

**RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF THE  
TRANSVAAL WAR**

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OF THE  
TRANSVAAL WAR

BY  
EDWARD T. COOK

Γίνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ  
περὶ μεγάλων.

ARISTOTLE'S *Politics*, viii. 4.

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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE object of these pages is to provide within a single volume of moderate size as complete a handbook as possible to the discussions on the policy of the South African War. Upon the conduct of the war I do not touch. My attempt has been to trace the war back to its ultimate causes, to recall the sequence of events immediately preceding it, to set out the actual course of the negotiations, and to discuss the questions of right and wrong involved in the struggle.

I do not pretend to be impartial, in the sense of taking no side. I believe that substantially Great Britain has been in the right, and the Dutch Republics have been in the wrong. The general point of view which will be found in the following pages was summarized in a newspaper article here reprinted in an appendix (p. 363). But though the book is informed with a definite opinion, I have endeavoured to supply the reader with the data necessary for arriving at an independent judgment.

The facts and documents on which alone any intelligent opinion can be based are scattered in a large mass of books of reference, of newspaper files, and of Parliamentary papers. I have cited textually the more important despatches, collecting them in their proper order from a chaos of Blue-Books (many of which are now out of print). My purpose has been to supply throughout chapter and verse for every reference, and particular illustrations of every general statement. A full index will, it is hoped, facilitate the use of the book for purposes of reference.

The origin of the volume was a suggestion made to me from several quarters that I should collect some of the articles written on South African questions during my editorship of a London

morning paper. The suggestion in the form in which it was made was soon seen to be impracticable. It was abandoned, not because on looking back over forgotten files I found old words rising in judgment against me in the light of subsequent events, but because the form of the political leading article renders it wholly unsuitable for reproduction. To make any impression by means of leading articles, a writer must go all lengths in iteration. His audience of one day, he remembers, will not be quite the same as his audience on the next. In any case, what exists on paper to-day is to-morrow cast into the oven. The worthiest fate which a journalist can expect for the words of wisdom he addresses to the head and heart of his readers is that they should afterwards wrap up their boots. Nobody pays much attention to any one leading article ; it is only by hammer, hammer, hammer that a newspaper-writer can hope to fix his points upon public attention. Iteration, therefore, is of the essence of journalistic effect. It is saved from damnation, if at all, only by the fact that each article is hung on some different peg such as may be found in the news of the day. The occasion is sometimes slight enough, but the writer, to give excuse for his repetitions, works it hard and makes it colour the whole article. The leading article, then, is occasional in form and prone to repetition in substance. These characteristics stamp it, apart from all other imperfections, as irremediably ephemeral. But on turning over a large file of South African articles—I shrink from indicating their number—it seemed to me that some of the material therein employed might usefully serve a further purpose by being collected into a book of reference in the way described above.

And so the present volume took shape. Though it represents the fruits, in one sphere, of five years' work in daily journalism, it is yet new matter in the sense that it has been almost entirely re-written. Occasionally, however, the most effective way of telling the story or making a point seemed to be to recall comments made at the time in the public press. In such cases I have cited the actual words of old articles. For permission to do this I have to thank the proprietors of the *Daily News*. It is probably unnecessary to add, but, in order to prevent even a possibility of misunderstanding, it seems right for me to say that

the proprietors of that paper, past and present, must not be taken as having the slightest responsibility for my words or sympathy with my views. I am on this account the more indebted for their indulgence in permitting me to repeat any portion of my heresies here.

The rights and wrongs of the South African War still exercise many minds. It is well that they should do so. Questions of right and wrong are of enduring interest. War is so terrible a scourge that the policy and ethics of any resort to it can never be too fully discussed. In the present case the discussion has the further interest that it raises questions of national policy and party relations which will assuredly remain with us even when the war has at last come to an end. The relation of the different parts of the Empire to one another, the function of the Empire as (in Mr. Gladstone's words) 'a trust and a function given from Providence,' the outlook of the Liberal party upon such problems—these are among the questions on which incidental remarks will be found in the following pages.

E. T. C.

June 1, 1901.

### NOTE TO THE PRESENT EDITION

I REPRINT the above preface in order to explain the genesis of this book. In the present edition I have found it necessary, for reasons of space, to omit many of the newspaper articles which were given in earlier editions.

In revising the book throughout, I have endeavoured to profit by criticism. I have supplied a few omissions and offered explanations on points which have been called in question. Incidentally I have taken occasion to reply to some of the more specious misunderstandings to which writers who take the Boer side in this controversy are prone. I have also added throughout a considerable number of new references and fresh pieces of evidence.

