Africa, with the request that they be forwarded to their respective governments, with the evidence that such explosives were used by Jameson and his men and would have been used by the Johannesburg Outlanders if Jameson had met with better success. The nations so represented were Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Austria, the United States, Russia and Sweden.

An investigation by the government showed that those explosive cartridges were so destructive that every one would have killed six men in case it had been fired into the ranks of any enemy. Such cartridges had never before been used by any nation in war, except by the English against negroes in order to civilize them the more quickly. They are designed more particularly for the killing of large and vicious game, and their employment in human warfare is cowardly and barbarous.

In their struggle with Jameson's allies, the Marico Kaffirs found papers belonging to and lost by Jameson. They were brought straight to President Kruger. The news from Pretoria had not stated where and by whom these papers were written, and how they were sent to Jameson, but there is not much room for doubt as to their source and the channel by which they reached Jameson from Cape Town was Cecil Rhodes, as shown by their envelopes. Their contents were as follows, exactly translated from English to Dutch, and now again in English:

"NOTES: Ammunition—12 cases of ammunition will be found in each railway truck from Cape Town: 8,000 Maxim cartridges, 100 cartridges for the heavy guns in the Scottish cars, and for each man 303 cartridges, divided as follows: 50 in the shoulder belt and 30 in each pocket.

"Horses: All the salted horses will be lent by the government and should be returned after the struggle in good condition, or be replaced by other salted horses.

“Payment: Every man will get a check the same day the troops will leave Mafeking.

“Rations: Twelve cases of meat biscuit will be placed in each Scotch car, besides three gallons of ‘dop’ salt and a certain quantity of salve for wounded men.

“The other arrangements to be made by Mr. Laky.

“Force: G. 54; K. 65; F. 60.

“Instructions for the cutting of telegraph wires: Messrs. Dew and Wood must get to Malmani at 3 P. M., December 28; they should cut the wires then between Malmani and Malmani-oog and also between Malmani and Zeerust on the road to Krugersdorp. The wire must be cut five miles on each side of Malmani before 9 P. M. of the same day. Ten yards must be cut out and hidden in the field, so that nobody will be able to find it.

“The troops must be at Malmani-oog at 5 A. M., December 29. Everybody will wear citizens’ clothes, and in no case anything belonging to his regiment. McGun and Gatesman will ride to Zeerust about 1 A. M., December 20, to cut the wires between Zeerust and Rustenburg. Very important: Must be cut as above about five or six miles from Zeerust and again five or six miles further on. When that is done they will ride to the lead mines and wait there the arrival of the troops.”

Some of these papers were lost or torn to pieces, and part of the writing was illegible.

I have it on good authority that within a month or so it will be proved that Cecil Rhodes was the head and soul of the whole Transvaal movement, and for this reason resigned as prime minister of Cape Colony as soon as the surrender of Jameson was wired to him, so that it should not be said that the government had done all these things, but Cecil Rhodes personally, and privately, as the promoter of the Chartered Company.

The sympathy of the Cape Colony farmers for the Transvaal Boers is stronger than might be supposed, and as England is quietly preparing for war with the Transvaal she may in due time meet with a good deal of resistance in her own dominion and from her own subjects, as hundreds of them were ready to take their rifles and go to the Transvaal to help their fellow-farmers. Hundreds of them signed a letter to President Kruger declaring their sympathy for him and for all the

Transvaal Boers. The above facts should be taken into consideration by the English Government before they go too far.

I have received the following letter from the Transvaal, written by an officer in the volunteer corps of the republic, at Johannesburg:

“Johannesburg, January 5, 1896.

“Dear Friend: From the newspapers I have sent you from time to time you have learned the teasing language used against our government by the English papers. We know now what was hidden behind their scolding and raging. December 31 I was disturbed at home by a violent knocking at my door. My captain stood before me, having brought 5,000 cartridges and 100 rifles, swords, etc., with him in his carriage. He gave me all this ammunition and said, ‘For God’s sake be quiet; take it all into your room; Johannesburg is in revolt and has elected a new government; we are all over surrounded by spies; our arsenal in the prison (an hour’s distance from Johannesburg) is no longer safe, and the commander of the jail is busily engaged in betraying our corps.’

“He left with his carriage in a hurry. At 10 A. M. a general flight of women and children; they were hastily transported in the coal and cattle cars. With fifty of my boys I had to guard the railway station, for hundreds of Kaffirs were there demanding tickets so that they could get away. Screaming and yelling women and children tried to press through the immense crowd, while thousands of voices were heard cursing and execrating the Englishmen. At 11 A. M. the general beating of drums was heard for the assembling of the volunteers. At 11:30 A. M. they stood all in line in uniform, well armed and provided with cartridges. Orders arrived at 4 P. M. They were: ‘Go at full speed to the new jail to protect our police and the town property there.’

“With rolling drums we passed right across the town, and at 5 P. M. arrived at the new jail, where we were received with loud cheers and thankful hearts. At 12 o’clock, at the end of the old and the beginning of the new year, an attack with Maxim guns was expected at the jail. The police had left Johannesburg with 250 men to join us in defending our arsenal. At 9 A. M. arrived a horseman, telling our commander that Maxim guns had been set up on the hills and that firing would begin immediately. As the jail itself is built on a hill our

position was very dangerous. Many women and children of all nationalities were flocking to us praying for protection from the bullets. Soon 180 women and 80 children were stowed away inside the jail; the poor creatures had been knocking about the whole night. No shooting was heard, however, and at last, worn out with watching and preparation, we were allowed to lie down on the stones around the jail on the outside. How thankful we were to Mrs. H., who brought us hot tea and other refreshments.

“Exactly at midnight a courier arrived; the English were advancing in three parties towards the jail. ‘To arms,’ was the order, and in less than five minutes the whole of the forces stood ready to fire. Ten minutes of excitement. Another courier. The English retired toward Johannesburg. At last we saw the daylight coming up. Then our commander showed us that we were surrounded on all sides by the English.

“January 1.—The whole of the conspiracy and revolt became clear to us. More was discovered than I can write to you in a long letter. In brief I will tell you that all the big guns had been smuggled in in big steam boilers, and so passed the custom officers. Hundreds of beer barrels had passed full of cartridges. Safes were brought in full of ammunition. One big safe for George Farrar could not arrive in time, because the custom house was suspicious about its tremendous weight and Mr. Farrar said that the keys had been forgotten and were still in England. After the fight this safe was taken to Pretoria and forcibly opened. There were 160 revolvers and 20,000 cartridges in it.

“An English steamer partly loaded with ammunition for the Transvaal Government was said to have broken down, and kept at sea until all was over. Later it was proved nothing had been the matter with the steamer, only she had arrived near the coast too soon and was detained so that the Transvaal Government would be short of ammunition.

“In steam boilers, beer barrels, and other things, 20,000 rifles and eighteen big guns were brought into Johannesburg, besides trains loaded with ammunition. Twenty millions of dollars had been spent by the English to be well equipped to meet the Boers, known as the hardest fighters in the world. Besides, the head of the police force was bribed; the attorney-general was a traitor.

“January 4.—I have been very busy distributing clothing and uni-



forms to volunteers, who arrived in hundreds every hour. A tremendous bustle in Johannesburg. Exercising, drilling, and assembling of the insurgents. Their force on the square now is 800 men; they have eleven big guns, seventeen Maxim guns, two fortifications and numerous stores of dynamite which have been kept hidden by them for years. The situation is critical in the highest degree.

“Evening.—I am in my own house again; 5,000 mounted Boers are ready to attack Johannesburg the first thing in the morning.

“Fire-rockets are going up on three sides of the town. A tremendous knocking at my window; I opened and learned that President Kruger had given his ultimatum, declaring that if Johannesburg did not surrender unconditionally within twenty-four hours he would take the town by force. The volunteers must try to join the old police force in the new jail, even if we have to break through the lines of the enemy.

“January 7.—Johannesburg has surrendered unconditionally.

“In a cable dispatch from Pretoria to the Transvaal Minister in Holland, January 8, it was stated that only a few hours before the attack of Jameson, the latter had a conference with Cecil Rhodes.”

A man named Philip Gershel was the first to arrive in New York from the Transvaal after Dr. Jameson's raid. He was a member of Dr. Jameson's band and fought with him in the Matabele war. He received a gift of land from the doctor at its conclusion, and has ever since taken a prominent part in the counsels of the Outlanders. Gershel reached New York, February 4, 1896. He told the following tale:

The uprising was planned more than a year ago. The provisions and arms were smuggled in, and nothing could have prevented the success of Jameson but for the treachery of those whom Jameson thought his best friends.

In spite of the failure, within a few years all that stretch of country, including Basutoland, Mashonaland, Swaziland and the Transvaal will be one great English settlement. The combined territory is more than three times as large as Cape Colony. It is rich in mines, probably the richest in the world, and that way, in a measure, explains why England wants to control it.

Whatever Jameson did was fully known to Cecil Rhodes. Nothing was done without the latter's advice, and what he knew was known to the English Government, in my opinion.

Some of the things which have not been published is just who and what Jameson is, and what kind of men composed the famous four hundred which he led against Johannesburg. To begin with, Jameson is personally one of the finest men it is possible to meet—a magnetic man, who is regarded as a hero by all who followed him. Not so very many years ago he was a confirmed drunkard, for whom there seemed no possible future. Such he was when Mr. Rhodes picked him up in Kimberley, and made a man of him. No one had ever seen anything particularly good in the doctor before. Rhodes, who is a born politician, saw it and utilized it. He induced Jameson to give up strong liquors. He did so, and before long he was made administrator of Mashonaland.

The Chartered Company has a number of mounted troops who, under ordinary circumstances, are able to guard the vast possessions which Rhodes succeeded in gathering in. It was not until the Matabele outbreak that the Bechuanaland border police were organized. The alleged killing of four or five white men was the excuse for the invasion into King Lobengula's territory, and the massacre of fully 2,000 natives which followed.

On the receipt of the news of the so-called murder of the four or five white men, Dr. Jameson, acting under orders from Mr. Rhodes, organized the border police mentioned. Not every one would be taken. Each man had to be known and trusted. The result of that war is already known, but the true story of the massacre of Major Wilson and his command of twenty-seven men has never been published, for the reason that it was never allowed to leak out.

Lobengula, after hundreds of his men had been killed, sent a sum of £5,000, or, say, \$20,000, as a peace offering to Jameson. The messengers were waylaid by two of Jameson's men, named Daniels and Wilson, who stole the gold and hid it in their saddles on the backs of their horses. About the same time Major Wilson heard that Lobengula was in the vicinity and foolishly crossed a river known as the Shangama to give him battle. The black king, thinking that Wilson, having already secured the gold, was not satisfied, decided on killing the whole lot. So he surrounded Wilson and his band and cut them to pieces. Not a man escaped, and after death their bodies were mutilated in a shocking manner. They were the only white men lost in that war, although the natives lost over 2,000. They had nothing

but old Enfield rifles and spears. We had all the modern implements of war.

When that war had been brought to a close the Bechuanaland border police were disbanded, and every man on it—myself among the number—secured \$300 “loot” money and 200 morgens of land, a morgen being the equivalent of an acre. Most of the men settled on these farms, and they were not called together again until the latest outbreak. Then Jameson sent for them. I do not believe that a single man of the entire number knew where they were going, or for what purpose.

“I am going on an expedition where there will possibly be considerable fighting,” Jameson said when he got them together. “But if the business I have on hand comes off properly, and we win out, every man of you will be well paid for your service. Are you willing to come?”

Of course all answered that they would go with him, and so it was that the same men who fought in the Matabele war were led against President Kruger, of the Boer Republic.

Instead of taking up the farm given to me on leaving the border police, I settled at Johannesburg. I tried mining first, and then took a hand at newspaper work. There are eight papers published there, by the way, and I was in a position to know what was going on. Words cannot express the unrest of the Outlanders, and the uprising was talked of as long as ever I can remember. There are fully 2,000 Americans there, most of the mining experts and engineers being from this country. The discontent was not confined to any one nationality—all were affected by it, for the reason that all aliens were treated alike and ground down in an outrageous manner.

The great trouble was that a number of people who claimed to be Outlanders and in full sympathy with the uprising were active spies of Kruger. They mixed with the Outlanders, sat at the council board of the leaders of the uprising, learned all their secrets, and then ran off and told Kruger about them. He knew everything; knew, in fact, the name of every man taking an active part; knew just what strength they had, and laid his plans accordingly. It is easy now to imagine why the affair turned out as it did. The Reform Committee found out, when too late, that their plans were fully known, and so Jameson and his followers were left to their fate. Jameson never knew until long afterward why he had been deserted.

Had he won, as looked certain at one time, Jameson and not Kruger would now be President of the South African Republic.

It is not right, as has been remarked, that the Boers are Germans. They are the descendants of the people who settled here from Holland five hundred years ago. They hate the English, and would not give an Englishman a drop of water to save his life. Although they have a great country, they raise nothing but vegetables and cattle. Everything else is imported.

In Johannesburg and its surroundings there are over seventy miles of reefing, and all of it is a gold mine. The reefing runs east and west, and by boring ore pockets have been found to go as deep as 2,000 feet. The deepest mine so far worked is on the Robinson estate, where ore was dug up 250 feet below the surface. It is the same with the Bualwayo Mine, which employs several hundred miners.

The whole country around there is well worth fighting for, and I believe that as a result of the last fight, however abortive it proved, Kruger will be forced to make concessions. It will be only a matter of time, however, in my judgment, when England will have it all.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### TRIAL OF THE REFORMERS.

John Hays Hammond, the American member of the indicted Reform Committee of Johannesburg, was released from jail, at Pretoria, February 5, 1896, and at about the same time the principal reformers were placed on trial there, charged with inciting to rebellion and with high treason. Evidence was presented showing that the rebels were well drilled and armed and that earthworks were erected outside Johannesburg. The mining commissioner of Johannesburg testified that the Outlanders held the town with the avowed intention of opposing the Transvaal Government. He added that members of the Reform Committee had said within his hearing, "the country will soon be ours from Cape Town to the Zambesi." Later, the commissioner testified that he saw a document containing the conditions for enlisting volunteers to fight the Transvaal.

Another witness, a printer, testified to receiving from the Reform Committee a proclamation announcing that Dr. Jameson was expected in Johannesburg, that a disturbance might ensue and that, therefore, a provisional government was necessary.

Police Commissioner Schutte, during the course of his evidence, said the Transvaal Government withdrew the police from Johannesburg in order to avoid a collision with the Outlanders.

Jacobus Demellion testified that the republic's flag was hoisted on the Gold Fields' offices December 28, and men were enlisted. Colonel Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, told the witness the Outlanders had brought the country to its prosperous condition and it was hard for them to be governed by the stupid Boers. They had asked Dr. Jameson to come to Johannesburg to preserve the peace and to protect them. Later the witness heard Mr. Leonard make a speech to the crowd, in which he said:

"We do not have equal rights with the Boers. Our petitioners are treated with contempt. We now demand our rights with arms in our hands. We want a republican government, and not the autocratic government at Pretoria. All who want to fight for their rights and for freedom can receive arms."

John Keith, an American employed by the Geldenhuis Company, testified that he was induced to join the George Washington Corps under pretext of protecting life and property and of supporting the Transvaal flag. He was enrolled by Captain Carlen.

"Were you paid?" he was asked.

"No," was the reply.

"Was any salary promised to you?"

"No. We were told that our corps would be the first to march to Pretoria to fight the Boers. I thereupon cleared off, as I was born under a republican flag myself. I and others tore the colors off our arms and we were all placed under arrest. The officers of the corps took me handcuffed to the Chamber of Mines, where they ill-treated me and tried to frighten me by thrusting a gun before me. They thought me an Englishman, but I am a free-born American citizen."

"How long were you detained?" was then asked.

"Until 11 o'clock the next day."

"Why did they ill-treat you?"

"Because I wanted to fight for the Transvaal."

"What was the strength of the corps?"

"About a hundred; very few Americans. There were Australians and Canadians—in fact, everything but Americans. We did skirmishing drill on Wanderer's Ground, but we had no arms."

Jerome Sharp was then placed upon the stand, and was asked:

"Were you the lieutenant of the American corps?"

He replied: "No, I only knew of its existence through the newspapers."

Witnesses, February 10, certified that the National Union opened a bank account in the name of a "Development Syndicate," including Colonel Rhodes, Messrs. Hammond, Phillips and Fitzpatrick.

Mr. Schumacher, the "Development Syndicate" agent, February 11, admitted that he had destroyed the account after the directors had been arrested. Later in the course of the trial Schumacher refused to reply to a question. He was arrested for contempt of court and fined \$100.

A bicyclist named Celliers testified that he carried a dispatch from Colonel Rhodes to Dr. Jameson, at Krugersdorp. He lost Dr. Jameson's reply when he was arrested by the Boers.

Evidence was adduced February 12 showing that the proclama-

tion which, according to the testimony of a printer, who previously gave evidence, was placed in his hands and put in type, but never issued, mentioned Mr. Charles Leonard, who was wanted in Cape Town in connection with the Transvaal outbreak, as president of the provisional government which was to have been organized. The proclamation also stated that the forces organized for carrying out the plans of the rebels exceeded two thousand men.

While trial was in progress, the letter which was alleged to have induced Dr. Jameson to invade the Transvaal, and which was found upon him when he was captured, was read. The following is the text in full:

“Johannesburg, December 20.

“Dr. Jameson—

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

“A foreign corporation of Hollanders is to a considerable extent controlling our destinies, and, in conjunction with the Boer leaders, is endeavoring to cast them in a mould which is wholly foreign to the genius of the people. Every public act betrays the most positive hostility not only to everything English but to the neighboring states as well. In short, the internal policy of the government is such as to arouse into antagonism not only practically the whole body of Outlanders, but a large number of the Boers, while its external policy has exasperated the neighboring states, causing the possibility of great danger to the peace and independence of the republic.

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

to go into details we may say that the government have called into existence all the elements necessary for armed conflict.

“The one desire of the people here is for fair play and the maintenance of their independence and the preservation of their public liberties, without which life is not worth having. The government denies these things, and violates the national sense of Englishmen at every turn. What we have to consider is what will be the condition of things here, in the event of conflict, with thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race. They will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers, while property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We cannot contemplate the future without the gravest apprehension, and feel that we are justified in taking steps to prevent the shedding of blood, to ensure the protection of our rights.

“It is under these circumstances that we feel constrained to call upon you to come to our aid should a disturbance occur here. The circumstances are so extreme that we cannot avoid this step, and we cannot but believe that you will not fail to come to the rescue of the people who would be so situated. We guarantee any expense that may be incurred by you in helping us, and ask you to believe that nothing but the sternest necessity has prompted this appeal. We are, yours faithfully,

“Chas. Leonard,  
“Francis Rhodes,  
“Lionel Phillips,  
“John Hays Hammond,  
“George Farrar.”

Manager Standard, of the Diggers' News, March 11, testified that John Hays Hammond and John Barr, two of the prisoners, came to the offices of that paper and urged that the editor be discharged on the ground that he had written articles tending to incite the populace to rebellion.

William Carlin deposed that when the Washington Corps was formed he went to the Reform Committee at the Gold Fields' offices and made arrangements to conduct it, but he did not recognize the members of the committee owing to the darkness. The men were paid in checks, which were left at Tattersalls, but he could not remember who had signed them. The corps had been disbanded on receipt



of orders addressed to it by Colonel Farrar. The witness had been instructed throughout by Farrar and by Colonel Rhodes, who, he thought, had arranged matters with the police of the town.

An employe of the "Simmer and Jack" mine, March 18, testified to seeing arms and Maxim guns unloaded from oil tanks. He estimated that 300 cases of rifles and 24 Maxim guns were received.

Colonel Rhodes, Lionel Phillips and George Farrar, three members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, pleaded guilty, April 24, of high treason. The other members of the same committee pleaded guilty of treason, but without hostile intent against the independence of the Transvaal. John Hays Hammond pleaded guilty of high treason, April 27, following the example of other leaders of the committee. He was ill when they made their pleas.

In view of the plea of guilty, there was no cross examination, April 27, to elicit testimony to show ultimate responsibility for the Jameson raid. But counsel for the defense read a statement signed by John Hays Hammond, Lionel Phillips, George Farrar and Colonel Francis Rhodes, reviewing the history of the agitation for redress of alleged Outlander grievances. The statement recited that, because of rumors that the Boers were going to attack Johannesburg, the signers asked Dr. Jameson to come, but they deplored the mistake he made in coming when there was no urgent need for his presence. They maintained that their action throughout the crisis was not hostile to the Republic, its officials having been protected and life and property generally preserved.

They sent officers, December 27, the statement also said, to forbid Dr. Jameson's movement.

In addition to this statement, telegrams were handed in, which passed between Mr. Beit, of the Chartered South Africa Company, and Dr. Jameson, Colonel Rhodes and others, but not Cecil Rhodes, then premier of Cape Colony.

Counsel spoke two hours in behalf of the defense, concluding:

"If the edge of the sword is to be used it will cause eternal misery in the Republic; but should the flat side be employed, it will usher in peace and good will."

Messrs. Hammond, Rhodes, Phillips and Farrar were sentenced to death, April 28, the remaining fifty-nine prisoners (members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee) were fined \$10,000 each, sentenced

to prison for two years and then banished from the Transvaal for three years. In default of payment of the fine another year's imprisonment was to have been added.

Among the fifty-nine were Captain Mein, J. S. Curtis, V. B. Clement, J. Lawley, H. J. King, and F. R. Lingham, all Americans; Solly B. Joel, the nephew of Barney Barnato; H. C. Bettelheim, the Turkish consul and formerly attorney-general of Cape Colony, and J. W. Leonard.

The news of the sentences was received with amazement at Johannesburg and even at Pretoria, causing the greatest excitement, and even though it was generally understood the four men sentenced to death would not be executed. The telegraph wires throughout the Colony and the Transvaal were blocked with messages to and from Pretoria, business was at a standstill everywhere, and every man had a "what next" expression on his face. The British population was angry and resentful, the Dutch defiant.

A message from Mr. Chamberlain was communicated to President Kruger, April 28, by the British agent at Pretoria. The President was calm, but evidently felt the gravity of the situation. Later, a rumor was current that the President had carefully gone over the records of the trials, consulted the legal authorities, and decided to commute the death sentences to heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment, to be followed by banishment. A later dispatch announced that Dr. Leyds, the Transvaal Secretary of State, had informed Sir J. A. De Wet, the British agent at Pretoria, that it had not been decided what punishment should be imposed in place of the death sentence, and intimated that the Executive Council was reconsidering the sentences imposed upon all the prisoners. This led to the belief that the minor sentences would be lightened.

The President, in exercising clemency, was guided by his sense of justice, not from fear of consequences. It was stated, on high authority, that he had decided, some days previous, what to do, and took the firm stand he did in his letter declining Mr. Chamberlain's invitation to Great Britain, that there might be no mistake as to the Transvaal attitude towards the British Government.

The President's concluding remarks in that letter distinctly outlined the Transvaal policy. He wrote:

"Under existing circumstances the South African Republic will not

at present press a reconsideration of the London Convention and a substitute for it of a treaty of amity and commerce, but will rest satisfied with pecuniary compensation and the assurance that no violation of its territory will be repeated."

His action in extending clemency to the reform leaders relieved the tension between the British and the Boers. But the strain was renewed when the question of the British paying indemnity to the Transvaal came up. It was then intimated that the British Government would try to shift the whole responsibility upon the South African Company and that the latter would have to foot the Transvaal's bill.

Eventually, April 29, the death sentences imposed on Hammond, Rhodes, Phillips and Farrar were commuted to heavy fines and banishment. The judge did not give weight to the plea that the defendants were guilty rather of folly than of crime. In summing up the judge said he had no option but to pass sentence according to the Roman-Dutch law. Although Dr. Jameson must have come into a country against the wish of the prisoners, or for the purpose of the British South Africa Company, the fact remained that he went to the border at the invitation of the Reform Committee, and if it had not invited him there would have been no invasion. Could the prisoners reasonably expect mercy for such a serious crime as high treason? he asked. After remarking that decorum had been maintained during the trial, the judge said it was his painful duty to pass the sentence required by law. At the same time he hoped the Executive would show the same clemency displayed to the members of the Jameson party.

The following is a full report of the defense and sentences of the members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee:

The court opened at Pretoria, April 24, and after the evidence for the prosecution the state attorney addressed the court briefly. He announced that he had no more witnesses to call, and he closed the case for the prosecution, requesting the court to inflict the highest punishment on the accused, as laid down in the old Roman-Dutch law.

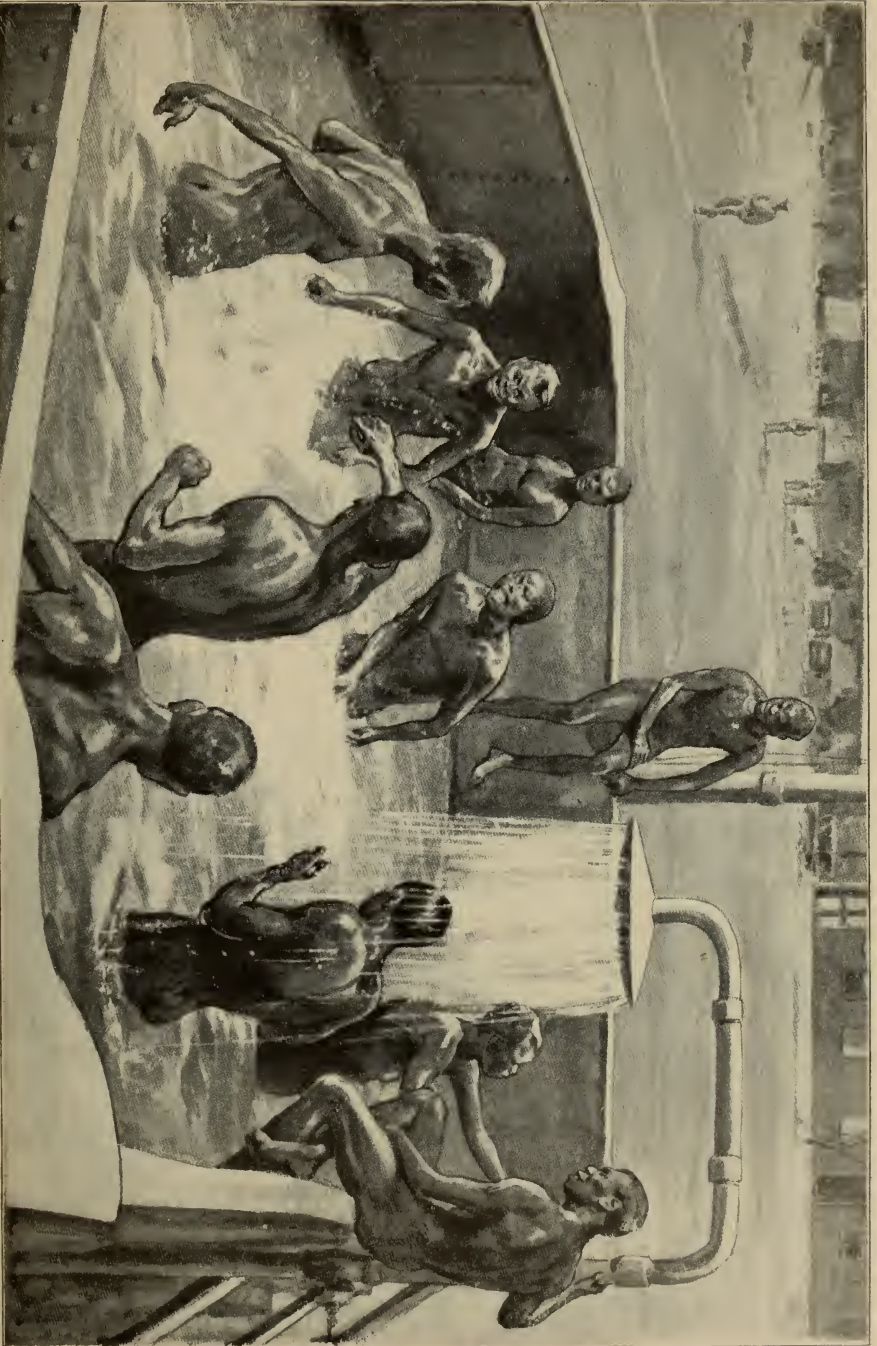
Mr. Wessels informed the court that the accused wished to hand in several declarations which had been made and signed by them.

Having handed in a Dutch copy of the original declaration made and signed by Lionel Phillips, George Farrar, Francis Rhodes and John Hays Hammond, Mr. Wessels read the following translation of the aforesaid declaration in English:

“For a number of years endeavors have been made to obtain by constitutional means redress of grievances under which the Outlander population labor. Newcomers have asked for no more than is considered the right of immigrants by all other governments in South Africa, under which every man on reasonable conditions can become a citizen of a state, while here alone the policy is pursued by which the first settlers retain the exclusive right of government. Petitions supported by the signatures of some 4,000 men were ignored, and when it was found that we could not get a fair and reasonable hearing, that provisions already deemed obnoxious and unfair were being made more stringent, and that we were being debarred forever from obtaining rights which in other countries are freely granted, it was then realized that we would never get redress until we should make a demonstration of force to support our claims. Certain provision was made regarding arms and ammunition, and a letter was written to Dr. Jameson in which he was asked to come to our aid under certain circumstances.

“On December 26 the Outlanders’ manifesto was published, and it was then our intention to make a final appeal for redress at a public meeting, which was to have been held January 6. In consequence of matters that came to our knowledge we sent, on December 27, Major Heany by train, via Kimberley, and Captain Holden across country, to forbid any movement on Dr. Jameson’s part. On the afternoon of December 30 we learned from Government sources that Dr. Jameson had crossed the frontier. We assumed that he had come in good faith to help us, probably misled by some of the exaggerated rumors which were then in circulation. We were convinced, however, that the Government and the burghers would not, in the excitement of the moment, believe that we had not invited Dr. Jameson in, and there was no course open to us but to prepare to defend ourselves if attacked and at the same time to spare no effort to effect a peaceful settlement. It became necessary to form some organization for our protection and the maintenance of order, since, in the excitement caused by the news of Dr. Jameson’s coming, serious disturbances would be likely to occur, and it was evident that the Government organization could not deal with the people without serious risks of a conflict.

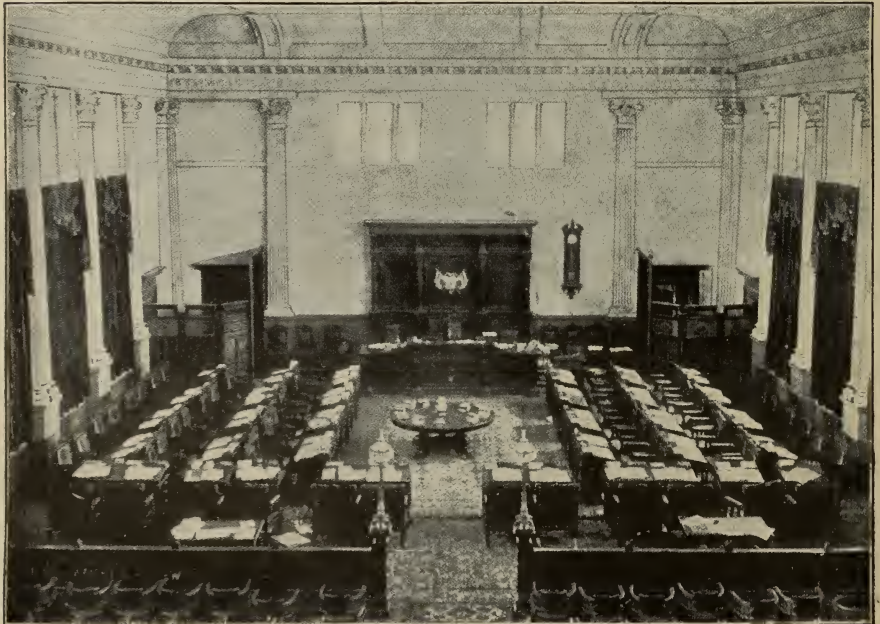
“The Reform Committee was formed Monday night, December 30, and it was intended to include such men of influence as cared to associate themselves with the movement. The object for which it was



MINERS BATHING IN THE KIMBERLEY COMPOUND.



THE BOER FORT AT BLOEMFONTEIN.



INTERIOR OF THE RAADZAAL AT BLOEMFONTEIN.

formed is best shown in the first notice, viz: 'Notice is hereby given that this committee adheres to the National Union manifesto and reiterates its desire to maintain the independence of the republic. The fact that rumors are in course of circulation to the effect that a force crossed the Bechuanaland frontier renders it necessary to take active steps for the defense of Johannesburg and the preservation of order. The committee earnestly desire that inhabitants should refrain from taking any action which can be construed as an overt act of hostility against the Government.

“By order of the committee.

“J. Percy Fitzpatrick, Secretary.’

“Evidence taken at the preliminary examination will show that order was maintained by this committee during a time of intense excitement, and through the action of this committee no aggressive steps whatever were taken against the Government, but, on the contrary, the property of the Government was protected and its officials were not interfered with. It is our firm belief that had no such committee been formed the intense excitement caused by Dr. Jameson's entry would have brought about utter chaos in Johannesburg. It has been alleged that we armed natives. This is absolutely untrue, and is disposed of by the fact that during the crisis upward of 20,000 white men applied to us for arms and were unable to get them.

“On Tuesday morning, December 31, we hoisted the flag of the South African Republic, and every man bound himself to maintain the independence of the republic. On the same day the Government withdrew its police voluntarily from the town, and we preserved perfect order. During the evening of that day Messrs. Marais and Malan presented themselves as delegates from the Executive Council. They came, to use their own words, to offer us the olive branch, and they told us that if we would send a deputation to Pretoria to meet a commission appointed by the Government we should probably obtain practically all that we asked for in our manifesto. Our deputation met the Government Commission, consisting of Chief Justice Kotze, Judge Ameshoff and Mr. Hock, member of the Executive Council. On our behalf our deputation frankly avowed a knowledge of Jameson's presence on the border, and of his intentions, by arrangement with us,

to assist in case of extremity. With a full knowledge of this arrangement, and with the knowledge that we were in arms in agitation for our rights, the Government Commission handed us a resolution by Executive Council, of which the following is the purport :

“Sir Hercules Robinson had offered his services with a view to a peaceful settlement. The Government of the South African Republic has accepted his offer. Pending his arrival no hostile steps will be taken against Johannesburg, provided Johannesburg takes no hostile action against the Government. Under the terms of a certain proclamation, recently issued by the President, grievances will be earnestly considered.

“We acted in perfect good faith with the Government, believing it to be their desire, as it was ours, to avert bloodshed, and believing it to be their intention to give us redress, which was implied. In the earnest consideration of grievances, there can be no better evidence of our earnest desire to repair what we regarded as a mistake on the part of Dr. Jameson, than the following offer, which our deputation authorized by resolution of the committee laid before the Government Commission: ‘If Government will permit Dr. Jameson to come into Johannesburg unmolested the committee will guarantee with their persons, if necessary, that he will leave again peacefully as soon as possible.’

“We faithfully carried out the agreement that we should commit no act of hostility against the Government. We ceased all active operations for defense of the town against any attack, and we did everything in our power to prevent any collision between the burghers, an attempt in which our efforts were happily successful.

“On telegraphic advice of the result of the interview of our deputation with the Government Commission we dispatched Mr. Race, a member of the committee, as escort to the courier carrying the High Commissioner’s dispatch to Dr. Jameson in order to assure ourselves that the dispatch would reach its destination.

“On the following Saturday, January 4, the High Commissioner arrived in Pretoria. On Monday, January 6, the following telegram was sent us from Pretoria:

“‘From H. M. S. Agent to Reform Committee, Johannesburg: I am directed to inform you that the High Commissioner met the Presi-



dent of the Executive Council and the judges to-day. The President announced the decision of the Government to be that Johannesburg must lay down its arms unconditionally as a condition precedent to a discussion and consideration of its grievances.'

"The High Commissioner endeavored to obtain some indication of the steps which would be taken in the event of disarmament, but without success, it being intimated that the Government had nothing more to say on this subject than had already been embodied in the President's proclamation. The High Commissioner inquired whether any decision had been come to as regards the disposal of prisoners, and received a reply in the negative. The President said that as his burghers to the number of 8,000 had been collected and could not be asked to remain indefinitely, he must request a reply, yes or no, to this ultimatum within twenty-four hours.

"On the following day De Wet, Her Majesty's agent, met us in committee and handed to us the following wire from the High Commissioner to Sir J. De Wet at Johannesburg:

"'It is urgent you should inform the Johannesburg people that I consider that if they lay down their arms they will be acting loyally and honorably, and that if they do not comply with my request they forfeit all claim to sympathy from Her Majesty's Government and from the British subjects throughout the world.'

"As the lives of Jameson and the prisoners were practically at stake on this and an assurance given in the Executive Council's resolution we laid down our arms on the 6th, 7th and 8th of January. On the 9th we were arrested, and have since been under arrest in Pretoria, a period of three and a half months.

"We admit the responsibility for the action taken by us. We frankly avowed it at the time of negotiations with the Government. When we were informed that the services of the High Commissioner had been accepted with a view to a peaceful settlement, we submit that we kept faith in every detail in the arrangement with the Government. As we did all that was humanly possible to protect both the state and Dr. Jameson from the consequences of his action, we claim that we have committed no breach of law which was not known to the Government at the time that earnest consideration of our grievances were promised.

“We can now only lay the bare facts before the court and submit to the judgment that may be passed upon us.

“Lionel Phillips,  
“Francis Rhodes,  
“George Farrar.

“Pretoria, April 24, 1896.

“I entirely concur with the above statement.

“John Hays Hammond.”

The declaration was also read in Dutch by Mr. Wessels.

With reference to the others, Mr. Wessels read their declaration, which was as follows:

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

Advocate Wessels also admitted, on behalf of Francis Rhodes, that he was mentioned under another name in one of the telegrams produced in court. Mr. Wessels intimated that he would make his speech for the defense in the afternoon. This was agreed to, and the court adjourned till 2 o'clock.

The defense of the accused was opened by Mr. Wessels, senior counsel for the reformers, in a speech which lasted exactly two hours. Mr. Wessels, after observing that he would endeavor to make his address as brief as possible, proceeded to say:

“My Lord, before going into the circumstances of the case, I purpose inquiring what punishment may be meted out in this republic. Are we to follow the laws of the old Romans or our own statutes? If in the latter case, then we need not apply the statutes of the old Roman-Dutch laws. I proceed to say that should the principle be laid down that the Roman-Dutch laws demand a severer punishment, and that milder punishment is demanded by the laws of this country, I would request, if the court shall see fit so to do, to apply the milder punishment.

“In treating this important subject it is absolutely necessary to give a brief review of the laws since the time of the ancient Romans. In the old Roman republic the penalty for commitment of high treason was as not having been committed against the person of a sovereign, but, as in this country, where no king exists, the crime was punishable for treason against the state. Justice soon saw that the laws of a cruel, barbarous time were not adaptable to us. Moreover, the United Netherlands was not an autocratic republic, but desired to establish a republican system.

“Afrikanders are not a blood-thirsty nation, and as long as I have resided in the republic, I have not found many death sentences carried out. It may be said that the people of this republic have laid down in their statute books hard old laws, which are to be repealed and replaced by milder laws. In the thirty-three articles it is enacted that a person who conspired with any foreign power for the purpose of bringing the state into subjection to such power, was liable to a fine of 500 rix dollars and banishment, and if he returned he was liable to the punishment of outlawry. It is not our object to determine what punishment was meant to be inflicted by the legislature on those who conspired with or granted assistance to foreign powers. The question to be decided is whether the sentence of death is still in existence in this republic.

“It is certain, however, that it does still exist, but for this misdemeanor a person can be transported across the border, but can certainly not be awarded the death sentence. It was the intention of the law to inflict milder punishment. On May 10, 1864, confiscation of goods was abolished as the legal code of Holland, and our laws have been brought into conformity therewith, thereby showing a tendency to abolish barbarous enactments. Why? Because this republic is not a kingdom. The President or members of the Executive Council are nothing more than the state impersonated, and here the state is the sovereign power. If the President were attacked it would not be directed against his personality. This is the republican spirit.

“According to the indictment Jameson is neither king, governor nor ruler. It is not alleged by the accuser that he is such. The prisoners only admitted that they imported guns. If that is so they cannot be punished with the extreme penalty. There could be no question of a conspiracy with sovereignties. If the point was laid down that banishment is applicable, then that would be the severest punishment

that can be applied. The accused did not plead guilty on the second count. They did not ask Jameson to come across our border with a hostile intention."

The judge said: "Count No. 1 of the indictment says that they did conspire with Jameson to do so."

"It does not say that they conspired with Jameson to cause an inroad," replied Mr. Wessels. He then showed telegrams to prove the statement of the four accused leaders that they tried their best to prevent Jameson and his hostile troops coming over the border; that persons were sent to forbid him to come, and that they are only indirectly guilty of the charge alleged.

Mr. Wessels continued:

"It is for Your Lordship to say what punishment should be inflicted. It is doubtful whether any one conspiring with England can be punished with the same penalty."

Judge: "But a band of freebooters is far more dangerous."

Mr. Wessels: "I can only observe that it is too detestable to think of passing death sentences. It would surprise the populace. The question is, is it compulsory for the court to confiscate property under section 148 of act 191 of 1895? I think not. The word 'shall' occurring in certain sections of the gold law was construed by Judge De Korte to mean 'may' in regard to the powers of the mining commissioner; in all cases it was intended to lay down the principle of practicing cruelty only in the interests of the republic. It rests with Your Lordship to determine whether confiscation is necessary.

"The spirit of the law certainly prescribes banishment of a misdemeanant from the republic, but to apply banishment to the above-named four would be too cruel to think of.

"In regard to the remainder of the accused, they have pleaded guilty to having distributed arms, etc. They are in no sense connected with Jameson. I would request you to measure the punishment according to the measure of the guilt. It is not time to criticise the actions of the accused in throwing up earthworks or fortifications, but it will be necessary for the purpose of their defense to review circumstances in this state during the last ten years—to the time of the last disturbance. During that time Your Lordship was in an adjoining republic. There the laws are different. An alien may cross a bridge and assist in the government of state here, but Your Lordship must be

aware that the relations between the Government and Outlanders were much strained, especially during the last four months. They thought they had certain grievances, and it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Leonard manifesto contains a summary of the men's grievances. It is necessary to observe that they were not freebooters, or that they desired booty or to lend themselves to the commitment of crime. They did no more than hundreds of men of our time have done. For instance, there is our burgher war. They were not freebooters, but they have come here to establish their domiciles and become part of the state. Neither had they any connection with the Chartered Company, nor did they repudiate the rights of the burghers."

