

THE MEMOIRS
OF
PAUL KRUGER

P. Kruger

THE
MEMOIRS OF PAUL KRUGER

VOL. II



THE MEMOIRS
OF
PAUL KRUGER

FOUR TIMES PRESIDENT OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC

TOLD BY HIMSELF

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II



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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE SOLEMN INAUGURATION OF HIS HONOUR S. J. P. KRUGER AS STATE PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC, ON THURSDAY 12 MAY 1898

Mr. President of the First Volksraad addressed His Honour the State President in the following words :

MR. STATE PRESIDENT,

I welcome you in the name of the First and Second Volksraad on the occasion of this solemnity, at which you have for the fourth time taken the oath of office as State President of the South African Republic.

Already fifteen years have passed since you first appeared as the Head of this State. Yes, what shall I say, it is not only for fifteen years that you have served the country : you have also served it in other capacities, such as that of a

member of the Triumvirate and as Vice-president, to take office later as State President. As I and many others know, the task of serving the country was laid upon your shoulders from your youth; and, while you were still young, it was the Lord's will to place you in a position where you could be of political service to this country. You have served the country for no short time, and you have naturally encountered many difficulties and obstacles in your path, because, as we know, man's path, as God leads him upon earth, is not one of roses. Many days of adversity came, and many dark and difficult days, as all must admit; but we, as a Christian people, must ever believe that it was God's will and guidance.

Your Honour, I feel, and the Raad and all those who labour in the field of politics feel, that it is no easy task that to-day has once more been laid upon your shoulders, that of acting as the Head of this young State, which has always to fight so great a struggle. I seem, however, to see clearly that our consolation lies in this, that the people of the South African Republic remains true to you and clings to you. It must of course be a great comfort to you to think of the last elections, which show how the people remains attached to your person and that it

still places its entire confidence in you, because it is naturally convinced of the excellence of your government during the fifteen years that you have served the country as State President. A great proof of this is the great interest which the public shows in seeing you, who are now full of years, once more invested, by the taking of your oath of office, as State President.

I sincerely congratulate you, Mr. State President, in the name of the First and Second Volksraad, and I would add that, as Christians, we must always fix our hopes on the Lord, for, if the Lord were to leave us to ourselves, to rule the country according to our own wisdom and understanding, then we should have to succumb and to yield up everything, for our own understanding does not give us the penetration required to govern the country. But there is one thing that I know and that I may say, which is that you know your God and that you daily consult your Creator, and we, as Christians, are always with you on this point, to ask the Lord for understanding, wisdom and strength. We know what it means when a man is unable to see through a single moment and often his eye becomes so dimmed that it seems as though dark clouds were hanging before it; but God has always shown

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us the light again and thus also shown Himself to be our Counsellor, Who leads us according to His counsel. This faith in God and that proved attachment of the people to your person will, I think, be your comfort on this day. May God, while lending you His aid, also vouchsafe you His grace and His blessing. The people continues to be faithful to you and to stand by you. Therefore, in the name of the First and Second Volksraad, I wish Your Honour God's best blessing, and I hope and trust that God may spare you in our midst and grant you the strength that you may require, and that my prayer may be heard so that, by God's strength, you may be enabled to fulfil your arduous task.

And we and the people also trust that God will guide you and that you will, as you always have done, protect the rights of the people, such as the independence of the country, that have been placed in your hands.

I wish Your Honour, in the name of this body, understanding, wisdom and strength. May God strengthen you and aid you in your old days to fulfil your difficult task and may we always work together in harmony. I venture, in the name of the Volksraad, to promise you that the Raad will meet and assist you every

possible way, so as to support you with all its strength, as this body always does, because we know that we have placed the government of our country in trustworthy hands. Therefore I promise you the best support of the Volksraad, and I hope that the good God will grant that the work of the Volksraad and the Government may be bound together by fraternal ties, for, so long as the Executive Raad and the Volksraad act with wisdom and work together, hand in hand, like brothers, I do not doubt but that the promise will be fulfilled to us: "Where true love reigns, God gives His blessing."

I have spoken.

The President of the Volksraad, then turning to the assembled multitude, spoke as follows:

INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY, PEOPLE OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC,

I present to you His Honour Stephen John Paul Kruger, State President of the South African Republic, who has once more taken the oath in that capacity before the First Volksraad (*three cheers*). Burghers, I think this is a solemn day for you and me.

Here stands our State President. For fifteen

years he has served the country in that capacity ; and this year we have once more seen that the people of the South African Republic places its confidence in His Honour, as appears from the last elections (*prolonged cheers*).

Burghers, His Honour has obeyed your summons ; the public has called upon him and, in his old age, he has listened to your voice, because His Honour heard in it the voice of God. His Honour has taken the oath ; but what is now our duty as burghers of the country ? We must support His Honour with strength, obedience, love and harmony (*cheers*).

When the people remains unanimous and when the people preserves the ties of affection that bind the Afrikaner Nation, that gives His Honour strength to perform his duties of office with a more and more willing and cheerful mind ; but you know that, where discord reigns, this always makes it difficult and arduous for the Head of a State. Therefore I hope and trust that every burgher will take this to heart and assist His Honour not only with worldly assistance, but also with his prayers to God,

Let every burgher bow down to God and beseech the Lord to give strength and force to our State President, so that His Honour may

be fortified by God's hand. For we know that we owe the existence of the South African Republic to the strength of our Omniscient Creator, Who has guided us.

I hope, therefore, that you will be obedient and loyal to His Honour.

I have spoken (*prolonged cheers*).

His Honour the State President now spoke as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT OF THE FIRST, MR. PRESIDENT OF THE SECOND, AND HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF BOTH THE FIRST AND SECOND VOLKSRAAD,

But first let me ask that the secretary may take down my words, so that my speech may not later, for one reason or the other, be misunderstood.

Honourable sirs,

I stand here before you, in obedience to the voice of the people, in which I believe I recognize God's voice, in order once more, as State President, to take upon myself the government of the country.

Honourable sirs, when I look back upon my past career, knowing, as I do, by experience all the burdens and great difficulties attached to this

arduous post, I cannot but frankly confess that I consider myself incapable and blind: I repeat, incapable and blind. When I look back and see how the Lord has guided the people and that God has set the people free, then I know, now that I am to govern the people, what would follow if I were to falter, for I have not only to give an account to you, honourable gentlemen, but also to God, and my life is short; I shall have to appear before Him, and when I think of that, my heart fails me, and I can only pray.¹

His promise is that to them who expect aid and strength from the Lord He will teach the plain path, and him that feareth the Lord He will guide. He who acknowledges this in his heart looks to the Lord, our faithful God of the Covenant, for light, wisdom and divine strength. He will give us everything out of His infinite wealth of mercy; yes, I trust in that faithful God of the Covenant, because He has so clearly led us along various paths. And so I accept this post in the fear of God and in all uprightness; yes, it is my innermost desire and the wish of my heart to live for Him and to govern the people according to His will.

¹ President Kruger here quoted a stanza from the Dutch hymnal.
—*Translator's Note.*

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POON.

My earnest endeavour will be none other than to keep in view the welfare of the people and the progress, prosperity and independence of the country. Honourable sirs, I shall scrupulously watch the circumstances of the country, in which we have sometimes observed such swift and rapid progress, yes, and in particular, in this inevitable progress, I shall constantly have an eye to it that the independence of the country is not in the smallest degree endangered and also that not the smallest right is abandoned that might undermine the independence of the country, for I should bring down a judgment on myself if our independence were violated through me. For God has so clearly led us that the blindest heathen and the greatest unbeliever must acknowledge that it was God's hand that gave us our independence.

Honourable sirs, I rely upon you as the body of the legislative power to support me in these my views and, in your wisdom and in the most serious interests of the land we dwell in, to suggest measures whereby the country may be maintained in its independence and prosperity in every quarter. Yes, honourable gentlemen, and I rely in particular that you will take into earnest consideration the needs of all the inhabitants of the country, without distinction of persons or nationality.