The process of bringing the book up to date has involved some rearrangement of the latter portion, and four additional chapters now appear, dealing with conditions of settlement in relation to

the Kitchener-Botha and other negotiations. These chapters were written before the 'peace mission' of Mr. Schalk Burger to Mr. Steyn had taken place, and the book goes to press while the result of that mission is still unknown. My book is limited, I may repeat, to the politics of the war. With its conduct, and the allegations made in connection therewith, my present pages are not concerned. I have, however, incidentally referred to one aspect of the Refugee Camps, and have printed Lord Kitchener's despatch thereon—a document which should be carefully studied before the British authorities are accused of a policy of 'barbarism' in this matter.

E. T. C.

*March, 1902.*

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## APPENDIX

I AM sometimes asked for copies of two valedictory articles which appeared in the *Daily News* at the time of the severance of my connection with that paper. I take the opportunity to reprint them here, because they describe the standpoint from which the preceding pages are written :

### 'SOUTH AFRICA : A RETROSPECT.

(*Daily News*, January 9, 1901.)

'Five years ago to-day the country was at once startled and relieved by the news that Her Majesty's Government had given orders for the immediate despatch of a flying squadron to South Africa. The announcement was in response to the German Emperor's telegram to President Kruger, which in its turn was an echo of the Jameson Raid—one of the most discreditable and calamitous events in the recent history of the British Empire. There are those who go further and attribute to the Raid the whole and the sole cause of all the troubles that have since overtaken South Africa. That it has greatly aggravated them is beyond all question. But it was not their true cause. The Raid did not spring straight from the head of Mr. Rhodes or Dr. Jameson. It was the perversion of a legitimate agitation of a kind which always has arisen and, it is to be hoped, always will arise when British people are subjected to oppression. To the philosophic historian the Raid must thus present itself as a symptom, rather than as a cause.

'But *corruptio optimi pessima*. The perversion of the Reform agitation from within into a lawless raid from without was a crime

and a blunder which had the worst possible consequences. It imposed, however, upon the British Government a duty, and afforded Mr. Kruger's Government an opportunity. The duty was to make searching and remorseless inquiry into the origin and secret history of the Raid. Mr. Kruger's opportunity was to use the years of grace which that colossal blunder had given him for the introduction of some instalment of genuine reform. The *Daily News* did all that the force of iteration could do to present this double aspect of the question. Unhappily for the peace of Africa, the British Parliament, through its Select Committee, neglected the duty, and Mr. Kruger neglected his opportunity. The inquiry into the Raid was closed just at the point of greatest interest and importance. The Committee was on that account christened in this column "The Committee of No Inquiry." But the Liberal press was not supported by the Liberal leaders. The representatives of the Liberal Front Bench upon the Committee agreed to the suspension of the inquiry. This was an irreparable blunder. It was the loss of one of those golden moments which, as Mr. Gladstone said of another and greater issue, 'do not return.' No amount of subsequent vituperation of Mr. Chamberlain was able to wipe out the consequences of the blunder. The inquiry closed with suspicions still left to lurk in unexplored corners, and the closure was with the approval, or without the protest, of the leading Liberal representatives on the Committee.

'Mr. Kruger's blunder was even greater than that of the British Government and the British Parliament. Never was so favourable an opportunity afforded for wise statesmanship. The Imperial Government was for the time powerless. Mr. Chamberlain for some brief moments thought still to press for reforms. Sir Hercules Robinson promptly suppressed the attempt, and moderate reformers, both here and in South Africa, were on the whole disposed to agree with him. The Uitlanders themselves were divided and cowed. Even a very small instalment of genuine reform must have secured to Mr. Kruger a further lease of unchallenged authority, and to South Africa a period of uninterrupted peace. The Industrial Commission appointed by Mr. Kruger himself, which reported at the same time as our own Select Committee, showed him the way. But it was not to be. The influences of corruption and the instincts

of Conservatism were too strong. Unhappily, Mr. Kruger found false friends in this country to encourage him in hardening his heart. The industrial grievances were virtually ignored, and the political grievances were on the whole aggravated. Like a good Conservative, Mr. Kruger set to work on the principle that coercion is the best remedy. He became more autocratic than ever, so that even his own Chief Justice was compelled to denounce him. He introduced fresh measures of oppression, and he spent the taxes, levied upon the unrepresented majority of the population, in the purchase of enormous armaments.