The judge said the accused had pleaded guilty to the charge of having brought the independence or safety of this republic into danger.

Mr. Wessels said that Phillips did not say so.

The judge said: "I think he did."

"It is for Your Lordship to decide what crime they have committed. It is certain they have done nothing to endanger the independence of the country. Why did they call Jameson in? It was an unfortunate step, but they took measures to insure their safety. Petition after petition was rejected, and it was made an impossibility to become a burgher."

"This state demonstration was made," said the judge, "and men were armed. Jameson was at once with the four accused. There are the declarations of Phillips and of his speech. These tend to show how much in earnest they were."

Mr. Wessels said:

"Your Lordship has seen the telegrams. It would be as well to go through these to trace what connection exists between Cecil Rhodes and Jameson. I know of no proof of what emanated in the brain of Cecil Rhodes or Mr. Jameson to commit any such act, nor is there any proof that the Chartered Company intended to bring the safety of the republic into danger. If the above-named four men conspired with Jameson to do so circumstances would probably prove it. Now, Messrs. Phillips, Farrar, Rhodes and Hammond are important men. Mr. Phillips is known throughout South Africa for his stupendous work in connection with the mining industry at Johannesburg. Messrs. Farrar and Hammond are men of weight. These are the men who have ever studied the interests of the republic, and have endeavored to

promote those interests in different parts of the world. They would not think for a moment of injuring Johannesburg. The name of Rhodes is sufficient to make one quake in one's shoes. There can be no doubt that Johannesburg will not receive Cecil Rhodes with open arms. Thus far he has borne no love for Johannesburg. Why would accused then call in a force of 580 men over the boundaries of this state? Was it possible to overthrow the Government with such a small body of men? Could they not just as well have smuggled these men in by train in the same manner as the guns were smuggled in? Mr. Phillips has declared that there were only 2,500 rifles in Johannesburg. Twenty thousand persons asked for arms, and they could not obtain them. A document handed to Mr. Vandermerwe states that there were only 2,500 rifles. Was it possible to think that 2,500 rifles together with Jameson's 580 men could injure the independence of this republic?

"It was found necessary to organize as soon as the news came that Jameson had crossed the border. If the accused had thought of overthrowing the independence of the republic then they should be incarcerated in a lunatic asylum rather than in jail.

"All connection between the accused and Dr. Jameson with the Chartered Company must be effaced. Did they seize railways or interfere with officials? Did they not lay down their arms when they heard that Jameson had surrendered? Did they not send a message to Jameson, 'Do not come in Heaven's name'? Did not Hammond telegraph not to come? If Jameson committed an inroad they are not responsible for such inroad. As soon as the armament took place Hammond hoisted the flag of the South African Republic, and to that flag they swore an oath of allegiance.

"On December 30, when it became known that Jameson had crossed the border, there was general consternation in Johannesburg. On that evening members of the Reform Committee were called together. Naturally every one feared that the burghers would advance on Johannesburg. Of course, military corps were formed and earthworks were thrown up. The Government feared that a collision might take place with the police, and they were in consequence removed. It was also found necessary to place Trimble in charge of a body of police to protect the women and children against rogues and Kaffirs. Moreover, we have the declarations of Lieutenants De Korte

and Pieterse to substantiate the fact that Johannesburg was never in a dangerous condition. Everything was done to avoid a collision by the Reform Committee. Immediately after the interview with Messrs. Eugene Marais and W. Malan four of the leading members waited on the commission and informed them that they had forbidden Jameson to cross the border. Thereupon the reply was received from the commission. Work on fortifications was discontinued and Edys was sent to Jameson with a proclamation. They even offered themselves as hostages. More they could not do.

"The accused have been confined for three and a half months in jail. Think of the anxiety as to the result of this prosecution. They are not murderers, nor are they to be compared with such. Here we have Lionel Phillips, a man who was for over seven years chairman of the Chamber of Mines and head of that great financial concern, the house of Eckstein. To him all praise is due that various mines on the Rand are being exploited.

"Would you punish hundreds of white and black employes? George Farrar is working at present not less than ten mines, employing 700 whites and 1,000 blacks. Why should he employ his capital elsewhere? Again, John Hays Hammond is known to be one of the greatest mining experts in the United States. It is owing to him that gold fields have been successfully worked, and to him the republic owes the clever geological survey of the Witwatersrand gold fields. Francis Rhodes is director of gold fields, but has the misfortune to bear that name. Others, I may observe, are some of the leading men of Johannesburg. By punishing these men, not one, but hundreds, will be punished in Johannesburg.

"It is the object of the republic to prove to the outside world that the Government is powerful enough to punish despoilers, but will punishment of these men have the desired effect? They have now learned a stern lesson. It would be absurd to think any overt act of rebellion could take place. Again, their incarceration has ruined their business. The poignancy of their feelings can be better imagined than described. It is the desire of the Government that no sympathy be extended to these men by the public, but by inflicting severe punishment they will arouse the very feelings which are best left undisturbed. If the sharp edge of the sword be used the result will be eternal unrest,

but if the flat edge be employed, peace and the safety of the republic will be insured."

The state attorney then rose and stated that he wished to say something respecting certain law points tendered by his learned colleague, Mr. Wessels. He (the state attorney) understood that the law should be rigorously applied. The local laws of Van der Linden were in force in this country, but they were to be applied in modified form, and in accordance with the customs of South Africa's thirty-three articles. For high treason Van der Linden lays down no other punishment than death. In Article 9 various ways are given how this crime can be committed. The accused did not conspire with a foreign power, for the Chartered Company was only a business company. In the state attorney's opinion conspiracy with Jameson was more serious than with a foreign power. Jameson was a freebooter. He stood in the same light as a pirate. A pirate can only be adjudged to be shot or hung. The law should be applied in all its severity. In local news gekweste majeste is only once mentioned. Article 148 of the gold law was clear. It provided for confiscation of property.

"Do you ask for punishment according to the local laws of the state?" asked the judge.

"I do," was the answer. Resuming, the attorney said that the word "shall" was imperative, and concluded his address by saying that it was his duty to ask that those who pleaded guilty be punished as the court thinks fit and their property confiscated, under Article 148 of the Gold Law.

After a few remarks by the judge court was adjourned until 11 o'clock on the 28th.

The court reassembled the next morning. The judge summed up as follows:

"The four accused, Lionel Phillips, George Farrar, Francis Rhodes and John Hays Hammond, stand charged with and have pleaded guilty to the crime of high treason. The indictment sets forth that in the months of November and December last they did wrongfully and unlawfully commit high treason. Others have pleaded guilty to gekweste majeste. According to the pleas handed in by them in these last mentioned cases they have generally acknowledged the facts contained in counts three and four, and have thus unlawfully distributed guns and other arms and ammunition, and have enrolled men and formed them



into corps and erected earthworks, with the object of violently resisting the authority of the state.

“The first four have pleaded guilty to high treason, which is heavily punishable by law. They have taken the best legal advice and they have had the assistance of the ablest advocates. The plea of guilty, in conjunction with the evidence heard, shows that no long demonstration of proof may be expected from me, but I cannot refrain from making a few observations on the plea handed in by them.

“It would seem that they did place themselves in communication with Jameson, and that he, notwithstanding the invitation of the accused had been withdrawn, without troubling himself respecting their safety and wishes, at the head of an armed troop invaded the South African Republic, only mindful of his own gain. Apparently the intention of Jameson was neither philanthropic nor friendly toward the republic. This inroad could have been attended with most fatal and bloodiest results for South Africa, and cannot be sufficiently condemned as being equal to assassination.

“Thanks to the patriotism, bravery and heroism of the Transvaal burghers, the invasion was repelled. Were it not for the four accused the inroad would not have taken place. This they have acknowledged themselves, but they allege in their plea that Jameson came earlier than when he was asked, and they did everything in their power to induce him to return, and their attitude after the inroad of Jameson was only assumed in self-defense against the Transvaal Government.

“Thus they were responsible for what did occur. The question was: What was their duty in this instance? The reply is: They are in duty bound to faithfully stand by the Government, whose hospitality they enjoyed, when its independence was threatened. They repudiated Jameson, but there is reason to apprehend that they at the same time stood by him.

“With reference to the remainder of the accused, whatever grievances Johannesburg may have had, the members of the Reform Committee acted wrongfully and treacherously.

“According to the English law, the granting of refuge to the enemy stood equal to high treason.

“The question what provision of the Transvaal law is applicable in this instance has been answered by the defense by referring to Article 9 of the thirty-three articles of 1849, which prescribes a fine of 500 rix

dollars and banishment for the crime in question, but the allegation that this article supersedes the provision of the Dutch law is erroneous. It was nowhere laid down that punishments prescribed by laws are abolished. Moreover, the above-mentioned article has no relation to the instance whereby a foreign enemy had really made an invasion."

His Lordship quoted several cases, and said:

"These all go to prove that the special law did not abolish the provisions of the general law. Act No. 1, of 1877, has no bearing on this case. If the application of Article 9 of the thirty-three articles was held to, then it was impossible to withdraw from the provisions of Article 146 of the Gold Law, which stipulated for the confiscation of goods. I may observe here that with this article the court has nothing to do, because the accused have pleaded guilty under the general law, and it is thereunder the state attorney has asked that punishment be passed.

"If any opposite views are held I am prepared to reserve the point in dispute for a decision of the full bench. It is now, however, the duty of the court to pass sentence."

Here Lionel Phillips, John Hays Hammond, Francis Rhodes and George Farrar were arraigned in the dock brought in for that purpose.

The registrar having asked the accused whether they knew of any reason why sentence of death should not be passed on them, the reply from all was in the negative.

His Lordship, addressing them, said:

"Lionel Phillips, it is my painful duty to pass sentence on you. I am only meting out to you sentence prescribed by law, leaving it to the President and Executive Council to show you any mercy. May the magnanimity only lately shown by the Transvaal authorities be extended to you, but this is a case that does not fall within my jurisdiction. I can only say that you in any other country would not have been treated with any mercy. The sentence of the court is that you be taken from this place where you are now to the jail at Pretoria, or such other jail in the republic, and that you be kept there until such time and such place as the President shall appoint, and shall be taken to that place of execution to be hanged by the neck until you are dead. May Almighty God have mercy on your soul."

The same sentence was pronounced on Rhodes, Hammond and Farrar.

Addressing the other prisoners, the judge said:

“Each and every one of you will be kept in jail for the period of two years, or such other place as the Government shall appoint, and each and all of you shall be fined the sum of \$10,000, or in default, further term of one year’s imprisonment, and at the expiration of the term you shall be banished from this republic, for the term of three years, confirmation of banishment to be left in the hands of the Executive, according to law.”

The judge, having briefly thanked the jurors, and the state attorney having announced that he would not dispute the point reserved in regard to confiscation, the court closed.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### MR. CHAMBERLAIN REVIEWS THE SITUATION.

A very uneasy man was the British Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, during the early months of 1896. He was attacked on almost all sides and was repeatedly worsted in diplomatic battles by President Kruger, who incidentally always seems to have had the best of the British Colonial Secretary.

Finally, Mr. Chamberlain was so badly stung that a dispatch which he had sent some time previously to the Governor of Cape Colony, Sir Hercules Robinson (dated February 7, 1897), was gazetted in order to present Mr. Chamberlain's side of the case to the world.

It briefly reviewed the history of events in the Transvaal since 1891, and pointed out that the mining interests, the mainstay of the country, were mainly in the hands of the Outlanders, who were debarred by legislation from the rights of citizenship, and that the whole direction of affairs and the right of taxation remained a monopoly in the hands of a "decreasing minority of the population engaged in agriculture," while the majority who raised the revenue from £75,000 (\$375,000) to £2,000,000 (\$10,000,000) were denied any voice in the Transvaal Government, and were unable to obtain redress of the "formidable grievances hampering and injuring them incessantly." Mr. Chamberlain emphasized the "pacific and above-board" character of the Outlander agitation, and recalled that the Outlanders' petitions were rejected by the Volksraad amid scornful laughter, one member challenging the Outlanders to take up arms and fight.

The massing of the Bechuanaland police at Mafeking, Mr. Chamberlain also said, did not cause anxiety, as it was understood to be merely "a rendezvous prior to disbanding." When it was suggested, December 29, that the British South Africa Company's police might intervene at Johannesburg, it seemed incredible. Mr. Chamberlain wired to Governor Robinson, instructing him to warn Cecil Rhodes, then the Premier of Cape Colony, of the consequences. Unfortunately, Dr. Jameson had already entered the Transvaal.

The document then reviewed subsequent events until Governor Robinson, returning to Cape Town, mentioned that President Kruger

refused to give the Governor definite assurance that reforms would be granted the Outlanders, owing to the suspicion that there was widespread conspiracy to overthrow the constitution—which Mr. Chamberlain did not regard as an adequate reason. Mr. Chamberlain then stated Great Britain's position, saying:

“Since the Convention of 1884 Great Britain has recognized the Transvaal as independent internally, but its external relations are subject to the control of Great Britain. There is no reason to anticipate that a foreign state will dispute our rights, but it is necessary to state clearly that the Government intends to maintain them in their integrity. Internally, Great Britain is justified in the interests of South Africa as a whole, and for the peace and stability of the Transvaal, to tender friendly counsels regarding the newcomers, mainly British subjects.”

Mr. Chamberlain suggested the consideration of other grievances, taxation, education and monopolies, and especially the exclusion of Outlanders from the police, and proposed that the Rand be accorded modified local autonomy, including control of its own taxation, subject to the payment to the Government of an annual sliding tribute based on the fluctuations of the mining industry, such legislation to be subject to the veto of the President and Executive.

Mr. Chamberlain further suggested that the Rand be given a superior law court, and that the Randers be not entitled to a voice in the Volksraad or in the election of Presidents, thus relieving the burghers of their “haunting fear” that the newcomers would utilize the franchise to upset their form of government. “These suggestions are not offered in degradation of the President's authority,” the dispatch continued, “but as a sincere and friendly contribution of Her Majesty's Government to the settlement of a question which continues to threaten the quietude of the republic and the welfare and progress of South Africa.”

As the settlement involved so many details which were easier settled by a personal conference, Mr. Chamberlain suggested to President Kruger that, if it was convenient and agreeable to him, he should come to England. -

As the dispatch of February 4, 1896, from Mr. Chamberlain to the Governor of Cape Colony was a complete and exhaustive presentation to the world of the case of Great Britain against the Transvaal, published in the official notification of the British Government, the Lon-

don Gazette, as it holds good now as being the only really complete version of the British claims, and it has never, to our knowledge, been printed in the United States, we here reproduce its full text :

Downing Street, February 4, 1896.

Sir:—It has hereto been impossible for me to do more than indicate to you by telegraph the immediate measures which appeared to me to be necessary in view of the grave issues raised by the incursion of an armed force under Dr. Jameson into the territory of the South African Republic; but now that the pressing questions of the moment have been disposed of, I take the earliest opportunity of addressing you at length upon the subject.

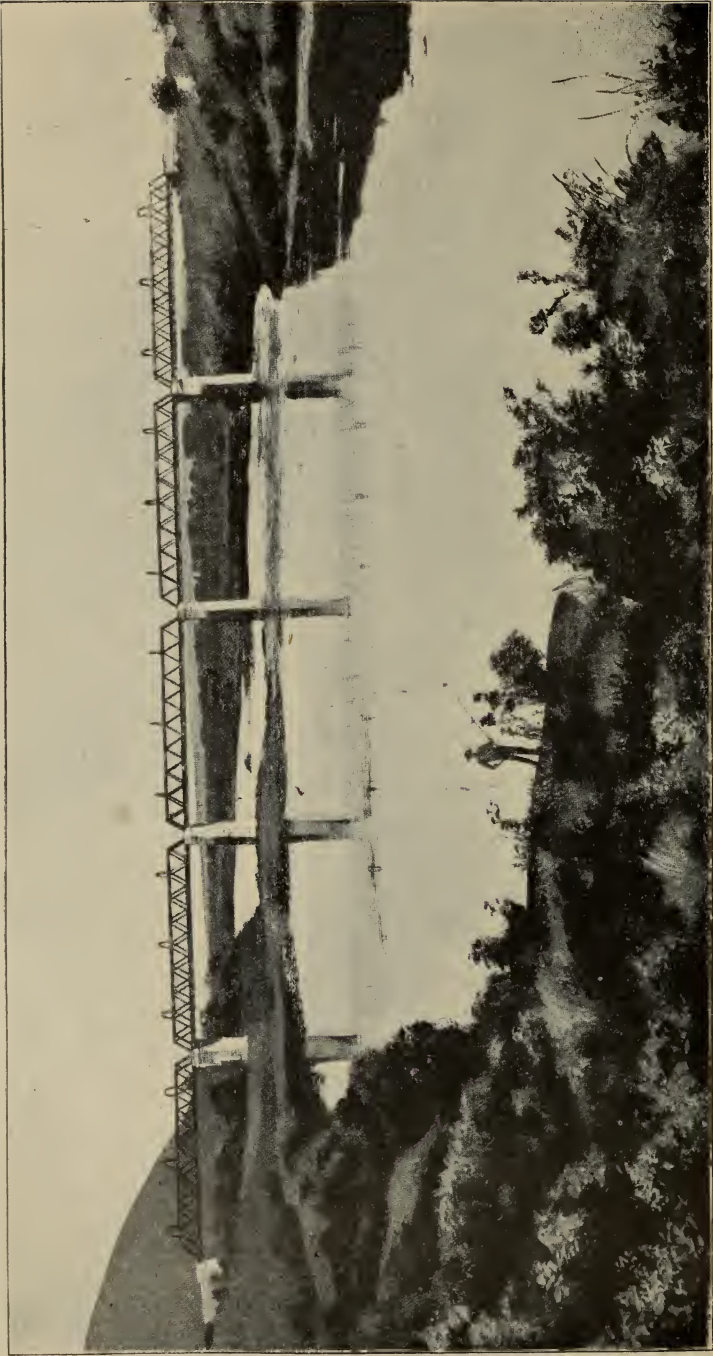
2. I propose in the present dispatch to review the situation, to trace the causes, as I understand them, which have given rise to it, and to explain the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

3. For the proper apprehension of the events which led up to the recent crisis I must go back to the period immediately succeeding the conclusion of the Convention of Pretoria in 1881. At that period, and for some time afterwards, the population of the South African Republic was comparatively small, and composed almost entirely of burghers and their families. The British element in it was made up of traders, a handful of farmers or land owners, and a small and not very thriving body of gold miners, living chiefly in the neighborhood of Lydenburg. The revenue was meager and hardly sufficient for the barest needs of government. About ten years ago the discovery of gold deposits at the De Kaap Fields gave indications of a new state of things, and a little later came the discoveries of gold at the Witwatersrand, which worked a complete revolution in the situation of the republic, both financial and political. The discovery of the reefs at the Rand gave rise to the inevitable gold fever, followed by the usual reaction. From such reaction the industry was saved by the foresight and financial courage of certain of the capitalists most interested, and since 1890 the progress has been uninterrupted and rapid.

4. Owing to the peculiarities of temperament and circumstance, participation in the new industry had no attraction for the burgher population. It remained almost entirely in the hands of newcomers, commonly known as Outlanders, and a sharp line of cleavage was thus created within the republic—the Outlanders being chiefly resident in



A NATIVE DISPATCH CARRIER OVERTAKEN BY BOERS.



COLENZO RAILWAY BRIDGE, ACROSS THE TUGELA, THE LINK BETWEEN COLENZO AND LADYSMITH.



the industrial and mining centers, whilst the burgher population remained absorbed in its pastoral avocations and dispersed widely through the country districts. It is very difficult to arrive at any exact idea of the numbers of these two classes of the inhabitants. But I conceive that I am well within the mark in estimating the white population along the Rand as something like 110,000, and it may safely be said that the aliens (the large majority of whom are British subjects) at the present time outnumber the citizens of the republic.

5. The political situation resulting from these conditions is an anomalous one. The newcomers are men who were accustomed to the fullest exercise of political rights. In other communities, where immigration has played an important part in building up the population, it has been the policy of legislatures to make liberal provision for admitting the newcomers who are desirous of naturalization, after a comparatively brief period of probation, to the rights and duties of citizenship—a policy which, so far as national interests were concerned, has been fully justified by the event, for experience shows that the naturalized alien soon vies with—if he does not outstrip—the natural-born citizen in the fervor of his patriotism.

6. In the South African Republic, however, different counsels have prevailed with those who were the depositories of power. More than one law has been enacted, rendering more difficult the requirements imposed on those desiring naturalization, and the effect being, so far as I can find, that whereas in 1882 an Outlander could obtain full citizenship after a residence of five years, he can now never hope to attain those rights in full, and their partial enjoyment is only conceded after a term of probation so prolonged as to amount, for most men, to a practical denial of the claim. If he omits to obtain any kind of naturalization for himself his children, though born on the soil, remain aliens like himself.

7. By this course of legislation the whole political direction of affairs and the whole right of taxation are made the monopoly of what is becoming a decreasing minority of the population, composed almost entirely of men engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits; whilst the great majority of all those engaged in the other avocations of civilization—the men, in fact, who have by their exertions in a few years raised the revenues of the country from some £75,000 to an amount which cannot be less than £2,000,000, and who find eighteen or nineteen

twentieths of the total revenue—are denied any voice in the conduct of the most important class of affairs, and have not succeeded in obtaining any redress for what seems a formidable array of grievances, which, it is alleged, hamper and injure them at every step of their lives. The feelings of intense irritation which have been aroused by this state of things have not been lessened by the manner in which remonstrances have been met.

8. Whatever may be the truth as to the occurrences of the last few weeks, the Outlanders had previously kept within the limits of constitutional agitation, but their success in this direction was not encouraging. It is true that hopes have been held out to them by persons of high position and influence in the South African Republic, and they have at times obtained what they regarded as promises, but these have not been practically fulfilled, and when they have remonstrated they have occasionally been met with jeers and insult—none the less irritating to strangers because, as I hope is the fact, they emanated only from a minority of the ruling class. Thus, in May, 1894, a petition for the extension of the franchise signed by 13,000 inhabitants, is creditably reported to have been rejected by the Volksraad amid scornful laughter, and in April, 1895, a similar petition signed by upward of 32,500 inhabitants is stated to have met a similar fate—one member of the Volksraad so far forgetting himself as to challenge the Outlanders to take up arms and fight.

9. At a meeting of the National Union at Johannesburg in 1894 the grievances and the demands of the Outlanders were set forth in a formal and elaborate manner, and it was then emphatically stated that no resort to violence was contemplated; although one of the principal speakers warned the Government that, if their policy were persisted in, blood would be shed in the streets of Johannesburg, and that the responsibility would lie at the doors of the Volksraad. At that time much was hoped from the coming elections, as it was anticipated that a “progressive” majority would be returned to the Raad, and that a more liberal policy would be pursued.

10. But these hopes were doomed to disappointment. The elections to the Raad did, indeed, result in the return of a majority of members who were commonly reckoned as “progressive,” and the National Union, in view of the suggestion that reforms were hindered by

the making of inflammatory speeches at Johannesburg, discontinued their agitation. Nothing, however, came of this change of policy.

11. On the 20th of November last a speech was delivered by Mr. Lionel Phillips, the chairman of the Chamber of Mines, which marks a reversion to the policy of active agitation. I note that on that occasion Mr. Phillips stated that the position had been endured, and it was likely to be endured still longer, and that he added that "nothing was further from his heart than a desire to see an upheaval, which would be disastrous from every point of view, and which would probably end in the most terrible of all possible endings—in bloodshed." Finally came the manifesto issued by the National Union on the 27th of December, in which their objects were stated to be the maintenance of the independence of the republic, the securing of equal rights, and the redress of grievances. In that manifesto, although the complaints of the Outlanders were set out in detail, and very plain language was used concerning the administration, no hint was given of an intention to resort to force.

12. I mention these matters because they seem to me to prove that, whatever may have been the secret schemes of individuals, the agitation, as the great majority of the Outlanders understood it, and to what they gave their sympathy, was one proceeding on the only lines on which an agitation against an organized government of military strength can proceed with any hope of success—that is to say, it was an open and above-board agitation, prosecuted without violence and within the lines of the constitution.

13. It is needless to say that Her Majesty's Government had watched the progress of these events with careful attention. Apart from their legitimate concern for the interests of so large a body of British subjects, they could not but feel a keen anxiety lest the agitation should degenerate into a contest with the constitutional authorities; but there is no ground for their active intervention. The Outlanders and their organs had always deprecated the introduction into the dispute of what is called in South Africa the "Imperial factor." To have intervened uninvited seemed impracticable and calculated only to be injurious to the prospects of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement.

14. There were, indeed, rumors from time to time that violent measures were in contemplation, but these rumors were constantly falsified by the event, so that in the long run the opinion gained ground

that the Outlanders did not mean to risk a collision with the Government; and in the light of later occurrences it would seem evident that, so far as the Rand itself is concerned, that view was the correct one. Nor was it confined to Her Majesty's Government, for the Consul General in London of the South African Republic, the Government at Pretoria, and the press of South Africa as a whole appear to have been of much the same way of thinking.

15. Such was the position of affairs when, on December 30, I learned the grave fact that Dr. Jameson had invaded the territory of the South African Republic at the head of a force of armed police.

16. It need hardly be stated that neither you nor Her Majesty's Government had up to the last moment any reason which would lead us to anticipate that this invasion was likely to take place. It has, I believe, been suggested in some quarters that the concentration of police at Mafeking and Pitsani Potlogo, on the western borders of the republic, should have sufficed to indicate to us that some aggressive movement was intended against the Transvaal; but this view is founded on a misapprehension of the circumstances. So long ago as August last the British South Africa Company, in connection with the projected extension of the railway northward from Mafeking, asked permission to station, for the time being, a certain portion of their police force at Gaberones in order to afford protection to the railway and to preserve order among those engaged on the work and the natives and others who would be attracted to the spot. I did not, at the moment, consider it desirable to comply with the request, because the territory in question still formed part of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and I saw objection to introducing into it a body of armed men who would not be under the exclusive control of the Crown. The matter then dropped, but it was revived by the circumstances attending the visit to this country of Khama and the other two principal Bechuana chiefs, when an understanding was come to as to the future administration of the protectorate. By that arrangement so much of the Bechuanaland Protectorate as was not reserved to the three chiefs above was to pass under the direct administration of the British South Africa Company, which was to become the border authority all around the territory. It consequently became unnecessary to retain the services of the Bechuanaland border police. On the other hand, the company represented that this increase in the area of the territory wherein they were to be-

come responsible for the preservation of order demanded a corresponding increase in the strength of their police, and they expressed themselves anxious to obtain the services of so many of the Bechuanaland border police as not about to be transferred to the Cape Colony or were not to be discharged. I assented to this proposal, and the Bechuanaland police scattered throughout the Veldt were called in to Mafeking, their headquarters, for the purpose of being either paid off or inspected for Dr. Jameson, the company's administrator, with a view to his selecting such of them as might be willing to join the company's service and as he might be willing to accept. So far as my informant went, the numerous details attending the transfer of men and stores to the company were being discussed and settled in a routine manner, and there was nothing in the detailed correspondence to arouse suspicion. I understand that about 200 of the police were in this way collected, of whom at least 120 were taken over by Jameson on behalf of the company.

17. Some little time before the settlement with Khama and his allies the company had come to an agreement with the minor chiefs, Montsioa and Ikanning, through whose districts the first section of the railway was to pass, for a transfer of the administration of their territories; and, as I have since learned, they obtained from Montsioa a site for a police camp at Pitsani Potlogo, and, with your knowledge and assent, an apparently small body of police came southward from Buluwayo to occupy these two minor districts. The only official details which I have received of a marked concentration of police are given in your telegram of January 10, from which I gather that you saw nothing suspicious in the arrangement; that you were not aware of any ordnance being at the camp, and that you did not think it necessary to specially report the circumstances to me. I am given to understand that the Bechuanaland officials were, equally with yourself, taken by surprise; and on this and other cognate questions I await the full report which Mr. Newton, the resident commissioner in the protectorate, has been directed to furnish.

18. The question has been much discussed whether the Government of the South African Republic, which, I believe, has police patrols along the Bechuana border, were equally in the dark as to Dr. Jameson's intentions. I understand from your message of January 10 that the Government of the republic was taken entirely by surprise, and this has

been confirmed by a statement since published on authority by the Consul General of the South African Republic. If it had been otherwise it is clear that the Government of the republic ought to have communicated its information or its suspicions to you, and that you would have then been enabled to take steps which would have prevented the invasion and the bloodshed which unfortunately followed. But the fact that the Republic's Government, who had the best means of information and the greatest interest in the matter, was entirely unaware of any preparations which would justify a remonstrance is evidence of the unexpected character of the invasion, and proves that the circumstances preceding it were not of a character to call for special notice from you.

19. On December 29, however, it was suggested to me that the Chartered Company's police might be used to force matters to a head in Johannesburg. The suggestion appeared to me almost incredible; but as a precautionary step I immediately telegraphed to you in order to put you on your guard, and instructed you, if you thought it necessary, to warn Mr. Rhodes of the consequences. Unfortunately Dr. Jameson had already crossed the border of the Transvaal.

20. As soon as the raid became known every possible effort was made by the British authorities to stay Dr. Jameson's advance. On the first rumor you at once telegraphed to the resident commissioner in the Bechuanaland Protectorate to send a fast messenger to warn Dr. Jameson and his officers of the position in which they had placed themselves, and to direct their immediate return. Your message was somewhat delayed by the cutting of the wire south of Mafeking, but within forty minutes of its receipt by Mr. Newton, the messenger was on his way with written orders, which he succeeded in delivering when the force was about half way to Johannesburg. The only reply he brought back was a verbal one that the dispatches had been received and would be attended to. Meanwhile a second messenger had been dispatched by the British agent at Pretoria, and returned with a written answer from Dr. Jameson, dated January 1, in which he stated that in the absence of food supplies it was necessary for him to proceed, but added that "he was anxious to fulfill his promise on the petition of the principal residents in the Rand to come to the aid of his fellow men in their extremity," an excuse which I sought to deprive of its plausibility by authorizing any necessary expenditure for food and forage. Proclama-

tions were also issued by the Governor of Natal and by yourself, calling on all British subjects to abstain from taking part in disturbances in the Transvaal, and on January 1 I directed you to make known by telegraphic communication to the newspapers in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein, that Her Majesty's Government, the High Commissioner and Mr. C. J. Rhodes all repudiated Dr. Jameson's action, and that you were commanded by Her Majesty to enjoin her subjects in the South African Republic to abstain from aiding or countenancing Dr. Jameson or his force, to remain quiet and obey the law and the constitutional authorities, and to avoid tumultuous assemblages. It was my desire that Sir J. De Wet should proceed in person to Dr. Jameson and summon him to retire. I have since learned from you that, owing to the partial interruption of telegraphic communication and to the rapidity of Dr. Jameson's movements, by the time my instructions reached the British agent at Pretoria fighting had already begun fifty miles away.

21. On January 1 you observed a report in the Cape newspapers that there had been a rising in Johannesburg, and that a provisional government had been proclaimed. You at once offered, if the President of the republic should wish it, to come to Pretoria in order to cooperate with him in endeavoring to bring about a peaceful settlement, and, your offer being accepted, you started on the following evening.

22. The situation as you found it on your arrival in Pretoria was extremely critical. Dr. Jameson and his force were taken prisoners. The town of Johannesburg was supposed to be in an attitude of armed, but for the moment passive, rebellion, and was surrounded by a burgher force variously estimated at from 8,000 to 12,000 men. The republic's authorities had practically withdrawn from the town, and the maintenance of order rested with the Reform Committee and with those who had armed themselves or accepted arms from the committee, with the expressed intention of protecting life and property and preserving the peace. A considerable amount of arming and organization appears to have gone on during the next few days, but it is clear that the majority of the population had little, if any, sympathy with the revolutionary movement.

23. At this juncture President Kruger showed a spirit of wisdom and moderation which I desire heartily to acknowledge. He kept within bounds the natural exasperation of his burghers, and the de-

cision to which he came in regard to the prisoners was equally prudent and magnanimous. When it first came to my knowledge that he might offer to hand them over to Her Majesty's Government for punishment, I felt it my duty to point out that it would be practically impossible to punish the rank and file, and that even as regards the leaders it was not possible to proceed otherwise than according to law; all that could be done was to bring them to trial and to leave the issue in the hands of justice. He nevertheless decided, after some correspondence, to hand over the whole of the prisoners to Her Majesty's Government, and it was arranged that such of the rank and file as were not domiciled in South Africa should be sent to this country to be disposed of as Her Majesty might direct, the leaders being also brought here and put on their trials immediately after their arrival.

24. As regards the town of Johannesburg, the Government of the South African Republic decided that the inhabitants must lay down their arms unconditionally within twenty-four hours "as a condition precedent to any discussion and consideration of grievances." You sent Sir J. De Wet on the 6th ult. to communicate this decision to the Reform Committee and the people. In this task he was aided by Sir Sidney Shippard, who appears to have taken up his residence in Johannesburg, and, as a result, either through a conviction that the rebellion was futile, or that it was wrong, or from an anxiety not to injure the position of the prisoners, the people of Johannesburg accepted the ultimatum and placed themselves and their interests unreservedly in your hands in the fullest confidence that you would see justice done to them. You informed me that you hoped then to be able to confer with the President and the Executive Council with regard to the redress of Johannesburg grievances.

25. On the 9th ult. you reported that the Government of the South African Republic had issued a proclamation granting a general amnesty to all in Johannesburg, with the exception of the leaders, who should lay down their arms before the following evening; and on the 10th ult. you communicated to me a proclamation addressed by the President to the inhabitants of the town, couched in conciliatory language, wherein he promised to submit to the Volksraad at its next session a law for the establishment of a municipality, with a mayor at its head, to whom the whole municipal government of the town would be intrusted.



26. For the next few days your attention appears to have been devoted to questions relating to the handing over of the prisoners, and on the 14th ult. I learned from you that, this matter having been arranged, you proposed to return to Cape Town that evening.

27. I desire to take this opportunity of expressing my cordial appreciation of your action on learning of Dr. Jameson's invasion, and also of your subsequent negotiations at Pretoria. In concluding my arrangements connected with the transfer of the prisoners, and averting the further evil consequences which might have arisen from Dr. Jameson's action, you achieved a success which was a worthy fruit for ripe experience, of long years passed in difficult employments, and of an exceptional tact and a high degree of power in winning the confidence of other men. I had hoped that it might have been possible for you, before you left Pretoria, to obtain some definite assurances from President Kruger as to the character of the reforms which His Honor has promised to the Outlanders, and as to the time at which they might be granted; and I had telegraphed to you some days before the views of Her Majesty's Government on those subjects. Your telegrams had led me to expect that you would be able to find an opportunity of discussing these matters during your stay at Pretoria. You have since informed me that it would have been impossible to enter on a discussion of these questions at the time, inasmuch as the Government believed that they had evidence of a widespread conspiracy to overthrow the constitution, in consequence of which they had arrested between fifty and sixty prominent inhabitants of Johannesburg; and that pending the investigation of the facts before the courts they would certainly not entertain the question of concessions to the Outlanders.

28. It seemed to me, I confess, somewhat hard that the suspicion, or even the certainty, that a handful of the wealthier inhabitants were more or less implicated in a treasonable conspiracy should be regarded as a reason for delaying the discussion of granting to the vast majority of industrious and peaceable inhabitants concessions which seem urgently called for by considerations alike of justice and expediency. I deferred, however, to your representations that the moment was an inopportune one for pressing the question, and I have intimated that you would receive in the present dispatch further and fuller instructions

for your future guidance. But before proceeding to this subject there are two points to which I must refer.

29. The first is as to the recent arrests in Johannesburg. I am unaware of the precise charges on which the persons now in custody, or on bail or parole, will be tried, but I am anxious to have a full report on the subject, and to be in a position to give information to those foreign governments who had invoked the good offices of Her Majesty's Government for such of their citizens as are implicated in the charges; and I accordingly instructed you to engage counsel to watch the trials and to furnish a complete account of them. I have now learned with much satisfaction that you have been able to secure for this service a gentleman of high reputation and ability, Mr. Rose Innes, Q. C., formerly Her Majesty's attorney-general for the Cape Colony.

30. In the next place, it is necessary that I should state clearly and unequivocally what is the position which Her Majesty's Government claims to hold towards the Government of the South African Republic.

31. Since the Convention of 1884 Her Majesty's Government have recognized the South African Republic as a free and independent government as regards all its internal affairs not touched by that Convention; but as regards its external relations it is subject to the control of this country in accordance with the provisions of Article IV. There is no reason to anticipate that any foreign state will dispute our rights, but it is necessary to state clearly that Her Majesty's Government intend to maintain them in their integrity.

32. As regards the internal affairs of the Republic, I may observe that, independently of any rights of intervention in particular matters which may arise out of the articles of the Convention of 1884, Great Britain is justified, in the interests of South Africa as a whole, as well as of the peace and stability of the South African Republic, in tendering its friendly counsels as regards the newcomers, who are mainly British subjects.

33. The list of grievances under which the Outlanders labor is, as I have already intimated, formidable in length and serious in quality. I cannot pretend to give an exhaustive statement of them here, and I do not wish to be understood as implying that everything which has been at one time or another put forward on behalf of the Outlanders as a grievance is a grievance in reality.

34. The first is the difficulty in obtaining naturalization and the

franchise, to which I have already alluded. This subject was discussed in my predecessor's dispatch of the 19th of October, 1894, wherein, in anticipation of an opportunity occurring for the intervention of Her Majesty's Government, he set forth certain arguments and conclusions which I adopt. I agree with him in thinking that the case would be met by the grant of the franchise after a period of five years' residence, with a modification of the oath of allegiance so as to remove what are felt to be objectionable features in it; and I may observe, as was pointed out by Lord Ripon, that the taking of such an oath, in whatever way it may be framed, will, according to British law, effectually deprive the person taking it of his status as a British subject.

35. Hardly less important than the franchise is the question of education. Up to the present it seems to have been practically impossible for the children of Outlanders to obtain efficient education in the state or state-aided schools. I have strong hopes, however, that an understanding may be arrived at between the Government and those interested, as I gather that on the 30th and 31st of December the President and Executive Council made specific promises on this and other points, which, if fulfilled, should go far towards meeting some of the Outlanders' complaints.

36. A further set of grievances are those connected with finance. It is maintained that the finances are mismanaged, and that the expenditure escapes proper control and audit; that taxation is maintained beyond the needs of the Administration; that unfair discrimination is shown in the collection of personal taxes; that the import duties on the necessaries of life are not only hardship on the working class, but so raise the cost of the working of the mines as actually to be prohibitive of the working of the poorer ones, which, if the taxation were better apportioned to the ability to bear it, might be opened to the general advantage.

37. Then, again, there seems to be a serious ground of grievance, at least in theory, in the exceptional restrictions imposed by law upon the right of public meetings. As to this, however, I feel bound to admit that as far as the recent history of Johannesburg is concerned, these restrictions do not appear to have been very strictly interpreted.

38. The policy of granting state monopolies as regards mining requisites and other important articles of commerce has given rise to much resentment and as regards some of them, it is difficult to see how

even a plausible justification can be put forward for them from the point of view of the interests of the general community.

39. As regards the grievances which have been put forward in connection with the labor question by the mining industry, I content myself, at this time, by expressing the hope that if, by the abatement of formalities and needless restrictions, by promoting the well-being of the natives when going to, remaining at, and returning from, the mines, and by enforcing on them wise restrictions as regards drink and such matters, the labor supply can be enlarged and the condition of the laborers improved, the President and his Executive Council will not fail to give the question their most earnest attention.

40. Of railway matters also I need say but little. I cannot suppose that, looking to the large interests which the Government of the Republic has in the financial success of its railways, there can be any hesitation in redressing proved grievances or in adopting measures for the improvement of the personnel of the traffic and other arrangements of the lines.

41. The only other matters of grievance on which I propose to touch now is the condition of the police force, as to which I may remark that the difficulties of the reforming party in the Volksraad and the Executive appear to arise from the strong prejudice of the more conservative of the burghers against employing Outlanders, which would not be unworthy of sympathy were it not for the patent fact that a population like that of the burghers cannot possibly be expected to furnish adequate material from which to select candidates for this department of the public service; and to make difficulties about appointing foreigners amounts, under the circumstances, to a denial to the Outlander community of what are among the primary rights which the governed may demand of those who undertake to govern them.

42. In thus enumerating and commenting on the grievances of the Outlanders, I am fully alive to the fact that their redress cannot be accomplished without extensive changes in the law, the necessity for which may not be apparent to the more conservative section of the burghers, who may have mastered the facts of the situation created by the growth of the large Outlander community within the Republic; but I hope that even this section of the burghers will have learnt enough from recent events to perceive that the true interests of their country lie in accepting proposals which will remove just causes of dis-

content, and disarm the agitation, which, however futile it may have seemed when appealing inconsiderately to the arbitrament of war, will always be a possible source of danger to the present regime.

43. In the preceding remarks I have suggested the natural and appropriate remedies for the principal grievances of which the Outlanders complain, but it has not escaped my notice that these grievances arise in a limited area of the South African Republic—that is to say in the part occupied by the gold mining industry. I am aware that the conditions in the rest of the country are entirely different, and I can appreciate the difficulties of the President, who may feel that if he were to meet the Outlanders, he might indirectly be the cause of subordinating the interests of the burghers and of the pastoral population to the interests of the Rand. Having regard to this, Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered whether it might not be possible to meet the complaints of the Outlanders without in any way endangering the stability of the institutions of the Republic, or interfering with the ordinary government of the country and the administration of its general affairs by the burghers.

44. Basing myself upon the expressed desire of President Kruger to grant municipal government to Johannesburg, I suggest, for his consideration, as one way of meeting the difficulty, that the whole of the Rand district, from end to end, should be erected into something more than a municipality as that word is ordinarily understood; that, in fact, it should have a modified local autonomy, with powers of legislation on purely local questions, and subject to the veto of the President and Executive Council; and that this power of legislation should include the power of assessing and levying its own taxation, subject to the payment to the Republic's Government of an annual tribute of an amount to be fixed at once and revised at intervals, so as to meet the case of a diminution or increase in the mining industry.