I have learnt to my deepest regret that such great depression prevails in the Gold Fields, mostly among the poorer and less well-to-do. I assure you of my sympathy with their fate, and I trust that this great depression may soon pass away. The Government are doing all that they can to assist the Gold Fields, as is shown by, first, the decrease in the railway tariff by £200,000; secondly, the decrease of the import duties, by about £700,000, on food and other articles that are required for the immediate use of the mines; thirdly, the order that has been issued to import natives of Mozambique as workmen, in order to assist the mines; fourthly, the reduction in the price of dynamite. You all know that, in 1893, when the contract was concluded for the erection of the dynamite factory, dynamite was imported at about £6 per case. The company reduced this price to £5, which was gradually reduced to £4, 5s. per case and has now again been brought down to £3, 15s., and I hope and trust to be able to reduce the price still further. I am still engaged upon this. As I have already said at public meetings, the dynamite factory was not erected to oppress the mining industry, but to support and help it, and principally the weak mines, and I hope that these will keep going until I have succeeded, for both the mining

industry and the dynamite factory belong to the State and must support one another, and you shall be convinced that I shall not swerve from this determination, but shall succeed in making the dynamite cheap for the mines.

I learn to my deepest regret that there are banks and other institutions in the Gold Fields which are totally ruining the poor and less well-to-do. When, some years ago, the mines were flourishing, they borrowed money and, I am told, on good security, in order to extend their sphere of activity; and now, when a time of depression has set in, the mortgages are being called in and they have to pay back the money, although the security is quite as good as before, and, in so doing, their property is sold beneath its value. If this be true, then those banks cannot be branded otherwise than as godless and un-Christian; for they bring hunger and oppression upon the poor and force everything into the hands of the rich. Honourable sirs, we already have the Diamond Fields as a warning lesson, and, if what I am informed is true, the Volksraad will have to take measures to protect the poor and less well-to-do, and the Government will be obliged to withdraw the licences of those banks or to refuse to renew them; for in this way they serve rather for the

oppression and undermining of the poor than for their support. God sees all, and the Lord says, "Deliver the poor from the snare of the fowler." Such things may not exist among us.

Then it has also come to my ears that contracts are being made in Europe with poor workmen who do not know but that the price of victuals is the same here as there, so that, when they arrive, they are caught in a trap, as they are not able to live on the wages stated in the contract. I hope that you will take measures that no contract made abroad will be binding here, before it has been approved and confirmed by an official appointed for the purpose, with the consent of both parties, the hirer and the hired. Such fraud and deception must not exist among us, though I hope that things are not as stated.

Then, again, I am informed, honourable sirs, that companies are being floated here on properties which have not even been properly examined to see if they contain gold. Shares are sold and allotted in Europe to persons who do not know but that the ground is good and who do not discover until they come here that the estates are valueless, and then the blame is cast upon the Government. The shareholders in Europe are as much entitled to the protection of the Government

as the people here. I hope, therefore, that such rules shall be made that no company shall sell or allot its shares before the State Mineralogist or the State Engineer has examined the ground and issued his report, so that the European public shall no longer be deceived, which then thinks that it is the fault of the Government; and that must be prevented.

In conclusion, let me say that there are two matters which we must keep in view, and the second of these, I say, because of God's Word. The first matter is that you shall not grant any privileges that would injure our independence; and the second, that you shall not close your ears to the lamentations of the poor, whether friends or foreigners, but shall try to snatch those poor from the snare of the fowler, and then God will be in our midst and bless us in this. Yes, gentlemen, if we stand firm, and if you support me in these matters, then it is true that "Concord gives Strength," and God shall be in our midst.

GENTLEMEN OF THE EXECUTIVE RAAD,

A short word to you too. In the first place, I thank you sincerely for the support which you have given me hitherto, for the support which you have given me, when necessary, in the deliberation of

affairs and for the support which you have given me in their execution. In the second place, I thank you, right honourable members, for all that you have done for the country and for your loyalty and your love of independence, so that you are ready to sacrifice your lives and properties for the independence of the country. I thank you again, and I shall rejoice if you will continue in this course, to support me when necessary, and if you will continue loyal to your country, so that we may stand up as one man for the independence that God has given us and be ready to sacrifice our property, together with the burghers who have shown that they too are willing to sacrifice everything for that object. Let us remain loyal and true, and do you pray for me, as I do for you, so that together we may work as the Executive power.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIRS, MEMBERS OF THE
EXECUTIVE RAAD AND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
OF OUR SISTER STATE,

In the first place, I thank you for the interest which you have displayed by attending these proceedings. We are very closely allied, and you agree with me that there is nothing better than peace and amity, especially between two Sister States, and when such co-operation exists, then,

though the whole world rages, God will bless us, for, where love and concord reign, He gives His blessing, we obtain His grace and He dwells amidst us for ever and ever.

Then, turning to the *Corps diplomatique*, His Honour spoke as follows :

DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICERS OF THE
FOREIGN POWERS,

A short word to you too. You are well aware, from my past career, that nothing is dearer to me than to live in peace and amity with foreign Powers, to keep each other's interests in view and to assist one another to the best of our power. It is my wish that this Government may so rule our State that the foreign Powers will never have occasion to urge lawful grievances against us. I hope to continue in this way, and it will always be my earnest endeavour. Therefore I trust that I may receive your kind support, for then the bonds of friendship will be drawn ever more closely between us and, where this co-operation, love and friendship prevail, God grants His blessing, for there He dwells in the midst of us. I wish you every blessing, each for his own country. May peace and friendship reign ! I shall not fail, when-

ever you bring before me the interests of the State of which you are the diplomatic representative or the consul, to support you, so that no grievances may arise against us.

Now turning to the public, His Honour spoke as follows :

All of you who stand before me, give me your attention so that you may understand me in what I wish to say to you. In the first place, I wish to speak to the burghers of the country ; in the second, to the new burghers who have been naturalized ; in the third, to the foreigners who do not wish to change their nationality, but who wish to live among us as foreigners.

NOW THEN, YOU BURGHERS OF THE COUNTRY !

I have listened to your voices by accepting the appointment that has fallen to me by your election and again taking up the government of the country as State President. In the first place, I thank you for the confidence which you have placed in me. When I stand before you like this and look at your faces, I see so many who have struggled, prayed and fought with me for the land of our abode and of our independence. Oh, then an array of thoughts comes up within me, all of which lead to

one point, namely, that we must observe God's ways. To go over all these with you I have not now the time; but I trust that you will recall everything in your own thoughts to consider those ways, those proofs of the faith that God has shown us, that He has rescued us from oppression and given us other blessings, and the ways in which God has punished us and we have been oppressed by our adversaries. Then we were weak, but unanimous, striving to obtain assistance from God. Then we performed mighty deeds. Let me go back with you in thought to Paardekraal, where we were weak and helpless. But the people, the Volksraad and the Executive Raad were unanimous, one in mind and one in heart, to call on God for help, and then God led us through wonders and miracles. Burghers, let it be a lesson to us what concord did, in which God always blessed us; let us therefore strive to stamp out discord, where it exists among us, and let us strive in unison to suppress the evil spirit that leads us to opposition. I say that evil spirit; and mind, I exclude no one, not even myself, when I speak of the evil spirit that tempts us to break God's words and His commandments. God's ninth commandment says, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour;" and it has truly become a habit

among us for one brother to bear false witness against the other. Let none point with his finger to the other, but be upright: let each place his hand in his own breast, and he will find that it comes out leprous.

Let us place ourselves sincerely this day before God's countenance. We see that God's arm is stretched out: He is chastising us; and we shall find that everywhere we are breaking God's commandments. Let me quote an instance to you. Suppose that a father is rich and has many goods, and that his child has nothing and has to live on him; and his father gives him his goods and says, "Child, take these goods and use them, and I shall tell you when I want any of them, but do not abuse them." Then will not the father be angry when, after the son has gone away, he sends for some of his own goods, and the son will not give them up or gives only the worst? We often ask, Why does the Lord chastise us so? But is this not so that we may return to Him? Yes, we really act with God like one who makes a marriage-contract. Our worldly goods hold us back and make us serve the world with them, while we want God to care for our souls. Let each of us search into his heart, brothers, so that we may become convinced of God's pleas-

ure. Behold, God gives us worldly goods ; but for what purpose? So that we may live for the honour of God. Naked we came out and naked we shall return ; we shall take nothing with us. God, therefore, gives us those goods, meat and clothes, so that we may live ; but also for churches, schools, the poor, etc. etc. What do we do, brothers and fellow-countrymen, what do we do? We give of our worst and commonest goods when there is a need ; but see what happens when there is a circus, a play, a lottery or a race-meeting : then each encourages the other and even lends the other money to pursue worldly pleasures ; but, when God calls to us to put something into the poor-box to help to support the poor, then there are many who go to church but put nothing in the box or select the least they have. For what do they use their goods, God's goods? Is it not true, what God says, that we rob Him, that we take His goods from Him and give them to the world and will not serve Him with them? See, brothers and fellow-countrymen, let every one who has an immortal soul look to it. See God's hand. Pestilence holds sway among men and beasts. The locusts are eating the grass of the veldt and heavy droughts have prevailed and it grows

worse from year to year and shall grow worse from year to year until we turn back. God will not desert His people. Read Psalm 89.¹ The Lord will not retract that, but He chastises us so as to bring us nearer to Him. You will ask, How can David say that he kissed the rod and with his heart? Yes, if you love your father, and possess nothing, and have to live on him, then, when you have committed a sin and he says, "Leave my sight," you will go on your knees and say, "No, strike me, but do not send me away." That is why David was able to say that, when he lived in luxury, he strayed from God; but that, when He chastised him, he returned to Him. He felt this in his heart.