‘Particulars were published in the *Daily News* yesterday with regard to these armaments, and another correspondent sends us some further information to-day. The “apathetic laxity” of Her Majesty’s Ministers in face of this menace to the “kwaaje vrouw,”\* as Mr. Kruger called the Queen, should have formed one of the main indictments against the British Government. The menace did not stand alone. What were the excessive armaments wanted for? The answer, of course, is to arm the Orange Free State, as well as the Transvaal. Mr. Steyn had concluded with Mr. Kruger an offensive and defensive alliance. This alliance was opposed with singular prescience by Mr. Steyn’s rival, Mr. Fraser. He opposed it, as he said in a speech to his constituents (see *Daily News* leader, March 27, 1900), because it put the Free State at the mercy of the Transvaal; because it supported a Government in that State which was shamefully corrupt, and which, thereby, was a source of perpetual unrest in South Africa; and because, lastly, it jeopardized the friendly relations of the Free State with Great Britain, and thereby endangered its independence. Every word of Mr. Fraser’s forecast has come true. Nor is that all. At the time when Mr. Fraser spoke, Mr. Kruger and Dr. Leyds were elaborating in voluminous despatches their claim to the status of a Sovereign International State. From first to last this has been Mr. Kruger’s ambition. He avowed it in 1883, and he repeated it even in his so-called overtures of peace last year. “Let come what may,” he said in the Volksraad, “we must show that we are an independent State.

\* There is no reason to suppose that the epithet was meant to be uncomplimentary. ‘One who insists on her rights’ appears to be the meaning.

The Volksraad can depend on myself, the Executive Council, and the Commandant-General."

'What came in 1899 was the revival—inevitable, as Mr. Fraser saw—of the Uitlander agitation; the petition to the Queen, and action upon it by Her Majesty's Ministers. The policy of the Government in taking the matter up was approved in these columns. It seemed to us that the honour and the interests of Great Britain as an Imperial Power were alike involved; that the British hegemony in South Africa was at stake; and that, if any backwardness or fear were displayed, the confidence in the Mother Country of other British States than those in South Africa might be fatally shaken. This view of the matter was soon to be confirmed by the outburst of enthusiastic support which the British policy in South Africa evoked in all parts of the Empire. This was a popular outburst by democratic communities, expressed in resolutions and meetings and by popular pressure in Australasia, and by unanimous votes passed in the Canadian Parliament.

'Mr. Chamberlain's despatches in the earlier stages of the controversy were often far from happy, and his speeches were nearly always mischievous and ill-advised. But at the final and critical stage the Government's despatches met with approval from the leading men and the principal newspapers of all parties and sections. The offer contained in the despatch of September 8 was recognised on all sides as moderate, conciliatory, and reasonable, and Mr. Kruger was told even by the most stalwart among his supporters that he would have no excuse for rejecting it. When he failed to accept it, plenty of excuses were forthcoming from the very same quarters. We were unequal to this agility, but we felt and wrote strongly that time should be gained and another attempt made to stave off the terrible calamity of a rupture. We compiled what we called "an interim despatch." The despatch was in substance adopted by the Government, and once more everybody was united. The despatch, it was generally agreed, afforded "a golden bridge." Mr. Kruger declined to walk on it. His ultimatum, as we now know, was even then being drafted. A fortnight later it was launched, and war broke out.

'With the issue of the ultimatum the Liberal party, with some few exceptions, was united in support of the Government. The support

was given not because full confidence was felt in the Government. No sensible man, of any party, could feel such confidence. The Government had not succeeded in presenting the British case in its most favourable light. They had miscalculated the magnitude of their task. Their conduct of the war was marked by blunders and omissions at every turn. We had hoped that this aspect of the case would be prominently and boldly placed before the country by the united forces of the Opposition. We thought and said at the time, and subsequent events must be held to have strengthened our contention, that a mistake was made at the beginning of the last Session of the last Parliament in attacking the policy of the war, which divided the Liberal party most, instead of challenging the conduct of the war, which would have divided the Liberal party not at all, and which—a no less important point—might have effected same useful national purpose. However, there will be plenty of time and opportunity for such criticism in the future. For the immediate moment, the country is united, we must hope, in the policy so well laid down by Mr. Gladstone, the chief Liberal Whip, last week: "There must be no recurrence of the war. The country must be settled and governed under the British colours. That policy is accepted. If we are to exist as an Empire, we cannot go back from it."

'Such, in briefest summary, is the view of the South African problem which has been presented in this column during the last five years. It has been presented, we hope, with courtesy and toleration. That it has been presented with intense conviction, we know. We would fain believe that it has been presented also with a constant reference to facts, and with an avoidance of any appeal to passion and prejudice.'

'THE NEW LIBERALISM: A FORECAST.

(*Daily News*, January 10, 1901.)