45. As regards judicial matters in such a scheme, the Rand, like the Eastern Provinces of the Kimberley District of the Cape Colony, might have a superior court of its own. It would, of course, be a feature of this scheme that the autonomous body should have the control of the civil police, its public education, its mine management, and all other matters affecting its internal economy and well-being. The central Government would be entitled to maintain all reasonable safeguards

against the fomenting of a revolutionary movement or the storage of arms for treasonable purposes within the district.

46. Those living in, and there enjoying a share in the government of, the autonomous district would not, in my view, be entitled to a voice in the general legislature or the Central Executive, or the Presidential election. The burghers would thus be relieved of what is evidently a haunting fear to many of them—although I believe an unfounded one—that the first use which the enfranchised newcomers would make of the privileges would be to upset the republican form of government. Relieved of this apprehension, I should suppose that there would not be many of them who would refuse to deal with the grievances of the comparatively few Outlanders outside the Rand on those liberal principles which characterized the earlier legislation of the Republic.

47. The President may rest assured that in making the above suggestions I am only actuated by friendly feeling toward himself and the South African Republic. They are not offered in derogation of his authority, but as a sincere and friendly contribution of Her Majesty's Government toward the settlement of the question which continues to threaten the tranquillity of the Republic and the welfare and progress of the whole of South Africa.

48. A proper settlement of the questions at issue involves so many matters of detail which could be more easily and satisfactorily settled by personal conference, that I should be glad to have the opportunity of discussing the subject with the President, if it suited his convenience, and were agreeable to him, to come to this country for the purpose. Should this be impracticable, I rely upon you to make my views known to him and to carry on the negotiations.

49. You will observe that in this dispatch I have said little or nothing as to the action of Dr. Jameson, and expressed no opinion of its moral and political aspects, although so long as any good could possibly be done thereby I was not reticent in giving expression to what I thought of his proceedings. The reason is that he and those of his officers who seem to have shared his counsels are about to appear before the tribunals of this country to answer for their acts, and until those tribunals have pronounced upon him and them it would be improper to say more upon the subject. I have, etc.,

J. Chamberlain.

Cecil Rhodes' return to Cape Colony in February, 1896, the publication of Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch, and the reply of President Kruger, led people to believe that trouble was again impending. The Transvaal Government was undoubtedly much incensed at what is considered the discourtesy of Great Britain in publishing the Chamberlain dispatches before its delivery at Pretoria, while the Outlanders regarded the suggested remedy as impracticable, unsuitable and tending to emphasize existing differences at Johannesburg instead of healing them. There was good ground for believing President Kruger's reply to Mr. Chamberlain was really intended for home consumption and did not imply a desire to rupture negotiations. President Kruger, it was claimed, was anxious to visit England; the Hollanders and Germans were said to be doing their best to prevent him, and the Government was credited with believing that a permanent agreement was only possible by personal negotiations between President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain.

Henry Labouchere, in the House of Commons, February 1, moved an amendment to the reply to the Queen's speech on the subject of the Transvaal. He said Cecil Rhodes and his co-directors in the British South Africa Company, had received £600,000 (\$3,000,000) for their services, and there was therefore a strong presumption that they had a hand in the recent events. He maintained that the raid was for stock market purposes and demanded a searching inquiry into the acts and the financial and political character of the Chartered South Africa Company.

Various other members having spoken, Mr. Chamberlain rose to reply, and was loudly cheered. He acknowledged the spirit of fairness with which the debate had been conducted, and added:

"I would not advise all Government departments to follow the plan of publicity I adopted, but I do not regret the course I took, because it proves that whenever a Minister is called upon to represent the country at a crisis he may rest assured of receiving the support of all parties and classes.

"Confusion has arisen through mixing two distinct matters, namely, the Outlander agitation and the Jameson raid. The former is an old trouble, in connection with which the cry of 'wolf' has been raised too often.

"With regard to the raid, to the best of my belief, Mr. Rhodes, the

South Africa Company, the Reform Committee of Johannesburg, and Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, were all equally ignorant of Dr. Jameson's intended action, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of President Kruger's statement that he was unaware that the invasion was intended. An inquiry is pending and I desire to protest against a prejudgment on either side.

"I do not complain of Germany's attempted action at Delagoa Bay, but if it is legitimate for Germany to provide against mischief, it is legitimate for others to do the same.

"The inquiry comes under three heads: first, the Jameson raid; second, the complicity of the leaders in Johannesburg, and third, the responsibility of the Chartered South Africa Company. The last is not to be conducted with any vindictive motive, but its object is to discover whether or not the company is fit to be still entrusted with the administration of the territory. Therefore, I think the inquiry must include the subjects Mr. Labouchere has mentioned.

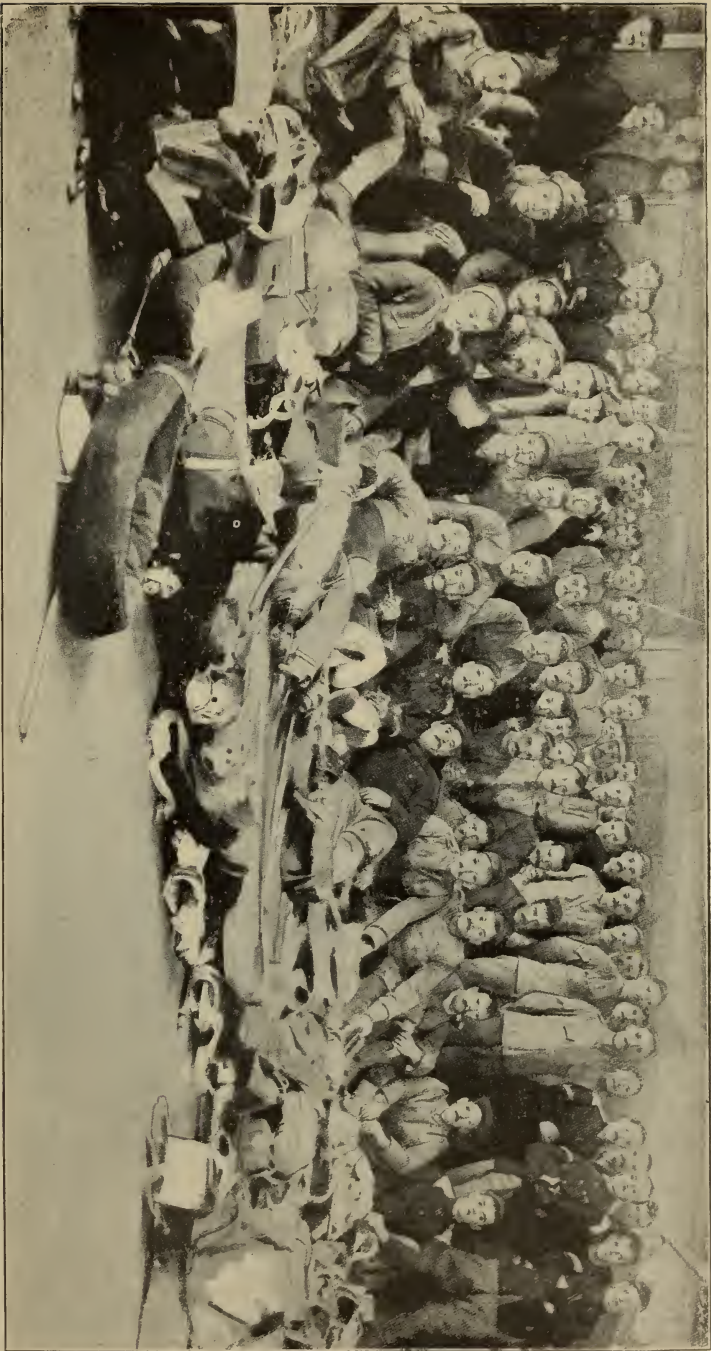
"It is not fair, however, to ask the Government to pledge itself as to the nature of the inquiry. If, after the trials in London and Pretoria, a further inquiry is considered necessary, the Government will readily assent. It will depend on circumstances whether it is made by a parliamentary committee or is a judicial inquiry.

"I have been asked to revoke the company's charter. That could only be done after a full inquiry. One reason for hesitation is that of thirty thousand shareholders in the Chartered Company ten thousand are Frenchmen. It would be a strange thing to deal with their property without a most absolute case against them.

"Nor do I think it desirable that the general administration of these new territories should be transferred to the Colonial Office, which could not do the work necessary for their speedy development. While the company will be allowed to continue its useful work of developing the country, the military and police forces will be removed from its control and placed under Crown officers, taking orders from the High Commissioner, but being paid by the Chartered Company. No magistrate will be allowed to be appointed without legal or colonial experience. The authority on the border of British Bechuanaland will be the commandant of a military force under the service of the Queen. These measures, I feel confident, will effectually prevent further raids.

"I had nothing to do with Mr. Cecil Rhodes' return to Africa.





THE 21ST LANCERS FROM EGYPT READY TO START FOR CURRABGH.



PRESIDENT KRUGER NOTING THE DEPARTURE OF A "COMMANDO" FOR THE FRONT.



FRITZ ELOFF, PRESIDENT KRUGER'S GREAT-GRANDSON.



GRAVE OF SIR GEO. POMEROY-COLLEY, AMAJUBA MOUNTAIN.

Recently Mr. Rhodes was the most powerful man in South Africa. Now he returns there almost as a private individual, without the control of a single policeman, and having seen his work of civilization there jeopardized, if not destroyed. His departure, therefore, does not cause alarm.

“It would be an act of ingratitude to forget his past great services. He may have committed mistakes. That is not for me to say, but in my opinion his right place is in Africa, where he may yet do much to recover public confidence.

“It is not in the power of the Government to prevent the internal weakness of the Transvaal which is due to Outlander discontent, but the Government will continue to give President Kruger friendly counsel. I remind the gentlemen on the opposite side that the home rule I suggested for the Transvaal was a gas and water home rule, which President Kruger was perfectly justified in rejecting.

“The invitation to President Kruger to visit England was only given after the receipt of a private intimation that it would be accepted. To prevent any misconception, President Kruger has been informed that the Government will not discuss any modification of the British suzerainty over the Transvaal. I regret President Kruger’s reply, as reported from Pretoria, because it is due to a misapprehension. I invited President Kruger as a friend, both to him and to the Transvaal, and I am sure the President would be received in England with the respect due to him. In any case, I shall continue my effort in behalf of the Outlanders, in the confidence that I shall receive the support of his countrymen here and in Africa.”

Baron Marshall Von Bieberstein, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, February 13, reviewed the events in the Transvaal, in the Reichstag, and said:

“The Government knows nothing about any request from President Kruger for Germany’s intervention in the South African Republic’s affairs. And the British Government adopted, with the utmost energy, after Dr. Jameson’s unlawful incursion, such measures that no responsibility rests upon Great Britain for the bloodshed. The relations between Germany and Great Britain have not ceased to be normal and friendly.

“And I repudiate the insinuation that Germany has designs upon

the independence of the Transvaal. Such a policy would be swept away before the indignation of the people."

While President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain were exchanging diplomatic notes, the agitation among the friends of the Reformers (sentenced to death, but subsequently pardoned) in behalf of clemency was in full force, and during these efforts a number of cipher telegrams were made public by the Transvaal Government, to justify the severe treatment of the prisoners. These dispatches, deciphered by means of a cipher key discovered in Dr. Jameson's baggage, proved the complicity of the British South Africa Company with the Johannesburg reform leaders and with the Jameson raid. It was shown that the company put the sum of £40,000 to the credit of Colonel Rhodes, the brother of Cecil Rhodes, at Johannesburg, to be used in organizing the raid, and sent him word that the London Times had a cable dispatch from Cape Town saying that to delay the Jameson affair would be imprudent.

The Transvaal Government also claimed to have documents not produced in court, which compromised notable personages, civil and military, in South Africa and elsewhere.

Dispatches in great numbers passed between the reform leaders and Cecil Rhodes, and Rutherford Harris, secretary of the British South Africa Company, at Cape Town, and Dr. Jameson, at Pitsani, while the raid was being organized. They were couched in guarded language, but evidently referred to the intended invasion of the Transvaal, which was alluded to as "Shareholders' Meeting," "Flotation Company," etc.

The following are specimens of these messages:

"Chartered Company, Cape Town, December 7, to Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Cecil Rhodes says send documents here that British South Africa Company's attorneys may satisfy themselves, after which you can draw for amount."

"Col. Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 11, to Bobby White, Mafeking:

"Inform Jameson don't send any more heroes before January. No more room for them. Best query."

"Stevens, Cape Town, December 13, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Jameson wires most strongly urging no postponing shareholders' meeting. Let Hammond inform weak partners that any delay most injurious."

"Hammond, Johannesburg, December 18 to Cecil Rhodes, Grootshuur:

"Cannot arrange respective interests without Beit. Flotation must be delayed until his arrival. How soon can he come?"

"Dr. Wolff, Johannesburg, December 18, to White, Pitsani:

"I suggest that you immediately instruct Major Gray to forward as soon as possible 200,000 rounds of his surplus ammunition to Garduer Williams."

"Beit, Cape Town, December 19, to Lionel Phillips, Johannesburg:

"Hammond wires company flotation must await my arrival. Cannot come at present owing health. Wire where is hitch."

"Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 21, to Chartered Company, Cape Town:

"Informed Rhodes stated Chairman won't leave unless special letter inviting him. Definite assurance been given by all of us that on day flotation you and he will leave. Must be no departure from this, as many subscribers agreed to take shares on this assurance. If letter necessary can still be sent. But it was agreed documents left with Stevens were sufficient, and that you are responsible for Chairman's departure. Very important put this right. Reply to Lionel Phillips."

"Harris, Cape Town, December 21, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Beit has telegraphed urging start flotation new company. Reply when you can float, so I may advise Jameson same day."

Harris also sent a dispatch similar to the above to Dr. Jameson, at Pitsani.

"Harris, Cape Town, December 23, to Jameson, Pitsani:

"Company will be floated next Saturday, 12 o'clock, night. They very anxious you mustn't start before 9 o'clock and secure telegraph office silence. We suspect Transvaal getting aware slightly."

"Harris, Cape Town, December 23, to Colonel Rhodes, Johannesburg:

"Beit has wired Phillips assuring him that Chairman starts immediately the flotation takes place. No invitation necessary."

"Harris, Cape Town, December 24, to Jameson, Pitsani:

"You mustn't move before Saturday night. We are freely confident this will take place Saturday night."

"Cecil Rhodes, Johannesburg, December 26, to Charter, Cape Town:

"Absolutely necessary postpone flotation. Leonard left last night Cape Town."

On the above date Harris repeated the last-mentioned dispatch to Dr. Jameson, adding:

"You must not move until you hear again. Too awful. Very sorry."

On the same date, Jameson's brother telegraphed from Johannesburg to Dr. Jameson, informing him that it had become necessary to postpone the "flotation" through unforeseen and unexpected circumstances, and "until we have C. J. Rhodes' absolute pledge that the authority of the Imperial Government will not be insisted upon."

Harris, December 27, sent dispatch to Dr. Jameson referring to a shareholders' meeting to be held January 6, and requesting him to wait patiently.

The same day Harris sent another dispatch to Dr. Jameson referring to the distribution of the British South Africa Company's police.

Harris, December 28, telegraphed Dr. Jameson that Leonard and Hamilton had informed him that the movement was unpopular in Johannesburg. This message concluded:

"We cannot have a fiasco."

Dr. Jameson, December 28, sent a dispatch to Dr. Wolff, at Johannesburg, saying:

"Meet me as arranged before you leave, which will enable us to decide the best destination. Make cutting to-night without fail. Have great faith in Hammond, Lawley and miners with Lee-Metford rifles."

Dr. Jameson, December 29, also sent the following dispatch to S. A. Jameson, at Johannesburg:

"Bechuanaland police already gone forward. Guarantee already given. Therefore let J. H. Hammond telegraph instantly all right."

The London Times protested against the proposals to punish Cecil Rhodes for his connection with the Johannesburg raid to appease the Boers, "who," said the Times, "are eager for his downfall, not from hatred, but from policy, he being a formidable champion of British ascendancy. It is inconceivable that he has been actuated by enmity

to the Dutch. His whole policy has been based upon the cordial co-operation of the British and Dutch."

The British South Africa Company finally decided not to accept the resignation of Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit.

The Transvaal Government, it was announced November 11, had decided to claim 1,000,000 pounds indemnity from the British South Africa Company to cover the damage caused by the Jameson raid.

President Kruger's diplomatic evasion of accepting the invitation of Mr. Chamberlain to visit England, did not deter that pushful British statesman from trying it again. During the month of March, 1896, the Colonial Secretary demanded that the Boer President immediately accept or reject the invitation to visit London for the purpose of discussing and settling the questions which had arisen between Great Britain and the South African Republic. In response to this demand President Kruger telegraphed that the decision in the matter did not rest with him, but with the Volksraad, the parliament of the Republic, and that the latter would only assent to his going to London on condition that the Anglo-Boer Convention of 1884 be so amended that the full independence of the Transvaal would be recognized and guaranteed by Great Britain and the other powers.

This caused another flurry in the world of politics.

It was pointed out that as the Volksraad did not meet until April 4, President Kruger would then have dallied over Mr. Chamberlain's invitation (which was sent early in February) for three months, during which time he had formed an alliance with the Orange Free State, prepared an Afrikaner insurrection in Cape Colony, and reorganized the forces of the Transvaal, especially the artillery. That the issue of the negotiations would be war had then been contemplated by the British Government for some time.

Great Britain took steps to send an army corps of 20,000 men to South Africa. Of this force it was intended that a large contingent should be drawn from the Indian cavalry, artillery and infantry. But the tact and energy of President Kruger soon made an invasion of the Transvaal by 20,000 British troops almost impossible. It gradually developed that it was not the Transvaal alone that the British forces would have to face, but the united Dutch people of the whole of South Africa.

Under these conditions, including the troubles in Egypt and else-

where, the British people were not in a mood then to approve the gigantic task of conquering the Transvaal, yet they were facing that or the alternative of a declaration of independence from the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and probably Cape Colony, which it was claimed, even in 1890, would form the United States of South Africa.

It transpired April 4 that the dispatch of Mr. Chamberlain to President Kruger of the Transvaal, requesting an immediate reply to the invitation to visit London, was crossed by official advices from Cape Town announcing that President Kruger proposed to summon the Volksraad at a date earlier than that fixed for the opening of the regular session, with a view to expediting the decision concerning his proposed visit.

It was the opinion in certain quarters of Great Britain that the advisers of the Boer President were opposed to his coming to London, "fearing that Mr. Chamberlain would overreach him" in negotiating for a settlement of the Transvaal difficulties. This cannot have made the Boers smile.

The Governor of Cape Colony, April 24, cabled that President Kruger's second reply to Mr. Chamberlain's invitation was, in effect, that the President could not "presently proceed to England" as his presence in the Transvaal was required by the Volksraad.

The British Cabinet, April 27, discussed President Kruger's reply, and after deliberation it was decided that the Colonial Secretary should make a statement in the House of Commons.

Mr. Chamberlain did so. He said President Kruger's reply to the invitation must be considered in connection with the communications which preceded it. The most important point was, that the President said, referring to the request for a definite reply to the invitation, that he felt confident the Secretary would appreciate the difficulty of his position, and that it appeared to him wiser not to press the question of his going to England at present, but to leave the matter open, in view of the then coming session of the Volksraad and the desirability of his presence at the session of the Volksraad, when important measures were to be considered.

"Under the circumstances," continued Mr. Chamberlain, "the Government reluctantly withdrew its invitation and asked Sir Hercules Robinson to send Sir Graham Bower (the Imperial Secretary of Cape Town) to England for instructions regarding further negotiations."



The text of Oom Paul's reply to Mr. Chamberlain's kind invitation to come into his spider's web is interesting and adds to the list of important documents in the case, so we refer to it more fully. The Boer President began by saying that his visit to England had always depended upon the settlement of the basis of discussion, and he regretted that the basis had not been reached. President Kruger, continuing, said:

"In a friendly spirit, but from the very first, the Government saw clearly, and recorded its opinion that no foreign interference in the internal affairs of the republic could be allowed. Mr. Chamberlain admits the justice of this position, yet he intimates that Great Britain desires that particular internal measures be taken by the Transvaal. The latter cannot allow to pass unnoticed the expression 'admitted grievances,' and, however well meant, this Government must express regret that having intimated its desire for a reconsideration of the London Convention, in consequence of the inroad of Dr. Jameson, the position should be assumed that in the discussion the so-styled 'admitted grievances' must be included as a sine qua non in the event of a reconsideration of the convention being agreed to.

"The South African Republic has always been prepared to receive and consider in a friendly spirit the private suggestions of the Imperial Government regarding the interests of British subjects, although the South African Republic has never admitted the existence of the so-called 'admitted grievances,' and must deny on that account that the right exists to create rebellious movements. It does not affect to be perfect or infallible, and has repeatedly declared that it is prepared to listen to just complaints presented in a constitutional manner by any one. But the South African Republic is of the opinion that every step calculated to prolong the irritation existing in South Africa must be studiously avoided by the exercise of mutual forbearance and good will.

"I feel confident you will recognize and appreciate the difficulty of my position. It appears to be wiser not to press the question of my proceeding to England any further at present, but to leave it open, especially in view of the coming session of the Volksraad, and that the desirability of my presence during at least a portion of the session, when important measures are to be considered, is apparent."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### JAMESON AND RHODES RETURN TO ENGLAND.

The troopship *Victoria*, with Dr. Jameson aboard, arrived at Devonport, England, February 23, from Durban, Natal. Two hundred and fifty of his men had previously arrived in London and had been sent to their homes. A great crowd gathered to receive them and greeted them with acclamations.

Dr. "Jim" received a wild welcome from the jingoes, everywhere.

The next day, Jameson and fourteen of his fellow-prisoners were arraigned in the Bow street police court, and charged with "warring against a friendly state," the Transvaal.

The court-room and the streets adjoining it were thronged with curious sight-seers and hero-worshippers during the whole of the day, in anticipation of his coming. He was loudly cheered on entering the court-room, the entire audience rising at his appearance.

The Duke of Abercorn, chairman of the British South Africa Company, was present, also Viscount Chelsea, the Earl of Arlington; Colonel Stracey, private secretary to the Marquis of Salisbury; several colonial officials, Charles E. Warde, M. P., and many others of note.

After the charge had been read, Henry Matthews, Q. C., formerly Home Secretary, announced that in view of the importance of the case, the law officers of the Crown would conduct the prosecution.

Formal evidence was then presented as to the circumstances of the arrest. The lawyers for the accused men asked that their personal recognizances be accepted for bail.

Sir John Bridge, the presiding magistrate, said that before deciding upon the bail he felt that he ought to observe that in his opinion a graver offense could not be charged against men than that charged against the prisoners. It was a crime of the highest possible gravity, and it must be so treated by everyone when they consider that the commission of such an offense might create a war between countries previously friendly.

The circumstances of the present case, he added, were most peculiar. He felt satisfied that the prisoners would appear when wanted.

He therefore accepted their personal recognizances, and fixed their bail at £2,000 (\$10,000) each.

The magistrate then addressed the prisoners personally in a grave and serious vein. He begged them for their own sakes and for the sake of the good faith of the country to refrain from appearing where public excitement would be aroused by their presence or in any way lending themselves to the disturbance of the peace.

Notwithstanding Sir John's remarks deprecating any public demonstration over the defendants, their withdrawal from the court-room was accompanied by a renewed outbreak of cheering, which the court officers finally succeeded in quelling.

When the court-room had become quiet again Sir John Bridge said sternly:

"That sort of thing might bring the name of England into contempt."

Meanwhile a still wilder scene was being enacted outside the court-room.

The prisoners had been smuggled into the court-room so unexpectedly and with such dexterity that the waiting mob was cheated out of their opportunity for shouting. But they were ready this time.

Dr. Jameson's appearance outside the building was the signal for a wild outburst of cheering, throwing of hats in the air and a tremendous pressure to get within reach of the popular idol. The crowd's intentions were friendly, enthusiastically so, but they threatened bodily harm to the object of their admiration.

Dr. Jameson was quickly hemmed in by a surging throng, and he made his way through them with difficulty. When he finally reached his cab, he was hurriedly driven off without waiting to make any sign of acknowledgment of the popular demonstration.

It was freely prophesied at the time, that at the most Dr. Jameson and his followers would be merely fined, and that before any great lapse of time he would be back in South Africa assisting Cecil Rhodes and aiding in the extension of the British Empire in that part of the world.

There was another jingo crowd in and about Bow street police court, March 10, on the occasion of the formal arraignment of Dr. Jameson and his fellow-raiders—Major Sir John Willoughby, Royal Horse Guards; Colonel H. F. White, Major Grenadier Guards; Colonel R. Grey, Captain Sixth Enniskillen Dragoons; Major R. White,

Captain Royal Welsh Fusileers; Major J. B. Stacey, Scots Guards; Major C. H. Villiers, Royal Horse Guards; Captain Charles John Coventry, Third Battalion Worcestershire Regiment, son of the Earl of Coventry; Captain K. G. Kincaid Smith, Lieutenant Royal Artillery; Captain C. L. W. Monroe, Third Battalion Seaforth Highlanders; Captain C. P. Foley, Third Battalion Royal Scots; Captain E. S. C. Holden, Derbyshire Yeomanry; Captain C. F. Lindsell, Fourth Battalion Durham Light Infantry, and Lieutenant H. M. Grenfell, First Life Guards.

Sir Richard Webster, the attorney-general, in opening for the prosecution, reviewed the circumstances of the raid and cited the speech which Colonel Grey made to the Bechuanaland police at Mafeking, in which he said, "I cannot tell you that we are going by the Queen's orders, but you are going to fight for the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa."

The first witness called was Sergeant Hay, of the Bechuanaland police, who testified to the mustering of the troopers at Mafeking and to the endeavor by Dr. Jameson and Colonel Grey to induce him and a few of his comrades to join the raid.

Corporal Smith, of the Bechuanaland police, testified that Dr. Jameson made a speech to the troopers at Pitsani, December 29, and read them a letter signed by Messrs. Hammond, Farrar, Phillips and Leonard, of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, requesting assistance on behalf of the people of Johannesburg, who, it was claimed, were in danger from the threatening attitude of the Boers. Dr. Jameson told the troopers that he did not believe that a shot would be fired.

Sergeant Buck, of the Matabeleland police, March 17, detailed the events of the march of December, the arrest of the young Boer leader Eloff, who came to warn the party to return across the border, and the firing of the Boers at midnight the same day on the Jameson party. This, Sergeant Buck said, was the first intimation they had of the presence of the Boers in their proximity. The fire was returned and the Boers fled. On January 1 the Jameson party encountered sixty or seventy Boers, who opened fire on them. The fire was again returned and the Boers retired in the direction of Krugersdorp, followed by the troopers.

Trooper Hill, also of the Matabeleland mounted police, testified to hearing Dr. Jameson, in a speech at Pitsani to the men who were to

compose the expeditionary column, say to the troopers that they were going to Johannesburg in order to protect the English women and children, whose lives were in danger. Jameson said he hoped there would be no fighting, but if there was, "Why, we'll fight." He hoped, however, that the column would reach Johannesburg before the Boers had time to collect. Dr. Jameson assured the troopers that "if it comes to a push the Cape Mounted Rifles and the Natal police will assist us." Also that the column might be joined by the Bechuanaland border police.

Replying to a question, the witness said that Dr. Jameson, while addressing the troopers, referred frequently to a letter which he held in his hand, which appeared to contain instructions as to the conduct of the expedition.

Sir John Willoughby, the military commander of the expedition, Trooper Hill said in conclusion of his testimony, also made a speech to the men on the same lines as the remarks of Dr. Jameson, and expressed the hope that the troopers would do their best.

A letter from Johannesburg, dated December 30, and appealing to Dr. Jameson to assist the Outlanders against the oppression of the Boers, was introduced in evidence. There was introduced also a dispatch sent by Sergeant White, with orders to overtake Dr. Jameson and recall the raiders.

Sergeant White, of the Bechuanaland mounted police, March 24, gave damaging testimony. He swore to having refused to join the expedition, added that Colonel Grey questioned the troopers prior to starting, and informed them they were not to fight for the Queen, but for the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa.

The sergeant also testified that Commissioner Newton dispatched him from Mafeking on December 29 in pursuit of Dr. Jameson's column, telling him to catch the latter at any cost. When the witness caught up with the column he handed his dispatches to Colonel Grey, who ordered him to give them to Sir John Willoughby, who in turn told Sergeant White to give them to Dr. Jameson. The latter, however, sent him back to Sir John Willoughby, who finally distributed them. Half an hour later, he continued, Sir John Willoughby said:

"Tell your commanding officer that the dispatches have been received and will be attended to." The column, Sergeant White also said, then proceeded in the direction of Johannesburg.

The examination was adjourned, March 25, until April 28, to await witnesses on the way from South Africa, and dragged on into June.

On June 15 the leaders of the raid were committed for trial for violating the neutrality laws. The other raiders were discharged.

The leaders, later, were tried, found guilty and sentenced to light terms of imprisonment as first-class misdemeanants. Dr. Jameson's sentence was ten months' imprisonment. He was released after being confined for about six months.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes arrived at Plymouth, England, January 22, 1897, on board the steamer *Dunvegal Castle*, from Cape Town, to testify before the Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the Jameson raid. He was given a reception on the eve of his departure and made a speech, in the course of which he said he was going home to be examined regarding the Jameson expedition by his fellow countrymen, whose "unctuous reitude" he well knew. In another speech he had referred to Mr. Chamberlain rather contemptuously as having a "hobby for orchids."

His journey from Kimberley to Cape Town was a triumphal progress, people turning out even during the night and welcoming him at stations.

On his arrival at Cape Town he was presented with an address by the Mayor or behalf of the corporation. His carriage was pulled by fifty Rhodesian troopers in fighting uniform—shirt sleeves and riding breeches, with red pugarees. From 20,000 to 25,000 people assembled in front of the arch at Cape Town where the addresses were presented. The cheering was tremendous, as was also the enthusiasm of the vast crowds which lined the streets. Addresses were also presented from the railway workmen and from the Malay community. Further addresses were presented along the route of the drive home, one address being signed by 8,000 persons.

The text of the speech in which Rhodes asserted that the world's surface was limited, and that, therefore, the best policy was to take as much of it as you could, created a sensation in London, where even his best friends feared that he was inflaming passions which would lead to further trouble.

President Kruger displayed much anger at the reception accorded to Cecil Rhodes in Cape Colony, and said his efforts to create amity

between the English and Dutch were being upset by Mr. Rhodes, "whose money, men and guns had caused all the trouble."

In the House of Commons, January 26, 1897, Mr. Chamberlain moved the appointment of a South African commission to inquire into the Jameson raid and other matters. M. J. Maclean, member for the Cardiff district, proposed an amendment, which he afterward withdrew, reciting that in view of the peaceful settlement of the South African question and the punishment of the Transvaal raiders, that it would be inexpedient to reopen the matter, and needless to reappoint the committee, one committee, it should be added, having previously whitewashed everybody concerned.

Mr. Maclean's amendment was withdrawn January 29 after Mr. Chamberlain had made a statement in which he declared that the situation in South Africa undoubtedly had become most critical during the last few months. There had been, he explained, a revival of unrest, recent legislation of the Transvaal was partly contrary to the Convention of London, and President Kruger had not kept his promise to give full and favorable consideration of the grievances of the population. Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain said that he did not blame President Kruger personally, he only wished the President's hands to be strengthened in his policy.

The Chartered Company, he added, had no reason to fear an inquiry, and he believed the company would be able to show a good case. Mr. Chamberlain added:

"An inquiry into the origin of the raid would be a sham unless it carefully inquired into the Outlanders' grievances, and this opens up pitfalls of difficulties. Nevertheless the Government will press the re-appointment of a committee, with an increase of its number to seventeen, in order to enable the Irish members to be represented."

Mr. Chamberlain's motion to reappoint a Parliamentary committee to inquire into the administration of South Africa was adopted finally without a division.

The committee appointed to inquire into the trouble in South Africa met February 5, and selected William L. Jackson, member for North Leeds, as chairman. It was decided to begin the taking of evidence February 15.

The grave remarks of Mr. Chamberlain on the situation in South Africa created a deep impression, more especially as they were unex-

pected. The members assembled in the lobby afterwards and discussed the passage of the remarks in which Mr. Chamberlain hinted at dangerous undercurrents in the affairs at the Cape, and all remarked that the Colonial Secretary's tone in reference to the Transvaal was much sterner than his former utterances on the subject.

The Conservative newspapers praised Mr. Chamberlain's attitude, and the *Globe* and *Ministerial* expressed the hope that President Kruger would take the warning to heart, "for persistence in inquiry and insult in Boer dealing will only result in the assertion once for all of British supremacy in South Africa."

February 3 following, President Kruger, in an interview on the subject, said:

"I strongly disapprove of intermixing the so-called Outlander grievances with the Chartered Company's freebooting invasion of the Transvaal. The latter admits of no whitewashing, and no local causes justified such a criminal raid. I have always used, and am still using, all my influence to diminish race hatred. But recent utterances on the other side are adding to the fire."



## CHAPTER XXX.

### OOM PAUL AND OUTLANDERS ON THE RAID.

During the evening of November 27, 1896, the officials of the South African Republic entertained President Kruger at dinner in the Transvaal Hotel, Pretoria. There were 150 guests and most of the speeches bristled with praise for the shrewd old Executive of the Transvaal Republic. At the close of the dinner the President made some extremely interesting allusions to the Jameson raid, and its consequences. He said:

“Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, strangers, burghers, and all, I must say that I was never caught before, but I must say that my learned officials have caught me to-night. It is my custom to leave the hall after the first or second toast, and go to my house, but to-night you have caught me (laughter), because you ran about a dozen toasts into one. It is my custom to be brief in my speeches even in the Raad, but to-night you must be patient with me, because I shall be rather long. The chairman has spoken of my youth and what I have done, but all that I have done has been under the guidance of the Almighty, and my burghers have been my hands and legs. In my youth, my middle age, in my old age, I have always relied upon my God to help me. My officials have also helped me, and were it not for them and my burghers I should not be in the proud office I now hold. It has been my experience and my belief that the hand of God has led us from the time we trekked from Cape Colony onward. God led His people here, and if they disobeyed His mandates He would punish them. He in His mercy had restored our land and our liberty. People might say that we shot very well. I say it was not the shots, but God’s graciousness. God has given us back our freedom, and a curse be on me and woe unto me if I defile it. It is in my keeping as President for you, and may the Almighty spare me to keep that trust. Let us not boast of our deeds. They are not ours, but the doings of our Ruler. The Lord was with us during the civil war, and prevented us from shooting one another. Now I must enter into politics. It is not my custom to do so at dinners, but to-night I feel compelled to speak on the situation, because so many rumors have been circulated

recently. These rumors have been most damaging. It has been shouted and published that on December 16 next, the day of Dingaan or holy festival, that we intend to declare our independence of the Convention. Conventions are not made to be broken so easily ("Hear, hear").

"What does the Convention mean? It means the guarantee of our independence. It is our safeguard. If I want any alteration to the Convention I will ask for it in a peaceful and quiet manner, and I feel sure that all our burghers agree with me that such is the proper course. Our motto is to abide by our word, and never to break a contract. People were shouting the question, 'Why don't you send in the claim for the Jameson raid?'

"I want to be fair, and it is my answer to them. I do not want to make an unfair claim, and therefore it will take time to prepare the statement of outlay. If I had it in my power I would not ask for even what I am entitled to. The Lord is with us, and His decree is that right is might, not might is right. It has been the policy of our republic throughout never to be the aggressor, but still to defend ourselves; that policy has always been followed, even with the natives who wished to make war with us. To act otherwise would be unworthy of a civilized nation. We have purchased our ground dearly and we must keep it. Now, I will refer to the recent laws. With regard to the expulsion law and the immigration law, we did not make them to create bad feeling; they were made to maintain peace and order, and to contribute toward the safety of inhabitants. I do not mean burghers, but the newcomers as well.

"There are people coming in who wish to see us by the ear, and we don't want it. ("Hear, hear!") We want to be friendly and happy. These laws will only be set in force against those who wish to create disorder. There were persons who talked about disturbances and an invasion into Charterland. To that I can only reply, as I said before, our policy is not aggressive. They look at matters through colored spectacles. To go back to the alien laws, I don't say that they are entirely good in the letter, but they are in principle good. A few alterations may be necessary. I will now say again that during my lifetime there will be no question of going over the border. We do not want to extend our territory. Now about the claim, it will be made in righteousness. I might have claimed three or four millions,

but that is out of the question. I won't do so. I only want to make a fair claim, and I feel sure that Her Majesty's Government will meet it in a fair spirit. Let us take the occurrences in a fair and reasonable spirit, and let us always carry out the adage: Do good to those who wrong you."

Here the President sat down, but in response to loud cheering he rose and proposed the toast, "The Mining Industry," which, he said, was the mainstay of the land; and it was their bounden duty to foster it. The Raad was doing all it could to encourage mining and local industries, and he felt sure that in future they would not be found wanting as regarded their duty to the mines.

In commenting editorially upon the speech the next day the Johannesburg Star said:

"President Kruger's speech at the official banquet given at Pretoria last night in his honor is a most welcome and brightening one. It cannot be gainsaid that for some time past renewed feelings of uncertainty and unrest respecting the future development of events in this state have been rapidly arising, their growth being much encouraged by the uncomfortable and overcautious reticence of the authorities regarding the true state of affairs. It is highly satisfactory and relieving that the President made up his mind last night to untie his tongue and make a definite and official pronouncement on the political situation. It is observable that Mr. Kruger spoke with that candor he is wont to spasmodically adopt, and in this case happily the frankness has led him into no diplomatic faux pas. As far as can be seen at present (we are writing without a verbatim report of the speech before us) His Honor's utterances were marked throughout with sound common sense, and an honest desire to remove whatever false and misleading impressions may lately have been produced by the various rumors passing along the pavement. In the presence of Mr. Kruger's definition of the situation they must now be regarded as altogether unsubstantial. There can be no doubt that the President's speech last night will do infinite good. It seems to remove at once the heavy incubus of doubt and suspicion as regards the policy of the Government, under which the political situation has for some time been pressed down to what was rapidly becoming an unbearable degree. The feeling it will create in Europe is certain to be of a most reassuring and beneficial kind, and it will be a matter of much surprise if, after what

President Kruger has said, substantial evidence on the part of the outside world in the political and industrial prospects of this state.

“President Kruger spoke freely and ingeniously on several points of high politics which vitally affect the well-being of the republic. The first he touched upon is the disposition of the Government toward the London Convention. His Honor cannot be too highly complimented on the manner in which he handled this delicate and difficult subject. It is, after all, this portion of his last night’s oration which will receive most attention from the European public. There is no denying the fact that the idea has been gaining considerable ground that the Transvaal Government, incited by the extreme section of the Boer party, was about to adopt an actively antagonistic attitude toward the principles of that treaty. President Kruger felt himself to be in the position last evening to say what he did on this topic. After his bold and emphatic statement that his Government has not the slightest desire to break that Convention, all gossip to the contrary must now be ignored. From His Honor’s somewhat humorous remark that under the agreement the Transvaal is practically so independent that Heaven itself can hardly interfere it may be judged that the Government has decided to view that instrument with no unfriendly feeling. As a matter of solid fact, of course, there are powers latent in the Convention which have only been imperative because of the extreme consideration shown by Great Britain; but let that pass for the present. President Kruger also sees that in regard to its external relations this country could have no wiser or more considerate ‘guide, philosopher and friend’ than Great Britain. If the authorities here desire any modification in the terms of that Convention they will, said President Kruger, confine themselves to legitimate and unobjectionable procedure.

“In regard to recent legislation and the general attitude of the Government toward the mining industry, Mr. Kruger spoke in a way that promises nothing but disagreeable developments. But until actual proof is forthcoming that the Government does not mean to arbitrarily enforce the unnecessary and minatory legislation of this year, and does not intend to further improve the position of the mining industry, President Kruger’s observations in this direction may be regarded as well meaning without being accepted as conclusive evidence that a new policy is to be pursued; all that need be said is that if the course to be followed by the Government of this state, both in regard to domestic and foreign affairs, at all coincides with the lines sketched out last

night by President Kruger, this republic is about to enter upon an era of peace and progress such as it has not yet known."

Just previous to the Jameson raid an Outlander at Johannesburg presented to the British public a full statement of the dispute from the standpoint of the British residents of the Transvaal. As we have shown the British version of the dispute, it will be interesting to present with it the Outlander argument, against the Boers, especially as it holds good to-day. The statement was as follows:

The efforts of the Outlanders in Johannesburg to obtain the franchise culminated in a monster petition presented to the Volksraad, signed by over 13,000 Outlanders, or subjects of other states, asking to be allowed citizen rights subject to a two years' residence, a property qualification, and the taking of the oath of allegiance to the state. This petition was simply and literally jeered at in the Raad, the members evidently regarding it as the joke of the session; and, so far from regarding its prayer, they passed a law, which, so far as we are concerned, may be summarized as follows:

Naturalization can be obtained after two years' residence, on production of proof from local officials that the applicant for the privilege has been two years in the country, and has during that time conducted himself obediently to the laws of the state, and that he has been for two years enrolled in the books of the Veldcornet—an official who is a sort of registrar for taxing and commandeering purposes. With these documents the would-be citizen must produce "a certificate from a competent official to the effect that he has had no dishonoring sentence passed upon him."

Now upon these provisions we need only remark:

(a) That the Veldcornet lists are generally kept by illiterate men—Johannesburg is an exception.

(b) That the lists have, in one case at least, been lost or destroyed, and the Government refuses to admit any other evidence of residence.

(c) That no effort is made to compel newcomers to enroll themselves, though a practically complete list is obtained here somehow for taxation purposes; so that, whereas in some country districts poll taxes are as much as 75, in most 25, per cent. in arrear, Johannesburg and other essentially Outlander centers are only 6 per cent. in arrear. We are not aware that any steps are ever taken to let newcomers know that the law requires them to enroll within fourteen days after arrival.

(d) No self-respecting man would be likely to care to apply to a magistrate or other official in his motherland for a certificate that he had not been sent to jail or had a "dishonoring sentence" (whatever that may mean) passed upon him. This clause is doubtless suggested by the impression to which certain members of the Raad, and even President Kruger himself, have from time to time given expression, that the majority of newcomers are "murderers and thieves."

The applicant for naturalization has to be sent, with the documents, by the Veldcornet through the Landdrost (magistrate) to the State Secretary, who refers it to the Attorney General, who returns the documents to the State Secretary. After all this the applicant may be allowed to obtain letters of naturalization, the State Secretary having discovered no flaw in the immaculate respectability required to put him on an equality with the Boer, provided the Government finds no obstacle—that is, has no objection to such issue. We all know what this means to this notoriously corrupt state.