Let us feel this too, that the Lord rather chastises us than rejects us. Listen to His voice and, when you hear His voice, do not harden your hearts, but let yourselves be guided; for why would you wish to die? Will you continue as you are doing? See how merciful the great God is. He says, "Return to Me, you rebellious children, and I will heal your trespasses. Yes, try Me," says God, "if you will not believe, and see if Heaven's windows do not open and shower

¹ President Kruger here quoted two stanzas from the Dutch metrical psalm-book.—*Translator's Note.*

down blessings upon you. I shall upbraid the devourer so that your barns may be filled and your fields filled with herds; but turn to Me, you rebellious children, and I will heal your trespasses."

Brothers and fellow-countrymen, do not think that I exclude myself. I have also much to do myself and I too am guilty in this matter; but let us confess our sins together, before it is too late, and God will help us.

YOU NEW BURGHERS,

This last reminder was also for you and for all that have an immortal soul; but still, a short word to you separately. I call you new burghers, who have been naturalized and given up your nationality. You have surely understood that God says, "No one can serve two masters, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other," and therefore you have given up the country of your birth, in all honour and decency, and accepted this country as a new motherland. Endeavour now to agree with the old burghers and to live with them in harmony, for then you also will be contributing to the progress of the country. Obey the laws of the land and, if you do so, you will have contributed greatly not only to the growth and prosperity of the country, but also to your

own interests; and, where harmony and concord reign, there God bestows His blessing.

YOU FOREIGNERS,

A word also to you, who do not wish to give up your country and to be naturalized, but prefer to live among us as foreigners. If you are obedient to the laws of the land, you are welcome among us. Seek your profit and endeavour to make your fortunes: we shall help you and wish you well. Live with us, obey the laws and, in so far as possible, I assure you of my support, to the utmost of my power, even if you do not wish to become burghers of the country; and then you will be promoting not only your interests, but ours as well. If you foreigners make your fortunes and work with us, you shall enjoy the same protection of the laws as any other; and, when you go, I shall be sorry to see so good a friend departing; and, should you return again to make your fortune, you will be received with open arms; we shall rejoice that you come back to us, knowing that you are a true friend to us, even if you would not give up your country. Be assured that all sensible men will aid and receive you, so that you too may live in joy and gladness in our midst (*cheers*).

His Honour then turned to the judges and spoke as follows:

RIGHT, HONOURABLE THE CHIEF JUSTICE AND
JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT AND STATE
ATTORNEY,

You are responsible for a weighty task, for you, by virtue of your office, represent the solidity of the State. It depends on you to confirm confidence in the country, but it also depends on you that confidence in the country should not be shocked. Let me first, however, stop to consider what concerns the confirming of confidence in the country; and do all of you, who stand here, note my words. Our ancestors were led hither, clearly seeing that it was God's hand. All men, in their natural state, when there is no law, lead a licentious and reckless life. When, in 1836, the people trekked across the Orange River, we came together, but it was not permitted that we should live recklessly. We took God's Word as our guide on our trek and chose rulers to prevent crime and to decide all differences. It is evident that this did not proceed from our nature, but from God's hand; and so we came to the Vaal River. I will not now speak of the other trek, for that would take too long.

The people then elected a Volksraad as the highest authority in the land, as the legislative power. That body was instructed to make fixed laws, as we had only the decisions and rules of the court-martial. And so the Honourable Volksraad chose a commission to draw up a constitution, consisting of the late Mr. Lombard, the Landdrost of Potchefstroom, the late Mr. Boomen, the grandfather of our Predikant Boomen, and myself. To our number was added Mr. Stuart, as secretary, to assist us, and we laid down the Constitution: our names stand at the foot of it.

And what is the principle that it contains? In framing Article 8 of the Grondwet, we had in mind how God had led the people and how God's Word was a guide by which we must act. Article 8 says: "The people demands the greatest possible social liberty and expects this, because it has kept its religious faith and its engagements, and because it has submitted to law, order and justice and maintained the same." Now observe whither this article points. It points to God's Word. The people demands the greatest possible social liberty: not a licentious or reckless liberty, but one based upon God's Word. That is the principle which this article contains. The people demands liberty; but it is not only a free, but also a civil-

ized people, which does not demand a reckless or licentious liberty, but one based upon God's Word. And to what does that point? What I am about to say is important, and I cannot do better than refer to what God tells us. Moses led Israel out of Egypt and was the law-giver and fixed the law by God's command; and what does the law say? That you shall not do what seems right in your eyes, but what God orders: that you shall do and that you shall perform; you shall do no more nor less than that. Moses selected the wisest and oldest men out of the people and appointed them to be officers and judges under him and laid down rules which could not be departed from, but left it to the judges to expound and administer the laws according to their judgment and conscience; but not to depart from the laws. That is God's commandment. The New Testament shows us the Lord and Master; but I will first say that Moses' subordinate officers were not the law-givers, and therefore had not to question whether the law was right, for that the Law-giver had to answer for. Only the Sovereign Power above Moses could alter what the Law-giver had laid down, even as God did at the rock which Moses struck with his staff; but the judges must deliver justice according to the law as they receive it, and then act as

faithful servants, by administering the laws to the best of their knowledge and conscience.

So it is also with you right honourable judges. The people by an article in the Constitution has appointed a Volksraad as the highest authority in the land, the legislative body, which passes laws and resolutions, and you must administer them to the best of your knowledge and power. No one can hinder you in that, and when you administer the laws and resolutions as you receive them from the legislative body, then you confirm confidence in the country, for then all those who have received their property by decrees know that they are safe and that all laws and resolutions bearing thereupon shall be maintained. Foreigners who come here and who know the laws and resolutions passed by the Volksraad and who are willing to submit to them are able to secure their rights in this way, by trusting in the Court, that it will not depart therefrom, but that the laws and resolutions laid down by the highest authority in the land, under which they have obtained their rights, will not be altered by the Court, neither on the left hand nor on the right hand, and then you confirm confidence in the country, from the highest to the lowest judge. Each must act according to orders, laws and rules laid down by the legislative body that stands above

him. Even if, now and again, owing to man's weakness, an article is wrongly applied and a judgment of a lower court appealed against and quashed by the High Court, then no one can be reproached with this or punished for it, since he has acted to the best of his knowledge and conscience under his oath. There is no longer an appeal from the High Court; and if you, honourable judges, in your own judgment, set aside a decree of the Volksraad, then you adopt this right of criticism from the Devil; but if, perhaps, from human weakness, you pronounce a judgment which is not purely in accordance with the law, but is pronounced to the best of your knowledge and conscience, then you are not indictable either before God or man. From you there is no longer any appeal, and therefore you are called "gods," but God stands in the midst of the council of the "gods" and pronounces judgment upon good and evil. If you act to the best of your knowledge and conscience and remain within the law, then one day it shall be said unto you also, "Thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." Then not only shall confidence in the country be confirmed, but also in you, who stand by the law, and men will have confidence also

in the highest authority in the land and it shall not be scoffed at. Then also the sovereign voice will be confirmed, that it alone has the right to condemn laws.