'What a pity it is that so many people can never be persuaded to believe a truism! Someone delivered himself the other day—we think it was Sir Robert Giffen—of a truism on that question of "Imperialism" which has so greatly vexed the Liberal party. "There the British Empire is," he said, "and we have to make

the best of it." If all Liberals could only be induced actively to believe in this incontrovertible proposition, how many misunderstandings and heartburnings might be removed! There the British Empire is, and it is the duty and the necessity—and, as some of us would add, the privilege—of every Government and every party to maintain it, and "make the best of it." By the concurrent force of many causes at work in the world, it seems destined that Imperial questions shall occupy a large place in the politics of the immediate future. The process of expansion, it may be hoped, has nearly reached its limits; the task of consolidation has yet to be taken up. We may note incidentally in this connection the remarkable speech of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, reported this morning. "The result of the present system," he says, "has been to lead us to thoughts of closer union than ever before." The direction in which the Canadian Premier's thoughts are running is that which shall combine "the strictest lines of Canadian nationality with British citizenship." In the solution of all Imperial problems there is a great part for Liberalism to play. The British Empire means nothing, or nothing good, unless it be built upon the principles of self-government, of equal rights, of political and commercial freedom. But if the Liberal party is to take its proper part in the discussion and solution of Imperial problems, it must show itself in sympathy with the national feeling at home and abroad; and for this two things are necessary. One is a frank acceptance of imperial burdens, and the other is the cultivation of a sympathetic tone and temper in approaching Imperial questions. The bias of patriotism may easily be carried to excess; but the bias of anti-patriotism is worse. It is worse because it means loss of faith in that Imperial "trust and function" of which Mr. Gladstone spoke in his memorable Fourth Midlothian, and a party that has lost faith and hope can never be a true party of progress.

'It is often said that devotion to foreign and colonial questions necessarily means stagnation at home. If this were true, it would be so much the worse for home affairs, for those other questions present themselves for the most part of necessity, and will not be denied. Of Tory Governments, the statement often is true. Of a policy of sane Imperialism, such as it is the duty of the New



Liberalism to formulate, the statement is profoundly untrue. On any broad and Liberal view of the matter, social reform and sane Imperialism are closely linked together. There is one deep truth in what is nicknamed "Little Englandism." It is this, that the fabric of Empire must in the last resort depend, in principal measure, upon the strength, the happiness, the prosperity of these little islands of the Empire-home. This thought was admirably put by Mr. Morley at Glasgow, in 1896, in a passage which we will once more quote. "I have never felt," he said, "that I for one am a Little Englander. I believe that the most beneficent work for humanity has been done, and is being done, by Great Britain, but I am for a safe England, a strong England, a just England, a right-doing England, and then the bigger the better." There is no lesson written more clearly upon the pages of history than this: that an Empire which is rotten or stagnant at the heart is doomed to dissolution. We want, therefore, for a sane Imperialism, a safe England, a just England, a right-doing England, a happy and contented England, and, we may add, a business-like England. It is to the Liberal party that the nation and the Empire ought to look for the securing of these things. We want administrative and political reform to open yet more fully a free career to talent and to put the right men in the right places. We want a better system of education to equip British citizens more adequately for the keen industrial competition of these new times. We want industrial reforms which shall at once secure to the workers better conditions of life, and relieve the trade of the country from the losses caused by industrial warfare. Above all, we want social reforms which shall do whatever by Act of Parliament can be done to save little children from the terrible start in life which is the lot of too many of them, to rescue a large proportion of the people from the thralldom of drink, to provide the labouring classes with decent houses for their working life, and with homes of honourable refuge in old age. An esteemed correspondent, Dr. Guinness Rogers, wrote an article the other day on what he called "The False Gospel of the Anti." It is not enough, he meant, if we understood him aright, for Liberals to oppose and to destroy—not enough to be anti-Chamberlainite, or anti-this and anti-that. They must find also,

and place before the country, a constructive policy of social amelioration. In so doing, they will be a patriotic party in the fullest sense of the term, for patriotism, as Ruskin teaches, is nearer to a vice than to a virtue unless the patriot strives to make the country of which he is proud happier, stronger, and better.

‘It is on these lines that we have endeavoured during the years permitted to us to conduct the *Daily News*. No one can be more conscious than the conductor of this newspaper of the meagre array which any accomplishment shows by the side of his opportunities. But there are occasions when it is permissible, perhaps, to avow one’s aims and intentions. Our object, then, has been to keep steadily in view the larger interests and duties of the country as an Imperial Power, and to sink, in some measure, mere party considerations in the face of national emergencies. But at the same time we have tried—and, thanks to able writers and special correspondents, we have sometimes not wholly failed in the attempt—to criticise as it deserved the class legislation and administrative blundering of Lord Salisbury’s Government; to contribute on one or two occasions towards the solution of industrial strife; to arouse public attention to social evils, and to promote social reforms. It is on these lines of “sane Imperialism” and social reform—and, as we believe, on no others—that the New Liberalism may hope to regain the commanding position of the Old, and to render effective service, in its time, to the country and the Empire.’

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