Having gone through this performance, and having been declared unblemished, the aspirant for burgher rights pays the sum of £2, and then is rather worse off than he was before. You ask why? Because, as a naturalized citizen, he is liable to all the burdens of citizenship, including compulsory military service, and the rights he acquired are practically nil. He can vote for a member of the Second Volksraad, a body that simply has the regulation of certain departments, such as mining, posts, etc., but has nothing to say about taxation, and is, indeed, powerless, as against the First Volksraad. He can also vote for the Veldcornet—hardly as great a privilege as voting for the election of a coroner. But he cannot vote for a member of the First Volksraad, who is practically in the same position as a member of the English House of Commons, nor can he vote for the President or the Commander-in-Chief, both of whom are elected by popular suffrages. In short, he has about as many privileges—possibly less in proportion—as a man might have who could vote in England in municipal and county council elections, but had not the Parliamentary franchise.

By way of ensuring a continuance of this state of things, the law contains three ingenious provisions:

(a) The privilege of citizenship given by birth in the country is limited by a proviso that children follow the conditions of their parents,

so that if we are not naturalized or enfranchised my son is excluded from all hope of being so.

(b) "No extension of this franchise can take place unless a proposition to that effect shall have been published for one year in the Government Gazette, and unless two-thirds of the enfranchised burghers shall have declared themselves in favor thereof by memorial." This is the referendum with a vengeance, and with a difference, for we question very seriously if two-thirds of the enfranchised burghers could sign their name to a memorial or anything else.

(c) Election committees are made illegal. To belong to one of these dangerous institutions, since they might by the use of argument or money, or both, convert the burghers in time to comparative reasonableness, is rendered penal and punishable with a fine of £50 or imprisonment.

Unless an Outlander be specially admitted by the Raad or the Government to full burgher rights he can never acquire them, nor can his posterity to all eternity, until the iniquitous enactment here summarized be abrogated, an enactment that, in the matter, at any rate, of depriving those born in the Transvaal of the birthright, abrogates a provision of the grondwet or constitutional law of the republic.

On top of this answer to our petition, and in face of the fact that we in Johannesburg are annually taxed nearly ten times as much as the "poor Boer," we were told we were liable to compulsory military service in wars about which we have nothing to say, and it is only by the recent action of the British Government that this burden has been lightened, without being entirely removed, for funds and goods for the war can still apparently be commandeered from us.

This is the position of the Englishmen in a country that owes its existence as an independent state to English magnanimity, to a people who have never been able to understand or believe that there is a limit to their power of presuming upon Britain's "weakness." How great is their confidence that England will not lift a finger for her children here is shown by their choosing a time when they are seeking further concessions from the British Government in the matter of Swaziland to tell us that aliens and serfs we are, and shall remain, without rights, mere taxpayers and (but for Sir Henry Loch's intervention) prospective targets.

Englishmen at home, we are sorry to say, give little thought to their

countrymen abroad, unless British capital is endangered or some sensational incident of a dramatic nature happens. In the latter event they generally seek to atone for the indifference that has led to a catastrophe by wordy sympathy and a Mansion House Fund. In the Transvaal to-day millions of English capital are invested, and nothing would please the Boer better than to annex that capital, and get rid of the Englishmen and colonists who chiefly have built up the industry that has redeemed this republic from actual bankruptcy. The "sensational incident" might arrive at any time should any indiscretion be committed. The sense of wrong and injustice on the one side is as deep and strong as the determination on the other to show us our only duty is to obey the laws our Boer rulers pass, and thank God we are allowed to earn a living in a country where the air is about the only necessary not yet taxed, a country that is surely the veriest parody of a republic the world has ever seen.

As a result of Sir Henry Loch's recent visit a fresh convention is to be negotiated with the Transvaal by England. Meanwhile the Government of the country has promised not to commandeer British subjects so far as other aliens are exempted by treaty, though at this moment commandeered subjects of Great Britain are at the front and four are undergoing three months' imprisonment—to be served at the front—for resisting the law and forcing this matter upon the attention of the Home Government. In conducting the negotiations in this matter and in the Swaziland matter, let the Government and the people of England see to it that in doing justice to the Boer and the Swazi they do not forget the 15,000 or more in Johannesburg, and the thousands elsewhere in this country, who desire that there may be no half-heartedness in their pride in the grand old flag under which they learnt to know and to value justice and liberty.

We have no wish to suggest that England should officiously interfere in the internal affairs of this state, but in the game of "international give-and-take" surely the taking need not all be on the side that has shown itself incapable of a generous impulse. Something can be done, if only to secure British capital, by seeing that taxation carries some representation in the body that controls the revenues of the South African Republic, and by urging some mitigation of the many disabilities which are to-day making the new population a source of danger and weakness to the state, instead of a tower of strength.



## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE NEW TRANSVAAL LAWS.

The Outlander agitation eventually brought about legislation upon the part of the Transvaal in the shape of a Press Law and an Aliens' Expulsion Law, which went into force in the South African Republic October 14, 1896. Their text follows:

#### THE PRESS LAW.

Replacing Law No. 11, 1893, being the law on the Press, in accordance with directions of resolution of the First Volksraad, Article 832, dated August 5, 1895.

Whereas, it is considered expedient to make regulations for the carrying out of Article 19 of the Grondwet (i. e., the constitution of this republic); therefore it is decided as follows:

Article 1. By the term "printed matter" is comprehended in the sense of this law all productions of the printing press in this republic, as well as all other productions within the republic prepared by means of mechanical or chemical process of disseminating intended copies of written matter, of illustrations, with or without text, and of music with text and explanations. As "dissemination" in the sense of this law is also considered the placarding or the exhibition of a publication in any place where it is open to the notice of the public.

Article 2. On every publication must be given the name of the printer, and whether it is intended for distribution by the bookseller or otherwise; the name and address of the publisher, or where the copy is issued for the writer's own account. From this regulation are excluded such publications as are intended solely for purposes of trade or daily usage, as printed forms, price lists, notices of marriage or death, visiting cards and such like.

Article 3. All publications, such as periodicals, newspapers and reviews, must, in addition, contain in each and every number of its issue the name and address of its responsible editor, whilst all articles (or pieces) of a political or personal nature which appear therein must be signed by the writer with his true and full name.

Article 4. Within the period of one month after this law becomes of force the publisher of any periodical publication already in existence in the republic must send in to the State Attorney a written declaration under oath containing a statement of the name of such periodical and of the name of the responsible editor, the publisher and owner. After this law becomes of force no newly-appearing periodical publication can be issued without a similar declaration to the State Attorney.

Article 5. The State President has at all times the right (with the advice and consent of the Executive Council) to prohibit entirely or temporarily the circulation of publications the contents of which are, in his opinion, contrary to good morals or dangerous to the peace and order of the republic.

Article 6. Whosoever makes himself, through the medium of the press, guilty of libel, slander, public violation of decency, or instigation to a punishable offense, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £250, or with imprisonment for not more than one year. Any one who shall be proved guilty of incitement to any unlawful act shall be subject to a maximum fine of £500, or to at most two years' imprisonment, or banishment of not exceeding two years.

Article 7. Whenever a punishable offense is committed by means of a periodical publication the responsible editor—whether or not he is the writer of the incriminating piece or article—shall be punished as a perpetrator, unless from exceptional circumstances it be estimated that he cannot be considered as such.

Article 8. Whenever a punishable offense is committed through the medium of the press,

- (a) The responsible editor,
- (b) The publisher,
- (c) The printer, and

(d) Whoever has, in the exercise of his calling, disseminated the publication, shall—in so far as they are not culpable as perpetrators or accomplices—be punished for negligence with a fine not exceeding £200, or with imprisonment for not more than one year, if they are unable to show that they have exercised all the care that could be reasonably demanded of them, or that there were circumstances which made such impossible for them. The said persons—having fully complied with all the formalities of this law—shall, however, be unpunished in event of their pointing out (on the first demand made by the State

Attorney, or on his behalf) some one as the writer or presenter (of the incriminating article) or as occupying one of the positions—superior to their own—named in the above list, and provided that such a one (so pointed out) is actually within the jurisdiction of the court, or is deceased within the period during which dissemination has taken place.

Article 9. (a) The printer and the publisher transgressing Article 2 hereof;

(b) The responsible editor and publisher transgressing Article 3 hereof; and

(c) The publisher transgressing Article 4 hereof; shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £50, or with imprisonment for not longer than six (6) months.

Whoever, contrary to any prohibition of the State President, as specified in Article 6, shall disseminate any publication printed or published outside the republic, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £250, or with imprisonment for not longer than one year. On a second or further offense of a responsible editor, publisher or printer of any periodical publication (through which they transgress the law), the publication of such periodical can be prohibited by a judgment of the court for a period not exceeding two (2) years.

Article 10. This law does not apply to publications made on behalf of, by order of, or with the consent of, the Government.

Article 11. This law comes into force immediately upon publication in the Staats Courant.

### ALIEN EXPULSION BILL.

Whereas, Article 6 of the Grondwet provides that the territory of the republic stands open to every alien provided he submits to the laws of the country; and, whereas, no legal stipulations exist regulating the right of the Government to put aliens who do not conform to the laws of the republic, and who are a source of danger to the public peace and order, across the border, the First Volksraad having considered the memorials and the crisis in January last, resolves to reconsider the law, although the same has not been published for three months in the Staats Courant.

Article 1. All aliens inciting to disobedience or transgression of the law by word of mouth, in writing, or by public means, by which public peace or order is or can be endangered, may be expelled by order

of the President, acting on the advice and with the consent of the Executive; and after having obtained the advice of the State Attorney, such alien shall be obliged to leave the state within a specified time. During this interval he will be allowed to avail himself of the provisions of Article 5 of this law. In case the High Court pronounces his objections unfounded, effect will immediately be given to the order of expulsion. In case the High Court decides that he is a burgher of the republic he shall fall under Article 2.

Article 2. The State Executive, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, and after having obtained the consent of the State Attorney, shall have the power, in case it appears that foreigners or burghers are dangerous to the peace and good order of the republic by inciting to contravention of the law, to order their residence in a different part of the republic and to prohibit their residence in certain places.

Article 3. Burghers of the South African Republic may not be banished across the border of the republic.

Article 4. The President shall report to the Volksraad any steps taken by him in accordance with Articles 1 and 2.

Article 5. Every one to whom Article 1 of this law is applicable, and who claims to be a burgher of the South African Republic may (but on this ground alone) appeal by written petition to the High Court.

Article 6. Any alien who does not comply with the order of the State Executive, according to Sections 1 and 2 of this law, shall be liable to six months' imprisonment, to be imposed by the Landdrost under whose jurisdiction he resides. After he has served his term of imprisonment he shall be put across the border. Any alien so expelled returning to the republic without the consent of the President, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, shall be liable to a maximum imprisonment of twelve months, after serving which term he shall be put across the border.

Article 7. A burgher not obeying the order of the President shall be subject to at most six months' imprisonment.

Article 8. Any alien punished in accordance with the provisions of this law shall be bound to submit himself to personal and anthropometrical examination.

Article 9. This law comes into effect immediately after publication in the Staats Courant.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### INVESTIGATION AND FINDING BY THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

The South African Committee appointed by the British Parliament to inquire into the Transvaal raid met February 16, 1897, in Westminster Hall. The general public was excluded, but the hall was crowded with members of Parliament, counsel, reporters and others interested in the inquiry.

Cecil Rhodes was sworn and read a statement, which, he said, covered the whole ground. It recited the discontent caused by the "restrictions and impositions of the Transvaal Government," and the "denial of civil rights until the position of foreigners at Johannesburg became intolerable."

"After long efforts," the statement continued, "the people there, despairing of redress by constitutional means, resolved to seek, by extra-constitutional means, such changes of government as could give the majority of the population, possessing more than half of the land, nine-tenths of the wealth, and paying nineteen-twentieths of the taxes, a due share in the administration. I sympathized with them, and, as a land owner, was largely interested. As a citizen of Cape Colony I suffered under the persistently unfriendly attitude of the Transvaal toward Cape Colony. I assisted in the movement with press and influence, and, acting within my rights, placed troops under Dr. Jameson's orders on the border of the Transvaal, prepared to act under certain circumstances. I did not tell the Chartered Company anything in regard to the raid. Dr. Jameson went in without my authority. All my actions were greatly influenced by my belief that the policy of the present Transvaal Government was to introduce the influence of another power (Germany) and thereby complicate the situation."

Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the Liberal leader in the House of Commons, examined Mr. Rhodes, but the latter refused to answer questions relating to the smuggling of arms into the Transvaal. Pressed by Sir William as to what right he had to send troops to the Transvaal border, Mr. Rhodes replied:

"I have very probably done wrong, but there is another movement

now which has much support, namely, the incursion of the Greeks. That's wrong, too, no doubt."

Sir William Vernon Harcourt continued the examination February 19. Mr. Rhodes frequently said that he acted solely in the capacity of a private citizen. He did not attempt to defend himself from the charges of having applied the resources of the South Africa Company in aid of the raid, and asserted that he had not communicated on the subject with the company in London.

Incidentally the sensation of that week in London was the announcement by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons that a telegram had been received from the British agent at Pretoria saying President Kruger had filed a bill of indemnity against the British Government, which is to pay it, "or caused it to be paid," as a result of the Jameson raid, £667,938 3s 3d being asked as a "material charge" and "£1,000,000 for moral and intellectual damage," not including "legitimate private claims which may be advanced," emphasizing the shillings and pence.

In every word of his short reply Mr. Chamberlain managed to express every phase of scorn, defiance and contempt.

During the session of the Parliament's Committee, February 23, Dr. Jameson appeared among the audience, and the Prince of Wales on entering the hall shook hands with Mr. Rhodes. The latter, when proceedings opened, was questioned by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann, late Secretary of State for War, in the Rosebery Cabinet. Mr. Rhodes said that he did not see any difference between the cases of Crete and the Transvaal, "except that the Cretans, who have the popular sympathy of England, are foreigners claiming civil rights, whereas in the Transvaal it was our countrymen who were seeking civil rights."

Continuing, Mr. Rhodes reiterated his statement that the agitation at Johannesburg would continue until popular rights were granted to its inhabitants. Answering a question, he said: "I have been told that I left Johannesburg for this trouble, but I have come to the conclusion that it was Johannesburg which let me in. Johannesburgers tried the reform road prior to the revolution. They petitioned President Kruger, whose promises, however, were not kept."

Mr. Rhodes asserted that his determination to proceed to extreme measures was reached in conjunction with the leaders at Johannes-

burg. It was intended to change the Government, owing to the hopelessness of obtaining redress for their grievances.

The examination of Mr. Rhodes was continued February 26. He admitted he had instructed his agent in London, Mr. Rutherford Harris, to confidentially communicate the plans of the secret movement to "certain persons in England," but he refused to divulge their names. The witness was then asked whether his having a force ready to march into the Transvaal was consistent with his position as Premier of Cape Colony. He replied: "It is for this committee to judge of my conduct."

Mr. Edward Blake called attention to the passage in the statement read by Mr. Rhodes at the opening of the inquiry relative to a foreign power, and said:

"I accept fully your views that you had adequate grounds for that statement."

Mr. Rhodes replied:

"I am glad you put it that way. If I stated my reasons for the belief, perhaps it would do harm and cause irritation to a friendly power."

Mr. Henry Labouchere next examined Mr. Rhodes. He asked:

"Was Germany the power you believed President Kruger favored?"

"Yes," was the reply.

After this Mr. Rhodes read extracts from a speech delivered by President Kruger before the German Club of Pretoria, on the occasion of Emperor William's birthday, in 1895, in which the Boer President said Great Britain had relinquished her claim of suzerainty over the Transvaal, and declared that he had been able to make a treaty with Germany so that "if one nation tried to kick the Transvaalers other nations would try to stop her."

Mr. Rhodes explained that he believed President Kruger intended by this speech to claim the right to make such a treaty and confirm it without the consent of Great Britain. He further asserted that the whole tendency of the Transvaal policy was in "favor of foreigners, especially Germans, at the expense of the English."

Mr. Labouchere suggested that President Kruger's speech may have been an after-dinner oration. "But," Mr. Rhodes pointed out, "President Kruger only drinks water."

Mr. Labouchere questioned Mr. Rhodes regarding his meaning of "civil rights," and Mr. Rhodes, with a vehement gesture, exclaimed:

"The Johannesburgers have no civil rights, and no body of Englishmen will ever remain in any place for any period without insisting upon their civil rights."

Mr. Rhodes later absolutely denied that Mr. Chamberlain had any knowledge of the revolutionary movement.

Mr. Rhodes, March 2, 1897, was again questioned by Mr. Labouchere. He reiterated the statement that he was prepared to again assist in a raid and revolution in the Transvaal; but, he added, the next time he would "do so legally."

He was then asked why he had not accepted the responsibility of coming to Dr. Jameson's assistance during the latter's trial, and he replied that his appearance would not have benefited Dr. Jameson, because he would have been obliged to say that he did not authorize the raid, adding: "I think it most unfortunate that the Cape Parliament's report on the raid was published. If I had been a jurymen I would have said that the man behind Jameson was the real author of the raid, and I would have dealt leniently with Jameson. I sent a telegram saying that if I could save Jameson a day's imprisonment by coming home I would do so."

When Mr. Rhodes was questioned on the financial feature of the raid he said he held from 40,000 to 50,000 shares of the South Africa Company, adding that he did not think the success of the raid would have increased the value of these shares in any way.

The examination of Mr. Rhodes was finished March 5. It developed that day that he had paid the fines, amounting to \$250,000, of the members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, convicted of conspiring to overthrow the Transvaal Government.

Mr. Rhodes, replying to questions, dwelt upon the relations between Germany and the Transvaal, which, he believed, indicated a mutual attempt to make a treaty. There was no revolutionary movement in Johannesburg, he said, until every effort to secure necessary reforms had failed.

Mr. Chamberlain brought testimony showing the alleged harshness of the Transvaal laws toward the Outlanders, and asked Mr. Rhodes if he thought the Government of the Transvaal was dangerous to the peace of South Africa.

Mr. Rhodes replied dryly:

"What do you think?"



W. Z. Schreiner, formerly Attorney General of the Cape Colony, testified that he very much doubted whether there were any steps which Mr. Rhodes could have taken that would have stopped the raid. The overthrow of the existing Government of the Transvaal Republic, he added, would greatly endanger the peace of South Africa. He had positive knowledge that the Transvaal Government was extremely anxious to observe their treaty obligations with England. He added that Mr. Rhodes, when Premier of Cape Colony, tried to delay the Cabinet's action in proclaiming the Government's repudiation of the raid, with the idea of gaining time to allow the Johannesburg insurgents to join the Jameson raiders before the former were aware of the Government's attitude, thus giving the raiders a better chance to reach their goal. He denied that the Boers were animated by hostility to Mr. Rhodes, and suggested that the disputed points of the London Convention might be arbitrated, to which Mr. Chamberlain retorted:

"I have never before heard a responsible person make such a suggestion to a paramount power."

Dr. Jameson read a statement before the committee, in which he referred to many conversations had with Mr. Rhodes, at the end of 1893, regarding the federation of South Africa and the obstacles presented by the Transvaal. He said:

"In the middle of 1894 Mr. Rhodes and John Hays Hammond (the American engineer) were with me in Matabeleland, when the position of the Transvaal and the grievances of the Outlanders were freely discussed. Mr. Hammond asserted that it was impossible for the economic conditions of the Rand to continue, and that unless a radical change was made there would be a rising of the people at Johannesburg. I was much impressed with Mr. Hammond's representations, and afterwards, in company with Mr. Hammond, I went to Johannesburg and Pretoria and verified the accuracy of his views. The result of these investigations was that the Chartered Company's police and volunteers were prepared, so that if a revolt occurred and help was needed we should be in a position to send it. Subsequently, in 1895, I revisited Johannesburg and found the people determined to bring matters to an issue. During the course of protracted conferences, the leaders informed me in regard to their plans and wishes. The first proposal was to act alone, but my troops were to be in readiness on the border in case they were needed. Later the leaders concluded

there was no hope of success without the help of an armed force, and they decided that the only way to obtain reforms was to change the administration of the Transvaal, and that the safest mode of effecting this would be to have a sufficient force at Johannesburg to induce President Kruger to take a plebiscite of the whole population to decide who was President. They, therefore, invited my help, and it was arranged to take my force to Johannesburg to maintain order and bring pressure to bear upon the Transvaal while the redress of the grievances was enforced by the people. I therefore obtained the letter signed by the four leaders, with which the committee is familiar, and it was agreed that simultaneously with the rising in Johannesburg, at the end of December, I was to start."

Dr. Jameson added that Rhodes agreed to these arrangements. Continuing, the statement dealt with the preparations to cross the frontier, the suspicions of the Boers, and the communications between Dr. Jameson and the leaders at Johannesburg, "who never intimated any intention of abandoning their determination of appealing to arms. Under my arrangements with the Johannesburgers I felt I had no alternative but to proceed, and I started the same day. No communication whatever was received from Mr. Rhodes or from any one at Cape Town authorizing or directing my force to move on Johannesburg. I acted entirely upon my own judgment. Major Heany did not bring me a message from Mr. Rhodes."

Dr. Jameson, answering a question, said he knew he had not done the right thing because he had not succeeded, adding that if he had succeeded he knew he would have been forgiven.

Colonel Francis Rhodes, brother of Cecil Rhodes, testified that he acted as agent for his brother at Johannesburg from the summer of 1895 until the Jameson raid. Both he and his brother, he added, had taken part in the agitation for redressing the grievances of the Outlanders. When funds were wanted for such or other purposes Colonel Rhodes drew on Mr. Rhodes through the British South Africa Company.

Sir John Willoughby, the military leader of the raid, who was released from Holloway Jail a few days previously, after serving a ten months' sentence for violating the Foreign Enlistment Act, was examined April 2.

On the refusal of the witness to divulge the nature of a confidential

communication made to the war office, Mr. Labouchere said: "If we cannot have this information this inquiry is a farce."

This exclamation aroused cries of "Order," but Mr. Labouchere continued: "It is hushing everybody up. I say so publicly. It is a waste of time to continue the committee."

After the reading, April 6, before the committee of a confidential correspondence between Sir John Willoughby, and General Sir Redvers Buller, the Adjutant General of the forces, the former having declared that he acted under orders, as Matabele administrator, in the bona fide belief that he had Imperial authority to do so, General Buller said that the War Office had duly considered the plea, but that Sir John Willoughby ought to have known that an order to attack a friendly state was *ultra vires*, besides which he had disregarded the order of the High Commissioner to retire from the Transvaal territory.

After this Sir William Vernon Harcourt examined Sir John Willoughby with the view of obtaining his reasons for believing he had Imperial authority for the raid, but the witness declined to say anything beyond admitting he had private talks with Dr. Jameson on the subject, which caused Sir William to exclaim:

"Then I must clear the room and settle this question once for all."

The room was thereupon cleared, and the committee entered into a private discussion. When the doors were reopened the chairman informed Sir John Willoughby that he must answer the questions, but he need not repeat Dr. Jameson's exact words. The witness, however, still declined to answer the questions, declared he was prepared to take the consequences of so doing, and showed no signs of yielding either to Sir William Harcourt's persuasion or to the kindly but stern admonitions of the chairman of the committee.

The sixteenth sitting of the committee was held April 9. Dr. Jameson arrived with Sir John Willoughby, and the former was placed in the witness box. The chairman explained to Dr. Jameson the circumstances of Sir John's refusal to divulge the subjects of the conversations regarding the raid, and Dr. Jameson said that if the committee had asked Sir John Willoughby to explain the circumstances under which a certain letter to the War Office was written, he would probably have given the whole story. The witness added:

"Sir John Willoughby and myself have reviewed our whole conver-

sation of those six months, and the evidence I have already given represents the true conclusion. Sir John Willoughby learned that under certain circumstances his officers would be deprived of their commissions, and he consulted me in regard to that fact. He afterward guaranteed them, rightly or wrongly, their commissions before they crossed the Transvaal frontier, and by my advice he sent a letter to the War Office with the view of saving his officers' careers from ruin. He wrote the letter in the strongest and shortest terms possible. Not as a self-justification, but, feeling it incumbent upon him to do something. I did not see the letter before it was sent; but when I ascertained its terms in the prison grounds at Holloway I objected to its wording."

Dr. Jameson was questioned by the chairman as to whether the Imperial authorities referred to meant those of the Cape or London, and witness replied that he had in mind mostly those of the Cape; but he was willing to admit that the officers "might have formed an exaggerated idea," and gathered more therefrom than he had intended to convey.

Dr. Jameson was interrogated as to Sir John Willoughby's guaranteeing the officers' commissions and admitted that he would have done the same, because he expected the affair to succeed, and was confident that in that case his countrymen would have forgiven him and would not have touched the officers' commissions.

Sir John Willoughby admitted that the letter was drafted by Mr. B. F. Hawkesley, the lawyer of the British South Africa Company, and said he supposed Dr. Jameson saw it before it was posted, and was horrified to discover he had not. He, the witness, knew perfectly well he could neither retain his own commission nor take it back.

Sir John Willoughby also said he did not defend the wording of the letter, and asserted that he could not give a better version than Dr. Jameson of the private conversations which had taken place between them, and admitted he was quite wrong in using the words "Imperial authorities."

During the course of his replies Dr. Jameson indignantly denied having told the officers that he had the Queen's Government at his back, asserting that it would have been "idiotic and absolutely untrue to say so."

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach interjected the remark that if Dr. Jameson had done wrong he had "been punished for doing so."

Later Sir John Willoughby said he gathered from his talks with Dr. Jameson that if he succeeded in entering Johannesburg the Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa would do the rest.

The next witness was Major Heany, American officer, who denied that message he took from the Reform Committee to Dr. Jameson, asking for a postponement of the latter's action, was submitted to or seen by Mr. Rhodes.

Dr. Wolf, formerly a member of the Johannesburg Reform Committee, was the next witness. He said he was desirous of having Dr. Jameson delay taking action, because the people of Johannesburg were not ready. Part of their plan, he added, was to seize the arsenal at Pretoria, and get a supply of arms and ammunition, which they badly needed. But, the witness continued, the Boers got wind of the plot.

Mr. Chamberlain made a statement, April 30, before the Parliamentary Committee, under oath, declaring explicitly that neither himself nor his colleagues at the Colonial Office had, until the day before the raid, the slightest suspicion of anything in the nature of an armed invasion of the Transvaal.

Mr. Rutherford Harris, counsel for the South Africa Company, then made a long statement detailing his connection with the movements in the Transvaal.

The Duke of Abercorn, president of the British South Africa Company, was examined. He asserted that the Board of Directors of the Company had no knowledge of the raid before it occurred, nor suspicion of any intention upon the part of any one to use the Company's forces against the Transvaal.

During the second day of his examination in refuting the suggestion of Mr. Labouchere, that the raid was engineered for stock-jobbing purposes, the Duke of Abercorn said he did not buy or sell a single share of the Company's stock during the last six months of 1895.

The Duke of Fife, son-in-law of the Prince of Wales, testified that he had no knowledge whatever of the raid before it occurred, nor had he any suspicion that the company's troops might be used any way in connection with the trouble at Johannesburg or elsewhere in the Transvaal. He admitted that he had sold 1,000 shares of the company's stock during the autumn of 1895. The price, he explained, was

then about £6 (\$30), but he failed to see what that had to do with the raid.

When asked if his sale of stock in the Autumn of 1895 had anything to do with fears of disturbances in the Transvaal, he replied: "Certainly not. I repudiate the idea with indignation. Lord Gifford explained that the enrollment of the Rhodesia Horse and the importation of arms was not connected with the Transvaal. I had no suspicions that Mr. Rhodes was financing a revolution until after the raid."

Sir Horace Farquhar, Bart., a director of the company and Member of Parliament for West Marylebone, said he sold 500 shares of the company's stock in 1895; but, he explained, the raid could not be connected with the market, because the directors were absolutely ignorant of it.

Another director, Mr. Cawston, indorsed the statement of the Duke of Abercorn and the Duke of Fife. He admitted having sold 3,000 shares of the company's stock at the end of 1895; but he claimed this was an ordinary commercial transaction.

Mr. Chamberlain testified that he was convinced Mr. Harris had not said to him that a force of the British South Africa Company's troops would be on the border ready to assist the Outlanders if an uprising occurred at Johannesburg. Such a statement, added Mr. Chamberlain, would have aroused his attention at once. Mr. Chamberlain also said he had never heard from Mr. Harris any allusion which could arouse suspicion.

Referring to the supposed incriminating telegrams which Mr. B. F. Hawkesley, counsel for Mr. Rhodes, showed the officials of the Colonial Office, Mr. Chamberlain said that when he returned them to Mr. Hawkesley the latter distinctly remarked that he had no objection to their publication.

Touching on the subject of the raid itself, Mr. Chamberlain said the moment a suggestion was brought to his notice he cabled to Cape Town, telling the Governor of Cape Colony to warn Mr. Rhodes, who was then Premier of Cape Colony. Mr. Chamberlain explained that nobody, however unfriendly, would believe that he (Mr. Chamberlain) had any knowledge of the raid or of the preparations for the raid, in view of the fact that when suspicion was aroused he had not lost an instant in taking every possible means to defeat it.

Here Mr. Labouchere asked Mr. Chamberlain whether he would

like the missing telegrams to appear, to which the Secretary of State for the Colonies replied :

“I have already said I would.”

“Would you apply to Mr. Rhodes?” Mr. Labouchere asked.

“I do not think I have any right to make such an appeal,” answered Mr. Chamberlain, “but I have not the least objection to doing so.”

Lord Selborne, the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and son-in-law of the Marquis of Salisbury, testified June 4 to the effect that the Colonial Office had absolutely no hint of Dr. Jameson's plans, which statement was followed by brief speeches from counsel.

At the committee's session, July 2, four telegrams exchanged between Miss Flora Shaw, the colonial editor of the Times, and Cecil Rhodes were produced. The first from Miss Shaw asked for the date of the commencement of the plans, owing to the necessity of instructing European correspondents of the London Times, so that they might use their influence in favor of Mr. Rhodes. The second dispatch pointed out the danger of delay, as the European situation was considered serious, and a protest from the other powers might paralyze the Government. The third message says Mr. Chamberlain “is sound in case of the interference of European powers. But have special reason to believe he wishes you to act immediately.”

A dispatch from Mr. Rhodes to Miss Shaw read :

“Inform Mr. Chamberlain I shall get through all right if he supports me. But he must not send cables like the one sent to the High Commissioner. I'll win and South Africa will belong to England.”

Miss Shaw testified that the first telegram was sent on her own responsibility and that its contents were unknown to the editor of the Times for some weeks afterward. She denied having ever given information to the Colonial Office regarding Mr. Rhodes' plans, and said she had never received any information from the Colonial Office.

As to the cable message saying Mr. Chamberlain was “sound,” Miss Shaw explained that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had publicly declared his attitude on the subject of South Africa.

Mr. Chamberlain, replying to a question of the chairman, said :

“There has been so much baseless chattering that I had better state exactly what happened at the Colonial Office. In discussing the possibility of an uprising, Under Secretary Fairfield remarked: ‘If the Johannesburgers are going to rise, it is to be hoped that they will do

it soon; having special knowledge of the subject.' I think this remark gave the ground for saying it was wished the rising would occur immediately."

Answering a question relative to Mr. Fairfield's remark, Mr. Chamberlain said it was a "casual observation," and, he added, it was possible Mr. Fairfield was laughing at Miss Shaw.

The reports of the Parliamentary Committee were agreed to in the middle of July, 1897. The majority report expressed the opinion that, whatever justification there might have been for the action on the part of the people of Johannesburg, there was none whatever for Mr. Rhodes' conduct in subsidizing, organizing, and stimulating an armed insurrection against the Government of the Transvaal.

A heavy responsibility, the report added, remained with Mr. Rhodes, in spite of the fact that, at the last moment Dr. Jameson invaded the Transvaal without Mr. Rhodes' direct sanction. The committee found "that he seriously embarrassed both the Imperial and Colonial Governments; that his proceedings resulted in an astounding breach of international comity; that he utilized his position and the great interests he controlled in order to assist and support revolution, and deceived the High Commissioner, as well as concealed his views from the members of the Colonial Ministry and the directors of the Chartered Company."

The committee was also of the opinion that of the South Africa Company's directors who were examined, only Mr. Beit and Mr. Maguire were cognizant of the plans of Mr. Rhodes, and as Mr. Beit was intrusted with the money to promote a revolutionary movement, shared the full responsibility for the consequences.

In conclusion, the committee united in condemning the raid, but at the same time expressed the opinion that nothing would be gained by proceeding with the proposed extension of inquiry into the administration of the South Africa Company. It declared the Governor of Cape Colony and Mr. Chamberlain and the Under Secretaries of the Colonial Office blameless, taking the ground that there was no evidence that any one of them was cognizant of the plans for the raid. But the committee pronounced Sir Graham Bower guilty of a grave dereliction of duty in failing to decline to receive from Mr. Rhodes confidential communications wholly incompatible with the duty he owed the High Commissioner, whose secretary he was.

A minority report presented by Mr. Labouchere found that the plan



for the raid was concocted by Mr. Beit and Mr. Rhodes, and that Messrs. Phillips, Hammond, Colonel Rhodes (Cecil Rhodes' brother), and Leonard, sought to carry it through.

According to Mr. Labouchere, the raid was devised in order that certain wealthy men might become more wealthy.

"Rhodes," continued the minority report, "may possibly be influenced to a certain extent by a vague and hazy idea of a vast African federation under the British flag, in which he would play the leading part, but he was also influenced and is influenced by financial consideration."

The minority report concluded as follows:

"We regret that the alleged complicity of the Colonial Office has not been probed to the bottom in order the more effectually to remove any idea that there may have been some truth in the statements of certain witnesses that the secret aims of Mr. Rhodes were more or less clearly revealed to Mr. Chamberlain."

The House of Commons was crowded July 26, in expectation of a spirited debate on the majority report of the South Africa Committee. The Peeresses' Gallery and the Ladies' Gallery were crowded with well-known women.

The Honorable Phillip James Stanhope, Liberal, Member for Burnley, moved, amid loud cheers, a resolution that the House regretted the inconclusive character of the report, more particularly its failure to recommend that specific steps be taken with regard to the admitted complicity of Mr. Rhodes, and asking that Mr. Hawkesley, the attorney of Mr. Rhodes, be ordered to attend at the bar of the House, and to produce the telegrams which he refused to show the committee.

Mr. Stanhope attacked the South Africa Company, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Rhodes, and expressed a desire that the latter should be deposed from his membership in the Privy Council. He also argued that the charter of the company should be materially modified, which was done as we have shown in a previous chapter.

Mr. Labouchere spoke in the same strain, saying he thought that if Canada should be raided by the Secretary of State of United States without the assent of the President, Great Britain would not be satisfied if the Secretary of State were treated as Mr. Rhodes had been.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach remarked the Government would have to consider whether Mr. Rhodes should remain in the Privy Council. But

in dealing with him it must take into consideration the services he had rendered. All the damaging rumors alleging complicity on the part of the Colonial Office, the speaker pointed out, had been exploded as fast as they had been presented.

The Liberal leader, Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, defended the committee. He said he thought the majority report conclusive on all important points, strongly defended Mr. Chamberlain, and declared that his action at the time the raid occurred disproved all insinuations of complicity. The speaker added that the charges that the committee had plotted to suppress certain evidence were worthy only of contempt. Sir William also expressed the hope that he would not live to see the day when a majority of the House should declare by vote that they did not trust the word of its statesmen.

Mr. Chamberlain announced that he was glad to be able to say that the position of South Africa was better than it had been at any time since the raid, and, he added, President Kruger was desirous of meeting the Government in a proper spirit. He also believed that the time was not far distant when Rhodesia would have self-government.

Continuing, Mr. Chamberlain announced that the charter of the South Africa Company would not be revoked, but that means would be taken to strengthen the directorate so as to secure more direct Imperial control of Rhodesia.

A vote was then taken and Mr. Stanhope's motion was lost—304 to 77.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### GLIDING TOWARDS WAR.

We must now glance backward. Cape Colony in August, 1898, was in the throes of an exciting political struggle between the Progressives, headed by Cecil Rhodes, and the Afrikaner Bund, largely composed of Boers, headed by Dr. Hofmeyer, who was backed by President Kruger. Mr. Rhodes was fighting to regain the power he had lost by the Jameson raid, and he worked vigorously, contrary to his pronounced principles. It was said that he would probably not take the Premiership if the Progressives won, but would be a Member of the Assembly and be the power behind the throne and carry out his South Africa Imperial schemes, which were thwarted by President Kruger.

Charges were made against President Kruger of sending money to help the Afrikaner Bund party. Personalities were rampant, and the air was thick with the most serious allegations.

Eventually, September 1, 1898, Rhodes was elected to the Cape Assembly from Barkley West, much to the disgust of the Boers.

Private advices from the Transvaal to people in London having large interests there indicated that serious trouble with Great Britain was brewing, while at Johannesburg considerable commercial distress prevailed.

The Transvaal Government at about this time was mounting guns at Johannesburg and conveying Maxims, shells, rifles and cartridges to that point. Eight railroad cars loaded with war material were paraded through the streets of Johannesburg and carried under escort of an artillery detachment to the fort on the hill outside the town.

A dispatch from Berlin, some time later, said it was believed there that Dr. Leyds, the European representative of the South African Republic, had succeeded in raising a loan of £6,000,000 (\$30,000,000) in behalf of the Transvaal Government.

Johannesburg, in December, 1898, was seething with discontent, as on the eve of the Jameson raid, in consequence of proposed Government measures which the Outlanders regarded as being a "fresh series of impositions." In addition, racial animosity was intensifying at the vexatious treatment of the British Indian and Cape "boys."

There was a serious development when a Boer policeman, in December, murdered an Englishman named Edgar, entering the latter's house and shooting him. The policeman was arrested upon the charge of murder, but the following day the charge was reduced to one of manslaughter, and the policeman was allowed his liberty on bail. The British Diplomatic Agent at Pretoria demanded a restitution of the charge of murder, and a mass meeting, which was attended by 5,000 Outlanders, was held at Johannesburg to protest against the murder of Edgar and to present the British Consul with a strongly worded petition to the Queen, reciting the wrongs of the Outlanders and appealing for protection in such steps as may be found necessary to "terminate the existing intolerable state of affairs." There were no speeches owing to the laws prohibiting political gatherings, but the demonstration was very impressive. The petition was presented to the Consul on the balcony of the Consulate, the whole multitude signifying assent by uplifting their hands. References to the Boer policeman elicited shouts of "Lynch him." The meeting, however, was peaceful with the exception of a slight affray with the police at its conclusion.

The Rand Post, the Boer organ of Johannesburg, discussed the prospect of war with Great Britain and advised that on the first British advance the women and children at Johannesburg be given twenty-four hours to leave and that the whole place be razed and that "the perpetrators of these turbulent proceedings, if caught, should be thrown into the deep shafts of their mines, with the debris of their machinery for costly shrouds," and adding that "the whole of Johannesburg will exult if the Afrikander Ward is converted into a gigantic rubbish heap, as a mighty tombstone for the shot-down authors of the monstrous deed."

The Pretoria Volkstein suggested that January 2 be observed as "Jameson Day," and that Dr. Jameson be burned in effigy.

Another issue of the Rand Post contained further inflammatory articles. The paper called the Outlanders' proceedings "a rebellious plot against the existence of the Republic," and styled the petition "a lying and libelous document compiled in conjunction with the British Agent's office." It suggested that if a couple of wire-pullers were shot it would avert a formal war, and said that Great Britain should be requested to appoint a new Consular staff "failing of immediate compliance with which request, the exequaturs of the members of the present staff would be withdrawn."

The British Consul at Johannesburg said that the Outlanders' demonstration impressed him as based upon deep public feeling, while the deputation which presented the petition was, to his personal knowledge, composed of men of high character and standing.

The correspondent of a London newspaper at Johannesburg cabled:

"Signs are multiplying that the Outlander sentiment has been aroused to the point of asserting claims of justice. The ex-reform leaders are debarred, under pain of banishment, from interfering in politics, but they declare that despite the Pretoria terrorism, they will not keep silence much longer. The present temper of the community is such that opposing demonstrations will almost inevitably be followed by serious riots.

"I learn on high authority that during the negotiations at Pretoria regarding Saturday's demonstration, the British Agent carefully avoided any admission that the British Government assented to the Public Meetings Act. He even suggested that Great Britain might test the legality of that measure under the London Convention.

"The present position has aroused the deepest public excitement known since the Jameson raid, and it is plain that something must be done quickly to terminate a humiliating and intolerable situation.

"President Kruger, in the course of an interview, asserted that he deprecated the warlike articles published by the Rand Post, and declared that he would prohibit the proposed anti-Jameson demonstration."

The British Agent at Pretoria, Mr. Conyngham Greene, declined to forward the petition of the Outlanders appealing to Queen Victoria for protection. He based his refusal on the ground that the Transvaal Government was attending to the grievances described in the petition.

A prominent Outlander said:

"The logic of events is driving England towards interfering in the Transvaal, even more strongly than the United States were driven to intervene in Cuba. President Kruger has become very friendly to England since he lost his brief hope of German support kindled by Emperor William's telegram. He is probably an honest fanatic, but he is in the hands of a ring, all rich, whose object is to squeeze as much as possible out of the foreigners."

There was a panic in Pretoria, January 1, 1899, arising out of rumors that the Krugersdorp burghers contemplated an invasion and

intended to burn Dr. Jameson in effigy. The Transvaal troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and the guards at the Presidency were trebled; but nothing happened.

A public meeting of the British residents of Johannesburg was held January 14, 1899, with the object of ventilating their grievances. A large crowd of burghers and Afrikanders were present and the attempt to read the formulated petition to the Queen was the signal for a great uproar. A free fight ensued in which chairs, benches and tables were broken and the pieces used as weapons. The fighting then became general. The Boers, who had occupied the building an hour before the commencement of the meeting, threw boxes, chairs and tables from the galleries upon the Outlanders in the arena. The whole interior was wrecked, the police remained passive spectators, and the wreckage made a huge pile on the main floor of the hall. At one stage of the fighting, it was asserted, the police caught a young Boer trying to set fire to the debris, but they are said to have liberated him after a mild rebuke.

At this point, said a correspondent who was present, a fresh contingent of Boers invaded the hall, flourishing sticks and bars of iron and attacking every Outlander they came across unarmed. The Outlanders made for the door, escaping after a terrible scuffle, in which many were injured. Outside the hall they formed up, waiting for a further attack.