Let us return to the point of how you can shock confidence, and look back to Moses. Moses gave the law, but could not depart from it, but had to pronounce judgment as the law laid down. Only the upper authority, the Sovereign, God alone could condemn the law; and not the subordinate. The Devil instituted the principle of criticism in Paradise and criticized God's Word, which said, "Ye shall not eat of that tree, lest ye die." But then comes the Devil and criticizes that Word, saying, "Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil." And that interpretation is over the whole earth. Thus we see, under Moses, that Kprah, Dathan and Abiram assumed to themselves the right of criticism on the principle of the Devil, and unsettled the land. Rebellion and discord arose against Moses, until God destroyed Korah, Dathan and Abiram. God punished them heavily, because they had acted against truth, against God's Word. The right of criticism is a principle of the Devil. Listen attentively to what I say and do not

underrate my words. We shall one day have to appear before God, and I do not know if I shall again have the opportunity of speaking to you. It may be the last time. Let the teachers, too, hear what I say. You judges shock the whole country if you take upon yourselves the right of criticism; for those who have obtained rights under whatever law or decree of the Volksraad will then be shocked, for they cannot tell how things will go when the Court has to decide, and it is able to disregard a law. Then confidence is destroyed in the country, and not only in the country, but also in the Court, and the Volksraad will be despised and scoffed at. If you come to this, then you are like the steward in the New Testament, who did not obey the orders of his Lord and Master, but acted according to his own pleasure, and as the Devil says, "Ye shall be as gods and ye shall not die." But he who arrogates this to himself is dismissed from his post. That Christ teaches us. Then confidence in the country is shocked, and, if we reflect upon this, we see that God's Word teaches us that God can dwell in the midst of us only if every one remains true in his post.

Right honourable sirs, you know that our late Chief Justice, with some of his colleagues,

adopted the right of criticism and became as wanton as a fish in the water that was free to swim about as it pleased. However, he jumped out of the water, that is to say, out of the law, on to dry land. The Volksraad then passed a resolution, with reference to the laws of the land, to the effect that, if a judge refuses to submit to them, I must dismiss him. I did my best, but the late Chief Justice was as slippery as a fish that has just jumped out of the water, so that I could not master him. Then his colleague, the Chief Justice of Cape Colony, who knew the ability of our late Chief Justice, came, of his own accord, to my assistance, and we got him back into the water, that is to say, the law. Then I was glad, because I knew the ability of the late Chief Justice and did not wish to lose him. After that, the late Chief Justice again became so wanton that he jumped so far out of the water that I saw no chance of getting him back and had to let him go, the more so as he then roundly declared that he did not wish to go back to it, because he refused to acknowledge the law as I understood it. But what does the late Chief Justice say now? That it is my fault. He says that I did not keep my promise; and what I am now saying I want taken down on

paper, that all the world may read it. He can call it a promise, but I do not call it a promise, but I kept my word, when I told him to revise the Constitution and that I would lay it as soon as possible before the Volksraad. That was about March, in any case long before the time when the Volksraad was to sit. But now I see that, in a speech delivered in Cape Colony, he has said, if the papers report him correctly, that "as soon as possible" means "to-day." The man seems to have lost his senses. How can I bring a matter before the Volksraad in March, when it does not sit till May? So soon as the Volksraad sat, I brought the matter before the Raad, and that body, without delay, appointed a committee which asked the late Chief Justice to help to revise the Constitution, which, however, he refused to do, notwithstanding his promise in writing. I do not take it amiss of him, however, for in my eyes he seems to have lost his senses. What does he do next? He says, in a manifesto, that if the people will not help him, he will apply to England, that is, if I understand what he has written properly. He knows that he has taken the oath, not only as regards his office, but that his oath is binding upon him as a burgher of the country, and he knows that a burgher is

not allowed to appeal to another Power: if he does, he is guilty. Moreover, he himself has repeatedly declared that the suzerainty no longer exists in our internal government, and yet he flies to that. But I do not take this amiss of him now, for in my eyes he seems to have lost his senses. That is not all. He also drew a comparison saying, "Suppose the Volksraad passed a resolution depriving the people of its rights: who would then protect the people?" The late Chief Justice, however, forgets to say that what he suggests the Volksraad might do he himself has already done. For, at the time of the claim lottery on the Rand, he actually took away hundreds of property-rights from the public and awarded them to one or two; and there is no help for it, because the Supreme Court has the final decision. But, if the Volksraad were to take such a step, then the people would come with petitions to have that step annulled. What does the late Chief Justice say further? He says that his dismissal is a violation of the Convention, because he was appointed by the Interregnum; but he knows that this is not true. He was a judge in President Burgers' time, and, when the Interregnum came, Mr. De Wet was appointed Chief Justice. At least, so I am told, and I

believe that it is true. When we took over the country again, the late Chief Justice went away. We sent for him to Kimberley to take office as Chief Justice, but he was not appointed as such by the Interregnum. He must have forgotten this, or I must have read wrong. What does he do next? He himself really violates the Convention by the principle which he accepts; for he refuses to acknowledge any resolutions of the Volksraad that are contrary to the Convention. By the Convention we obtained land, but also hundreds of places were cut off by the Convention for which deeds of sale had already been issued, and some had even been occupied, and the Convention itself lays down that the Volksraad must decide in the matter of the annulment of conveyances: so that that was against the Constitution. Now, if the principle of the late Chief Justice had been maintained, then the Convention would have been broken, and that we may not do, for then we should come into collision with England. That is where the maintenance of that principle would have brought us. Then those places would have had to fall back into our possession and the conveyances restored, for the decrees of the Volksraad concerning them were in conflict with the Constitution, which does not

recognize them. If, therefore, that principle was correct, there would be nothing for it but for us to take up the sword to go and fight against England.

Gentlemen, I appreciate the late Chief Justice's abilities so highly that, if I thought it would do any good, I would have him confined in a lunatic asylum (for I liked him greatly), and wait until he was cured to employ him again. His abilities were great, but he went astray when he accepted the Devil's principle, the right of criticism. Let me speak my mind to you, for the late Chief Justice has said that I dismissed him illegally. Now all the world can hear how the matter really happened.

YOU OTHER OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS, FROM THE
HIGHEST TO THE LOWEST,

On you also depends much that concerns the growth and prosperity of the country, on you who stand under orders and instructions, both verbal and written. If you scrupulously and zealously observe your duty and each of you fulfils it in his place, then you promote the welfare of the country and contribute much to its progress and prosperity, and not only in the interest of the country, but in your own interest, so long as you keep to your instructions, verbal

and written, each in his place. Do not undermine one another!

AND YOU OF THE ARMY!

To you, right honourable Commandant General and other officers, a short word also: from you to the State President and down to the officer lowest in rank, who all form part of the defences of our country against the enemy. If the State President receives news of a hostile invasion and does not inform you of it, then that will be on the State President's head and the blood that is shed will be laid to his account and he shall be punished for it; and if you, Commandant General, receive the news and do not keep watch or do not post watches, then that will be on your head and the blood that is shed will be laid to your account and you shall be punished. But if you have given your orders to your subordinates and they do not keep watch, then the bloodshed will be on their heads and they will have to bear the responsibility and the punishment: so God's Word teaches us. Let each watch in his own department. From the Volksraad down to the lowest official, all form a machine of State with many wheels, and when each wheel works in its place with the others, then concord reigns,

and concord gives strength, on which God bestows His blessing. But, when a wheel does not fit into the machine, then it must be taken out and placed on one side, or shifted, as otherwise the whole machine might go to pieces. If that wheel does not fit in anywhere else, then it must be placed on one side. If, however, it does fit in some other place, then, if the smallest wheel works in harmony with the largest, the machine of State may be expected to go well, and then everything will spread light, and on such a co-operation God's blessing rests.

His Honour then turned to the clergy :

REVEREND SIRS, SERVANTS OF GOD'S WORD,

When I turn my eyes upon you, a favourite text rises to my mind : "How beautiful are the feet of them that publish peace." I say, "Publish peace;" I know that that is your task upon earth. The right of criticism was instituted by the Devil, for he said to Adam and Eve, "Eat of the fruit of this tree and ye shall not die and ye shall be like gods;" and in this way the Devil has led away thousands upon earth to build on their own merits and thus to oppose God's Word and unsettle all things, so that

there is no foundation; and, if an eye is not kept to this preaching, you know what the Christians upon earth, who stand by God's Word, have to fight against. I do not speak of minor points, but of the main point, and he who holds fast to that has to fight against the spirit of the air.

The Devil captured Cain's soul, and the latter did not accept the punishment, he placed himself on God's level, made his sacrifice, and expected God to be content with what was beautiful in Cain's eyes, and Cain sang hymns of praise to the Lord which came from nature, but which he thought were pleasing to God. But God rejected them, because God found no religion in Cain. He was outside God's Word; but how beautiful are the feet of them that publish peace, like Abel. He acknowledged the judgment that fell in Paradise, that man was condemned, which the Devil brought about together with the right of criticism, and took a first-born lamb, and this refers to Christ, yes, and prayed in the spirit that the punishment which he had deserved might fall upon the Lamb, as otherwise he would suffer eternal death. God accepted the sacrifice and heard his prayer, and there we have the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The severity of the law is not respected by men, because of the right of criticism of the Devil; and

it is even so with Christ's work of redemption, through the Holy Ghost. Then preach these words: "How beautiful are the feet of them that publish peace." Stand firm in the struggle. The Devil goes further and respects nothing; for we read, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise her heel." So at last he comes to the Son of God in the wilderness, and with the same intention he comes to the whole earth, and says to Jesus, "If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread." But Christ says, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Then he sets Christ on the pinnacle of the Temple, and the Devil says to Him, "If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down from hence: for it is written, He shall give His angels charge over Thee, and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone." But Christ answering says, "It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Then the Devil takes Jesus up into an high mountain and shows Him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, "If Thou wilt worship me, all this shall be Thine." But Christ says, "It is written, Thou shalt worship

the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."

See there your preaching of the Gospel, you servants of Christ, founded on God's Word, and if you preach thus, you will be a help to the State, for it rests upon God's Word, as shown in Article 8 of the Constitution. The people says that it has liberty, and that is so, but based upon God's Word, and thus was this land designed by our forefathers, on the basis of God's Word, for the maintenance of law and order. That is a thing that does not proceed from men; for I myself did not understand one of the depths of that article, how God at that time led us. Reverend sirs, predikants, stand firm in the faith; for how beautiful are the feet of them that publish peace in Jesus Christ; for the Devil's doctrine of criticism says that man has become as gods and can secure his own happiness by his own lights and his own reason and his own merit, and therefore that he shall not die. No, stand firm, and preach in accordance with God's Word, for then you are truly the clergy of our people; and lead it in that road and always keep the fear of the Lord before its eyes, so that the people may walk in the right paths, both socially and religiously, and, if your work is earnest and true and sincere, then will you really be a support to

the State. Then there will be general harmony: "Fear God and honour the King." We shall respect you in your divine profession, in your precious labours, in your heavenly work, for how beautiful are the feet of them that publish peace. We cannot, however, protect you further than our power allows. We shall respect you and protect you, yes, even help and assist you to help to build up the Church, but also not further than God's Word commands; and know that, when the earthly judge goes so far that he begins to meddle with the internal government of the Church, then he is inspired with the spirit of Antichrist, for then he usurps the place of Christ, Who is the Head of the Church. If the worldly power does this, then it adopts the right of criticism of the Devil, to get that into its claws and destroy religion. God has erected this Christian State and a Christian government, which will protect the Church outside us, and you too, reverend sirs, but if you go outside the body that said, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep," then you meddle with the body politic and are possessed of the spirit of the Pope, and then your preaching is no longer a beautiful preaching of the Gospel. So long as each remains within his own sphere of activity, there will be a healthy co-operation, and God's

spirit shall rest upon us and the Lord will bless us.

NOW, DEAR CHILDREN,

A short word to you. You are the ones upon whom the State President keeps his eye, for I see our future Church and State in your hands, for, when all the old people are gone, you will be the Church and State; but, if you depart from the truth and stray, then you will lose your inheritance. Stand firm by God's Word, in which your parents have brought you up. Love that Word. I shall endeavour with all my might to assist churches and schools, to let you receive a Christian education, so that you may both religiously and socially become useful members of Church and State, and I trust that the teachers and ministers will also do their best. It is a great privilege that your Government has ordered a Christian education, and you are greatly privileged in being able to enjoy a Christian education, and not you alone, for the object is to extend it so that all may have the opportunity of receiving it and turning it to account. It is a great privilege that the Government and the legislative power have thus laid down the law as to Christian instruction. It is also a great privilege for you that the Government and Volksraad have

accepted our language as the State language. Keep to that, keep to the language in which your forefathers, whom God led out of the wilderness, struggled and prayed to God, and which became ever dearer and dearer to them : the language in which the Bible comes to you, and in which your forefathers read the Bible, and which contains the religion of your forefathers. And, therefore, if you become indifferent to your language, you also become indifferent to your forefathers and indifferent to the Bible and indifferent to your religion ; and then you will soon stray away entirely and you will rob posterity of your Dutch Bible and of your religion, which God confirmed to your forefathers with wonders and miracles. Stand firm, then, so that we may not trust you in vain, and keep to your language, your Bible and your religion. It is a good thing to learn foreign languages, especially the language of your neighbours with whom you have most to do ; but let any foreign language be a second language to you.

Pray to God that you may stand firm on this point and not stray, so that the Lord may remain among you, and then posterity will honour you for your loyalty.

SCHOOLMASTERS AND MISTRESSES,

A short word to you also. You have, as it were, become the guardians of the children in the place of the parents who have given their children to God before the pulpit to be educated for the Lord, in His service and to His honour. You have taken them over to feed them, as Christ said, like lambs, to the honour of God. You know that the New Testament says that women brought their children to Jesus. They were healthy and not sick children. The unbelievers only take them to the doctor; but none of them will send their healthy children to the doctor. Here, however, you see the women coming with healthy children to Jesus, and the disciples rebuked them, but Jesus said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." The mothers brought their children to receive the heavenly blessing on the inward vocation and to be healed inwardly. But if you, schoolmasters and mistresses, do not know the faith, how then will you bring the children to Christ through the faith? I trust, however, that you do know it; and, therefore, never forget to bring the children to the Lord through the faith, and take care that religion is not left in the background and only educational subjects taught, for

then you are attacking religion and it will be forgotten. For, when man proceeds only according to his nature and his knowledge, then he begins to believe what the Devil has said, that men shall be as gods, and then it can be said of such a man, "The greater the mind, the greater the beast." Then he rushes from place to place. Therefore let religion not be neglected, for that is the foundation of Church and State. Stand firm by the Bible and teach the children who are entrusted to you for that purpose, and then it shall be said to you too: "Thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord and sit at My right hand."

I have spoken.

Certified as a true extract from the original minutes of the Honourable First Volksraad of the 12th of May 1898.

(Signed) W. J. FOCKENS,

Secretary to the First Volksraad.

I certify that the above is a true and faithful copy.

H. C. DE BRUIJN PRINCE.

APPENDIX B

SPEECH OF STATE PRESIDENT KRUGER IN THE FIRST VOLKSRAAD ON MONDAY 1 MAY 1899

*To the Right Hon. Mr. President of the First
Volksraad and to the honourable members of
the First and Second Volksraad*

GENTLEMEN,

It is a great pleasure to me once more cordially to welcome you in this your house of assembly and to give my hearty thanks to God, Who rules the Universe and Who has spared and saved you all, so that you may again, with His help, devote all your energies to the interests of our dear country and people.

1. In those places where different members of your honourable assembly retired last year in rotation, I have ordered new elections for members of the First and Second Volksraad. The result of those elections shall be laid before you.

2. As the vacancy arising through the election of Mr. A. D. W. Wolmarans to be a member of the Executive Raad must be filled as soon as possible, I have issued a writ for the election of a new member for the village and district of Pretoria. The result of that election shall be communicated to you.

3. The term of office of Mr. S. W. Burger, member of the Executive Raad, will expire by rotation on the 6th of this month; I therefore ask you to provide for the vacancy before that time, and I take leave to remind you that the present occupant is re-eligible.

4. I hope in this session to call your attention as early as possible to certain proposals which I wish to make to your honourable assembly with regard to the franchise, the *bewaarplaatsen* and the dynamite question.

5. It is a great pleasure to me to be able again to state that the Republic continues in friendly relations with foreign Powers. The correspondence between our Government and the British Government, arising from the difference of opinion regarding the international relation of the Republic towards Great Britain and Ireland, is not yet finished; I trust, however, that this matter will soon be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. It

is always my endeavour to do all in my power to confirm those good relations.

6. The Raad of Delegates has this year held its annual sitting at Bloemfontein. The report, with the suggestions of that body, shall be laid before you. Those suggestions, in which the Government joins, deserve your earnest attention.

7. In accordance with the resolutions of your honourable assembly touching the suggestions of the Raad of Delegates for 1898, the Governments of the Republics appointed commissions to try to make the Constitutions of the two States, in so far as possible, similar. Those commissions met in the month of February last at Pretoria. The report of their deliberations shall be laid before you. A commission consisting of the Chief Justices of the two Republics has undertaken the duty of making further suggestions for the assimilation of laws in accordance with the resolutions passed in your session of 1898. This important work, however, requires long consideration and mature deliberation, and this commission has not yet quite finished a work which, when it has once been given force of law by the representatives of the people of both States, will certainly promote the welfare and the prosperity of the Sister Republics.