The Boers then held a mass meeting inside, wrecked the hall, emerged, and marched to the police barracks, cheering the Government and hooting the Outlanders. Huge crowds thronged the streets throughout the night.

Many scenes of violence occurred in the streets after the meeting and matters began to look ugly, when the Police Commandant persuaded the Boers to depart, the English remaining behind and singing their national anthem.

Two Englishmen who were arrested after the meeting for disturbing the peace were ultimately released.

President Kruger and the Boer authorities were said to be greatly annoyed, because the President had promised to permit the meeting, if conducted in an orderly fashion.

The Government of the Transvaal, May 4, 1899, issued the official correspondence with Great Britain in reference to the dynamite concession to German firms, which Mr. Chamberlain protested was a

breach of the convention between the Transvaal and Great Britain. Replying to this protest, the Transvaal repudiated the idea that the concession was a breach of the Convention, and declared that Great Britain was not justified in protesting against it. It was added that the Republic itself was the best judge of its own interests.

Nine thousand Outlanders, composed of British, Americans, Germans, French, Dutch and others, petitioned the Transvaal Government to ignore the Outlander petition, which by that time had been sent to Queen Victoria through Sir Alfred Milner, Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa. These latest petitioners declared that the original Outlander petition was the "work of capitalists, the attainment of whose wishes would be detrimental to the public, who are perfectly satisfied with the existing administration."

The state of mutual suspicion between Great Britain and the Transvaal was intensified by the dynamite question, the continued refusal of the Transvaal Government to redress the alleged grievances of the Outlanders, the agitation of the Outlanders, and the reassertion of British suzerainty, made the war clouds grow blacker and blacker.

The *Morning Post*, of London, referring to the official correspondence of the dynamite concession, said that President Kruger had "clearly reached the end of his tether" and that he must "disavow and withdraw the Transvaal's reply to Mr. Chamberlain's protest or the suzerain state must dictate to the vassal state the rights that suzerainty confers."

Then came a proposal for a meeting between President Kruger and the British High Commissioner, to which the Volksraad gave its approval, the general opinion being that the meeting would clear the air of most of the existing political troubles.

The arrest at Johannesburg, May 16, 1899, of eight alleged former British officers on the charge of high treason had caused intense excitement in Pretoria, to which city the prisoners were brought by a special train. After they had been lodged in jail they were visited by the British Diplomatic Agent.

The arrests were effected by a detective who joined the movement, which, it is asserted, was for the purpose of enrolling men in order to cause an outbreak of rebellion. Incriminating documents were found upon the prisoners.

The men arrested were said to be Captain Patterson, formerly of

the Lancers; Colonel R. F. Nicholls, Lieutenant E. J. Tremlett, Lieutenant C. A. Ellis, lately a detective at Johannesburg; Lieutenant John Allen Mitchell, formerly of the Horse Artillery; ex-Sergeants J. Fries, R. P. Hooper, and Nichols. None of them had been in the employ of the British South Africa Company. It was said that the Commissioner of Police, who had the affair in hand, had been working up the case for four months.

The Executive of the Transvaal sat in secret session that evening to consider the arrests, and during the afternoon the British Agent had an interview with President Kruger and expressed regret that men who had worn the Queen's uniform should be concerned in such a movement. President Kruger replied that he would not believe that the men were British officers until it had been proved, adding that he hoped the affair would not interfere with the proposed meeting between himself and Sir Alfred Milner.

The eight alleged revolutionists were arraigned in court at Pretoria, May 17, of that year, were charged with the capital offense of high treason and were remanded.

Sworn affidavits showed that two thousand men had been enrolled for military service, and that it was intended to arm them in Natal, to return them to the Rand and at a given signal to seize and hold the fort of Johannesburg for twenty-four hours, pending the arrival of British troops.

Later the charges against some of the prisoners were withdrawn and others of the party were committed for trial. Still later all the prisoners were discharged.

Mr. Rhodes, who was in London at the time the arrests were made, said he had heard nothing regarding the arrests made at Johannesburg, and he knew nothing about the reason for which they were made.

Mr. Chamberlain the same evening said he had heard nothing officially regarding the arrests, and did not think that "too serious a significance ought to be attached to them." No information had reached him from South Africa, he asserted, that could lead him in any way to anticipate or to explain the arrests.

The news caused considerable excitement among the Members of the House of Commons.

President Kruger's reform proposals were presented to the Volksraad May 18. They suggested that the franchise be conferred on aliens



five years after eligibility to the Second Raad, instead of ten years after such eligibility, thus making a nine years' residence in the Transvaal necessary to qualify for the full franchise.

In the House of Commons, May 19, Mr. Chamberlain gave the names and identity of the men arrested at Johannesburg. All of them, excepting Tremlett and Fries, were formerly non-commissioned officers in the British Army. He added that President Kruger had informed the British Agent at Pretoria that there was no proof that the prisoners were British officers, and that in any case the incident would not be allowed to disturb the friendly relations existing.

The Johannesburg correspondent of the London Morning Post said that facts had arisen since the arrests of the "former British officers" on charge of conspiracy to promote a rising in the Transvaal, left no doubt that the alleged plot was "engineered by Boer officials to divert attention from the real demands of the Outlanders."

The Volksraad, May 19, adopted a resolution cancelling the burgher rights that were granted in return for services rendered to the Transvaal Government at the time of the Jameson raid. This act was the cause of much ill-feeling among the Outlanders.

But it did not improve the situation.

After months of diplomatic sparring at long range President Kruger and the British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, met at Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, May 21, and parted June 6, after discussing the situation thoroughly, but with no result. On the contrary, it was said the conference was eminently unsatisfactory.

An official summary of the meeting, from a Boer source, said President Kruger offered important concessions, but made them contingent upon the British acceptance of the principle of arbitration in regard to the difference existing between Great Britain and the Transvaal. This Great Britain had heretofore invariably refused on the ground that it would be acknowledging the equality of the two countries.

President Kruger, it was added, proposed that a sojourn of two years be necessary for naturalization, and that the full franchise be acquired five years later, coupled with property and other qualifications.

The High Commissioner of Great Britain regarded this proposal as insufficient, and made a counter proposal.

Finally, it was asserted, President Kruger intended to submit both

proposals to the Volksraad, subject to the favorable decision of Great Britain relative to arbitration.

From that time on events moved rapidly towards war.

Long before this, however, the Johannesburg Volksraad adopted a new High Court law, by which any judgment of the High Court can be annulled by the Volksraad, rendering, it was claimed, all contracts and concessions unsafe, which caused a further stir among the Outlanders. The question arose out of a dispute between an American engineer, R. E. Brown, and the Transvaal Government, with reference to a mining claim which Brown had pegged out. The Volksraad, at the instance of the Transvaal Government, passed a law nullifying his claim. This law was decided by the High Court to be contrary to the Constitution, and Brown, who had sued the Government for a declaration of rights in his favor, or, in default, demanded \$5,000,000, won his suit.

The attorney-general said that the new law would enable the Volksraad to confiscate property without compensation, a statement which caused consternation in the Rand and excited the mining market.

On the Stock Exchange in London frightened holders of various stocks threw their shares on the market and heavy declines ensued. The British newspapers loudly denounced the law as intended to enable the President to "put the screws" on the Rand in the event of a refusal of the British Government to pay the indemnity demanded by the Transvaal for the Jameson raid. The papers also pointed out as significant, in view of the belief that the new Rand law violated the London convention, that a battalion of the Suffolk Regiment, numbering 750 men, had been ordered to leave England for the Cape immediately. This was Great Britain's first real step in a warlike direction. But the Transvaal had already acted.

At a meeting, May 15, 1899, of the Boer commandants on the western border of the Transvaal, instructions were issued to the burghers to prepare to take the field at a moment's notice from Pretoria.

At about this time Great Britain took her second warlike step. The British transport *Avoca*, with 500 time-expired men on board, was due to leave Simons Town, near Cape Town, May 17, but she was ordered to remain there for the present. This order was given on the strength of the first exaggerated reports of the arrests in the Trans-

vaal. The furloughs of some British officers who were about to start from Cape Town for England were stopped.

It was announced from Berlin, June 11, that the idea of having the United States mediate between Great Britain and the South African Republic was being favorably discussed in important commercial circles there. It was pointed out that no power stood so close to Great Britain as the United States; while, at the same time, the fact that the republican form of government prevailed in the United States would make Washington's mediation especially acceptable to the Boers. It was also thought that the prominent social and political position occupied by the descendants of the old Knickerbocker Dutch on the East of the Union would be regarded by the Boers as a factor recommending to them the friendly intervention of the United States as an arbiter.

Nothing came of this, except the warm endorsement of such arbitration by some of the prominent American newspapers.

The Cape Colony Cabinet, June 13, addressed a remonstrance to the Imperial Government arguing that it would be inadvisable to exert immediate pressure upon the Transvaal, and expressing a desire that President Kruger be allowed time to reconsider the position. The Cabinet also pleaded that the Boers in Cape Colony would become intractable if extreme measures were taken.

In the House of Commons, June 13, Mr. Chamberlain admitted the Government had received information that the Transvaal Government was distributing arms and ammunition among the Boers in the British Colony of Natal and arming its own subjects against Great Britain.

Replying to Mr. Labouchere, who asked whether President Kruger's request for arbitration by other than foreign powers on all points of future difference had been refused by Sir Alfred Milner at the Bloemfontein conference, Mr. Chamberlain said the High Commissioner had been somewhat misreported. Sir Alfred, he explained, had distinctly refused to arbitrate all questions, but had said there might be some susceptible of agreement in that way, though not by arbitration of a foreign power. The Colonial Secretary also said that since the Bloemfontein conference President Kruger had submitted a proposal contemplating that the president of the Arbitration Board should be a foreigner.

A British Blue Book issued June 13 contained the reply of Mr.

Chamberlain to the petition of the Outlanders to the British Government, which was mailed from the Cape, May 10. It showed that Mr. Chamberlain freely admitted that there were substantial grounds for the complaints embodied in the petition, which he discussed at length, emphasizing those affecting the personal rights of the Outlanders, which infringe the spirit, he said, if not the letter, of the London Convention. Great Britain, continued Mr. Chamberlain, was not willing to depart from her attitude of reserve, but "cannot permanently ignore the arbitrary treatment of the Outlanders and the indifference of the Republic to her friendly representations."

Next, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out a policy, which, he claimed, would remove all pretext for intervention, and suggested another conference between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger, in which Sir Alfred would have a free hand. Mr. Chamberlain, however, laid stress on the question of the franchise in the Transvaal, and instructed the British representative to the effect that, if his suggestions on this point were not fairly received by the Boers, he need not urge any further discussion.

The Volksraad, June 14, resolved to accept President Kruger's franchise proposals, and refer them to the people before putting them into operation.

In thanking the Volksraad, President Kruger said that in these troublous times they could not know what was going to happen. Great Britain had not made even one little concession, and he could not give more. The President then reminded the Raad that God had always stood by them. War, he added, he did not want, but he would not relinquish any more.

In conclusion President Kruger called all to witness that though their independence had once been removed, God had restored it.

Then both sides began to prepare for war in real earnest.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE LAST STRAW.

In July and August, of this year, the swords of the Boers and Britishers were still sheathed, but the dogs of war were howling fiercely in their kennels and tugging at the diplomatic chains which alone prevented them from flying at each other's throats. Near their respective kennels stood Oom Paul and "Pushful Joe" Chamberlain, glaring at each other, figuratively speaking, across the thousands of miles of space.

Mr. Chamberlain, having harped for years on the franchise question in the Transvaal, President Kruger, in order to avoid a deadly struggle, if possible, resolved to make another move in the direction of franchise reform, while the fieldcornets (equal in rank to a captain in other armies) were busily at work distributing Mauser rifles to the burghers and teaching them how to handle those weapons in place of the Martini rifles, which the Boers had previously used with so much success against the British.

The First and Second Volksraads met in secret session at Pretoria, July 17, and discussed the advisability of passing a law entitling Outlanders to burghership after seven years' residence in the Transvaal, as a prospective solution of the difficulties.

At the same time Herr Fischer, a special representative of the Orange Free State, went to Pretoria for the purpose of offering suggestions upon the part of the Government for the preservation of peace. Later, Herr Hofmeyer, the leader of the Afrikander Bund, or native South African party, joined the conference.

The Transvaal Parliament decided, after deliberation, to grant a seven years' franchise law. And, July 16, the Volksraad formally adopted the seven years' franchise proposition.

The trend of the franchise debate in the Volksraad favored seven years' retrospective and prospective franchises.

Replying to a question, President Kruger reviewed the Bloemfontein conference, and said that the proposals of Sir Alfred Milner were too wide, but that alteration from nine to seven years was only a slight difference; and for reasons of honesty and righteousness he

(President Kruger) recommended the alteration, which would meet the British objections. The country, he added, would not be endangered thereby, but would gain the applause of the world.

But Mr. Chamberlain, when the action of the Volksraad became known, said, in the House of Commons, that the mere granting of a seven years' franchise law would not settle the franchise crisis. It was evident that a struggle would take place on the question of guarantees and that one of the guarantees would be an understanding not to initiate legislation altering the franchises and representation laws without previous notice to the "paramount power."

Mr. Chamberlain then proposed the appointment of a joint commission of enquiry to examine into the effects which the franchise proposals of the Transvaal would have upon the Outlander population which was "taken into consideration" at Pretoria.

The Volksraad, August 8, in the midst of a scene of the wildest enthusiasm and acclamation, passed an amendment to the Constitution empowering the Government of the Republic in the event of war to call out every inhabitant, without distinction, to assist in the defense of the State. From that time on, the Boers began to arm in real earnest and prepared to take the field. Immense stores of small arms, guns, ammunition and other war supplies had, in the meantime, quietly been purchased in Europe and eventually the Transvaal was almost as ready for war as any of the European powers, if not more so.

The Government of the Transvaal, after considering Mr. Chamberlain's proposition for the appointment of a commission of enquiry sent a reply, carefully worded, which meant nothing less than a diplomatic refusal to allow Great Britain to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, though, to avoid war, it was added, the Transvaal might make further franchise concessions if Great Britain allowed the question of suzerainty to drop, tacitly, and if Great Britain would agree to arbitration of the disputes between the two countries. These were not the phrases used. But it was what the Transvaal intended to convey to the minds of the British statesmen.

The British Foreign Office, August 25, issued a new Transvaal Blue Book, containing further correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the High Commissioner for South Africa.

The principal dispatches dealt with the Transvaal dispatch suggest-

ing arbitration, which was refused by Great Britain, and Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion for a joint inquiry.

Sir Alfred Milner transmitted the Transvaal proposal on June 14, and recommended its immediate rejection, as, he said, it would raise more questions than it would solve. In defending his recommendation the High Commissioner insisted that a redress of the grievances of the Outlanders stood at the head of the programme, and that nothing else could be considered until that point was settled.

Mr. Chamberlain, in replying, endorsed Sir Alfred Milner's views and reviewed the situation resulting in the treatment to which the Outlanders are now subjected. His reply concluded with the proposal of a joint commission of enquiry, already referred to.

The British Diplomatic Agent at Pretoria, August 30, handed to the Secretary of State, the reply of the British Government to the Transvaal's "alternative proposals" to the joint commission suggested by Great Britain. The Agent afterwards had a long audience of the State officials.

The entire correspondence between the Imperial and Transvaal Governments was read in an open session of the Volksraad, August 31, and President Kruger asked the Raad to meet secretly the same night to consider a reply.

The President again claimed that in the Convention of 1881 the suzerainty of Great Britain was distinctly stated. But, he added, there was no mention of it in the Convention of 1884.

A member of the Executive Council explained that when the Transvaal's reply to the joint commission proposal was ready the state attorney interviewed the British Agent, in consequence of which it was held by the Boers that Mr. Chamberlain's dispatch was no reply to theirs.

The last Transvaal note to Great Britain offered five years' franchise and other concessions and was strongly worded. It explained that the concessions were made with a sincere desire to settle all differences fully, to put an end to strained relations and to avert a disastrous war. A prompt answer was requested.

The note of the Diplomatic Agent in reply was conciliatory and was tantamount to an acceptance of the five years' offer. It agreed to waive the suggested commission of enquiry, provided a representative, to be appointed by Sir Alfred Milner, should have facilities given to him in Pretoria to make an investigation of the franchise question, and

provided the report of such representative should prove satisfactory. Otherwise the Transvaal Government was requested to await further suggestions from the Imperial Government before submitting new proposals to the Volksraad.

The Agent's notes, in conclusion, suggested a conference at Cape Town.

Orders were issued September 1 to the Boer commanders and field-cornets to hold themselves in readiness in the event of an outbreak of hostilities.

Mr. Chamberlain, September 1, issued the text of the Transvaal dispatches of August 19 and 21 and of the reply of the Imperial Government on August 28. The publication was accompanied by a note emphasizing the advisability of making the correct version known, "owing to the fact that an incorrect version had been published in Pretoria."

The Transvaal dispatch of August 19, it was thus shown, contained the proposals regarding the franchise, which were based upon the assumption that Great Britain would agree that "the present intervention does not constitute a precedent" and would allow the suzerainty question to drop. The dispatch of August 21 made the proposed concessions expressly conditional upon Great Britain's understanding not to interfere in the future affairs of the Transvaal; not to insist upon a further assertion of the existence of suzerainty and to agree to arbitration, as we have already outlined.

The reply of the British Government, dated August 28, declared that Great Britain considered that the proposal put forward as alternative to those of July 31 assumed the adoption in principle of a franchise which would not be hampered by conditions impairing its usefulness, and which would secure immediate representation.

Regarding intervention, the British notes said that the Government could not debar itself from rights under the Convention, nor divest itself of the obligations of a civilized power to protect its subjects abroad from injustice.

The British notes concluded with reminding the Transvaal that other matters existed which the grant of a political franchise would not settle, and which were not proper subjects for arbitration. These, this note declared, it would be necessary to settle concurrently with the questions already under discussion, and they would form, with the



question of arbitration, proper subjects for the proposed conference at Cape Town.

While these notes were being exchanged the Boer and British forces were being moved towards the frontiers.

At Pretoria, September 7, great excitement was caused by an interpellation of the Government in the First Volksraad regarding the presence of British troops on the border and the stoppage of ammunition at Delagoa Bay, consigned to the Transvaal. President Kruger, and most of the principal officials were present. The State Secretary said he had called the previous day on the British Agent and asked him what reply the Government could give in the Volksraad regarding the alleged massing of British troops on the borders, and whether Mr. Greene would communicate on the subject with the British High Commissioner. The reply from the Agent, he continued, had been received that morning and was in the following terms:

“Dear Mr. Reitz:

“The following is Sir Alfred Milner’s reply to the telegram, which I sent him at your request:

“I do not know to what Mr. Reitz refers when he alludes to the massing of the troops. This must be the British troops in South Africa, the position and numbers of which are no secret; but it is a matter of common knowledge that they are here in order to protect British interests and to make provision against eventualities.’”

This gave rise to violent speeches in the Raad, after President Kruger arose and said:

“The aliens have been offered equal rights with burghers, but have refused them. Mr. Chamberlain is striving to get the franchise which the Outlanders do not want; but, what he really desires is possession of the Transvaal. The burghers are willing to concede much for the sake of peace, but will never sacrifice their independence.”

All the Transvaal artillery was then called out and the burghers received notice to be ready for war.

The next day 800 Boers who had left Pretoria for Standerton pushed on to Volkslust, close to the Natal border, where they camped, awaiting results.

The last British note, which was read in both Raads, September 12, was regarded at Pretoria as an ultimatum. It proposed a five years’ franchise, a quarter representation for the goldfields in the Volksraad,

equality for the British and Dutch in the Volksraad, and equality for the old and new burghers in regard to Presidential and other elections. If these conditions were accepted a conference between representatives of the two governments was to follow, at Cape Town, "for the purpose of drafting the necessary measures and of avoiding the introduction of unnecessary conditions by the Transvaal Government or the possibility of the passage of any new bills calculated to defeat the reforms."

"In view of the fact," the note then said, "that the present state of affairs in South Africa cannot be prolonged, the definite acceptance of this proposal is demanded without delay; otherwise Her Majesty's Government will immediately take the whole situation under consideration, and will act so to bring about a settlement."

The reply of the Transvaal, published September 18, after acknowledging the receipt of the British note, said, in part:

"The Government deeply regrets the withdrawal, as the Government understands it, of the invitation contained in the British dispatch of August 23 and the substitution in place thereof of an entirely new proposal.

"The proposals, now fallen through, contained in the Transvaal dispatches of August 19 and August 21, were elicited from the Government by suggestions made by the British Diplomatic Agent in Pretoria (Mr. Conyngham Greene) to the Transvaal State Secretary (Mr. F. W. Reitz), suggestions which this Government acted upon in good faith and after specially ascertaining whether they would be likely to prove acceptable to the British Government. This Government had by no means an intention to raise again needlessly the question of its political status, but acted with the sole object of endeavoring by the aid of the local British Agent to put an end to the strained condition of affairs.

"This was done in the shape of a proposal which this Government deems, both as regards its spirit and form, to be so worded as relying upon intimations to this Government would satisfy Her Majesty's Government. This Government saw a difficulty as to the acceptance of those proposals by the people and legislature of the Transvaal and also contemplated possible dangers connected therewith, but risked making them on account of a sincere desire to secure peace, and because assured by Mr. Chamberlain that such proposals would not be deemed a refusal of his proposals, but would be settled on their merits.

“As regards the joint commission, the Transvaal adheres to the acceptance of the invitation thereunto given by Her Majesty’s Government, and cannot understand why such commission, which before was deemed necessary to explain the complicated details of the seven years’ law, should now be deemed unnecessary, and why it should now, without such inquiry, be thought possible to declare this law inadequate.

“Further, there must be a misapprehension if it be assumed that this Government was prepared to lay proposals for a five years’ franchise and a quarter representation of the new population before the Volksraad for unconditional acceptance. As to the language this Government made no offer, such as referred to, considering as it did, such a measure both unnecessary and undesirable.

“The proposed conference, as distinct from the joint commission of inquiry, this Government is likewise not unwilling to enter upon, but the difficulty is that an acceptance thereof is made dependent upon the acceptance on the side of the Transvaal of precedent conditions which the Government does not feel at liberty to submit to the Volksraad and, moreover, the subjects to be discussed at the conference remain undefined.

“This Government ardently desires and gladly accepts arbitration, as its firm intention is to adhere to the terms of the London Convention of 1884.”

The reply concluded by trusting that the British Government on reconsideration may not deem it fit to make more onerous or new proposals, but would “adhere to Great Britain’s proposal for a joint commission of inquiry, as previously explained by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Imperial Parliament.”

That was really the last of the diplomatic shots, though there was some more diplomatic fencing. The rattle of rifles and the roar of big guns soon followed.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### BRITISH STATESMEN ON THE SITUATION.

Having brought the Transvaal situation up to the verge of war, it is necessary to give the views of the leading British statesmen on the crisis.

Mr. John Morley, a Liberal leader, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a speech at Arbroath, Scotland, September 5, said:

“It is said we have a suzerainty over the South African Republic. Sir Alfred Milner said there is nothing in this controversy as to whether we have a suzerainty or not—nothing material. It is an etymological point, not a political point. My own view of suzerainty is that it is a word which nobody, of course, can define, but it has got a flavor of sovereignty in it, and yet it is not sovereignty; and that the Boers hate the word, because it has got that flavor in it, and the War Party in the Cape and in other places like the word, because they hope to impart into it something or another which may enable them, under a mask of sovereignty, to do things which, I think, they had better not do. Though it is only a matter of a word, many of you must know that some of the bloodiest and most obstinate struggles in the history of mankind have been struggles about words. Blood has been shed, tracts of the surface of the globe have been laid waste, fierce and unquenchable hates between races and race have been kindled by quarrels about words, even about diphthongs. Therefore, do not let us believe that, because, as the High Commissioner says, it is a mere matter of a word, that it is not a very dangerous point. Will you listen—extracts are very disagreeable at a large meeting of this kind—to the words of the Lord Chief Justice of England, when he was trying the raiders in the summer of 1896? Now, this is what he said: These raiders—recollect what they were tried for—were tried for making a war from within the Queen’s dominions upon the dominions of a friendly state. Now what did the Lord Chief Justice say? ‘The position of the South African Republic is determined by the two conventions of 1881 and 1884. The result is that under these conventions the Queen’s Government recognizes the complete independence and autonomy of the South African Republic, subject only to the restric-

tions of the Convention of 1884, to the effect that the South African Republic should have no power to come into any treaties without this country's consent.' As regards one or two minor states, as to the Orange Free State, that is the definition of the highest authority you can have of the status of the South African Republic. What can the Colonial Secretary mean by talking of the relation between a paramount and a subordinate state? Let us get out of international law. What language can be more needless, irritating, and provocative, or more inconsistent with the language used by all his predecessors, and by nobody more clearly and emphatically than by himself, than the language he is now beginning to use?

"What did Mr. Chamberlain say in 1896? 'As regards the internal affairs of the republic, I may observe that, independently of the rights of intervention, or particularly matters arising out of the Convention of 1884, Great Britain is justified in the interests of South Africa as a whole'—quite true—as well as the peace and stability of the South African Republic.' Justified in what? 'In tendering this friendly counsel as regards the newcomers, who are mostly British subjects.' Friendly counsel. Sending 50,000 troops? There is something more there than friendly counsel. I submit to you that language of this kind expressly excludes all claim as a paramount power to insist by force upon any reforms which are not fairly reserved by the convention. The only claim is the right of friendly counsel in the state of the South African Republic, and not the sovereign right of a paramount power. \* \* \* I dread catch-words. Let us deal with the catch-word. What do you mean by paramountcy? Do you mean that Great Britain is free to dictate to the South African Republic—I do not say to argue about negotiations—what her franchise shall be, to insist on having our own way about her judiciary, about her municipal government, and all the rest of the attributes of a stable community? Is that what you mean? If you do mean that it leads to a very remarkable conclusion, and it is this—that Great Britain is not paramount in a single one of her self-governing colonies, because in not one of these great self-governing colonies, in Australia, in South Africa, would any British statesman dream of going and saying, 'I represent the paramount power, and I tell you that your franchise shall be so and so, and your jury law and your press law.' You would have the Empire shattered in a month.

The British and the Dutch have got to live together in South Africa. Fuse them. Do not say to one race, 'You are to be at the top, and the other shall be at the bottom.' No. Let there be fusion, not paramountcy. Are you going to fight them for paramountcy, when you know, apart from its guilt, it can only lead to new burdens and new responsibilities and new difficulties? A war of that kind will not be a war with honor; it will be a war with deep dishonor; and what a mockery will such a war make of all the professions that have been made emphatically, and in capital letters, within the last few months especially, upon behalf of peace! What a farce—what a hypocritical farce—to send your important representatives to The Hague to try whether something cannot be done to introduce better principles into the relations between states! What a farce, what an example for this country, which has hitherto vaunted and boasted—and justly boasted—that it is in the front of great moral, pacific, and progressive causes! What an example for us to set to the armed camps and the scheming Chancelleries of Continental Europe! What a shadow cast upon the reign of the Queen! Yes, empire they say—empire. Yes, but we do not want a pirate empire. Let us be sure, to borrow Mr. Chamberlain's figure, that when the sand runs low in the little hour-glass, which is the measure of the life of a man, we, at all events, shall be able to think that we have been in this constituency stanch and true to those principles of good faith and national honor and solidity and sober judgment which have won for Britain her true glory and her most abiding renown, and in this wanton mischief, and in this grievous discredit which some are now trying to inflict upon her name and forces, neither part nor lot shall be yours or mine."

The former Liberal leader in the House of Commons, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, in a speech made in Wales, September 20, said:

"I shared with Mr. Chamberlain in Mr. Gladstone's great government of 1880 the responsibility of framing the constitution of the Transvaal state. For that constitution he and I and all of that Cabinet are equally responsible. We are responsible for the precise definition of its rights and its obligations, and it is my duty to set forth before you the facts as they are present to my mind. I am one of those who were publicly responsible for the settlement that was made between the British Nation and the Government of the Transvaal, and it is in that capacity that I claim to speak.

“Gentlemen, if there was anything which should induce President Kruger to give a favorable ear to the appeals for reform it would be the experience through which he and his people went themselves when they became exiles from the land of their birth. One of the leaders of that movement, whose name was well known and venerated among the Dutch people of the Transvaal, said, in a proclamation, when they left the land under British dominion, ‘We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in the future. We solemnly declare that we leave this country with a desire to enjoy a quieter life than we have hitherto led. We shall not molest any people nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects to the utmost of our ability against every enemy. We are leaving this fruitful land of our birth, on which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance upon an all-seeing, just and merciful God, whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavor to obey. In the name of all who leave this colony with me.’ That was signed ‘P. M. Reitz.’ That is a document which you cannot read without solemn thoughts before you enter upon a terrible conflict.

“Now, I must ask you to bear with me patiently while I endeavor to explain to you what was the limit of the independence which was then granted, regranted, I should say, to the Transvaal state. Now, it was considered then, and it is considered now, that the Transvaal state ought not to enter into foreign relations by treaty with other countries without the consent of the British Government. In my opinion that was a proper and just principle. That convention, as it was called, of 1881, reserved to Great Britain the right of veto upon treaties with foreign states. Secondly, in regard to its internal administration, it limited, in a certain degree, the internal government and autonomy of the Transvaal state, but, as Lord Derby, who was then Colonial Secretary, stated, ‘In all other respects entire freedom of action was accorded not inconsistent with the rights expressly reserved,’ so that in the Convention of 1881—follow me here—it was in that first Convention of 1881 the independence so limited was expressed by the word *suzerainty*, a vague word, but one which was employed in that Conven-

tion of 1881. Then, as for the new convention. You have a convention in which the word 'suzerainty' has disappeared. You have a reservation of the control of this country over the treaty relations of the Transvaal, and what was the result of that new convention? The result of that new convention was stated by Lord Derby; and now this is a very important statement. He said: 'By the omission of those articles in the Convention of 1881 which assigned to Her Majesty and the British Government certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations, your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirements embodied in the fourth article of the new draft that any treaty with a foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen.' Therefore, I think you may take it with absolute certainty that the new Convention of 1884 was under the veto of the British Government, and in respect to their internal affairs struck out the word 'suzerainty,' leaving or giving to the people of the Transvaal absolute internal authority—home rule, in fact, for themselves. I should say that Lord Derby had also in that speech said: 'We have kept the substance'—and he explained what the substance was—'a controlling power which gives us the right of veto over a treaty with foreign powers.' That was the substance. He did not say they had kept the control of the internal affairs which was given to the Government of the Transvaal. Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury had argued with great force that where you did not keep control over the internal affairs the word suzerainty was not appropriate, because that meant a general authority over all affairs; and that is the ambiguity under which we are now suffering. The word suzerainty was obliterated, and the matter, as I say, remained upon that footing.

"In the course of that discussion on the question of suzerainty, in the dispatch of May 9, the Government of the Transvaal set up a claim that their right of Government arose not from the Convention of 1884, but from the inherent right of the republic as a sovereign international state. I wish to deal fairly in this controversy, and, as I have criticised and rejected the theory that the suzerainty was retained in the Convention of 1884, so I may think this was a claim put forward on the part of President Kruger and the Transvaal state which could not be maintained and for the same reason you cannot say suzerainty when you have



only a partial suzerainty; so you cannot claim the position of a sovereign international state when you have surrendered the control of your foreign affairs. The position is this—that both sides have made an allegation which cannot be maintained. This was a claim by the Transvaal, which, in my opinion, is quite indefensible, and I think the British Government has been perfectly right in repudiating the claim. As made in that form it is not a sovereign international state. In that sense it is also not true to say the British Government have a suzerainty, when they have only got a partial control. This is the real crux at the present moment. Neither of these positions can be maintained, and if you could only get rid of them we should have peace to-morrow.

“Both parties are pledged to the observance of the Convention of 1884, and when you have got a precise document which defines the real relation of the parties, what is the use of going into these vague terms of suzerainty and international control? When we have got this document, in heaven’s name let us stick to it. Of course, it does not exclude the right of a state to protect its own subjects from ill-treatment. We possess that right all over the world. It has never been denied; in fact, it has been explicitly admitted by the Government of the Transvaal.

“Now, in my opinion, upon this quarrel, upon an ambiguous suzerainty, you are not to go to the issue of arms. Is it not possible that we can revert to the position of a few weeks ago, when this reasonable offer was made accompanied by reasonable conditions? We do not want to alter the offer, because every one admits that it is good, but if there is an ambiguity in the definition of the conditions, for God’s sake let us go and clear it up and not go to war about it. In my opinion, what ought to be done is to accept the franchise as offered for examination. I think it is fair that there should be an examination of the details, and that the Government should give the assurance to the Transvaal which the Transvaal has asked for. That is, the assurance that under the name of suzerainty it will not claim to interfere in every particular whenever it chooses in the internal affairs of the Transvaal.”

The Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a speech October 26 said:

“The theory appears to be that President Kruger is an amiable, but very sensitive, old man—sensitive to every word that may excite sus-

picion or may suggest any future political constitution for his country other than that which he desires, and, so far as these feelings are concerned, he sustains them and expresses them with a fervor and a restlessness more becoming a hysterical young lady than the President of a republic. I am always surprised by this view of President Kruger's character.

"My impression is, or was, certainly that he was a sort of man who would say that hard words break no bones, and, if he got the kind of policy he wanted, he would not be much troubled by the English phraseology in which it was wrapped up. But I take an entirely different view, and, I hope, not an uncharitable one. My belief is that the desire to get rid of that word 'suzerainty' and the reality which it expresses, has been the dream of Mr. Kruger's life. Long before the Treaty of 1881 was negotiated it was his main desire. It was for that he set up the negotiations of 1884, and in order to get that hateful word out of his convention he made considerable territorial and other sacrifices.

"Situated as Great Britain is in South Africa toward the Transvaal and the Outlander population, who are our subjects in the Transvaal, we have a paramount power and duty which has nothing whatever to do with any conventional suzerainty. I do not think that is the opinion of Mr. Kruger. He would do anything in order to get rid of it, and, though it may be perfectly true—I maintained that opinion at the time—that the word in itself has no distinct or sufficient meaning, it is still true that, having been put into the treaty, it has obtained an artificial value and meaning which prevents us from entirely abandoning it. We cannot drop it and restore things to the condition in which they were before the word suzerainty was adopted. If we were to drop it we should be intimating that the ideas which have come to be associated with it are ideas which we repudiate and abandon altogether. Of course that is a position we cannot adopt. I believe it is largely due to Mr. Kruger—I do not say it to blame it—it is largely due to his peculiar character, and to the idea which he has pursued, that the moment has arrived for deciding whether the future of South Africa is to be a growing and increasing Dutch supremacy, or a safe, perfectly established supremacy of the English people.

"To the state of things established by the Convention of 1881 or 1884, whatever it may have been, we can never return. We can never

consent, while we have the strength to resist it, to be put into the same position which we have held in South Africa for the last seventeen or eighteen years. With regard to the future, there must be no doubt that the sovereign power of England is paramount; there must be no doubt that the white races will be put upon an equality, and that due precaution will be taken for the philanthropic and kindly and improving treatment of those countless indigenous races of whose destiny, I fear, we have been too forgetful. Those things must be insisted upon in the future. By what means they will be obtained I do not know; I hope they may be consistent with a very large autonomy on the part of that race which values its individual share in the Government so much as the Dutch people do. But with that question we have no concern at present. We have only to make it clear that the great objects which are essential to the power of England in Africa, to the good government of that country, and to the rights of all races are the objects which the British Government, with the full support of the Nation without distinction of party, is now pursuing, and which they will thoroughly pursue and preserve to the end."

Mr. H. H. Asquith, Liberal, the former Home Secretary, speaking at Dundee, October 11, said:

"A state of war exists between Great Britain and a country inhabited by men of the same blood, the same color, the same religion as ours. I suppose that that is a state of things which has not occurred within the memory of a considerable number, if not, indeed, a large majority, of those I am addressing. I am one of those who hoped against hope, who expected almost against expectation, that this catastrophe would be averted. There was nothing, I should have said as lately even as yesterday, there was nothing in the character of the difference which had arisen between ourselves on the one side and the Government of the Transvaal on the other which could not, and ought not (given upon both sides what we were entitled to assume, good sense and good faith), which ought not to have received pacific and honorable solution. However strongly I may have felt, as you have felt, that steps have been taken which had better have been omitted, and that steps have been omitted which had better have been taken, I have from the first credited Her Majesty's Government, as I credit them now, with a sincere and honest desire to avoid war; and as regards the other party to this deplorable controversy—the Government of the South African Repub-

lic—it seemed almost incredible that they should have deliberately forfeited something, at any rate, of the claim which they might otherwise have presented to the sympathy which the world is always ready to give to the weak in a conflict with the strong, that they should have forfeited that by striking the first blow in a conflict which for them can have but one issue. But these hopes and calculations of a perhaps over-sanguine optimism have been put to an end by this morning's news. We find ourselves face to face with a new situation, a situation in which, for the moment, I think the fewer words the better, provided always that those words are free from ambiguity or reserve. In what I say it must be understood that I speak only for myself; I have had no opportunity since the new phase of the situation has developed of consulting the colleagues with whom I am in the habit of acting; but, finding myself here face to face with this large representative gathering, I should not be doing my duty if I did not state my views with clearness and frankness.

“The Transvaal Government, in a dispatch published this morning, rest their case upon what they allege to be an unwarrantable and unlawful intervention on the part of Great Britain in their internal concerns; they take their stand upon the Convention of 1884, which they contend to be a complete and exhaustive embodiment of our rights and of their obligations. They assert that in the recent attempts of Her Majesty's Government to procure by an extension of the franchise, or other means, redress for the grievances of the Outlanders, although, as a matter of grace and courtesy, the statesmen of the Transvaal may have agreed to discuss the matter with us, we were in fact tampering without legal or moral title with their internal autonomy. If these contentions can be sustained, then, no doubt we are out of court. But are these contentions sustained? In my judgment they are vitiated by the underlying and fallacious assumption that our right, or, as I prefer to put it, our duty, to intervene is derived from the convention alone.

“Some of you may have followed the discussion in the press as to the effect of the Convention of 1884 on that of 1881, and especially as to whether the suzerainty reserved by the former convention has or has not disappeared. I confess that to my mind the controversy is of a most scholastic character, for it cannot be too clearly understood that the word suzerainty is not a term of art. In other words, the reservation of suzerainty rights imposes no definite obligations. To ascertain its

import in such a convention as that of 1881 you must look at the subsequent articles of the convention, which enumerate and define the relative rights and obligations of the two parties. Those articles are admittedly gone, and for them, by express agreement, have been substituted the articles of the Convention of 1884. And you will see, as some learned persons contend, that the preamble or opening provision of the Convention of 1884, which reserves the suzerainty, is still in force. Suzerainty so reserved means since 1884 nothing more than there is contained in the articles of the latter convention. I have never seen any reason why our Government should not have made the Boers a present of the admission—if they thought it of any value—that our rights so far as they are embodied in the terms of the convention depend upon that of 1884, and not that of 1881. I do not stop to inquire which, if any, of the wrongs suffered by the Outlanders are violations of the Convention of 1884. Some of them at any rate cannot be so described, but all this—now we come to the very root of the matter—all this is entirely beside the point. If quite apart from and independently of any convention we have, as Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman asserted the other day, if we have the right of intervention in the circumstances which have arisen, based not upon parchment treaties or arrangements—based upon general principles of international law and equity, and upon our special responsibilities as the paramount Power, which in the last resort has to preserve peace and order throughout South Africa—I agree it was certainly not contemplated when the Transvaal was retroceded in 1881 that under normal conditions the paramount Power would have the duty or occasion of interfering in its internal concerns. Opinions differ. For my part I have always thought (whatever may be said by way of criticism of the method or moment chosen), the retrocession of the qualified independence of the South African Republic made by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, was, in the then circumstances which at that time could have been reasonably contemplated as likely to arise, a magnanimous and politic act.

“But it is important to remember that even then, with what in those days was called the loyalist minority in the Transvaal, the few English inhabitants who at the time were making a livelihood there—it should be remembered that when the question of the loyalist minority was raised, the negotiators who represented Mr. Gladstone and the British Government were instructed to obtain, and did obtain, conclusive assur-

ance that the British minority would have equal rights and privileges with the burgher citizens. That promise was deliberately made, and we acted upon it. It has never been carried out. I think it is impossible for fair-minded men not to feel a certain amount of sympathy with the reluctance of the Boers to be submerged by a stream of Outlanders, which flowed in ever-increasing numbers into the country after the discovery of gold. No one could blame them if they had been cautious and even over-conservative in the matter, but their actual handling of the matter has been such as, by the admission of all parties, no civilized country could permit in the case of its own subjects even at the hands of a distant and sovereign Power. The raid of 1895, that ill-starred adventure, as childish as it was criminal, for a time paralyzed our hands, and it was followed at Pretoria—perhaps not unnaturally followed—by legislation more reactionary and more oppressive, with military expenditure more profuse. There is no political or moral disease which is so contagious as bad blood. Bad blood, I won't say raised by the raid, because the raid was only the symptom and outcome of deep-seated causes already in operation, but bad blood, of which the raid was at any rate the symptom, year by year had been growing in intensity and virulence between the two sections of the Transvaal population.

“Then comes in what you can never leave out of view, the essential solidarity of the whole South African community. If the British and Dutch in the Transvaal are on bad terms with one another, if the British in South Africa are denied, and denied insolently and arrogantly, the ordinary and elementary rights of civil and political freedom of the Transvaal, it is a complete contrast in this respect, not only to our colonies, but also to the Orange Free State. You cannot isolate the causes of resentment, hatred, and estrangement which are developing themselves there. They spread insensibly, gradually, inevitably, till they poison the whole life of our great South African community. Five years ago it is no exaggeration to say that Britons and Dutchmen everywhere but in the Transvaal were sitting down side by side in peace and amity, carrying on the same labors and in healthy rivalry, becoming every year more fused into one community of loyal subjects to the British Empire. But it is impossible to ignore that the state of things which has existed in the Transvaal and been allowed to go year by year from bad to worse, has undermined their foundations and that unanimity of feeling, that loyalty of sentiment, that harmony of co-oper-

ation upon which our Imperial position in South Africa depends. I think everyone felt—everyone who had studied the problem at first hand—that the time had come to find a friendly and honorable escape from an impossible situation. I say nothing to-night as to the course of the negotiations, as to the wisdom or unwisdom of putting forward this or dropping that proposal. These matters are no longer an issue.

“The issue raised by the ill-inspired dispatch of the Transvaal Government, the issue which they tell us is to be pushed at once to the arbitrament of war, is simply this—has Great Britain the paramount power of South Africa, has Great Britain the right to secure for subjects in the Transvaal the same equality of treatment as is voluntarily granted to Dutch and English alike in every other part of South Africa?”

“The thinking people of the country see in this war little or no prospect either of material advantage or military glory; they fear, with too much reason, that, like the sowing of the dragon’s teeth, it may yield a bitter harvest of resentment and distrust. It is not with a light heart that they take up the challenge that has been thrown down; but now that it has been forced upon them they will see it through to the end.”

Skirmishes between the mounted British and Boer patrols occurred October 17 at Acton Homes and at Bester’s Station, near Ladysmith. The British and Boers were then almost in touch near Glencoe and the Orange Free State troops were advancing in two columns from Tintwa and Van Reenan’s Pass against Ladysmith.

Vryburgh, the capital of British Bechuanaland, surrendered to the Orange Free State forces October 15, but the news was not made public until October 20. It was garrisoned by a small force of police, who withdrew and allowed the Boers to enter the place.

The town of Vryburgh, almost directly south of Mafeking, is about 124 miles north of Kimberley, with which it has been connected by railroad since 1891. It was founded in 1882 by Boers from the Transvaal, and for some time consisted mainly of a station of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in its work among the Bechuana tribe, which early in the century was driven from its old territory by the Kaffirs.

Vryburgh is partly surrounded by hills. Its approaches were protected by four small forts. It is but a few miles distant from the western boundary of the Transvaal, and slightly northwest of the Orange Free State.

In the House of Commons, October 10, the policy of Mr. Cham-

berlain was severely criticised and he defended himself with vigor. He began with a severe criticism of the action of the Opposition at the previous meeting of Parliament saying their statements were calculated to encourage President Kruger's resistance and to embarrass the Government in "most difficult and most critical functions."

Touching upon a demand for the production of his (Mr. Chamberlain's) letter to Mr. Hawkesley (counsel for the British South Africa Company), Mr. Chamberlain said he would gladly produce it if Sir William Vernon Harcourt and John Morley, who were members of the South African Committee, demanded it. Criticism on this subject he characterized as "neither honest nor honorable."

The Speaker here intervened, saying that the language of the Colonial Secretary was "beyond Parliamentary bounds."

"The Government," Mr. Chamberlain continued, "welcomed all honest and honorable criticism of their policy and I wish I could apply these epithets to the speech of the member for Burnley."

Regarding the allegations respecting his own association with Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Chamberlain declared that from the time of the Jameson raid he had had no communication, either direct or indirect, with Mr. Rhodes on any subject connected with South African policy. He had seen that gentleman with reference to the Cape-to-Cairo Railway project and with reference to Rhodesia, but the conversations had never touched upon the subjects now under discussion, and he would remind the House that Mr. Rhodes, although a millionaire, had gone to face danger at Kimberley.

Later on, Mr. Chamberlain said that in the light of recent events and of the utterances of President Kruger, he had come to the conclusion that war had always been inevitable, although it was only of late that he had himself reluctantly reached this view.

Referring to the principles involved in the war, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say:

"If we maintain our existence as a great power in South Africa we are bound to show that we are willing and able to protect British subjects wherever they have suffered injustice and oppression. Great Britain must remain the paramount power in South Africa. I do not mean paramount in the German and Portuguese possessions, but in the two republics and the British colonies. Every one on both sides of the House is determined to maintain these great principles. The peace



of South Africa depends upon Great Britain accepting the responsibility in the Transvaal. The Boer oligarchy has placed British subjects in a position of inferiority; and what would have been the British position if they had submitted to that inferiority?

"There is one subject not dealt with in the Blue Books," he added. "I mean the disgraceful Boer treatment of the natives, unworthy a civilized power. In 1896 I actually sent a message to Sir Hercules Robinson for the Transvaal respecting the treatment of natives. Then came the Jameson raid; and our South African officials decided that they could not with propriety present the message. The Boers, in their own words, trekked, because they wanted to 'wallop the niggers.'"

Discussing the question of supremacy, Mr. Chamberlain said: "The whole object of the Boers has been to oust the Queen from her position as suzerain. Now they have thrown off the mask and declared themselves a sovereign, independent State. Her Majesty's Government has had a suspicion amounting to knowledge that the mission of Dr. Leyds is one continual series of negotiations with foreign powers against the British.

"The Transvaal and the Free State have an ideal which is dangerous to Great Britain; and, by the continuous accretions of arms, the Transvaal had become so far the most powerful military State in Africa. That was a danger, and we have escaped one of the greatest dangers we were ever subjected to in Africa. The whole point of difference between the Opposition and the Government is as to the details of the negotiations."

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### PRESIDENT STEYN AND BISHOP GRAUGHRAN SPEAK.

When the Volksraad of the Orange Free State opened September 21 President Steyn made a speech outlining the stand taken by that republic in the crisis which had arisen between Great Britain and the Transvaal. It was a momentous session of the Raad, and the greatest interest was taken in the proceedings. All the members of the Raad were present and very many farmers came in from the country districts to attend the session. The President, who read his speech in a firm voice, said:

"I extend you a hearty welcome. You will be grieved to hear that, notwithstanding the endeavors of myself and the Executive, the relations of the Transvaal and the Imperial Government are very strained. You are aware of the fact that in May last President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner met at Bloemfontein on my invitation with the object of removing the outstanding differences between the two Governments, with the result that propositions were made by President Kruger by which assistance was to be given to the Outlanders. These proposals, although refused by Sir Alfred Milner, were unanimously considered by you to be exceedingly fair. Since then I have desired to follow your spirit in advising the Transvaal to concede as much as possible without damaging its independence. With the assistance of Mr. Fletcher, whose excellent attempts to bring about peace will never be sufficiently appreciated, the Transvaal conceded step after step, until the Imperial Government itself declared the last franchise law, wherein it was enacted that seven years' residence should qualify for naturalization, and the scheme for extending the representation in the Volksraad of the Witwatersrand gold fields, to be the basis for further negotiations. The Imperial Government then desired that the law should be laid before a joint commission, notwithstanding the fact that it was not justifiable for such a commission to interfere in the Transvaal. For the sake of peace and to avoid probable fatal consequences to South Africa, I considered it my duty to advise the Transvaal to assent to such a commission. Before the invitation was answered I was informed by the Transvaal that official negotiations were proceeding between Mr.

Conyngham Greene and Dr. Smuts, during which the Transvaal, with an ardent desire to secure peace now or never, declared its readiness to concede the following :

“(a) To recommend the Volksraad and people to grant a five years’ retrospective franchise as proposed by Sir Alfred Milner at Bloemfontein on June 1; (b) to grant eight new seats in the First Volksraad to the Witwatersrand, with a promise of future representation for the gold fields of not less than a quarter of the whole representation; (c) that the new burghers should be allowed to vote for the President and Commandant-General (the same as the old burghers); (d) to accept the friendly advice of Mr. Conyngham Greene in drafting the law. This offer was made on the positive conditions: (1) That the Imperial Government should promise for the future to leave the internal affairs of the Transvaal strictly alone. (2) That the Imperial Government should not insist further on the assertion of its suzerainty. (3) That the Imperial Government should consent to arbitration. The Transvaal was decoyed into making this offer, as was proved by the letter from Dr. Smuts to Conyngham Greene of the 15th of September, by hints given by Mr. Greene to Dr. Smuts, which were received in good faith and accepted by the Transvaal as equal to a promise that Imperial Government would accept the offer.

“To the surprise of the Transvaal the Imperial Government declared its readiness to accept the commission, but refused to agree to the conditions, notwithstanding the fact that these conditions were made on hints given by Mr. Greene. The Imperial Government was ready to discuss the form and powers of a court of arbitration at Cape Town between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, but clearly stated that other matters of difference could not be referred to arbitration. They did not, however, state the nature of the differences. As its conditions were not accepted, the Transvaal considered that its offer had fallen through and announced its willingness to attend a joint commission of inquiry. Although Mr. Chamberlain, through Mr. Greene, had made it known that counter offers would not be considered tantamount to a refusal of the aforesaid invitation, now that the Transvaal had accepted the invitation to attend a conference he wishes the republic to make afresh the offers which have already fallen through without the conditions. He also wished the Outlanders to have the right to speak their own language in the Raad. This was refused by

the Transvaal, but it still declared its willingness to abide by its acceptance of the invitation to attend a joint commission to inquire into the present law and the scheme of representation.

“As all the other concessions of the Transvaal have been received by the other side with fresh demands and more and more warlike preparations, after taking the advice of the Executive, I am not inclined to press the Transvaal to accept the last proposals, because I, with the unanimous agreement of the Executive Council, thought that such a course could not be expected. I thought it my duty, seeing that affairs have assumed such a critical condition, to summon the Volksraad. It cannot be a matter of indifference to us if the Transvaal is thrown into trouble, because we are not only bound to them by everything near and dear, but also because we have a political alliance which for the last ten years has stood with the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the two states. If its independence is assailed we will render the Transvaal all the assistance in our power. It is, therefore, for you to decide what attitude the Orange Free State shall assume. I feel I must again state my opinion that nothing has happened to warrant war or an attack on the Transvaal. A war on points of difference which can easily be settled by a commission or by arbitration would not only be an insult to religion and civilization, but a sin against mankind. I take the opportunity of your presence to lay certain draft laws before you. It is my fervent prayer that Almighty God may, in these days of sorrow and trouble, give you such strength as will lead to the passing of resolutions which will not only secure the peace and prosperity, but also the honor of our beloved state. I have said.”

The Volksraad then went into secret session, which lasted several days. Out of its deliberations came the determination to support the Transvaal in case the latter went to war with Great Britain.

The Right Rev. Anthony Graughran, Roman Catholic Bishop at Kimberley, South Africa, in a letter dated previous to the outbreak of hostilities (September 19, 1898), championed the cause of the Outlander population of the Transvaal Republic and viewed the question from the standpoint of one who desired equal rights for all in that country. A residence of thirteen years in South Africa enabled the Bishop to acquire a thorough acquaintance with the conditions existing in that country.

The part of the letter which is of public interest is as follows:

“Personally, I can, with a safe conscience, say that I think that Eng-

land very seldom had a more just cause for war. The state of things in the Transvaal was a scandal to the nations. That a handful of men, some of whom were very illiterate, and all of whom were very prejudiced and selfish, should expect to be allowed to make laws forever for those who spent their money in buying up property in that country and developing its wealth, is preposterous.

“Chamberlain’s indictment of the Transvaal Government was perfectly fair. I have no hesitation in saying so, and I have had thirteen years to study this question. I am not an Englishman, as you know, nor are my sympathies in general with England; but in this case I do believe that England will do credit to our common humanity by forcing a small state calling itself a republic to give equal rights to all.

“Whatever one may call England’s title to interfere is in this matter; it is certain that in former years most of the Boers, their President at their head, asked England to come to their aid and take over the state. She did so, and then when the debts of the little republic were paid by England, and Paul Kruger received his salary, which was in arrears for a long time, he started a rebellion against the new authority. Gladstone gave them back their country under certain conditions. The fourth clause of the Convention conveyed the idea that all who go into the country shall have equal rights. The Boers and their Volksraad did not keep that promise; they did not give equal rights to all.

“When the rush to the Transvaal began there was a very simple law for the franchise. I am writing from memory, but I think it must have been a residence of two years and paying taxes. A few years afterward this was increased to six years, then to nine years, then to fourteen years, and no one could say how many more years might be added on.

“Those who invested their money in the country had no hope of ever having a voice in the government of the country and yet the Outlanders were twice as numerous at least, as the original usurpers. For in my mind I do not give to the Boers of the Transvaal the title of nationality. They simply killed the Kaffirs fifty years ago, and they took their place. There is nothing in this that implies proscriptions for a nation.

“Now comes the question of Paul Kruger and his advisers. He had a clever man for some years who kept him from committing himself too far; but he has left him, and now the whole government seems to be the

boat without the rudder. Oom Paul is shrewd, but when one considers that the President of the small republic which has only 60,000 inhabitants or thereabouts receives a salary as large as that of the President of the United States, one can imagine that patriotism is not the very first characteristic of his life.

"I cannot enter into the details of concessions which I believe were most iniquitous as regards the interests of the country, the dynamite question, etc. These I do not care to consider.

"I have always held that a man in any country has the same right as another if he conducts himself as he ought and that there should be no distinction beyond that which is necessary to test his sincerity. Let the United States be the model for republics in this matter.

"There must not be at the end of the nineteenth century a government calling itself a republic, while it is in reality a close oligarchy.

"Now, I have given you my views in general on the subject. Were I to go into the history of the country in more detail I could make a very much stronger case against the Boers. I only want to set you on what I consider the right line for judging of the struggle which seems to me is inevitable now.

"The Boer is brave. Of that I have no doubt, but he is ignorant and prejudiced to an alarming extent. On that account I do not condemn him, for his fathers had to strike out into the desert and lived as those who are cut off from civilization. His prejudice shows itself principally as regards the Catholic church; and, second, as regards the civilized habits of European nations. The Catholic church is his bugbear. Catholics are heathens to him. They worship snakes and wooden images.

"I find I might go on forever in this strain, but I have not time to give you my ideas fully, and I must wind up by saying that to my mind a war is the best way to end the unrest and insecurity that torments and paralyzes the country here at present. We shall all suffer from it; probably we shall suffer a great deal, but in the end the country will gain, and gain immensely.

"As far as you are concerned, do not allow the idea to prevail that the Transvaal is a republic, except in name."

Bishop Graughran was born in Marysboro, Ireland, about forty years ago.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### ADMIRAL HOWESON, U. S. N., ON THE TRANSVAAL.

In July last, Rear Admiral Howeson, of the United States Navy, with six of his officers, landed from the cruiser Chicago at Delagoa Bay and took a trip to Pretoria (where he only stopped for breakfast), Johannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town. In an interview after his return to New York, the American Admiral said:

"I spent the Fourth of July in Johannesburg, and I could hardly have spent a day in an assemblage where patriotic American sentiment exhibited itself more freely and spontaneously. Twenty American-born residents of Johannesburg, all of them prominent in the business and financial world of the South African Republic, gave a dinner to myself and the six officers from my flagship who accompanied me. More than one hundred guests sat down to the dinner, mostly Americans, but with quite a number of Englishmen and a few Boers. Johannesburg is the Transvaal. It is the leading and progressive city of the country, a town that has sprung up since the goldfields were discovered there fifteen years ago and which now practically supports, as I was made to understand, the Boer Republic.

"I was in the republic scarcely more than a week and, of course, I had no opportunity to observe the political situation enough to express any opinions about it, and what views I have on the troubles and divisions there are based on what I heard while I was at Johannesburg, Cape Town and the other places which I visited. I went to the country rather, if anything, sympathizing with the republic, being from a republic myself. I had read of Oom Paul and thought him a gallant old fellow. I heard a great many things from Englishmen and Americans, or Outlanders, calculated to produce a different opinion.

"The main trouble with the Boer Government, it would seem, is its lack of knowledge of the world. In its former clash with England, which was set down as a victory for the Boers, the Boers seemed to have gained the idea that England was afraid of them. They rate their Government as an equivalent power with England, Germany, Russia or the United States. Now, what the Englishmen and Americans want over there, as I understand it, is not the right to vote, but the enjoy-

ment of the right of property holders and investors. England and America practically own the whole of the enormous gold mining interests which have made the country rich. Johannesburg is a city of Americans and Englishmen. They complained of the narrowness and unprogressiveness of the Boers. They told me that the Boers had prevented them from building electric car lines because it would hurt the business of the cabmen and rickshaw men, who are Boers. They have electric cars in Johannesburg, but not as many as they might have if the Boers were favorable to them. They said the Boers had objected to the extermination of locusts, which were numerous as to amount to a pest, on religious grounds, saying that they were placed there by God and should not be killed. There were bitter complaints against the treatment of the big mining corporations by the republic. Unfair legislation, over taxation and all that was charged, and the Outlanders whom I met there were very strong in their denunciation of what they termed the outrageous treatment they were receiving. The big Consolidated Mines, owned by English and American capital, practically support the Government by the revenues which they pay, I was told. There was complaint on the ground of citizenship laws, it being said that seven years' declaration was required as a preliminary to becoming a citizen, and even then the applicant might not get through, while, I heard it said, that in special instances, men in the favor of the power might be made citizens without difficulty.

"These things were talked of constantly while I was in South Africa, just as last week and the week before everybody here was talking about the yacht race, and the week before that, about Dewey. The men I met seemed to feel the things they complained of very deeply. There were many Americans there, college men, many of them, with fine special training as engineers and in similar occupations, and who drew large salaries from the big companies. This element of intelligent, wide-awake and progressive Englishmen and Americans makes the society of Johannesburg very pleasant. They have two clubs there, the Rand and the New Club, which would be a credit to New York. While we were there we stayed at the private houses of Americans, my flag lieutenant and I staying with Louis Seymour, the engineer of the big Consolidated Mines, who is a New York man and who has a brother in Wall Street. The other officers stayed with a Mr. Sharp, and we met many other thorough-going Americans there, who have done



well in a business way. It was with these and their English friends that I talked in a social way while there and gathered what impressions I have of the trouble. They did not impress me as being intemperate in their feelings and seemed to feel that unless they got what they were contending for they might as well pack up and get out of the country with their capital. They felt that England had been long-suffering and conservative over the causes of difference and had in no sense acted in a spirit of aggression or conquest. From what they said, they appeared to be asking for no more than Englishmen investing capital in this country would ask at the hands of our Government—even less.

“While I was there the conference between Sir Alfred Milner, the Governor of Cape Colony, and the English High Commissioner and President Kruger was going on. I met Sir Alfred at the Palace in Cape Town and he called on me on board the *Chicago*. While he spoke guardedly, as a diplomat, the impression gathered from his words was unmistakable—that war was bound to come. That seemed to be the feeling in Johannesburg, where, in expectation of an outbreak at almost any time, the Outlanders had sent their families to Cape Town and Durban. Sir Alfred Milner, it seemed to me, more nearly represents the sentiments of the Outlanders in the South African Republic than any man I met. He is a very able and very conservative man. Although he is still comparatively a young man, being about forty-seven, he is a man of weight and ability. Much more than Cecil Rhodes, who believes in conquest by strong nations, who believes that England should have the South African Republic, and we should have Mexico and South America, does he appear to represent the spirit of the English residents of the Transvaal. I visited Mr. Rhodes’ splendid country place just outside of Cape Town. He is a very remarkable man, if rather radical.

“English troops were arriving from ‘home,’ as they call it, when I was there. They came to Cape Town, and the regular force which garrisoned at what is known as the Castle in Cape Town, was sent to Natal, while the newcomers took its place at Cape Town.

“I did not meet President Kruger. My visit was purely a personal and social one and I was very anxious to avoid giving it any semblance of an official character. The Boer Government granted permission to me to wear my full uniform and carry sidearms while in the country,

but I traveled simply as a private citizen. I merely stopped at Pretoria, the capital, for breakfast. It is a much smaller town than Johannesburg and much more typical of the Boers. I was surprised, in my travels through the country, to find so many small places that evinced signs of progress and civilization. Places where we stopped for meals, and which I observed from the car windows, reminded me very much of the railroad villages and stations which I saw a few years ago on a trip through the West.

“The length of the war, I should say, depends upon the force which England decides to send there.” Of course, numbers are bound to tell, and if England sends a sufficient force she will end the conflict that much sooner. The Boers are brave and stubborn fighters, but of course they have not the trained army that England has. The Boer farmers were drilling when we were there. Some parts of the country are rugged and have difficult passes, which are obstacles in the way of the English. Then there are not many railroads to facilitate the transportation of troops and supplies. Railroad lines connect Pretoria, Johannesburg, Kimberley and Cape Town and the port in Mozambique on Delagoa Bay, where we landed from the Chicago to begin our inland trip.”

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### AMERICAN INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The latest official account of the interests of the United States in South Africa was compiled, shortly before the outbreak of the war between Great Britain and the Transvaal, by Mr. James G. Stowe, the United States Consul General at Cape Town, who recently made a tour through Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal. His report to the State Department at Washington contained a mass of valuable matter, from which the following has been culled:

Mr. Stowe traveled first from Cape Town to Kimberley, 647 miles. The journey consumed two days and one night, and was made in one of the compartment cars which in South Africa take the place of sleeping and dining cars. At night he had "a bed consisting of one sheep double, one small pillow and two blankets made up," for which he paid ten English shillings, \$2.43. The scenery in the Hex Mountains, which were traversed the first afternoon, reminded him of Colorado.

"In the distance on each side could be seen the 'soppies' (hills), assuming all shapes and heights. These wastes were covered with a stunted bush, the food of the sheep which once roamed about in large numbers, now sadly decimated by disease. At the foot of the coppies are fertile fields, whose principal products are Kaffir corn and mealies. The Kaffir corn is in the tassel, not in the ear; the mealie is like our own Indian corn, but smaller in ear and grain, and when ground and mixed with cold water is more palatable than our Indian corn when scalded. The mealie is planted in rows and left to mature. It is never cultivated; hence the corn runs to stalk and not to ear."

The monotony of this long ride was broken by the occasional small herds of cattle, sheep, goats and ostriches. These last, less timid than their four-footed companions, came up to the fence and stared at the train as it rushed by. The fences, by the way, were of American barbed wire, but built with genuine Dutch solidity, attached to heavy iron posts and gates, imported from Europe. Kimberley, Mr. Stowe found to be a city of 35,000 inhabitants, most of them attracted to the place by the greatest diamond mines in the world. The general manager of the mines, Gardiner F. Williams, is also the United States Consular

Agent. "I was pleased to find," says Mr. Stowe, "that many of the most responsible positions in the mines were filled by Americans. The United States also furnish most of the 2,000 horses and mules used in the mines and some of the 200,000 pounds of beef and 25,000 pounds of mutton, consumed by the 15,000 natives and 25,000 whites employed in the mines. I was not at all surprised to see American machinery here," Mr. Stowe remarks. "The immense driving gear of a pumping engine 'made in England' had to be sent to Chicago to have the cogs cut. The company is operating an ice plant, made in Chicago, and three more have been ordered, each with a capacity of five tons a day, and 20,000 cubic feet of cold storage, besides a complete dynamite plant, with an American to manage it. The 150 miles of railroad in and about the mines are laid with American rails, and every tie and sleeper is of California redwood, which in this country is the wood par excellence for this purpose. Three ships from California have recently arrived with cargoes of redwood and Oregon pine. The ice company sells its product for half a cent a pound, while in Cape Town the price is four cents. All the water used in and about the city flows through pipes made in the United States. I was pulled to Kimberley by an American engine, and there are several others in use in Cape Colony."

The Consul General was interested in the arrangements made by the company for the comfort of its employes. "No company in the world," he declares, "does more. It has built the village of Kenilworth, covering 500 acres and occupied by white employes at nominal cost. Water and light are supplied free, and there is a club house, a library, reading rooms, an athletic grounds, a park and vegetable gardens. The natives are housed in compounds. On the four sides of a large square are erected one-story buildings of corrugated iron, opening to the center of the square. They are divided into rooms which hold twenty persons, who sleep in bunks three high. Within each camp is a store which supplies the natives with clothes, food, etc., at very reasonable prices. In the center of the square is a large swimming pool, well patronized. Adjacent to the compound is a hospital, free to the sick and injured. Extended over the whole enclosure, which occupied several acres, is a wire netting, to prevent the throwing over of diamonds enclosed in tin cans, etc., as was once the natives' practice. Outside the compound and ten feet from it is a barbed wire fence

ten feet high, with fourteen strands of wire. An underground passage leads to the mine shaft, and the men are examined as they return from work. Within the compound I visited (there are three) were 3,500 natives, to the crushing and washing machines and afterwards to the pulsators, which separates it into different sizes and again washes it. Finally it passes over shaking tables, covered with grease, which catches and retains the diamonds. These are then washed in acid and taken to the valuator. Roughly speaking, out of 3,000,000 tons of blue rock three-fourths of a ton of diamonds are obtained. The valuator assort the diamonds according to color and purity. I saw on his table the output of one week, worth \$300,000. A syndicate of buyers takes the product of the mines."

In spite of the fact that Kimberley and its mines are already good customers of the United States, Mr. Stowe thinks "we ought to have still more of the trade, especially in galvanized, corrugated sheet iron, which is extensively used throughout Africa. The immense buildings in the Kimberley and Johannesburg mines are composed of it, as are also thousands of dwelling houses, barns, warehouses, fences, etc. The merchants in all African cities carry it in stock, of regular lengths, packed by European manufacturers in bundles of twelve sheets held together by iron bands."

Leaving Kimberley a ride of 167 miles brought the Consul General to the borders of the Orange Free State, the Transvaal's ally in the present war. Here a different scene was presented to the eye. "The land was more fertile. The houses of the Kaffirs and Hottentots are seen, the former looking like tops of balloons, the latter square and built of stone. The Kaffir huts show the natural skill and inventive genius of the trade. Long branches or trunks of a tree, that grows high and has a small diameter, are planted in the center and fastened. Then the native flat is woven in and out between them, making a habitation, water-tight yet cool." The panorama presented in the ride of 334 miles across the Orange Free State is monotonous but not unpleasing. "More and better farming is noticed; the crops are more diversified. In the fields plows and reapers and mowers of familiar home make glad the eye of the American traveler. These implements, imported from the United States by dealers at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, are sold extensively throughout Africa. Though much of the land is still idle, the Free State is prosperous and the Dutch

farmers, unlike their neighbors and allies across the Vaal, welcome all comers to citizenship on easy terms."

The Consul and his companion were detained by the Transvaal customs officers for five hours at the boundary of the republic before being allowed to set out for Pretoria, seventy-seven miles inward. Pretoria is the seat of government and the residence of President Kruger, but, like most capital cities, it is not, as Mr. Stowe expresses it, a business center. After a short rest in the pretty little hill capital the Consul proceeded to Johannesburg, over the comfortable Netherlands Railway, a handsome property said to be owned in Holland. "I never rode," he says, "over a better roadbed or in more comfortable cars. The latter were equipped with every modern convenience and the dining cars reminded me of home." There seems to have been one drawback. "The cars are all of iron, even the sides, and covering and in warm weather, I am told, they are like ovens." These iron cars have figured in the recent dispatches from the seat of war, made of the price of dynamite, which costs 70 shillings (\$17.03) per case, and could be bought outside the state for 40 shillings (\$9.73). The Government granted a concession to a company, which made thousands of pounds sterling out of it annually. A concession for the manufacture of candles has been granted, so that the miners will have to buy of the home manufacturer, as the duty is prohibitive. The railways, I was told, charge for freight from the border to Johannesburg, a distance of forty-seven miles, as much as it costs to haul from the seaports, 1,000 miles away. While the United States cannot now compete for the candle trade, I am pleased to state that the candle factory will be required to equip with American machinery throughout.

Mr. Stowe then went to Durban, in Natal, the most important port of entry, Cape Town excepted, on the South African coast, and a favorite winter resort for Johannesburgers. The imports at Durban for the first two months of the current year were 27,367 tons, valued at \$530,828. Americans have a large and rapidly growing share of the business, and the reason is apparent from the following incident which Mr. Stowe relates as one of many similar:

"A Durban merchant said to me: 'I recently ordered five tons of hoop iron of an English manufacturer. After the order had gone forward one of your American salesmen came along and made me a price ten dollars a ton less. I gave him an order for five tons, and then tried

to have the English order cancelled, but the English house refused, saying that "no one could take and guarantee a first-class article at the price named, and a test would prove it." When the iron arrived I tested both, and the American was several per cent. better."

Mr. Stowe found at the hotel where he stopped at Durban the doors and trimmings, and even the electric lights, were of American origin. "In fact," he said, "I was during my whole trip all the time putting my hand on something American. I was told that our screwdrivers, hammers, hatchets, chisels, etc., were so cheap, though good, that it did not pay to have them ground or repaired—it was better and cheaper to buy new ones."

The Consul also stopped at Port Elizabeth and Mossell Bay. In the latter port he found a British ship discharging a cargo of 1,000 tons of rails from the United States for a new railroad. Here also the Consul found American goods to be in growing favor. In a concluding note Mr. Stowe comments upon the telephone service in various South African cities. "In Kimberley," he says, tersely, "the service is American and good; in Johannesburg it is Dutch and everybody continually finds fault; no service after 5 o'clock, and a year's subscription, about \$75 a month, in advance; in Durban it is German and fair."

Mr. Stowe in a later report to the department, August 25, announces that the imports at Natal from the United States during the preceding ten months had increased by nearly a million dollars, whereas those from Great Britain had increased only \$678,983. A large trade in American fruit and shade trees had also grown up, and there was an active demand for sprayers and preparations to destroy insects.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### DEFENSES OF THE GOLCONDA OF THE DESERT.

Just previous to the outbreak of war, a correspondent at Kimberley wrote the following letter, giving an account of the defenses of that place, saying:

Preparations against a sudden Boer attack on this veritable Golconda of the Desert have been actively going on during the past week, it being evidently feared by the military authorities that the allied republics, convinced that war is inevitable, may determine to strike a blow at British prestige in South Africa before the arrival of any considerable reinforcements. For the first time for nearly ten years Imperial troops are now encamped within sight of the famous diamond mines which yield their lucky owners several cool millions annually. The troops arrived here in September after a very tedious journey from Cape Town—tedious beyond all ordinary experience on account of the precautions which were taken for their safety by day, and especially by night. They bivouacked for the night after their arrival in the cheerless goods station at Beaconsfield, and marched into camp early next morning, headed by the town band.

The strength of the Imperial garrison stationed here was roughly about 700 men, and a most workmanlike little force it was, comprising four companies of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, with two machine-guns, a battery of Royal Garrison Artillery, consisting of six seven-pounder mountain guns (Kipling's favorite "screw" pattern), a large party of Royal Engineers, and a detachment of the army medical staff, with ambulance complete, the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kekewich, of the North Lancashire. There is a well-known military maxim to the effect that you must always remember that your enemy stands in quite as much dread of you as you do of him; and this is admirably illustrated by the fact that the Free State Boers across the frontier are firmly rooted in their belief that 10,000 British troops are already assembled in Kimberley which is, they imagine, to be the "jumping off" place for an Imperial raid into the Orange Free State. Our military authorities are doing everything they can to encourage this exaggerated impression of military strength,



as they cannot help feeling that if the Boers take the offensive the task of guarding over 1,200 miles of railway between Buluwayo and Cape Town—Kimberley is the half-way house on this long stretch of metal—will be almost beyond their capacity with the small number of troops at their disposition on the western side of the probable theatre of war. I cannot help fancying, however, that the authorities at Bloemfontein and Pretoria are much more correctly informed regarding the actual strength and disposition of Her Majesty's forces.

Life under canvas on the diamond fields is not all "beer and skittles" at this season of the year. The camp is healthy enough, and the men are quite fit and chirpy, especially the Lancshires, who have been moving all round the globe for the past seventeen years without seeing a shot fired, and are therefore burning for distinction before the battalion returns home; but the wind and dust are very trying on an exposed plateau, and the inconveniences of veldt life are painfully uppermost. Poor soldiers! they have many minor hardships to endure, and it speaks well for their morale and discipline that they bear themselves withal with admirable fortitude and equanimity. Perhaps what they feel most keenly is the sadly reduced purchasing power of the Queen's shilling in this thirsty city of the plain, and the consequent deprivation to which they have to submit of many little luxuries which help to contribute to their comfort and happiness. No doubt, when the generous inhabitants of Kimberley find this out, many a well-stocked hamper will find its way to the men's messes; for nothing could exceed the enthusiasm and good-will entertained towards the military in these stirring times. Colonel Kekewich told me that one of his clerks went to dinner at a hotel near the headquarters office and on rising to leave found that his score had been settled for him by some kindly and unobtrusive citizen, who had quietly slipped out, without making his thoughtful little act known to the object of his attention. This little incident is typical, and admirably illustrates the good feeling which prevails towards the military. An entertaining committee was formed to see that the soldiers' uniform was an open sesame to all sports, gymkhanas, and places of amusement whenever any of them could find a few hours' leisure, which I need not say are few and far between, for "service" conditions prevail.

Outside the military camp, but more or less under the supervision of the military authorities, great activity prevails. De Beers Company have armed and carefully organized their white employees, some two

thousand strong, for the defense of the mines and the costly machinery attached to them; Mr. Scott, V. C., the superintendent of De Beers Convict Station, and one of the heroes of the Zulu war, will be in command of this section of the citadel. The huge gray debris heaps, which are such a familiar feature of the diamond fields landscape, furnish natural ramparts and earthworks of great strength; and in a few hours, under the direction of the able Royal Engineers officers, who have everything ready on paper, the picks and shovels of 10,000 natives could convert each of the mines into an impregnable fortress.

Already eight Maxims have been placed in position, four on the Rock Shaft of De Beers mine and four on a commanding position at the Kimberley mine; these may be useful, apart from the danger of a Boer attack, to keep the raw natives in subjection, should they yield to excitement, as they are apt to do, and attempt to break loose from the compounds and overrun the town. A town guard which is being raised at the instance of the mayor is expected to muster 1,000 strong. Officers have been appointed, a code of danger signals drawn up, and rallying places appointed for the various sections in the event of an alarm. For the moment the men are without arms. The Civil Commissioner said he is not authorized by the Government to issue them, but he has a very large supply of Lee-Metfords in store, and the Mayor said he knew where they were. In the event of an alarm, if our red-tape Civil Commissioner shows the slightest hesitation, the armory will be forcibly entered, the Mayor being in the van, and the guns distributed. The Kimberley Regiment of Volunteers is in a poor way; and it is doubtful whether it could send more than 120 men into the field, but the Volunteer Artillery are a useful and workmanlike body, and possess a battery of six guns (7-pounder "screw"). The local artillery, sixty strong, is going into camp, and the battery will be made up to its full strength with drafts from the Royal Artillery. Besides these troops, 120 Cape police are stationed at Kimberley. They are fine-bronzed fellows, hard as nails, well accustomed to the country, and excellent material for scouting and patrol purposes and outpost duty. Elaborate arrangements have been made to obtain early intelligence of an enemy's approach; each night the whole country is lighted up for miles around with powerful electric searchlights, while patrols watch the various roads leading from the Free State and the Transvaal into this treasure-laden city. Out at Wesselton mine, which is within a very

short distance of the frontier, four old-field guns are in position, and the utmost vigilance is observed day and night. There are many Dutch people in the village of doubtful loyalty who are believed to have relations with the Boers across the frontier, and this adds very much to the prevailing anxiety and the need of vigilance. The other night a daring individual was detected attempting to pick the lock of the dynamite magazine, while an accomplice stood by holding his horse. On the alarm being raised, both men decamped, and although the country was searched, they got away in the darkness. There was also an attempt by spies or other ill-disposed persons to drive a span of mules belonging to the company over the frontier, and on this occasion one of the guards fired the first shot of the crisis, but without result. The men cleared, leaving the mules behind them.

The military authorities have established an advance depot near the Orange River Bridge, a point of great strategic value on the main line some 100 miles south of Kimberley. This is likely to have a good effect upon the colonial Boers along the southern bank of the Orange river, some of whom are by no means loyal, and have been seen of late sporting Mauser rifles, distributed gratis by republican emissaries. The force now in camp is under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kincaid, and comprises four companies—North Lancashire, with two machine guns; a detachment Royal Artillery, with two mountain guns; a detachment Royal Engineers, and 150 mounted infantry. The feature of this force is its extreme mobility. It is ready to move in any direction—north, south, east or west—leaving a small and strongly entrenched detachment to guard the bridge. Troops are also about to be moved from King Williamstown and Grahamstown to Aliwal North, and it is hoped these measures may suffice for the present to ward off danger in that direction.

## CHAPTER XL.

### PREPARING FOR THE STRUGGLE.

The Boers, as soon as war was absolutely inevitable, began massing troops and artillery at Laing's Nek, the pass leading into Natal, near Majuba Hill, the scene of the famous defeat of the British troops, and the British War Office was at work night and day, completing the plans to send a contingent of Indian troops to South Africa and making preparations to send an army corps to the same place. General Sir George Stewart White, V. C., the British Commander in Natal, at the outbreak of hostilities had about 15,000 men under his command, stationed at Newcastle, Glencoe, Dundee, Ladysmith, Colenso and Durban, with Ladysmith as the headquarters and main camp. Natal at that part of the country ran as a sort of neck into the Transvaal, and had the Orange Free State on its west side. The country is mountainous and admirably adapted to the tactics of the Boers, whose mobile forces were acquainted, generally speaking, with every foot of the ground traversed.

British troops soon began to move toward South Africa. They were sent from Malta, Gibraltar, Crete and Bombay, as fast as transports could take them, and the British Colonies and Canada volunteered to send military detachments to the assistance of the Imperial forces in South Africa, which was accepted. British agents in different parts of the world, especially in the United States, hurriedly purchased many thousands of mules and thousands of tons of provisions of different descriptions.

The Continental newspapers were jubilant at the trouble of Great Britain and loud in their expressions of sympathy with the Boers. There was much talk of a combination of the European powers against Great Britain, and this was met by preparations for the mobilization of part of the British reserve fleet and the strengthening of the Mediterranean and Channel squadrons. In addition, a Special Service squadron was formed to act promptly in case of an emergency, and some of the Army Reserves of Great Britain were called to the colors, "merely to show the other fellows what we can do."

So far as Great Britain was concerned, she did not enter upon the

war with any great feeling of enthusiasm. Pretty nearly, if not quite one-half, the people of the British Empire were opposed to the war, and those who supported the Government did so more from a feeling of loyalty than from conscientious or patriotic motives. The great Liberal leaders, as we have shown by their speeches, were not in favor of the war, and even among the British Government's supporters there were many good men who disapproved at heart with the policy mapped out by Mr. Chamberlain.

On the other hand, the Boers entered upon the war in about the same spirit as Americans went into the War of Independence, firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, and resolved to sacrifice their lives in defense of their liberties and the right to legislate as they pleased within their own territory.

At Woolwich Arsenal, September 20, the utmost activity prevailed. Maxim guns, Lyddite shells, balloon equipments, gas reservoirs, wagons for lime-light apparatus, ambulances, telegraph wagons, camp kitchens, and, in short, every description of the countless other adjuncts to scientific warfare were being hastily shipped to South Africa, while the world looked on in silence.

At Pretoria a similar state of bustle prevailed. The Boer troops were moving in all directions, supplies and ammunition were being conveyed to all the strategical points, and preparations generally were made to make things as lively as possible for the British in all parts of South Africa. The British Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Lord Wolseley, was in constant communication with the British Secretary of State for War, the Marquis of Landsdowne. Incidentally, before the war was many weeks old these officials became so unpopular that they had to hide their heads in the sand and allow the War Office, as an institution, to send out the bulletins received from the front.

The armed burghers of the Orange Free State began moving almost as soon as those of the Transvaal, and the Dutch in all parts of South Africa were incited to rise against the British.

But this was not all. The "Black Peril," otherwise the original natives of South Africa, were tempted or threatened in various ways by the Boers, and the situation grew more and more dangerous.

The exodus of peaceable inhabitants from Johannesburg increased every day, and throughout South Africa the rattle of swords, rumbling of guns and clatter of small arms was to be heard.

Mr. William Hayes Fisher, a Junior Lord of the British Treasury and formerly Secretary of Mr. Arthur Balfour, the Government leader, in the course of an address, September 20, at Kenilworth, England, said:

“The sands have already run through the glass for President Kruger. We must have enough troops in Africa when the ultimatum is presented to insure the achievement of our objects. Then, perhaps, the Boers will listen to reason and will not enter upon an unequal contest, nor invite us to inflict a crushing defeat and to take their cherished country from them.”

The British ultimatum was never presented, unless the diplomatic correspondence of ultimatum flavor could be so considered. But, the phrase, “the sands have already run through the glass for President Kruger,” became to a certain extent historical, for it was commented upon unfavorably in many parts of the world.

There was an important meeting of the British Cabinet, September 22. The Transvaal question and the latest exchange of notes between the two Governments were fully discussed. We have not entered into the details of the last communications because they were practically repetitions of the previous statements, and were probably intended, on both sides, to gain time for the movement of troops, and to court the sympathy of the foreign powers as much as possible by apparently displaying willingness to accept concessions, and ostensibly showing a desire to avoid war. But it is more than likely that the two parties to the dispute had long before firmly made up their minds that an armed struggle was unavoidable, and, in fact, they appear to have welcomed the end of the long and tedious bombardment by notes and the beginning of the appeal to blood and iron.

Major-General Sir Redvers Buller, a stern, merciless man, was appointed to the supreme command of the British forces in South Africa, and, on his insistence, was given *carte blanche* as to the number of men he needed and as to the composition of the force. British transports began to gather at all the home ports and the war fever began to agitate Great Britain, though, as previously stated, there were very many people who doubted the justness of Great Britain's cause.

The following semi-official announcement was made, September 23, regarding the result of the meeting of the British Cabinet:

“A dispatch will be sent to the Government of the South African

Republic in answer to its recent dispatch, and a strong protest will be made against the accusation of bad faith against Mr. Greene. The dispatch expresses profound regret because of the refusal by the South African Republic of the offer of Her Majesty's Government, and states that Her Majesty's Government will now proceed to formulate its own proposals for a settlement. These proposals will be considered at a later Cabinet meeting."

In the meanwhile the Orange Free State had also been getting ready for war, and in South Africa the movement of troops was incessant, the Boers and British occupying strategic positions and preparing generally for all eventualities.

The exodus of Outlanders from the Transvaal to Cape Colony and Natal continued night and day, and the refugees complained bitterly of the treatment they were alleged to have been subjected to by the Boers.

General Joubert personally assumed command of the Boer forces of the Transvaal and General Lucas Meyers assumed the direction of the forces of the Orange Free State.

It was roughly estimated that the Boers of the two republics would be able to put about 100,000 men in the field, and the military authorities of Great Britain made preparations to have, in all, about 80,000 men under arms in South Africa. These figures, upon the part of the British, were subsequently increased by about 10,000 more men.

The German Government was expected to give "moral support" to the Boers, but it developed that the understanding arrived at between Great Britain and Germany about a year ago on the subject of their African colonies was so satisfactory to Emperor William that he decided to remain strictly neutral.