8. Negotiations have been entered into with

the Orange Free State touching the payment of registration fees for goods which, by treaty, are imported free of duty into the South African Republic, this in accordance with the resolution of your honourable assembly, numbered 1,365, of the 4th of October 1898. These negotiations have led to a provisional agreement between the Governments of the two States which shall be laid before you for your approval.

9. In view of the threatening danger that the terrible sickness known as the bubonic plague might visit South Africa, at the suggestion of our Government a conference was held, at the commencement of the year, at Pretoria, consisting of representatives of the Orange Free State, Mozambique, Natal and Cape Colony, in order to frame measures to prevent the entrance and spread of the Asiatic pestilence in South Africa. The report of the labours of the conference, which is sure to be read by you with interest, will be laid before you during this session for your approval of the suggestions and proposals therein contained.

10. An invitation has been received from the Imperial German Government to dispatch a representative of the Republic to attend the International Veterinary Congress which will be held

at Baden-Baden in the month of August of this year. Taking into consideration that this Congress may be of great importance to the Republic, the Government has thought fit to depute the Governmental Veterinary Surgeon as its representative, which will, I trust, meet with your approval. He will, at the same time, make use of this opportunity to study the bubonic plague and the various remedies.

11. I am able to inform you that earnest endeavours are being employed and that negotiations have already been entered into for the appointment of an able financial minister for the South African Republic.

12. I am very pleased to be able to inform you that great progress has been made this year in trade, especially in the first quarter, as appears from the increased revenue of the State.

13. I call your attention to the resolution of your honourable assembly, numbered 325 and passed on the 15th of March 1899, in the matter of the grant of a bonus to the retired member of the Executive Raad, Mr. J. M. A. Wolmarans. I must express my sincere regret that the right hon. gentleman has been compelled by the state of his health to hand in his resignation, he having always been a most useful member of the Executive Raad, thanks to

his clear insight into affairs, his energy and his great love for his country, in which he always showed himself to have at heart the true interests of land and people; and I cannot omit to express to him my thanks for all that he has done, hoping that your assembly will come to a favourable decision on the request already made by me, as contained in the Government Message of the 10th of March 1899.

14. The Executive Raad has found it necessary to dispatch a commando against the rebellious natives of the tribe of Ramapulaan, under their leader M'Pesu, in the Zoutpansberg District. I cannot find sufficient praise for the courage, the skill and the sagacious prudence of our Commandant General and officers, by which they have brought this war to a satisfactory conclusion, and for the excellent and gallant behaviour of our burghers, and I congratulate all of us on the rapid and thorough manner in which this revolt has been suppressed. We mourn the fact that this commando has claimed some valuable victims and our sympathy is with the survivors. The Government has decided to found a village, to be called Louis Trichardt, on the spot where the laagers stood, and I am convinced that the action of the Government meets with your approval.

15. Seeing that the Netherlands South African Railway Company has resolved to repay the sum of £2,000,000 which it had borrowed from the Government, the necessity for the conclusion of a loan on the part of the Government disappears for the present.

16. I must express, in my own name and that of the Executive Raad, our great satisfaction with the labours and transactions of our Envoy Extraordinary, Dr. W. J. Leijds, who reported to us on the occasion of his visit here.

17. It appears from various sources of information that the mining industry has made the greatest progress during the past year. The value of the gold extracted was £16,240,630, being an increase of £4,886,905 over 1897. The total value of the gold extracted in our country to the end of 1898 amounts to £70,228,603. The results of 1898 place the South African Republic considerably above any other gold-producing country, and represent 28 per cent. of the estimated produce of the whole world.

18. The Government has resolved to give effect to the former resolutions passed in connection with the coolie question, with the result that, from the 1st of July 1899, coolies will be allowed to reside only in those streets, quarters and loca-

tions of the different towns and villages which have been set apart for their use.

19. There are many plans for public works, principally bridges and buildings, which could not be carried into execution or even discussed, because the Executive Raad was overwhelmed with so much other business and also because financial arrangements must first be made with this object.

20. In obedience to the order of your honourable assemblies, the Government has published the Draft Constitution and the Criminal Procedure Law in the *Staatscourant* for the approval of the people. Your earnest attention is invited to those important laws.

21. In obedience to your order, the Government will again lay a pensions law before your honourable assembly for discussion. I hope that this law will enjoy your earnest consideration.

22. It has been my privilege to visit certain districts and villages, and to hold meetings at the following places: Heidelberg, Rustenburg and Johannesburg. I hope, in the course of this session, to call your attention to the demands and wishes of the burghers, in so far as these have been brought to my notice.

23. The Government finds, from the various

reports, that about 746,500 head of cattle have perished from the pest. To my great gratitude, however, I am able to inform you that this so dreaded disease may now be regarded as suppressed. In January last, a few cases still occurred, but only at Lijdenburg, Krugersdorp and Piet Retief; and, thanks to the immediate compliance with the regulations contained in the Proclamation and to the goodness of Providence, the disease was confined within those limits and spread no further.

24. The Government has given orders for the survey of places for irrigation purposes, and the report on the subject shall be laid before you.

25. A list of newly-appointed, resigned, suspended and discharged functionaries shall be submitted for your approval.

26. The different reports of the Heads of Departments shall be laid before you.

27. Different bills and modifications in the laws shall be submitted for your approval.

28. The Government has given effect, in so far as possible, to the instructions of your High Assembly, as will appear from the papers and reports that will be laid before you.

29. The Government proposes, in the course of this session, to bring before your notice different

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matters of greater or lesser importance for your consideration and decision.

And with this, gentlemen, I once more confidently place the interests of our dear country and people in your hands. God grant you the necessary strength and wisdom to settle the matters which you will take in hand, under His high blessing, for the welfare and prosperity of land and people.

(Signed) S. J. P. KRUGER,
State President.

I certify that the above is a true and faithful copy.

H. C. DE BRUIJN PRINCE.

APPENDIX C

TWO SPEECHES OF PRESIDENT KRUGER AT THE
DECISIVE SITTING OF THE FIRST AND SECOND
VOLKSRAAD OF 2 OCTOBER 1899

I

*Speech delivered at the Commencement of the
Sitting*

HONOURABLE SIRS,

To tell you what is in my mind: you know how the Lord transplanted this people to this country and led it here amid miracles; so that we should have to say, "Lord, I no longer believe in Thee," if things came to such a pass with us that now, when thousands of enemies are assailing us, we voluntarily surrendered the land which He gave us and not we ourselves. Let us trust in God and together offer up our prayers to the Lord. He is waiting for our entreaties and He will be with us. The decision rests with Him,

and He will decide, not on lies, but on the ground of truth.

You are familiar with the course of events and how the Volksraad and the people have yielded in everything that was demanded. First, it was a question of the franchise. Three times we yielded in this matter and I repeat, so that it may appear upon the minutes, that it is a lie to say that we were not willing to treat those who came from abroad as our equals.

When the Convention of 1881 was concluded, there were only a few English here; and what was it that they wanted? They were quite willing to be treated on an equal footing with our burghers, but registered themselves as British subjects; they preferred to remain foreigners rather than become subjects of this State.

You know, moreover, that, under the Convention of 1884, at the time of the Blue Mountains commando, they refused to take the field with our burghers, although by so doing they would have at once received the franchise. I brought the matter three times before the Raad and begged it to pass a resolution that they must defend the country; and the Volksraad confirmed that all who took part in the war should obtain the franchise. Then Loch came here and complained that the

English were not treated as the most favoured nation. I thereupon again issued another proclamation, because I thought that there might really be people to be found who wished to stand on an equal footing with our burghers; I did this, although the Convention expressly lays down that they shall possess not equal political, but equal commercial rights. Now think—we are standing before the Lord and let each of us send his prayer on high to the Lord—where can they say that, with regard to trade, they were less favoured than our own burghers? Nowhere. They were, in this respect, even more favourably placed than our burghers. They could take gold and anything they liked out of the country and they could even obtain political rights, but they would not have them. The High Commissioner demanded that we should extend the franchise and we had already done more; we even tried, afterwards, to treat them, the Uitlanders, on an equal footing with our burghers, but they declined.

In this respect, therefore, there is no injustice on our side. We can appear frankly before our Lord. He will decide, and He decides not by virtue of lies, but according to justice and truth. Let us therefore send up our prayers to Him on high, that He may guide us, and then, if thousands

come, the Lord will guide us in right and justice until, perhaps, we shall be freed once and for all from all these cares. I place myself wholly in His hands.

I will accuse no one of being a false prophet ; but read Psalm 108, verse 7, which came to my mind while I was struggling in prayer. You must not read it because I say so, but because it is God's Word. It was no dream that stood before my spirit, for false dreams mislead us and I do not trouble about them : I take my stand on God's Word alone. Now read that psalm attentively and associate your prayers with that : then will the Lord guide us ; and, when He is with us, who shall be against us ? Therefore I say to you, go among your burghers and exhort them continually to pray in this struggle.

We so often forget what the Lord has done. I will not speak again of the War of Independence, in which the Lord so visibly and wonderfully aided us. But was it otherwise in the Jameson Raid ? They aimed thousands of shells and balls at us, while we shot only with rifles ; and how wonderfully was the course of the bullets ordered ! Three of us fell, while the enemy had hundreds killed and wounded. And who ordered the flight of the bullets ? The Lord. He spared us then, to prove

to us that He rules all things. The Lord will also protect you now, even if thousands of bullets fly around you. That is my faith and also my constant prayer for myself, for the burghers and for all who fight with us. I will say once more that the Lord will guide us: He will decide and show to us that He rules and none other.

II

*The Second Speech delivered at the Sitting of
2 October 1899*

The State President spoke a second time, after the Presidents of the First and Second Volksraad had supported him in enthusiastic speeches:

It gives me great confidence to see that the Raad is with me. I know that, like myself, it believes in God's Word. If you search that Word, you will find that God, when He punishes and chastises His people, does not do so in such a way that He delivers that people wholly into the hands of its enemies. We too, when we chastise our children, do not allow others to beat them. When the people, that is, the people of Israel, fell away from God and committed idolatry, it was punished and almost fell into slavery. But you see in the

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Old Testament how, when thousands of enemies then come to annihilate God's people, the people trusts to God, its Creator and Redeemer.

Gentlemen, you have heard how they mock at us for appealing to the Lord. That is a blasphemy against God, and we trust therefore that the Lord will not let it go unpunished. The Lord chastises us, but He will not suffer Himself to be blasphemed.

One short word more. Moses was a man of God, and the Lord spoke with him ; but, at a time of great stress and combat, his friends had to stay up his hands, for he was but a weak mortal. Aaron had to support him in the faith. So let us too remember our generals and fighting-generals in our prayers, and unceasingly offer our prayers to God. Let us support them in their faith and let us not forget to strengthen the men who have to conduct the Government with our prayers.

APPENDIX D

OPENING SPEECH OF PRESIDENT STEIJN AT THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE VOLKSRAAD OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE AT KROONSTAD, 2 APRIL 1900

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,

Although the enemy is in possession of Bloemfontein and I have been obliged temporarily to remove the seat of government to Kroonstad, I nevertheless open your usual annual session full of firm confidence in the future, and I heartily bid you welcome.

1. In spite of your efforts and the efforts of both Governments to preserve peace, a war has been forced upon the South African Republic by the British Government. And the Orange Free State has been true to her obligations, and, in accordance with your resolution, ranged herself on the side of the Sister Republic when, on the 13th of October,

war broke out between the South African Republic and the British Government.

2. The Republics picked up the gauntlet with no other object than that of defending their independence, which cost our forefathers so much blood and which is so dear to us, to the uttermost. Thanks to the Almighty, our arms were blessed in a manner which not only struck the world with amazement, but far exceeded our own expectations. Although the capture of General Cronjé and his gallant burghers and the occupation of Bloemfontein were heavy blows to us, I am nevertheless glad to be able to say that our burghers are still full of courage and determined to continue to fight for the preservation of our dearly-purchased independence, and, if necessary, like so many of our dear ones, to die as brave and never-to-be-forgotten heroes. With the deepest regret I have to inform you of the decease of the Vice-president and Commandant General of our Sister Republic, Petrus Jacobus Joubert, a man in whom not only the Sister Republic, but all South Africa has lost a faithful friend, a true patriot and an upright Christian, who devoted his best years to the service of his nation. May his life serve as an example to all of us and his death stimulate us, under God's blessing, to continue the struggle

which he had hitherto led with such ability in the Sister Republic and to bring it to a happy peace!

3. The enemy, not content with his greatly superior force, has sought to obtain still further advantages by a constant abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag, against which abuse I have been obliged to make a protest to the neutral Powers. Ay, the mighty British Empire has not disdained, in this conflict with two small Republics, to make use of crafty proclamations in order to divide our little people. I have pointed, in a counter-proclamation of my own, to the craftiness and danger of this communication, and am glad to be able to say that, so far as I know, comparatively few have been so cowardly and faint-hearted as to surrender voluntarily.

4. In order to prevent further bloodshed and to assure the civilized world once more that it is not our intention to annex the neighbouring colonies, but that we are pursuing an entirely different object, namely the defence of our liberty and our rights, His Honour the State President of the South African Republic and I have written a letter to His Excellency the Prime Minister of Great Britain with a view to the restoration of peace. But, instead of aiding us in our endeavours, he has sent us a reply which will be laid

before you and which clearly shows that this war had no other object from the commencement than the destruction of the two Republics.

5. Even as I, and the Executive Raad with me, had already attempted everything in order to preserve peace, so we lose sight of nothing to-day that could serve to restore peace. The Government of the South African Republic and our own Government have therefore decided to send a commission consisting of Messrs. A. Fischer, member of the Executive Raad, C. H. Wessels, President of the Volksraad, and A. D. Wolmarans, member of the Executive Raad of the South African Republic, to Europe and America to ask the civilized Powers for their intervention for the prevention of further bloodshed. That their labours may be blessed with success is and must be the object of all our prayers.

6. By virtue of the plenary powers that have been given me, I have concluded a loan with the South African Republic.

7. It will be impossible for us to proceed to the usual debates. I would therefore propose to you to adjourn them to a later date and to discuss only those questions and decrees that shall be laid before you.

I conclude with the sincere prayer that, in the

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name of the Thrice Holy God, we may all be granted strength to keep up the sacred struggle for freedom and justice upon which we entered in all seriousness and to continue it energetically to the end. For God forbid that we should lightly surrender the independence which we bought with our blood. I have done.

APPENDIX E

OPENING SPEECH OF PRESIDENT KRUGER AT THE ORDINARY ANNUAL SESSION OF THE FIRST AND SECOND VOLKSRAAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC AT THE JOINT SITTING OF 7 MAY 1900

GENTLEMEN,

I once more have great pleasure in cordially welcoming you in this house of assembly and in venturing to give thanks to God, Who rules the Universe and Who has protected and preserved you, so that you can once more, with His help, devote all your strength to the interests of our dear country and people.

1. Some members of your Raad have informed me that, in consequence of the war, which compels their presence with the commandoes, they were unable to obey the summons to attend this meeting.

2. The war in which our country is engaged with England has, in addition to the many valu-

able victims which it has already exacted from among the burghers of both States, also demanded its victims from the legislative and executive bodies, in consequence of which we have to lament the deaths of our meritorious fellow-members J. H. Barnard, C. J. Tosen, J. H. Kock and our beloved Vice-president and Commandant General P. J. Joubert. One of them died a glorious death at Derdepoort in the defence of his fatherland against wild Kaffir hordes commanded by British officers; the other from the wounds which he received at the Battle of Elandslaagte when leading our burghers; while both Mr. Tosen and the Vice-president and Commandant General were taken from us by disease, the result of privations. A word of deep-felt esteem for those dead brothers, who were snatched from us in the midst of their prosperous career, is not, I think, out of place at this time. Posterity will rate at its right value the work of our late Commandant General, whose attitude inspired even the enemy with respect and whose humane and glorious conduct assured our State a name of standing among the civilized nations.

3. New elections for the vacant seats in the Volksraad have not been able to take place because of the extraordinary circumstances.

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4. I have nominated Mr. S. W. Burger as Vice-president of the South African Republic: this nomination is provisional until the First Volksraad has found time to settle the matter.

5. As Commandant General I have appointed Louis Botha, also provisionally, until an election can be held. It was the deceased Commandant General's wish that Mr. Botha should succeed him in this important post. I am convinced that this provisional appointment has also met with the approval of the nation.