An official of the German Foreign Office, September 23, voiced the attitude of Germany, saying:

"Of course, it is in no sense to our interest to have England and the Transvaal go to war. That little Boer nation will finally succumb, and, probably, will be wiped out of existence. It is only too likely that this will diminish our prestige in South Africa, and injure our not inconsiderable material interests there, for our trade with the Boer states is increasing, and is only next to that of England. Other interests will also be jeopardized or injured in such a struggle. Still there is no occasion and no political or moral right for us to interfere. So long as our undoubted rights are respected by the belligerents we shall not interfere."

The same official, however, refused to say whether there was a distinct formal understanding with Great Britain or whether the agreement on the subject of South Africa included German neutrality in the event of war with the Transvaal.

In the Assembly at Cape Town, September 22, there was an extraordinary scene during the debate on the registration of voters' bill. Mr. Rhodes, who had previously deprecated the possibility of hostilities, repeated a statement that several members had "accepted money for electioneering purposes from the Transvaal Government, with which England is now on the verge of war."

Later Mr. Rhodes pointedly indicated that some of the members were practically guilty of treason; that they were "supporters of a ministerial party who lived entirely on offal," and were "nothing more than political scavengers." He called on the Premier to hold these in check.

The incident caused a great sensation in Cape Colony.

Soon afterward Mr. Rhodes left Cape Town for Kimberley and began superintending the work of fortifying that place against an attack upon the part of the Boers.

An attempt was made in London, September 24, to hold an anti-war demonstration. Trafalgar Square was the place selected for the assemblage of the pro-Boers and a number of speakers attempted to address the thousands of people who gathered on that spot. But the demonstration was turned into a jingo meeting. The speakers were pelted with rotten apples, eggs, etc., the crowds waved Union Jacks and sang "Rule, Britannia," President Kruger's name was hissed and there were enthusiastic cheers for Mr. Chamberlain. Eventually there were some ugly rushes made for the platforms, and the police cleared the Square before any of the anti-war resolutions could be adopted.

The promoters of the pro-Boer movement held a meeting in the evening and passed the following resolution:

"In consequence of the organized interruption of the anti-war demonstration in Trafalgar Square to-day, fomented by a section of the yellow and stock-jobbing press, this committee resolves to hold a public meeting in one of the largest metropolitan halls at an early date." They did so, and it amounted to nothing.

The same day, in spite of the neutral attitude assumed by the German Government, anti-British meetings were held in a number of places in Germany, telegrams of sympathy were sent to President Kruger,



and at a meeting in Berlin a dispatch was sent to Emperor William, saying:

“We hail the German who does not desert his kinsmen.”

The German newspapers, outside of the semi-official and official organs, were decidedly anti-British in their utterances.

In France the newspapers violently attacked Great Britain and supported the Boers, the same state of affairs existing in Austria, and the Russian Bear gave a number of significant growls.

To this Great Britain replied by calling out more of the Reserves and fitting out additional warships for active service.

At Ladysmith, September 27, the colored muleteers mutinied and refused to go to the front. This in itself did not appear to be a matter of great importance. But subsequent developments showed that it was a very important feature of the war preparations and one which should have placed the British authorities on their guard.

Twenty trucks filled with armed burghers and fifty horses left Johannesburg, September 27, for the Natal border, it being the announced intention of the Boers to crowd into Natal at the outbreak of war and crush the British forces there before the reinforcements from Great Britain had time to arrive in South Africa. While the Transvaal Boers were pushing into Natal through Laing's Nek the Boers of the Orange Free State were to enter Natal through Van Reenan Pass, from Harrismith and Albertina, and attack the British left flank.

Simultaneously other Boer corps, or commandos, were to invade Rhodesia, Bechuanaland and Cape Colony.

In spite of these preparations, even as late as September 27, the Orange Free State hoped for peace, as the Volksraad at Bloemfontein that day unanimously resolved to instruct the Government to use every possible endeavor to ensure peace without compromising the honor or independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Volksraad also expressed the opinion that war would be criminal, but declared that the Orange Free State would faithfully observe its obligations to the Transvaal under the terms of the alliance between them.

The main body of the Transvaal Boer forces for the invasion of Natal assembled at Wakkerstroom, eight miles from the Natal border, and eleven miles from Laing's Nek. There this corps was joined by a strong force of Orange Free State artillery, just previous to the com-

mencement of hostilities. Another Boer force assembled at Vryheid and a third took up a position at Sandspruit.

During this time the British occupied Dundee and Glencoe, in Natal, and took other steps to meet the Boer advances, including gathering a large quantity of all sorts of stores at Ladysmith and the gathering of a force at De Aar, in Cape Colony, southeast of the Orange Free State, and an important railroad junction. There extensive fortifications were constructed, as it was planned to make the town a base of future operations against the Free State or the Transvaal.

General Joubert and his staff arrived at Wakkerstroom, September 29, the Boers mobilized at Utrecht and at the railroad bridge on the Transvaal side of the Buffalo River, and made ready to cross into Natal. Other Boer forces gathered at Middleburg, Volksrust and Bremersdorp. The requisitioning of horses and provisions proceeded on all sides in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and the British occupied Colenso, Natal, in force, and pushed further supplies to the front.

At Mafeking, British Bechuanaland, and at Fort Tuli, Rhodesia, the British prepared for sieges, as the Boers began gathering about those places early in October, and it was understood that the two garrisons would have to hold out until reinforcements could be sent to them.

The Pope, at Rome, October 1, celebrated mass for peace in South Africa, and speaking to the Cardinals after the ceremony, His Holiness expressed profound sorrow at the coming conflict.

Then the cutting of wires in various directions began.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### THE TORCH OF WAR LIGHTED.

Everything was ready on the Boer side, October 3, for a rapid invasion of Natal. General Jan Kock commanded the Boer forces on the northern Natal border, General Cronje had charge of the Boer troops on the southwestern border, and General Malan was in command of the Boers at Rustenberg. In all there were nine Boer Generals in command of as many well-armed bodies of farmer-soldiers, all splendid shots, their skill with the rifle having been acquired by long practice at target-shooting and in hunting. They were well supplied with the most modern artillery, and in this respect were better equipped than the British. Besides this, the Boers, fighting for their land and liberty, were filled with a warlike enthusiasm, which counts a great deal while courting the Goddess of Victory.

General Sir William Symons, the second in command under General White, had his headquarters at Glencoe, and his advance force was at Newcastle, a town further north. In all the British had about 15,000 men in Natal, and it is probable that the Boers mustered some 40,000 fighting men in Natal, at various points.

The Orange Free State troops closed Botha's Pass, October 2, and General Allriche, Chief of the Free State Artillery, proceeded in the direction of Kimberley, the great diamond center, with a strong force of Boers.

The following day the Boers left their laager, or protected camp, at Volksrust, not far from Majuba Hill, and were moving toward the Natal border.

At about the same time it was announced that President Kruger had sent an ultimatum to Great Britain, giving the British forty-eight hours in which to withdraw their troops from the Transvaal border.

The first match set to the torch of war was the commandeering, or requisitioning, in the Orange Free State, October 6, of 800 tons of coal, belonging to the Government of Cape Colony, which was in transit through the Free State. This in itself might have been smoothed over. But from that time events moved rapidly and the British agent

at Pretoria, Mr. Conyngham Greene, began to make the first preparations for his departure from the Boer capital.

The Generals in command of the Boer forces on the Natal border held a council of war, October 6, and the British Parliament was summoned, October 7, to meet October 17 for the purpose of indorsing the Government's policy in South Africa and providing the sinews of war. British Reserves to the number of 25,000 men were also called out. About 94 per cent. of the Reserves responded to the call during the following week, the shipment of troops to South Africa was pushed more vigorously than ever, and it became apparent that General Buller was to command twice as many soldiers as the famous Duke of Wellington, who defeated Napoleon at Waterloo, had ever had under his command.

The long-expected thunder-clap came October 10, when the British officially received the ultimatum from the Transvaal, demanding that the points in dispute between the two Governments be referred to arbitration; that all the British troops on the Transvaal border be instantly withdrawn; that the reinforcements sent to Africa since June 1 be recalled and that no further troops be landed. An answer was demanded by 5 P. M., October 11.

The text of the Boer ultimatum was as follows:

“Her Majesty's unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of this republic, in conflict with the London Convention of 1884, by the extraordinary strengthening of her troops in the neighborhood of the borders of this republic, has caused an intolerable condition of things to arise, to which this Government feels itself obliged, in the interest not only of this republic, but also of all South Africa, to make an end as soon as possible; and this Government feels itself called upon and obliged to press earnestly, and with emphasis, for an immediate termination of this state of things, and to request Her Majesty's Government to give assurances upon the following four demands:

“First—That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government and Her Majesty's Government.

“Second—That all troops on the borders of this republic shall be instantly withdrawn.

“Third—That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in

South Africa since June 1, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time to be agreed upon with this Government and with the mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this Government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British Government shall be made by this republic during the further negotiations, within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the Governments; and this Government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this republic from the borders.

“Fourth—That Her Majesty’s troops which are now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa.

“This Government presses for an immediate and affirmative answer to these four questions and earnestly requests Her Majesty’s Government to return an answer before or upon Wednesday, October 11, 1899, not later than 5 o’clock P. M.

“It desires further to add that in the unexpected event of an answer not satisfactory being received by it within the interval, it will with great regret be compelled to regard the action of Her Majesty’s Government as a formal declaration of war, and will not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof, and that, in the event of any further movement of troops occurring within the above-mentioned time in a nearer direction to our borders, this Government will be compelled to regard that also as a formal declaration of war.

“I have the honor to be, respectfully yours,

“F. W. Reitz, State Secretary.”

The British Government sent a “short but dignified” reply, which meant a refusal to withdraw the British troops.

It was as follows:

“Her Majesty’s Government has received with great regret the peremptory demands of the Government of the South African Republic conveyed in your telegram of October 10.

“You will inform the Government of the South African Republic, in reply, that the conditions demanded by the Government of the South African Republic are such as Her Majesty’s Government deem it impossible to discuss.”

In London the news was received with a feeling of relief, but it was

realized slowly that the campaign would not be a picnic for the British troops.

At the Alhambra Theater, London, General Buller was present when the news reached the audience, and the first bars of "Rule, Britannia," caused the audience to spring to their feet and cheer wildly for Queen and country. In the British barracks, at the military clubs and elsewhere similar scenes of patriotic enthusiasm were witnessed, though on a milder scale.

The English newspapers, the next morning, expressed "pity" for President Kruger.

The Standard said:

"The Transvaal's worst enemies could hardly have supposed that its arrogance would lead it to such extravagance. The note is written in a style which would be offensive if it came from a first-rate power, and is inconceivable ridiculous as emanating from a trumpery little state which exists only by Great Britain's forbearance."

The Daily Mail remarked:

"The Boers have doffed the mask and declared war, which their deluded supporters in England considered so impossible. Doubtless, at first we may suffer, but we suffered before, and in the end the Boers and their supporters will receive the punishment which their insane attempt to perpetuate on an almost barbaric system their Government in the nineteenth century most thoroughly deserves."

The Daily News asserted that the Boers' best friends would "deplore that they had put themselves in the wrong."

The Daily Telegraph said:

"President Kruger has slammed the door in the face of Great Britain with all the violence of infuriated folly. He appears to have celebrated his birthday in a manner which will bring his republic clattering down upon his head."

The Times remarked:

"The news that the Transvaal has taken such an infatuated step will be received with profound regret by a majority of the British people. To the last we clung to the hope that bloodshed would be avoided, but that hope has been deliberately quenched by the wanton action of the Pretoria Government.

"In tone and substance alike the ultimatum is a document of studied, insolent defiance. It is the Transvaal, not we, who snap the

last frail thread of negotiations. They have declared war upon the British Empire, and they must feel her arm and pay the penalty of their aggression."

The editorial of the Times concluded:

"With Swinburne—in a vigorous and characteristic sonnet which he sends us to-day—the sons of Cromwell and of Blake will cry, 'Strike, England, and strike home!' it is in the old cause."

Lord James of Hereford, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was the first British Minister to refer publicly to the ultimatum. Speaking at Aberdeen, October 10, he said:

"The Government has done everything in its power to preserve peace. Apparently, however, diplomacy is ended and the hopes of peace are virtually destroyed, and that not by the action of the Queen's Government, but by the Transvaal Government.

"President Kruger has sent an ultimatum. If we were to withdraw our troops at his bidding we should suffer the greatest humiliation, and the Government would deserve to be hunted from office as craven cowards."

Lord James added that he had intended, before receiving the news of the ultimatum, to take a different view of the position, but now "nothing remains but to commend our cause to the God of Battle and Arms, and to implore His blessing upon the engagement about to be entered upon."

General Joubert, in the meantime, ordered his troops to prepare for an immediate advance.

The greatest enthusiasm was displayed in London, Southampton, Liverpool and other places at the departure of the troops for South Africa.

The following dispatch from the Transvaal Government to the British Colonial Secretary was made public October 11, in order to complete the publication of the correspondence between the two countries:

"Sir:—The Government of the South African Republic feels itself compelled to refer the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland once more to the Convention of London, 1884, concluded between this republic and the United Kingdom, and which, in article 14, secures certain specified rights to the white population of this republic—namely, that all persons, other than natives, on conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic:

"A. Will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic.

"B. Will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and other premises.

"C. May carry on their commerce either in person or by any agent or agents whom they may think fit to employ.

"D. Shall not be subject, in respect of their premises or property or in respect of their commerce and industry, to any taxes other than those which are, or may be, imposed upon the citizens of the said republic.

"This Government wishes further to observe that the above are the only rights which Her Majesty's Government have reserved in the above Convention with regard to the Outlander population of this republic, and that a violation only of those rights could give that Government a right to diplomatic representations or intervention; while, moreover, the regulating of all other questions affecting the position of the rights of the Outlander population, under the above-mentioned Convention, is handed over to the Government and representatives of the people of the South African Republic.

"Among the questions the regulation of which falls exclusively within the competence of this Government and of the Volksraad are included those of franchise and the representation of the people in this republic; and, although this exclusive right of this Government and of the Volksraad for the regulation of the franchise and the representation of the people is indisputable, yet this Government has found occasion to discuss, in friendly fashion, the franchise and representation of the people with Her Majesty's Government, without, however, recognizing any right thereto on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

"This Government has also, by the formulation of the now existing franchise law and by a resolution with regard to the representation, constantly held these friendly discussions before its eyes. On the part of Her Majesty's Government, however, the friendly nature of these discussions has assumed more and more a threatening tone, and the minds of the people of this republic and the whole of South Africa have been excited and a condition of extreme tension has been created, owing to the fact that Her Majesty's Government could no longer agree to the legislation respecting the franchise and the resolution respecting representation in this republic, and finally by your note of September 25,



1899, which broke off all friendly correspondence on the subject and intimated that Her Majesty's Government must now proceed to formulate their own proposals for the final settlement.

"This Government can only see in the above intimation from her Majesty's Government a new violation of the Convention of London, 1884, which does not reserve to Her Majesty's Government the right to a unilateral settlement of a question which is exclusively a domestic one for this Government, and which has already been regulated by this Government.

"On account of the strained situation and the consequent serious loss in and interruption of trade in general which the correspondence respecting the franchise and the representation of the people of this Republic has carried in its train, Her Majesty's Government has recently pressed for an early settlement, and finally pressed, by your intervention, for an answer within forty-eight hours, a demand subsequently somewhat modified, to your note of September 12, replied to by the note of this Government of September 15, and to your note of September 25, 1899; and thereafter further friendly negotiations were broken off, this Government receiving an intimation that a proposal for a final settlement would shortly be made.

"Although this promise was once repeated, the proposal up to now has not reached this Government. Even while friendly correspondence was still going on the increase of troops on a large scale was introduced by Her Majesty's Government, the troops being stationed in the neighborhood of the borders of this Republic.

"Having regard to occurrences in the history of this Republic which it is unnecessary here to call to mind, this Republic felt obliged to regard this military force in the neighborhood of its borders as a threat against the independence of the South African Republic, since it was aware of no circumstances which would justify the presence of such a military force in South Africa and in the neighborhood of its borders.

"In answer to an inquiry with respect thereto, addressed to His Excellency the High Commissioner, this Government received, to its great astonishment, a veiled insinuation that from the side of the Republic an attack was being made on Her Majesty's colonies, and, at the same time a mysterious reference to possibilities, whereby this Government was strengthened in its suspicion that the independence of this Republic was being threatened."

## CHAPTER XLII.

### THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

The Boers entered Natal October 11 and the same day the Consul General of the Transvaal in London, Mr. Montague White, closed the Consulate and left the British capital.

Before leaving England, Mr. White said :

“The expected has happened. I only hope the ‘hellishness’ of the premeditated crushing out of a hardy Republic is now apparent. Let me remind America that the onus of war lies not upon those who fire the first shot, but upon those who compel it to be fired. Technically we have temporarily put ourselves in the attitude of an aggressor; but who would not have done so when we believed the existence of this country was at stake?

“I think we must look far ahead to see the consequences of this war. Instead of the pacification of South Africa, which is the alleged aim of England, we shall have perpetual unrest. These very people for whom England is now fighting will turn against her in time to come and protest against her rule as bitterly as they are now protesting against ours.

“For weeks I have seen England’s determination to force a hostile issue, or rather Mr. Chamberlain’s. I am sure he is the only member of the Cabinet whose mind was thoroughly made up throughout all the negotiations. What his intentions were is evident from the situation to-day. Had the franchise been the chief grievance, our five-year proposition would certainly have been accepted. I have reason to believe that England enters upon her warlike course by no means a unit. Opposition to Mr. Chamberlain’s policy exists to a greater extent than is generally conceived.

“Our evident desire to conciliate has been much appreciated, and our refusal to allow our household affairs to be administered by another nation has not excited genuine indignation here or in any other quarter of the globe. However, Mr. Chamberlain has accomplished his purpose, and all hope is gone. I believe, nevertheless, that a considerable reversal in British opinion would be effected by any serious defeat, for most of those now supporting the Government are doing so with a

light heart and on general principles, not stopping to count the cost of war.

"I suppose there can be only one ultimate result of hostilities. As to the duration of the war I am not able to venture even a guess. It seems to me a matter of the greatest uncertainty. I hear that Great Britain will not begin the wiping out process until December. In the meantime we shall see what we shall see.

"I have received no special instructions or news from the Transvaal during the last forty-eight hours, and I expect none, having long ago received directions as to the course for me to take when matters reached this stage. I shall remain on the Continent, and if anything further can be done in the interest of my Government I shall, of course, endeavor to do it, though there seems nothing left but to fight it out to the bitter, unjust end."

The first meeting between the Boers and British in Natal, October 11, was not very serious. A British mounted patrol was stoned by the Boers and the former retired, having received orders not to fire unless first fired upon.

The same day the Orange Free State Boers seized a Natal Government train at Harrismith and crossed the border into Natal.

The British High Commissioner in South Africa, also on October 11, issued a proclamation declaring that all persons who aided or abetted the enemy were guilty of high treason.

The British Agent at Pretoria was then recalled and handed over the care of British interests in the Transvaal to the American Consul at Pretoria, Mr. Charles E. Macrum.

The Boers poured into Natal October 12 and 13, moving with the greatest rapidity, threatening the towns of Newcastle, Glencoe and Dundee. The first place occupied by them was Ingogo, a small place north of Newcastle and between that town and Laing's Nek. From there they moved on Newcastle. Other Boer forces began making raids into Zululand and commenced the investment of Kimberley, Mafeking and Fort Tuli.

In addition to entering Natal through Laign's Nek, the Boers pressed into that Colony from the Orange Free State, and through Van Reenan's Pass, and thus prevented the further sending of British troops northward, for it was soon seen that the garrison of Ladysmith could not be weakened, especially as the Boers were operating

with large bodies of mounted men, which enabled them to get over the ground much more quickly than the British infantry.

The first real clash occurred at Kraaipan, on the Buluwayo Railroad, forty miles south of Mafeking, where a British armored train, known as the Mosquito, was wrecked by the Boers October 12.

The official dispatch reported the train's capture as follows:

"From the General Officer Commanding, Cape, to the Secretary of State for War:

"Cape Town, October 13, 1:40 p. m.

"Armored train from Mafeking escorted 2-7-pr. guns sent from here to Mafeking was attacked last night at Kraaipan, about forty miles south of Mafeking. Apparently the rail had been removed and the train left the rail. Boers fired into it with artillery for half an hour and captured it. Communication by telegraph is interrupted with Mafeking at Kraaipan. The women and children have been sent to Cape Town.'

"The guns referred to belonged to the Colony and are light guns and of old pattern.

"We have no details as to casualties."

Details of the capture of the train, received later, show that it was in command of Captain Nesbitt, V. C., of the Mashonaland Police, who had with him fifteen men of the Protectorate Regiment. The train carried two seven-pounders, a quantity of ammunition, a number of workmen and six residents of Maribogo, who sought refuge on the train when they heard of the Boer advance. At Maribogo Captain Nesbitt was warned that the Boers held the line, but he said he was bound to proceed, and did so with the following result. On nearing Kraaipan the train ran into a culvert, which had previously been blown up by the Boers and who, crouching in well-sheltered places in a "sluit," or ravine, were lying in wait for the Mosquito. No sooner was the engine overturned than the Boers opened fire with their rifles on the train and for four hours plumped bullets into and around it. The party with the train, badly shaken up by the train crashing into the open culvert, sought refuge in the armored cars and replied all night as best they could to the fire of the Boers. When morning broke the Boers brought up some artillery and dropped seven shells into the

wrecked train, which caused its defenders to show the white flag and become prisoners of the Boers.

A man named Flowerday, the driver of the engine of the armored train, who escaped, gave the following account of the incident: He said that the train consisted of an armored car, in which were fifteen men, a short truck loaded with ammunition, and a "bogy" car carrying two big guns and a quantity of shells. He added:

"The Boers sniped us all night and at daybreak started with their big guns. All their shells were aimed at the engine, which was soon in a bad way. All this time I was lying down inside the truck, until I heard an officer order a flag of truce to be shown. Two flags were raised, but the Boers paid no heed to them for about a quarter of an hour. When they ceased firing I got out of the truck and crawled on my stomach for about a mile and a half, until the Boers were out of sight. I had a miraculous escape. I made my way to Maribogo. I do not know what became of the others, but feel certain that all were taken prisoners. The Boers' shells did not touch the trucks containing the guns. The ammunition must have fallen into the hands of the Boers undamaged."

Mr. Rhodes, who was at Kimberley October 14, was busily engaged in superintending the work of defense. He was as chipper and overconfident as ever and laughingly remarked that the place was "as safe as Piccadilly," referring to one of the most fashionable and crowded thoroughfares of London. The next day all communication with Kimberley by rail or telegraph was cut off, and the Boers having offered the sum of £25,000 for Mr. Rhodes, dead or alive, the position of that enterprising gentleman was far from pleasant.

The first shots in Natal were exchanged between the British and Boer scouts, near Glencoe, October 14, the Boers, it was added, withdrawing.

The Boers next seized the railroad station at Spynfontein, near Kimberley, and fortified it with earthworks, cut the railroad at Belmont, fifty-six miles south of Kimberley and also cut the railroad at a point twelve miles south of Kimberley. At that time it was estimated that about 4,000 men were available for the defense of Kimberley.

At Mafeking and Kimberley, soon after the outbreak of war, several unimportant skirmishes took place, both sides claiming to have had the advantage. Other skirmishes occurred near Vryburg.

The British War Office, October 16, issued the following note, summing up the situation in South Africa at that time:

"The dispatches received do not point to any material change in the military situation. Small bodies of Boers are reported to have crossed the Natal frontier at various points, and intrenchments are said to have been thrown up at Van Reenan's Pass."

In the meantime the Boers had occupied Newcastle without opposition and Dundee was threatened.

The British Parliament was opened October 17. The Queen's Speech, read from the Throne, in the House of Lords, was as follows:

"My Lords and Gentlemen: Within a very brief period after the recent prorogation I am compelled by events deeply affecting the interests of my empire to recur to your advice and aid.

"The state of affairs in South Africa has made it expedient that my Government should be enabled to strengthen the military forces of this country by calling out the Reserve. For this purpose the provisions of the law render it necessary that Parliament should be called together.

"Except for the difficulties that have been caused by the action of the South African Republic, the condition of the world continues to be peaceful.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons: Measures will be laid before you for the purpose of providing the expenditure which has been or may be caused by events in South Africa. Estimates for the ensuing year will be submitted to you in due course.

"My Lords and Gentlemen: There are many subjects of domestic interest to which your attention will be invited at a later period, when the ordinary season for the labors of a Parliamentary session has been reached. For the present I have invited your attendance in order to ask you to deal with an exceptional exigency; and I pray that, in performing the duties which claim your attention, you may have the guidance and blessings of Almighty God."

Lord Salisbury, the Premier, replying to criticisms on the Government's policy in South Africa, upon the part of the Liberal leader in the House of Lords, the Earl of Kimberley, said:

"The Boer Government was pleased to dispense with any explanation on our part respecting the causes or justification of the war. It has done what no provocation on our part could have justified. It

has done what the strongest nation has never in its strength done to any opponent it had challenged. It issued a defiance so audacious that I could scarcely depict it without using words unsuited for this assembly, and by so doing they liberated this country from the necessity of explaining to the people of England why we are at war. But for this no one could have predicted that we would ever be at war.

"There have been very grave questions between us; but, up to the time of the ultimatum, the modes we had suggested of settling them were successful and the spirit in which we were met was encouraging. We lately had hoped that the future had in reserve for us a better fate.

"But now all questions of possible peace, all questions of justifying the attitude we had assumed and all questions of pointing out the errors and the grave oppression of which the Transvaal Government has been guilty—all these questions have been wiped away in this one great insult, which leaves us no other course than the one which has received the assent of the whole nation and which it is our desire to carry out.

"It is a satisfactory feature of our policy during these later days that, on questions involving the vital interests and honor of the country, there are no distinctions of party."

The Premier also said that he believed that a desire to get rid of the word "suzerainty" and the reality which it expressed had been the controlling desire—the dream—of President Kruger's life.

"I agree," he added, "that the word 'suzerainty' is not necessary for Great Britain's present purpose. Situated as Great Britain is in South Africa towards the Transvaal and the Outlanders, she has a duty to fulfill which has nothing to do with any convention or any question of suzerainty. This word, however, being put into the treaty, obtained an artificial value and meaning which have prevented Great Britain from entirely abandoning it. If Great Britain dropped it she would be intimating that she also repudiated and abandoned the ideas attached to it.

"It was largely due to the character of Mr. Kruger and to the ideas pursued by him that we have been led step by step to the present moment, when we are compelled to decide whether the future of South Africa will be a growing Dutch supremacy or a safe, perfectly established supremacy of the English people."

Colonel Baden-Powell, the British commander at Mafeking, made a sortie from that place October 16, and, it was asserted, inflicted

severe loss on the Boers, losing only eighteen killed on his side; and there was an armored train engagement a few days earlier, near Mafeking, in which the British were reported to have been victorious. The British troops on board the armored train acted as a covering force to military engineers engaged in repairing the track. A Maxim on the train kept up a continuous fire. Conspicuous bravery is said to have been displayed on both sides; but the rifles of the burghers were ineffective against the train. The latter, however, was once forced to retreat before a particularly strong assault, but it returned, accompanied by a British mounted contingent, and the fighting was renewed fiercely and ended in the retreat of the Boers.

Other engagements with armored trains were reported, but the losses on either side were insignificant, though the Boers appear to have been repulsed in all cases. One report had it that Colonel Baden-Powell, in his sortie in force from Mafeking, killed 300 of the enemy.

Mafeking, when the war broke out, was practically without fortifications except for such earthworks as Colonel Baden-Powell had been able to throw up. It stands on the edge of the great veldt, or plain, that rolls westward to the Kalahari and northward to Bechuanaland. On the eastern side the horizon is broken by hills that fringe the border of the Transvaal, but the intervening ground, being only slightly undulated, and almost bare of rocks and trees, is not at all the sort of country that lends itself to Boer tactics.

Briefly, Mafeking is only a small cluster of corrugated iron houses, but is an important place in South Africa. Up to three years ago, before the railroad was extended to Gaberones and thence to Buluwayo, it was the terminus for the line which is ultimately to connect Cape Town with Cairo; and even now it is the starting point for hunters, explorers and traders who meditate a trek into Bechuanaland or the Kalahari Desert.

The position of Mafeking on the trade route between Kimberley diamond mines and the north makes it a thriving little settlement, where all manner of men meet—diggers and speculators on their way up country to the gold mines of Rhodesia, sportsmen back from the Kalahari with giraffe skins and hippopotamus hides, natives from beyond the Zambesi drawn south by the wages to be earned at Kimberley or Johannesburg, ranchmen or traders in their long covered wagons, and members of the Bechuanaland mounted police, always on guard



in the little town where Cape Colony ends and the protectorate begins.

Our readers will remember that it was at Mafeking that Dr. Jameson collected the force for his raid into the Transvaal, and it was with the same stamp of men—all of them used to roughing it on the veldt, all of them good shots, good horsemen and good fighters—that Colonel Baden-Powell defended the place against the Boers. Probably about half his men were volunteers of the same class as Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders—English University graduates, ranchmen, sportsmen and traders.

The pasture land around Mafeking is said to be some of the best in the whole of South Africa, and has drawn to it a remarkably fine set of active and high-spirited colonists.

So far as known the defensive force, besides the protectorate regiment under Colonel Baden-Powell, included the British South African police, under Colonel Walford, and a party of Cape police, and the local volunteers and town guard.

The day after the outbreak of war the following dispatch was received from Mafeking:

“Every precaution has been taken against attack. All the streets are barred by wagons. It is reported that the Boers intend to shell the town before delivering their attack. They are said to possess twelve guns. Every man in Mafeking now carries a rifle. The military authorities are confident in their ability to repel an attack, but they lack force to follow up a Boer retreat. The town is fairly quiet considering its situation. The great question discussed is, Will the Boers come? Many doubt it. Railway communication with the south is practically at the mercy of the Boers, over two hundred miles of line being within easy striking distance of enterprising commandos. Sad scenes were witnessed at the station here on the departure of the women and children. It is estimated that in the event of the main line being blown up at any point to the southward the damage can be repaired in a few hours.”

A telegram from Kimberley at the same time said that the demeanor of Kimberley was one of calm confidence. The whole town guard had been called out for active service and arrangements had been made for the protection of women and children at the town hall.

The coast towns by this time were crowded with refugees from the Transvaal and so much distress prevailed among them that a popular subscription was started by the Lord Mayor of London.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### THE BATTLE OF GLENCOE.

The Boers, October 20, captured a train which left Ladysmith the same day for Glencoe and Dundee, with a number of officers and civilians on board. They also cut the wires to Glencoe.

The Battle of Glencoe was fought the same day.

For days previous to this engagement, the Boers had been gradually closing in on Glencoe and the British scouts had reported the Boers in strong force at various places in the vicinity. When morning broke the British discovered that the Boers, during the night, had taken up a strong position on Dundee Hill, about three miles east of Glencoe and overlooking the camp of General Symons. The Boers, who were estimated to number about 6,000 men, were commanded by General Joubert and General Jan Kock. The first shot came from a Boer gun at exactly 6 A. M., and a few minutes later a heavy artillery fire had been opened on the British position. The bombardment, however, did little damage. The British artillery replied with such good effect that the Boer guns were soon silenced.

The Boers then attempted to turn the British position and an advance of the British cavalry and infantry was ordered. Under the fire of the British guns, these troops pushed forward towards the hill occupied by the Boers, which they reached in the face of a terrific rifle fire. Twice the British attempted to reach the top of the hill, only to be driven back. The third time, however, rallied by General Symons in person, who was shot through the stomach and mortally wounded in so doing, the British charged up the hill, captured the Boers' position and drove them back, eastward, with great slaughter.

There was gallant fighting on both sides, Boer and Briton fought for about nine hours, and it was cold steel which carried the day on top of that bloody hill, strewn with the bodies of dead and dying.

The British artillerymen, at the beginning of the engagement, did great execution, their shells dropping among the Boers with great accuracy, killing very many of them and enabling the infantry and cavalry to advance by rushes in spite of the hail of bullets sweeping in their direction.

At the beginning of the battle, the Boers held the whole of the hills from a place known as Smith's Farm to the Dundee Hill, to the south, which was the objective point of the British troops when the advance began.

No sooner had the Boer guns been silenced than General Symons led the advance, his troops, when the hill was reached, adopting the tactics in which they had previously been well trained, of taking advantage of every little inequality of ground to find cover from the Boer fire and then rushing forward, as the fire slackened, to some other place of vantage.

The Irish Fusiliers and the King's Royal Rifles particularly distinguished themselves in the brilliant charges made, and their officers, refusing to seek cover like the rank and file, were shot down in great numbers as they cheered their men on up that terrible hill. In fact, had it not been for the gallantry of General Symons and his officers, it leaked out some time afterwards, this dashing British victory would most likely have been turned into a crushing defeat for the British forces.

The British captured a number of guns on top of the hill; but they lost a squadron of the Eighteenth Hussars, which went in pursuit of the Boers. The Hussars, too rash or badly led, or both, rode after the Boers until they suddenly found themselves confronted by a vastly superior force and were compelled to surrender.

When the British infantry, with triumphant yells, swarmed over the crest of the hill, the Boers retreated in disorder.

The loss on both sides was heavy.

The British loss began after the battle was renewed, following the lull which ensued, upon the cannonading of the British which silenced the guns of the Boers. The Indian Hospital Corps, composed of Coolies under Major Donegan, of the Eighteenth Hussars, ran out, keeping in the rear of the advancing infantry and artillery.

In the meantime a squadron of the Eighteenth Hussars and a mounted company of the Dublin Fusiliers had crept around on the Boer left flank, while another squadron of the Hussars and a mounted company of the Rifles deployed to the right flank, at the cornfields.

The British artillery continued to fire on Smith's Hill with a range of nearly 3,000 yards. Under cover of this fire the Fusiliers and the

Rifles pressed forward. It was in the execution of this manoeuvre that the casualties to the British infantry occurred.

General Symons, taking advantage of a lull, rode forward with his staff in front of the guns, taking cover at the rear of the plantation, near the base of the hill, while the British infantry, in extended formation, gradually pressed forward, watching the Boers from the rear of the artillery and massing on the extreme left of the hill.

The fire of the Boers was becoming hot; but the First Battalion of the Rifles and the Irish Fusiliers, led by Colonel Gunning and Colonel Carlton, continued to climb the hill. Slowly but surely they extended along the ridge; and, after four and a half hours of artillery firing to screen them, managed to reach a wall running parallel with the ridge, about six hundred yards from the summit.

The British gained this position under cover of some fine shooting by their artillerymen, who placed shells at points where the Boers were massed, compelling them to retire. On again the determined Boers would come, only to be driven back again by the accurate shooting of the British Thirteenth and Sixty-ninth Batteries, under Major Dawkins and Major King.

The firing had almost ceased at noon and the British infantry were over the wall in a twinkling and rushing toward the plateau at the base of the top or secondary ridge. The defense made by the Boers was most determined. Again and again they poured a long fusilade fire into the British ranks, which was hotly returned in well-directed volleys by the advancing Fusiliers and Rifles.

A strong force of Boers took refuge in a cattle kraal, intending a cross fire, but the Thirteenth Battery of the British opened fire and poured in a hail of bullets which caused the Boers speedily to shift their position.

The battle had then raged six and one-half hours, when the British Sixty-ninth Battery was ordered to limber up and advance. The Battery galloped into a new position in pretty form, and was in action in a moment.

This close-range firing was so effective that the Thirteenth Battery was at once ordered up; and, after two rounds from each battery, silence reigned over the Boers' front, broken only by the whirring of Maxims, served by the Fusiliers, who had secured an excellent position to the right.

While this was going on, the two British infantry battalions continued to climb the hill; and after eight hours' desperate up-hill fighting, the Boer position was carried, and the Boers precipitately evacuated the hill.

As the Rifles and the Fusiliers gained the hill-top, the British mounted infantry were seen working round the left flank of the Boer position and getting in their rear, without any attempt on the part of the Boers to check the movement, while the bulk of the mounted British volunteers, well hidden in the plantation to the right, were ready to fall upon the retreating Boers in that direction. Occasionally the British batteries ceased firing and the infantry charged up the rocky heights, reached the summits of both peaks of Smith's Hill and of the nek.

Gallant work was done on both sides, and scores of men fell within a distance of a couple of hundred yards; but the situation soon became too hot for the Boers, who broke for their horses, which they had left at the foot of the hills on the northeast. There, however, they were received with a fusilade from the British Hussars, who had captured or stampeded all the horses.

When the battle was drawing to a close part, at least, of the Dannhauser contingent of Boers under General Erasmus, came upon the ground, as well as a detachment from a Free State contingent, which had made a forced march from the south. The main body of the Free State troops, however, remained at Biggarsberg.

A day or so after the battle it developed that the Boer plans had miscarried. They intended to attack Glencoe with three columns, aggregating about 9,000 men, but only some 6,000 men were engaged with the British, who were in about equal force.

The first column, under General Erasmus, left the Boer camp, on the Ingagane river, and halted at Hattingspruit, on the main road, between Baunhausen and Glencoe. The second column, the largest, commanded by General Lucas Meyer, made a long turn and took up a position on Smith's Hill, commanding the Glencoe camp. The third column, Free State burghers, under General Viljoen, marched from Waschbank on the railroad south of Glencoe. This was the column which destroyed railroad and telegraphic communication between Glencoe and Ladysmith.

General Joubert's plan was that General Erasmus should lure the

whole British force on the northern road toward Hattingspruit, and while the British were engaged in the apparently easy task of destroying General Erasmus' forces, Viljoen and Meyer were to attack the British flank and rear and annihilate Her Majesty's forces.

The British commander, General Symons, foresaw what was intended and took measures accordingly. The Boers lost telegraphic touch between the three columns, which proceeded regardless of time, with the result that General Meyer became engaged before the column from Hattingspruit was even in striking distance, while General Viljoen was a long way south. Thus Meyer's 4,000 men, with six guns, bore the chief brunt of the battle. Only half of General Symons' 4,000 men attacked the hill, the remainder being in position behind the camp watching events. After two and a half hours' fighting advanced detachments of the Hattingspruit column were seen lining the hill west of the camp, and a British battery behind the camp opened fire and scattered the Boers. Thus, the Hattingspruit column did not get into action, except when it came in contact with the British Hussars and mounted infantry, who were pursuing General Meyer's column.

Queen Victoria, after the battle of Glencoe, sent the following message from Balmoral to the Marquis of Landsdowne, Secretary of State for War:

"My heart is bleeding because of these dreadful losses again to-day. We have won a great success, but I fear it was very dearly bought. Would you try to convey my warmest heartfelt sympathy to the near relations of the fallen and wounded, and my admiration of the conduct of those they have lost.

"Victoria, R. I."

Thus, after more than eighteen years, the Boers and British met again in deadly struggle near Majuba Hill and Laing's Nek, but with an entirely different result. The positions, in fact, were reversed.

General Yule assumed command of the British force at Dundee after the Battle of Glencoe. The British loss was estimated at 300 men, while the losses of the Boers were believed to be about 800. No accurate estimates were obtainable at the time.

The Daily Telegraph, of London, described the battle as follows:

"When morning broke at Dundee on Talana Hill, which completely dominated the little town and camp, respectively one-half and three-quarters of a mile distant, the Boer artillery mounted on the summit

seemed to have the camp at its mercy. It was the work of only a few minutes before our troops were on the march and our batteries were in position.

“From the moment the guns opened fire the steady, cool, resistless progress of our men was a performance beyond praise.

“Without efficient artillery rifle marksmanship would have been impossible. Our guns gave splendid cover. Never did the enemy show themselves without an unerring shell fire being directed at the spot.

“In an incredibly short space of time their guns were silenced.

“Under the circumstances military critics consider our casualties were small. For full seven hours the King’s Royal Rifles, the Irish Fusiliers, the Dublin Fusiliers, the Sixty-ninth and Thirteenth Field Batteries and the Eighteenth Hussars were exposed to an incessant fire, yet made a constant, unchecked advance.

“The ascent of the hill vastly exceeded that of Majuba as a military feat. The only cover was a plantation and stone wall some six hundred yards below the summit.

“Thanks to their splendid training, our men made the best possible use of the cover afforded by the hill, which runs north and south, with steep sides on the south, Smith’s Nek, a saddle-back depression, connecting it with another kopje.

“From the base to the summit the front and north sides are as precipitous as a wall for six hundred yards.

“The King’s Royal Rifles faced the front, the Royal Dublin Fusiliers on the right flank, with the Royal Irish Fusiliers on the left. These regiments bore the brunt of the day—bore it nobly.

“A spectator who went right through the fight to the top of the hill writes that the men were as cool as could be, and that the gallant officers led them with conspicuous gallantry.

“They had literally to creep up the sharp ascent. The moment they reached the top the Boers displayed a white flag—a towel on the end of a bamboo pole.

“The victory was won by the execution done by our shell fire, as was shown by the fact that two dozen dead were found within a few yards, besides a number of wounded.

“There were pools of blood from which the Boers had carried away as many of their wounded as they could to a neighboring farm-house.

“By a curious irony of fate a large hill named Gladstone frowned

over the scene where Majuba was more than eclipsed or avenged. The event recalls certain remarks made some four weeks ago, when the general forecasted the middle of October as a most probable date of hostilities. 'With our splendid artillery,' he said, 'if our troops are properly handled only victory is possible.'

"The Irishmen at Maritzburg are proud of the valor of their countrymen and propose to present them with an address on their return from the front.

"The Boers failed at every point. Their old mobility and marksmanship were especially wanting."

The following was the British official report of the battle:

"This from Glencoe: 'We were attacked this morning at daylight by a force roughly estimated at 4,000. They had placed four or five guns in position on a hill 5,400 yards east of our camp, and they fired plugged shells. Their artillery did no damage.

"Our infantry formed for attack, and we got our guns into position. After the position of the Boers had been shelled our infantry advanced to the attack, and, after a hard fight, lasting until 1:30 P. M., an almost inaccessible position was taken, the Boers retiring eastward. All the Boer guns have been captured. We can see our soldiers at the top of the hill. Our cavalry and artillery are still out.

"General Symons is severely wounded. Our losses are heavy. They will be telegraphed as soon as possible.'"

Major-General Sir William Penn Symons, who eventually died a prisoner in the hands of the Boers at Dundee, was born in 1843 and entered the British Army in 1863. At the opening of the Zulu war, in 1878, he had just become a captain. Six years later he, owing to his place on the army list, became Brevet-Colonel. Symons attracted the attention of Lord Roberts, then in command of the Madras Army, through his ideas concerning the employment of the rifle by mounted troops and his theories on rifle practice, which was a hobby with Lord Roberts. When the Burmese war broke out in 1885 Colonel Symons went with the expedition, first as staff officer, and then as commandant of the mounted infantry. His services continued in Burmah and beyond. He was Brigadier-General in the Chin field force; commanded the column from Burmah in the Chin Lushai expedition; was in the Waziristan expedition, and two years ago was actively engaged in the



campaign on the northwest Indian frontier, at first with a brigade in the Tochi field force, and then with a division in the Tirah expedition.

For services in this expedition General Symons was decorated Knight Commander of the Bath. He was described as calm, clear-headed, resolute, prompt, and vigorous in following up an advantage, tenacious and unyielding when hard pressed. His selection as a commander of the Natal troops was principally owing to his experience with mounted rifles, for the country in which he had been operating was mountainous, and unsuited either for the regular infantry or cavalry.

In the House of Commons, October 20, the following telegram from General Yule, in command at Glencoe, was read:

“I regret to report that General Symons is mortally wounded. Other casualties will follow. The important success to-day is due to General Symons’ great courage and fine generalship and to the gallant example and confidence he gave to the troops under his command.”

After this announcement all the members uncovered their heads (British Members of Parliament wear their hats in the House) and the debate was stopped.

A vote of £10,000,000 for the war expenses was then carried, the result being announced as 271 for and 32 against the credit.

The House then adjourned.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### THE BATTLE OF ELANDSLAAGTE.

The next engagement of any importance between the Boers and British was the Battle of Elandslaagte, fought by General French, under General White, to prevent the Boers from cutting off the retreat of General Yule from Glencoe, where after the battle there the British were so hard pressed that they evacuated the place at night.

During the morning of October 21 General French took the Imperial Light Horse, the Naval Volunteer Artillery, with six guns, and four companies of the Manchester Regiment, in an armored train and made reconnoissance to Elandslaagte Station.

The cavalry and artillery arrived on a plateau overlooking the dip in which the station is situated. The Boers were taken unawares and a detachment of their mounted men left the station and its environs, going in the direction of a ridge about 2,000 yards distant on the opposite side of the valley. The Natal Battery then went in action, exploding two shells in the station buildings.

When the artillery fire had disclosed the British position on the plateau, the Boers opened an accurate fire with two guns from entrenched works on the ridge to which the mounted Boers had galloped. The Boer gunners evidently had the range marked, for shells fell around the British battery in action, crippling one ammunition wagon. The seven-pounders of the Volunteer artillery were unable to return this fire, the range being 4,500 yards, so General French withdrew slowly, abandoning the crippled wagon.

As the battery withdrew the Boers fired their guns on the armored train, from which the infantry had detrained. The whole reconnoissance then withdrew with the train for five miles, General French having wired for supports. A few of the mounted Boers attempted to cut the train off, but were out-manoeuvred.

British re-inforcements arrived at midday, and their arrival precipitated a fierce engagement, which lasted two and a half hours, the Boers being driven from their position.

At about 11 A. M. a battery of British artillery and a portion of the Fifth Dragoon Guards arrived, having come out from Ladysmith

with double teams. Shortly afterwards another train arrived with more infantry from Sir George White.

The Boer force consisted mainly of two commandos, under Kock and De Meellion, who had two Maxim-Nordenfelt guns and two Maxims. They had marched right down the Biggarsberg Pass, having crossed into Natal by Botha's Pass, and had met no British patrol at all before occupying Elandslaagte. They set themselves to intrench the end of the spur covering the railway and coalfields from the west.

Therefore General French determined to await reinforcements.

While his force with the trains retired to Modder's Spruit, the Boer scouts were seen circling the hills on the left. Following the British retirement the Boers became bolder, firing into the Volunteer Light Horse, which covered the party. A troop of the latter, however, dislodged the Boers.

After being reinforced by the Devons and the Gordons, General French decided to advance. Then a second field-battery and the Fifth Lancers arrived. The scouts at 3 o'clock, when the Fifth Dragoons began to move along the road by which the British force had advanced in the morning, reported that the Boers were in force on the range on the left.

These Boers suddenly opened Maxim fire on the extended Dragoon Guards at short range. The fire was ineffective and the British artillery battery shelled them out. They were reported to be a party of Free State Boers, attracted by the early morning's firing. The whole of the British infantry under General Ian Hamilton, who fought at Majuba Hill, detrained a mile north of Modder's Spruit.

The Boers had intrenched and laagered on the northern edge of a range running at right angles to the railway. The height of the highest spot was about 800 feet above the level of the permanent way. The range itself is a succession of hillocks, one commanding another so that when viewed from the flank they looked something like the teeth of a saw. To the front and on the flanks of this position stretched the rolling veldt, without any considerable cover, for at least 5,000 yards. From Modder's Spruit to the front of the Boers' position lay an undulating five-mile plain, divided by a long shoulder of hill about 4,000 yards' range from the Boers' position.

Soon after three o'clock a squadron of the Fifth Lancers and of the Imperial Light Horse were sent to clear this shoulder for occupation

by infantry, the latter arm marching upon it from the vicinity of Modder's Spruit. The Imperial Light Horse and Lancers speedily gained possession, the Boers' scouts falling back.

The British infantry advanced steadily in extended order, the Manchesters leading, followed by the Devons and Gordon Highlanders, of Dargai Heights and Majuba Hill fame. It was a long and slow march, and it was nearly four o'clock before the infantry could extend along the shoulder of the hill. The Manchesters took the right of the line, and the Devons the left, the Gordons coming up in support. A covering party of the Fifth Lancers and Imperial Light Horse were on the right. When the British Infantry was well on the hill the Boers opened fire and shelled the crest accurately. At four o'clock the first British battery came into action, between the Devons and the Manchesters. The Boers returned the fire with vigor. Their range was excellent, and, though in the first place they only remained in action six minutes, they upset an ammunition wagon and caused several casualties, especially to horses.

While this was going on clouds of the fleeing Boers were seen, as it appeared, leaving the field and escaping on the right of the British advance. This retreat of the mounted Boers was, however, only a ruse by which the Boers hoped to draw off part of the attacking party, themselves galloping back to a position on the reverse of the hill.

After the Boer guns had ceased firing, the British artillery, then having two batteries in action, began to prepare for the infantry assault, bursting shrapnel all along the Boer position.

Clouds gathered behind the hills and made an ominous background, against which the lurid light of the bursting shells showed as if it were already night. It was evident that the British attack must be pressed home before night, so, with half an hour's preparation, the infantry received orders to advance.

To the Devons was given the task of delivering a semi-frontal attack with the Manchesters, supported by the Gordons on the right flank, for which they had to make a wide detour. This was at half-past four. Rain was then falling.

When the British infantry attack began the Boer guns came into position and shelled the advancing lines of the Devons, who were now stolidly pushing across the open, cutting the wire fences that impeded them. They were extended as much as possible, this being the only

method by which the men could face the Mauser and Maxim fire. Nothing could have been finer than the undaunted front of this battalion edging forward against the fire of modern arms.

The Gordons, skirting the batteries in action, marched steadily on in columns of companies, until the boulder nek of the Boer ridge was reached. This was about three-quarters of a mile from the position of the Boer guns. In front of the Highlanders were three successive kopjes, or rather ridges, running diagonally across the flat top of the hill. Each was commanded by that behind it, and the hill was one mass of the typical boulders of the country. If the men wavered and stuck under cover during the terrible advance, the British officers sacrificed themselves to furnish an example.

The Boers stood to their positions with a grim persistency which was magnificent, and their stand at the last kopje above their camp and laager was one of the finest pieces of fighting recorded in modern wars. In spite of the united attack of the storming regiments, training their guns at point-blank range and discharging the magazines, they checked the advance for half an hour.

A correspondent who went up the hill with the British troops described the charge as follows:

“Our bugles rang out the advance and other buglers took up the call. Fixed bayonets gleamed amid the boulders through the fading light, and the men sprang up to the well-known notes—sprang up to fall like rabbits.

“Again and again sounded the call. Somehow I found myself with a company of the Devons. A fence stopped us. We fell or threw ourselves over it. Still sounded the call.

“The Highlanders were shouting above. Cheering madly; we were over a breastwork, and passed a quick-firing gun still smoking. A Dutchman at my feet was calling for mercy. We were in—were there. Some one shouted, ‘Remember Majuba!’ Over the brow there was the sound of skirling pipes. The main kopje was taken.

“There was still firing below. With ‘Majuba’ still on their lips, our men dashed forward to carry the laager with bayonets. The officers held them back, and a voice in command said, ‘Cease fire.’

“At about 6:15 P. M. a bayonet charge was sounded as the roar of artillery on both sides suddenly ceased, and the British, Devonshires leading, made a brilliant dash against the main body of the Boers,

facing a fearful fire. Twice the British were checked by the terrible fusilade. Once the advance wavered for a moment; but then, with ringing cheers, the British force hurled itself forward and swept over the kopjes, bayoneting the broken Boers in all directions.

"The Boers, overwhelmed and astounded, paused, then retreated, then raised the white flag and surrendered. Two or three hundred broke and ran, pursued by the Fifth Lancers, who charged through and through them.

"Again the bugle rang out, and a white handkerchief fluttered at the end of a rifle. The Boers had surrendered, but the main remnant were pouring over the hillside, where our cavalry pounced upon them.

"It was half-past six. I had just time to look round the laager below the hillside, strewn with dead and wounded, the Dutch and German gunners being distinguishable by their brown uniform. They had fought their guns splendidly. Two of their guns I saw with 'Maxim-Nordenfelt' and the direction in English on the carriages. I had to leave at once, as it was already night and we were twenty miles from the telegraph.

"At midnight the hospital-train came back carrying ninety of our wounded, but I am afraid the total will be double that. This must have been a terrible night. Many of the wounded could not have been found till the morning. Glencoe was a sanguinary engagement, and this was in every respect equal to it in bloodshed, but, though the price was high, the defeat was absolutely crushing, and the moral effect will now be felt all through the Republics.

"General French was in command throughout. Our strength was about 3,200. Sir George White was present during the engagement. General Ian Hamilton commanded the Infantry."

General Jan Kock, the Boer commander, and Colonel Schiel, the German officer commanding the Boer artillery and organizer of the German Corps, were among the prisoners captured by the British at the Battle of Elandslaagte. They were both wounded and General Kock, subsequently, died in a British hospital at Ladysmith.

The British lost about 250 men killed and wounded and the Boers were estimated to have lost about 800 men in killed, wounded and prisoners. The Boers, however, said the figures, so far as they were concerned, were greatly exaggerated.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### THE DUNDEE RETREAT AND FIGHT AT REITFONTEIN.

The retreat of General Yule, who succeeded General Symons in command of the British forces at Glencoe and Dundee, after the wounding of the latter, was not the dignified movement the British official dispatches made it out to be. On the contrary, it was a most hurried retirement in dead of night. He was compelled to leave all his wounded at Dundee, where General Symons subsequently died, a prisoner in the hands of the Boers.

The official dispatch announcing the arrival of Yule's column at Ladysmith read:

"Ladysmith, Oct. 26.—12:40 P. M.—General Yule's column has just marched in here after a very hard march during a night of exceptionally heavy rain. The men, though done up, are in good spirits and only want a rest. The enemy did not molest them."

This, however, did not tell the real story of the retreat

From facts which leaked out later it was shown that, after the battle of Glencoe, also referred to as the Battle of Dundee, and the Battle of Talana Hill, the British imagined they would not be molested for several days. But, they had not learned to appreciate the Boers as fighters and strategists. The British had also greatly overestimated their victory over the Boers near Glencoe, October 20, and they soon afterwards received news of the approach of the main column of Boers, under the command of General Joubert. Having a much inferior force at his disposal, General Yule recognized the impossibility of defending both Dundee and Glencoe, and notified General White, at Ladysmith, of the situation and ordered the evacuation of Dundee. The site of the British camp was also changed, in anticipation of an attack on Dundee, which began at daybreak, October 22, with long-range firing by the Boer guns, whose forty-pounder dropped shells from the Impatie Mountains in and around the town. Thereupon the British retreated on Glencoe, and, later, they were ordered to fall back on Ladysmith. General Yule was also notified that a column had been sent to Elandslaagte to protect his retreat, which brought on the Battle of Elandslaagte, already chronicled. The British left Glencoe under

fire, but their precarious situation was seemingly unknown to the Boers. The Boers shelled the Glencoe camp all day October 22 and kept the British busy skirmishing and removing their transport wagons out of range. Luckily, a heavy rain fell during the night. But, during the retreat there were many anxious moments, especially when the British passed through Van Londeer's Pass, six miles long, on their way to Biggarsberg. It was a dangerous defile, which about fifty men could have held against an army. It was three o'clock in the morning, October 24, when the British were through this pass. The troops were almost exhausted, but not a murmur, it was said, escaped them. It took the column twenty-four hours to cover the last sixteen miles and many of the troopers had then been thirty-six hours in the saddle. The troops lost their kits during the retreat.

There was a panic at Dundee when the retreat of the British became known. The inhabitants of the place fled on foot and on horseback and hundreds of men, women and children wandered throughout the first night, in the pouring rain, over the veldt. Some of them sought refuge in the Kaffir kraals and others found shelter at Rowan's Farm, Umsinga, Greytown and Pietermaritzburg. The Boers, the next morning, swarmed over the hills near Dundee and Glencoe and commenced shelling the hospital. But a party with a flag of truce went towards the nearest Boer position and General Erasmus afterwards expressed regret for shelling the place, saying he had mistaken the Indian hospital attendants for British soldiers.

At ten o'clock that day the Boer flag was hoisted over the courthouse, and the inhabitants of Dundee who had remained in the town were informed that they would not be molested. But there were some riotous scenes. Stores were broken into and looted and all the liquor obtainable was freely used. The Boers, it was added, laid hands on everything portable, including ladies' clothing, parasols, bicycles, etc., and stored the plunder temporarily in their tents.

An interesting incident of the Battle of Glencoe came to light at about this time. It seems that when the fire of the British guns became too hot eight Boers ran out of cover and, standing together, coolly opened fire at the Imperial Light Horse, with the evident purpose of drawing the latter's fire while their comrades retired. Seven of these brave Boers were killed.



General Yule was promoted to the rank of Major-General for extricating his troops from their precarious position at Glencoe.

A large force of Free State Boers, October 23, broke the line between Ladysmith and Elandslaagte, and were engaged, October 24, by a strong force of British infantry and cavalry, which moved out of Ladysmith at daybreak. The Boers were found strongly posted on a ridge six miles east of Ladysmith. The ridge sloped into a long plain, south of which was a knoll. Over the knoll the Kaffir Kraal railroad line ran west and east across the middle of the plain. The British artillery on the knoll was shelled in the early morning by the Boers, the first shot dropping on a gun carriage; but it only killed a horse.

A strong British cavalry force was then sent eastwards along the Elandslaagte road parallel to the south of the railway. The artillery and infantry in skirmishing order crossed the railway. On the west side of the plain the infantry force lay under cover of the railway embankment.

The British cavalry then turned northwest to attack the flank of the Boer position, but was met by a heavy fire and halted. Meanwhile the British artillery pounded the ridge and silenced the Boer artillery, which, though accurate, did little damage. At 10 o'clock the cannonading was very heavy, and a severe rifle engagement was in progress on the western slope of the hills. The British artillery fire was accurate, and by 1 o'clock had almost silenced the riflemen on the edge of the ridges.

The Boers then retreated northward, but the British Lancers cut off their horses. The Boer rout was general by 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

One account of the engagement at Reitfontein said the Boers opened fire at 1,200 yards, hitting several of the British soldiers. The Boers then occupied strong positions along the ridges. The British guns shelled them out of the first ridge and then the infantry advanced. Over thirty British soldiers dropped in the first 200 yards. Then General White ordered an attack on the rear, and, eventually, the Boers retired.

On the other flank the Natal Carbineers and the Imperial Light Horse had a rifle duel with a strong body of Boers, who were well covered. The British forces were said to have shot better than the Boers and they carried the ridge, but found a level plateau beyond it,

with the Boers occupying another ridge. The Natal Volunteers rushed the Boers again and drove them back to their main position, which the British raked with shells.

Commandant General Joubert's account of the fight at Reitfontein said it lasted seven hours and that six burghers were killed and nine wounded. The British, he added, then retired to Ladysmith.

The British official account of the battle dated October 25, was as follows:

"Yesterday, Sir George White, having ascertained by a previous reconnoissance that the Free State forces had moved eastward from Bester's Station, and were attempting to gain the road from Ladysmith to the north, moved out in the direction of Elandslaagte, with the Fifth Lancers, Nineteenth Hussars, Imperial Light Horse, Natal Mounted Volunteers, two field batteries, one mountain battery, and a brigade of infantry.

"The enemy posted a battery two miles south of Modderspruit and opened with infantry fire at long range on the British advance guard, consisting of the Nineteenth Hussars. This was followed by artillery fire directed with considerable accuracy against the British guns.

"An action lasting six hours ensued at Reitfontein Farm, and the enemy were driven from the hills commanding the roads. General White's object being accomplished, the column returned to Ladysmith.

"The enemy is believed to have suffered. Several Boers own officially that they lost over 100 killed at Elandslaagte. Three hundred prisoners, wounded and unwounded, are in the hands of the British, including several of high position. The Transvaal force defeated at Elandslaagte was the Johannesburg corps.

"In the action at Elandslaagte, October 21, the Johannesburg force, with a detachment of the German Corps, was completely broken up."

This engagement was known as the Battle of Reitfontein. No accurate account of the loss on either side was obtainable. The object of General White in this engagement was, as at Elandslaagte, to prevent the Boers from cutting off the retreat of General Yule on Ladysmith.

General Buller, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in South Africa, arrived at Cape Town, October 31, and received an enthusiastic welcome.

The British Secretary of State for War, the Marquis of Lansdowne,

received, October 26, the following message from Queen Victoria, dated that day from Balmoral Castle:

My heart bleeds for these dreadful losses again to-day. It is a great success, but I fear very dearly bought. Would you convey my warmest and heartfelt sympathy with the near relations of the fallen and wounded and my admiration of the conduct of those they have lost?

“V. R. I.”

General Sir William Penn Symons, K. C. B., who died of his wound at Dundee, was born in Cornwall, July 17, 1843. He entered the army in 1863, was made a colonel in 1887, served in the Zulu war in 1879, and for his gallantry received a medal and clasp. Later he served in Burmah and India, winning another medal and clasp.

Captain Hardy, of the Eighteenth Hussars, who escaped, furnished, some time later, an account of the capture of a troop of Hussars, by the Boers, after the Battle of Glencoe. He said:

“After the battle at Glencoe, three squadrons of the Eighteenth Hussars, with a Maxim, a company of the Dublin Fusiliers and a detachment of mounted infantry, Colonel Moller commanding, kept under cover of a ridge north of the camp and at half-past six o'clock in the evening moved down toward Sand Spruit.

“On reaching the open the British force was shelled by the enemy, but without casualties. Colonel Moller led his men around Talana Hill, in a southeasterly direction, across Vants' Drift road, captured several Boers, and saw the Boer ambulances retiring. Then, with Squadron B, of the Hussars, the Maxim, and the mounted infantry, he crossed the Dundee-Vryheid Railway and approached a strong force of the enemy, who opened a hot fire, wounding Lieutenant Lachlan.

“Our cavalry retreated across Vant's Drift, the Boers pressing. Colonel Moller held the ridge for some time, but on the enemy enveloping his right, he fell back across the Spruit. The Maxim stuck in a water hole, Lieutenant Cape was wounded, three of the detachment were killed, and the horses of Major Greville and Captain Pollock were shot under them.

“The force finally reformed on a ridge to the north, which was held for some time. While I was attending Lieutenant Crun, who had been wounded, Colonel Moller's force retired into a defile, apparently intend-

ing to return to camp around Impatie Mountain, but it was not seen afterward."

The British soldiers captured at the Battle of Glencoe were escorted on board a train at Dannhauser. They filled ten cars. The officers traveled first-class, and a separate car was provided for two wounded officers.

A large crowd assembled at the railroad station at Pretoria, October 27, to witness their arrival, but there was no demonstration. When the prisoners alighted they were received with silence upon the part of the crowd.

The British wounded were taken to a hospital while the other officers and men were marched to the race course, escorted by mounted burghers, and were encamped on the spot where Jameson's troopers had been confined.

The British officers captured were Lieutenant-Colonel Moller, Major Greville and Captain Pollock of the Eighteenth Hussars, and Captain Lonsdale, Lieutenants Le Meseurier, Garvice, Grimshaw, Majendie and Shore of the Dublin Fusiliers. They were quartered in a building apart from the men. On giving their parole they were allowed the freedom of the enclosure.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### THE BATTLE OF NICHOLSON'S NEK.

The British War Office, shortly before midnight, November 1, issued the following notice:

"The Governor of Natal has informed the Colonial Office that telegraphic communication with Ladysmith has been interrupted since 2:30 P. M., to-day."

From that hour the complete investment of Ladysmith, with a British garrison of about 12,000 men, was dated, and the siege was destined to last for some time. But, previous to this, the British and Boers met again in battle, October 30, the engagement being referred to as the Battle of Nicholson's Nek. It was a great disaster to the British arms. Nearly one thousand British troops were captured by the Boers, and many were slain or wounded. The British Empire may be said to have staggered under the blow. Not since July, 1880, when a brigade under the command of General Burrows was cut to pieces by the Afghans in the Maiwand Pass, had the British experienced such a defeat. The Empire was plunged in grief and the scenes about the War Office, London, after the news became known, were heartrending. The streets about the building were packed with relatives and friends of the missing soldiers, who eagerly scanned every bulletin posted, hoping to see that the name of some dear one was not included in the list of killed, wounded or captured.

General White's official report of the disaster was as follows:

"Ladysmith, October 31, 7:50 P. M.

"I took out from Ladysmith a brigade of mounted troops, two brigade divisions Royal Artillery, Natal Field Battery, and two brigades of infantry to reconnoitre in force the enemy's main position to the north, and if opportunity should offer, to capture the hill behind Farquhar's Farm, which had on the previous day been held in strength by the enemy.

"In connection with this advance, a column, consisting of the Tenth Mountain Battery, four and a half companies of the Gloucesters, and six companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, the whole under Lieutenant-

Colonel Carleton, with Major Adye, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, as staff officer, was dispatched at 11 P. M., on the 29th inst., to march by night up Bell's Spruit and seize Nicholson's Nek, or some position near Nicholson's Nek, thus turning the enemy's right flank.

"The main advance was successfully carried out, the objective of the attack being found evacuated, and artillery duel between our field batteries and the enemy's guns of position and Maxims is understood to have caused heavy loss to the enemy.

"Reconnaissance forced the enemy to fully disclose his position, and, after a strong counter attack on our right infantry brigade and cavalry had been repulsed, the troops were slowly withdrawn to camp, pickets being left in observation.

"Late in the engagement the naval contingent, under Captain Lambton, of Her Majesty's ship *Powerful*, came into action, and silenced with extremely accurate fire the enemy's guns of position.

"The circumstances which attended the movements of Colonel Carleton's column are not yet fully known, but from the reports received the column appears to have carried out the night march unmolested until within two miles of Nicholson's Nek.

"At this point two boulders rolled from the hill, and a few rifle shots stampeded the infantry ammunition mules; the stampede spread to the battery mules, which broke loose from their leaders and got away with practically the whole gun equipment.

"The greater portion of the regimental small arms and ammunition reserve was similarly lost.

"The infantry battalions, however, fixed bayonets, and accompanied by the personnel of the battery, seized a hill on the left of the road two miles from the Nek with but little opposition. There they remained unmolested till dawn, the time being occupied in organizing defense of the hill and constructing stone sangars and walls as cover from fire.

"At dawn a skirmishing attack on our position was commenced by the enemy, but made no way until 9:30 A. M., when strong reinforcements enabled them to push the attack with great energy.

"The fire became very searching, and two companies of the Gloucesters, in an advanced position, were ordered to fall back.

"The enemy then pressed to short range, the losses on our side becoming very numerous.

"At 3 P. M. our ammunition was practically exhausted. The position was captured, and the survivors of the column fell into the enemy's hands.

"The enemy treated our wounded with great humanity, General Joubert at once dispatching a letter to me offering safe conduct to doctors and ambulance to remove wounded.

"Medical officers and parties to render first aid to the wounded were dispatched to the scene of action from Ladysmith last night, and an ambulance was sent at dawn this morning.

"The want of success of the column was due to the misfortune of the mules stampeding and consequent loss of guns and small arm ammunition reserve.

"Official list of casualties and prisoners will be reported shortly. The latter are understood to have been sent by rail to Pretoria.

"The security of Ladysmith is in no way affected."

The result of the Boer victory was the circulation from different continent capitals of all sorts of rumors of additional British defeats, including a report of the capitulation of the British army at Ladysmith.

After the first shock was over, the Government and people of Great Britain met the situation calmly and determinedly. More reserves were called out, more ships were commissioned and preparations were made to send an additional 10,000 men to South Africa.

The British, before surrendering, it appears, defended themselves until their ammunition was exhausted.

Mr. Bennett Burleigh, the war correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, described this battle in the following manner:

"Ladysmith, Monday night, October 30, via Pietermaritzburg, Tuesday Afternoon.—To-day's battle at Ladysmith was a disappointing action, as the object, which was to roll back the Free Staters, was not achieved. Yet, our soldiers, individually, showed themselves fully a match for the Boers, both in shooting ability and pluck, although they were faced by double their own numbers, posted upon rough ground which had been previously prepared for defense and to resist a cannonade.

"The enemy had been drawing their coils closer around on the west, north and east sides of the town, their forces being composed of the Free Staters, General Joubert's column, and that of Lucas

Meyer. General White's plan included fighting three simultaneous actions.

"On the night of Sunday to Monday, before daybreak, our troops marched out a distance of several miles from camp, and succeeded in securing certain points unseen by the enemy, the advantage being thus on our side. Considering the nature of the subsequent contests, our losses must be regarded as relatively light.

"The enemy began battle at ten minutes past five o'clock in the morning by firing their 40-pounder guns from a ridge, situated about four miles out east of the railway, and dropping shells into the town. The missiles luckily proved almost harmless.

"The action soon became general, and our left, center and right engaged the Boer positions. At first our batteries seemed unable to quite silence the Boer artillery, which fought with indomitable energy and pluck, the British gunners having to contend with the difficulty of being on low ground.

"General White's right and center gained some initial successes, but the enemy arrived in great force, and our right and left were attacked with tremendous vigor.

"Our left became partially hemmed in, and the right was driven in steadily. General retirement began at about eleven in the forenoon, and was executed everywhere with coolness.

"It was a serious misfortune to us that the Powerful's blue jackets, with their big guns, were not summoned sooner, as the result of the engagement would have been different. Their third shot with a 12-pounder, fired at one o'clock in the afternoon, silenced the Boer 40-pounder.

"It is probable that the town will be invested by the enemy, but it is quite safe.

"Scouting operations which were carried out on Saturday disclosed the fact that several of the enemy's laagers, including that of General Lucas Meyer's column, from Dundee, lay behind Lombard's and Bulwan Kops to the number of seven thousand men, with two batteries.

"The Free Staters and Joubert's forces had joined hands to the south of Modner's Spruit and west of the railway. Their central laager was well selected from a tactical point of view, being upon rough hills, south of Matawan's Hook.

"The enemy advanced in lines over a wide circuit of more than ten



miles, extending from west of Acton Homes to east of Bulwan. General White detailed Major Adye with a mountain battery of seven-pounders and part of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and the Gloucestershire regiment to hold the neck of the hills north of the old camp, thus menacing the Free Staters' line of retreat, and securing Ladysmith from a westerly attack.

"General Sir Archibald Hunter, with Colonel Grimwood, two batteries of artillery, the Leistershire and Liverpool regiments and the First and Second battalions of the rifle brigade, were sent to operate against Lucas Meyer.

"In passing from Lombard's and Bulwan Kops, unluckily one battery and the Liverpools lost their direction in advancing. They retraced their steps, but were not able to render assistance in the action until late.

"The remaining infantry brigade, Colonel Ian Hamilton's, comprising the Gordon Highlanders, the Devonshire regiment, the Manchester regiment and the Fourth battalion of the rifle brigade, and Colonel Howard's consisting of the First and Second battalions of the King's Royal Rifles, the Dublin Fusiliers and six field batteries, were sent to the center on the Newcastle roadway.

"Colonel Howard's brigade, being on the right, halted in the darkness behind a low kopje to the right of the roadway, about two and a half miles out, the guns of Howard's men making a detour by the right in order to turn what was thought to be the Boers' left.

"General White sought to thrust forward his center, while Major Adye, on the left, and Colonel Grimwood, on the right, held the opposed commanders in check.

"Major Adye, going on along Walker's Hook road, found a big force of Free Staters. The fighting soon became desperate. An exposed kopje, which was occupied, was at an early hour assailed on all sides, and their ammunition mules, with the Kaffir drivers, stampeded.

"Much of the same thing occurred to Grimwood's column, on the Bulwan side. The ammunition was lost, but our infantry quite held their own.

"Practically three actions were raging simultaneously. General White was with his center, where an artillery duel was proceeding from twenty minutes after five until half-past six.

"So adroitly had our soldiers occupied their positions that the enemy had no idea where the troops securely lay.

"The boom of the big guns reverberating along the lines, with screech and crash of shells, drowned every other sound.

"At about seven o'clock our right and center advanced to turn the Boer left. Pressing on through the bush of the valley, they crumpled up the enemy, occupying the low kopjes on the east side of the railway.

"All went well for a time, our troops gradually wheeling round toward the northern slopes of the Tintwa Inyoni ridges.

"The Boer leaders upon the hills for hours courageously directed the men and guns, and to relieve the pressure mounted Boers streamed with their laagers to attack Major Adye's column and regain the ground they had lost in the center. They took with them, as did the enemy engaged in other parts of the fight, some field batteries of the small Maxim type.

"In the meantime their cannon barked snappishly at our troops, with only the briefest interludes. It was a ding-dong affair until 10 o'clock in the morning."

The British casualties, outside of those who were killed or wounded before the left wing surrendered, were sixty officers and men killed and 240 officers and men wounded, a total of 300. The Boer loss was comparatively small.

From that time on very little news was obtained from Ladysmith, though there were "Kaffirgrams," or reports brought by Kaffirs, innumerable, in which the British were repeatedly pictured as slaughtering thousands of Boers. It is certain, however, that the 4.7-inch guns of the Naval Brigade at Ladysmith, mounted on a newly-invented platform, which enabled them to be transported and used as field guns, did great service, though the Boers, using the most modern Creusot 40-pounders, gave the British a lot of trouble even before the complete investment of Ladysmith.

General Joubert, October 25, in response to an inquiry from General White as to the condition of General Symons, sent the following characteristic reply:

"I must express my sympathy. General Symons, unfortunately, was badly wounded, and died. He was buried yesterday.

"I trust the great God will speedily bring to a close this unfortunate state of affairs, brought about by unscrupulous speculators and capitalists, who went to the Transvaal to obtain wealth, and, in order to further their own interests, misled others and brought about this shameful state of warfare over all South Africa, in which so many valuable lives have been and are being sacrificed, as instance General Symons and others.

"I express my sympathy to Lady Symons in the loss of her husband."

Here, perhaps, we may be allowed to give a sketch of the great Boer commander.

Petrus Jacobus Joubert, Commandant-General of the Transvaal's forces and Vice-President of the Transvaal Republic, is a great-great-grandson of Pierre Joubert, one of the Huguenots who, because of their religious belief, were obliged to leave their homes and friends, and to seek refuge from persecution in flight to South Africa, where they could serve their God in freedom.

In the Transvaal Joubert is known as "Sliem Peit"—"Craft Peter." Born at Cango, in the Cape Colony, three years before Queen Victoria ascended the throne, he early endured the hardship of battling alone with the world. After making a little money by trading, he became a stock farmer in the Wakkerstroom district of the Transvaal.

In due course of time he became a member of the Volksraad, and before he had reached middle age had become wealthy by practicing as a law agent.

When the British annexed the Transvaal Joubert was President Kruger's companion on the mission to London to seek retrocession. The failure of that mission convinced the Boers that to regain their independence they must fight. On the war breaking out, Joubert was put in chief command of the Boer forces, and to him was due the skilful tactical use of the Boers' guerrilla methods, which proved so effective against the old world methods of fighting employed by Sir George Colley and his soldiers. Since then Joubert's power in the Transvaal has been second only to that of Kruger. The night before Laing's Nek Joubert wrote, in reply to a letter from General Colley that the Boers would favor a South African confederation, and would hoist the British flag once a year if the republic were restored under the Queen's

patronage. In the time which preceded Sir Charles Warren's expedition Joubert resigned office in protest against "a Government which has deliberately broken faith with England, and violated the Convention by annexing Montsioa's territory." When contesting the Presidentialship with President Kruger in 1888, Joubert said: "I fought against the English for our liberty, but I have now, as I had then, no ill-feeling against them. I would fight with the English against any other power, and if Germany were to make any attempt on the Transvaal I would say to England, 'Take us and make us yours again, rather than let us fall into German hands.'"

It has recently been found out, however, that he sent Lobengula, when that King was on his throne, a letter by no means flattering to the English. General Joubert, in 1894, issued a manifesto warning burghers against trekking to Mashonaland. In May last General Joubert made a notable proposal to give any respectable and honest Outlander the franchise after "three or four years" of registration, on taking a simple oath of allegiance.

Sir Redver Henry Buller, the British Commander in South Africa, was born in 1839, and was promoted Lieutenant-General in 1891. He served in China, in the Red River expedition, the Ashanti war, the Kaffir war and the Zulu war. He was Under Secretary for Ireland in 1887, and was appointed Adjutant General of the British forces in 1890. An English writer recently furnished the following character sketch of General Buller:

"Self-confidence is an almost indispensable qualification in the soldier called to high command. It stands only second to that 'cool head' without which generalship is naught. And of self-confidence, Sir Redver Buller has, perhaps, more than his fair share. He believes in himself most thoroughly, knows better generally than anybody else, and sticks positively to his own opinion in opposition to that of all the world. An amusing story is told of an incident in the last Nile campaign which illustrates this. He was on board a river steamer, descending some 'bad water' in one of the higher cataracts, and got into a discussion with Lord Charles Beresford as to the proper channel that should be taken. Each obstinately defended his own course, but in the end that which Buller recommended was adopted, with the result

that the steamer got through without accident. 'You see, I was right,' cried Sir Redver; 'mine was the proper channel.'

"'That was mine, too,' coolly replied Lord Charles. 'I only recommended the other because I knew you would go against whatever I said.'

"But Sir Redver Buller's self-confidence is based often on very remarkable knowledge, and in matters quite beyond the circuit of his own profession. He is a man deeply read, and of such good parts that he soon masters a subject very thoroughly. He has been met in a mixed company of experts, one in finance, another in telegraphy, a third in ballooning, and has not only continued to hold his own, but in more than one case to put the others right. Whatever he takes up he carries through with the same dogged persistence that won him approval as an army staff officer."

## CHAPTER XLVII.

### THREATENED BRITISH GARRISONS.

When Ladysmith was invested by the Boers, Kimberley, Mafeking and other places, so far as the outside world could judge from the fragmentary news by "Kaffirgrams" and other such sources, were having an equally hard time of it, and, as in the case of Ladysmith, echoes of real or fancied British victories at Mafeking and elsewhere were telegraphed from many parts of Cape Colony.

Mafeking is a little town on the Bechuanaland railway, about eight miles from the Transvaal border, 875 miles from Cape Town. It has a cricket ground, and a race course, a "Surrey Hotel," and others, English, Dutch and Wesleyan churches, and is the headquarters of the Bechuanaland border police. From Mafeking carts run regularly in times of peace from the Malmani gold fields and the Marico Valley, where some of the most fruitful Dutch farms are to be found. From this neighborhood Mafeking ordinarily draws considerable supplies, and even its water comes chiefly from the springs at Rooi Grond, in the Transvaal territory. Mafeking was in the hands of Colonel Baden-Powell's force, enlisted in Cape Colony itself, and although it is merely a town on an open plain, with nothing but trenches for defense, it will probably render a good account of itself in any operation General Cronje may undertake to reduce it.

Vryburg, about a hundred miles south of Mafeking on the railway to Cape Town, was the capital of British Bechuanaland until that colony was incorporated with the Cape. The country around is undulating, but very bare and sandy, and Vryburg itself is by no means an attractive town, although when it was the northern terminus of the railway it did considerable trade with wagons coming from the interior. It has two or three thousand inhabitants and a number of Government buildings of an unpretentious character, including a hospital.

Kimberley, fully referred to elsewhere, is 647 miles from Cape Town, and about 230 miles south of Mafeking on the railway. At the last census its population was about 29,000, of whom rather less than one-half are white. It has a number of hotels, as well as a hospital and a sanatorium, a public library containing one of the best collections of

books in South Africa, a club, a Masonic temple, a park with cricket and football fields; Anglican, Wesleyan, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches; trams, cabs and a couple of daily newspapers—the Daily Independent and the Diamond Fields' Advertiser. A short distance away is Beaconsfield, practically a suburb, with a population of 10,000, half whites, around the mines of Du Toit's Pan and Bultfontein.

Mudder River, Hope Town and Orange River are small places on the railway between Kimberley and the junction of the lines which run south to Cape Town and Port Elizabeth respectively. De Aar is the name of the important station of the apex of the triangle, just over 500 miles from Cape Town. As De Aar is a spot touched by the trains running to Kimberley, and northeast to Bloemfontein, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, it was regarded as likely that the Free State Boers would do their worst to wreck the railroads in that quarter to prevent, or at least delay, the passage of troops.

In the same vicinity are Colesburg and Burghersdorp, towns in the Cape Colony near the Orange River and on the railways that approach the Boer Republics, from Port Elizabeth and East London respectively.

Colesburg, famous as the place of birth of President Kruger, is a town of some 2,000 inhabitants, and has two bridges—the road bridge being 1,340 feet in length and the railway bridge (Norval's Pont) being 1,690. Burghersdorp is a rather smaller town, but with English, Roman Catholic and Wesleyan churches as well as Dutch; the Orange River is crossed at Bethulie bridge, 1,486 feet in length.

Aliwal North, a short distance from Burghersdorp, on a branch line, is an important frontier town of between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, and faces the Free State across the Orange River, which is spanned by the Frere bridge, 860 feet in length, an avenue also from the colony into Basutoland.

Charlestown, in the extreme north of Natal Colony, 304 miles from the port of Durban, stands 5,386 feet above sea level, four miles distant from Majuba Hill. Before President Kruger suffered the railway to penetrate his territory Charlestown was of importance as a terminus, but its small glory has distance and the place is now quite insignificant.

A little lower down the hills, up which the railway climbs, lies Ingogo Station, close to the Schuins Hoogte battlefield (Ingogo Heights) and still lower, at a distance of thirty-six miles from Charlestown, in

the direction of the sea, stands Newcastle, on the Incandu River, at the foot of the Drakenbergs. It is a very healthy little town of some two thousand inhabitants, and possesses English, Wesleyan and other churches, a town hall, and a public library, and it is the center of some highly important coal mines as well as of a wool industry.

The coal fields extend into the Transvaal, and also southeast to Glencoe and Dundee—small mining towns whose names suggest the energy of Scottish founders in this promising part of Natal.

Ladysmith, or Ladismith (named after the wife of Sir Harry Smith, the Cape Governor after whom the Free State town of Harrismith is named) is a town of two or three thousand inhabitants, thirty miles from the foot of the Drakenberg Mountains, and is chiefly noteworthy as the site of the important military camp where a large part of the British force in Natal is now assembled.

On October 27 details reached the world outside of Kimberley of the defeat of 700 Boers by the British north of Kimberley, in which the Boers were said to have been completely routed with heavy loss, the British loss being three men killed and twenty-one men, including two officers, wounded. The Boers' losses were described as very heavy. The British force, it appears, consisted of the local volunteers, who, with the Lancashire regiment, completed the rout of the burghers after the artillery had driven them out of their entrenchments.

The fight appears to have been the result of a sortie with the view of breaking the cordon surrounding Kimberley. The British, apparently 500 strong, met 700 Boers, and, according to the official and other accounts, routed them after severe fighting, in which the armored train appears to have done valuable service. The Boers were strongly entrenched seven miles northward, and the British carried the Boers' position without serious loss. It is said that the Boers twice unfairly used a white flag, a charge, by the way, repeatedly brought against them.

General Botha, who was among the killed, was a member of the Volksraad and a famous Dutch fighter. He distinguished himself as a marksman at Brenkhorst-Spruit, when the Ninety-fourth British regiment was mowed down. He afterward defended a farm house against the British. When he surrendered the farm house he was found with five wounds, bathed in blood.

At Mafeking and at Kimberley the British used armored trains with



considerable effect, and a feigned retreat of the British at Mafeking is said to have caused the Boers to pursue them over mines filled with lyddite, which was exploded, inflicting great loss of life on the Boers.

Stories of sorties were as numerous as swallows in summer time, and just about as easy to grasp.

Mr. Rhodes, at Kimberley, late in October and early in November, appeared to be enjoying himself immensely. He began building a fine tree-shaded avenue, gave dinner parties daily, and frequently went out to watch the skirmishes between the British and the Boers.

There was no communication by rail between Kimberley and Mafeking, but the two garrisons sometimes exchanged messages, through daring riders or by means of crafty Kaffirs, who succeeded in slipping through the Boer lines at night.

It was estimated, November 5, that there were about 6,000 Boers around Kimberley, where Colonel Kekewich had charge of the British garrison of about 2,500 men, and Boer reinforcements were constantly reaching the place. The British made light of the Boer bombardments, which do not appear to have had much effect.

At Fort Tuli, in Rhodesia, Colonel Plumer, the British Commander there, also had interesting experiences similar to those of Colonel Baden-Powell at Mafeking. It was a case of bombardment and sortie, and, it could not be denied, the British held their own. There were many pretty acts of courtesy on both sides as the fighting progressed. For instance, General Cronje, in command of the Boers operating against Kimberley, reported to Pretoria, October 30, that the Boer force under Commandant Louwa was laagered near the grand-stand of the race course at Mafeking. He added that the Boers repulsed a British bayonet charge, October 27, that the British left six men dead on the field, and when Colonel Baden-Powell asked for an armistice the next day, in order to bury the dead, the Boers not only consented but helped the British place the bodies on the cart sent for them.

And so the war went on.

The British transport Roslyn Castle, the first steamer with reinforcements for South Africa on board, arrived at Cape Town, November 9, and was immediately sent on to Durban, Natal.







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