6. I am deeply touched by the proof of loyalty on the part of the people of our Sister Republic, who has shown by this act that she was determined to fulfil the obligations which she had made by treaty with the people of the South African Republic. In such a glorious fashion have the old ties been confirmed and strengthened which already existed between the peoples inhabiting either bank of the Vaal River. The Sister Republic clearly saw that united action was necessary; for an attack on the independence of the South African Republic also implies a threat against the independent existence of the Orange Free State. The energy and the unbounded faith in the future of the Afrikaner Nation which our Sister Republic displayed in

her attitude have set the people and the Government of the South African Republic a magnificent example, have strengthened us in the struggle for our existence which has been forced upon us by the war with Great Britain and are of even greater moral value for the outer world and for all who follow the struggle of a small people for its existence. The least, therefore, in my opinion, that our duty towards our loyal brothers and fellow-Afrikaners in the Orange Free State demands of us is that I should, at this place of your assembly, express, as your interpreter, our sincere and deep-felt sense of gratitude. God bless them for their devotion to the cause of freedom!

7. It is a satisfaction to me to be again able to inform you that, with the exception of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Republic continues in friendly relations with foreign Powers.

8. While visiting the various laagers, I was also at Bloemfontein, where I agreed with His Honour the State President of the Orange Free State to send a joint dispatch to the British Government, in which, after referring to the fact that we had not sought war and desired no increase of territory, we proposed to open friendly nego-

ciations on the basis that both Republics should be recognized as sovereign international States and receive the assurance that those of Her Majesty's subjects who had assisted us in this war should suffer no damage in person or property. From the reply of the British Government, which shall be laid before you, you will see that that Government was always and is still determined to destroy the independent existence of the two Republics.

9. Even if our legislation in past years and our negotiations with the British Government had not shown that we were ready to do everything to preserve peace, we are, now that war has broken out in spite of our efforts to prevent it, prepared to do everything and to leave nothing untried to restore peace. With this object, I have agreed with His Honour the State President of the Orange Free State to send Mr. A. Fischer, the respected member of the Executive Raad of the Orange Free State, for both Republics, Mr. C. H. Wessels, President of the Volksraad of the Free State, for his State, and Mr. A. D. W. Wolmarans, member of the Executive Raad, for our Republic, to Europe and America with the commission, in the name of the people and the Governments of the South African Republic and

the Orange Free State, to petition for the restoration of peace on the basis of the independence of the two Republics.

10. The presence in our fighting lines of *attachés* who have been deputed by different States to follow the progress of the war points to the great interest which the Governments of those States take in the methods of warfare of our Republics. At the same time I rejoice to find that the sympathy of well-nigh the whole world is on our side in this struggle for right and liberty and that different countries have sent detachments of the Red Cross as ambulances to the battle-fields, to allay the pain and suffering of our wounded, while at the same time funds are being collected, not only in Europe, but also in America and Asia, to help the widows and orphans of the slain. I am, therefore, but carrying out your wishes when I here express our gratitude for those self-sacrificing actions of noble humanity.

11. I have been compelled to make a protest to the different neutral Powers against various actions which are in conflict with international law and with warfare as practised between civilized nations, as, for instance, against the abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag, the ill-treatment of the wounded on the battle-field and of prisoners of

war, and the employment of natives to fight against the Republics.

12. In spite of the difficult circumstances in which the war has placed the country, I rejoice to find that the treasury has been able to meet the great expenses of the war and that the mines are developing progressively.

15. I have made use of your authorization and concluded a loan with the Orange Free State.

16. By virtue of your authorization by Resolution 1,416 of the 28th of September 1899, the Government has issued and enforced decrees as circumstances demanded. The Government trusts that its action, in so far as it relies upon those plenary powers, has received your approval, and asks for instructions that it may continue in the same way.

17. It will not be possible to dispatch the ordinary business of our annual session, and I therefore suggest to you that you should discuss only those matters which will be laid before you and adjourn all others to a later date.

And with this, gentlemen, I conclude. May the Ruler of Nations vouchsafe to gird us with strength to bring to a desired end this unequal and violent strife, upon which we have entered in His name and for our sacred right. May the

burghers and officers, inspired from on high with strength and with a sense of duty both towards those brave men who have given their lives for the preservation of the fatherland and towards the coming generation that expects to receive a free fatherland at their hands, feel impelled to continue the war and to remain steadfast. And thus may the South African Race, whose future was always hopeful, now at last develop into a mighty tree and prove by its actions that we are worthy of taking up our place in the ranks of the nations. God in His Heaven help us to attain that end! I have done.

APPENDIX F

SPEECH DELIVERED ON THE 7TH OF MAY BY
PRESIDENT KRUGER IN EXPLANATION OF HIS
OPENING SPEECH AT THE ORDINARY SESSION
OF 1900

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE PRESIDENTS AND HON-
OURABLE MEMBERS OF THE TWO VOLKSRAADS,

Although it is not my custom, allow me to add a few words to my speech: the situation of the country is such that I make this public request to be permitted to give an explanation of my address.

You know how the franchise was insisted upon before the war began. You know that the Government yielded, after obtaining the consent of the Raad, although this body saw objections to such a course, until even the burghers made representations, as though we were about to surrender almost all our rights. The Government had in view the prevention of bloodshed. The

Raad then agreed to the seven years' franchise and also that all persons who had been here for more than seven years could acquire the franchise immediately. There were then nearly 30,000 who were able to acquire the franchise at once, and so much had been yielded that, if all of these had obtained the franchise, they could have outvoted the old burghers. It was only to prevent bloodshed that we yielded so much as this. Nevertheless, they were not contented, and declared that they wanted to have the franchise after five years.

Our burghers were against this, and there were also members of the Raad who would not grant it; but, notwithstanding, the Government made a proposal, because they had perceived that it was not a question of the franchise, but that this was a pretext full of pharisaical hypocrisy; for documents had been found showing that, as early as 1896, it had been decided that the two independent Republics must cease to exist. I can express myself in no other terms than by calling it a "devilish fraud." They talked of peace, while the decision had already been taken to destroy us. Even, therefore, if we had yielded more, if we had even said that the franchise could be acquired after one year's residence, that would not have been accepted. For it had appeared from documents

that this people should no longer be a free people. As I stated in my speech, the Government, in order to avoid bloodshed, made a far-reaching proposal to Chamberlain and Salisbury; and what was the answer? You have read that document, and, although I cannot repeat the text of the document word for word, it amounts to this, that they are angry at ever having recognized us as an independent nation, and that, in spite of all the conventions that had been made, they will never acknowledge that this nation is independent.

Honourable sirs, I must speak out and say what I have in my mind. Psalm 83 speaks of the attacks of the Evil One on Christ's Kingdom, which must no longer exist. And now the same words come from Salisbury, for he too says, "This people must not exist," and God says, "This people shall exist." Who will win? Surely, the Lord. You now see the artifices which already at that time were being employed; also how our people was willing to surrender its rights, and that the Executive Raad went so far in yielding that we almost lost our country. It was not, however, their intention to obtain those rights: they wanted our country, which was no longer to be independent. All the rest would not have satisfied them.

Let us take note of this and observe the artful cunning which this matter implies. They wrote to the Orange Free State that they had nothing against that State, but only against this Republic. They thus hoped to separate the two Republics, whereas it has appeared from the documents that neither of the two was to continue to exist. See the deceit contained in this. For the documents show that, as early as 1896, after the Jameson Raid, this was decided upon; and yet they persisted in declaring that, if the Orange Free State would lay down her arms, that country would continue to exist. The Orange Free State then resolved not to lay down her arms, and together we began.

We were 40,000 men; but we had to guard against Kaffirs on every side, and the Commandant of Mafeking had even written to us that certain Kaffir captains would assist him, and we know that, altogether, those numbered 30,000 fighting Kaffirs. That number of Kaffirs alone was almost as great as the number of our combatants, while in addition there arrived over 200,000 English troops. And that was what we had to fight against.

Honourable sirs, mark the dispositions of God. Is it not wonderful that 40,000 men should have

to fight against hundreds of thousands and, in addition, against a nation of blacks, and that we should still be alive? Acknowledge God's hand in this. For it is remarkable that, where we come in touch with the enemy, we stand almost in proportion of ten to a hundred, and yet the Lord has hitherto spared your lives.

I will not take it upon myself to prophesy, but I will point out to you the guidance contained in God's Word. That is extraordinary. This war is a sign of the times. It amounts to this, that the Beast receives the power to persecute the Church and shall succeed so far until the Lord says, "Hitherto, but no further." And why? Because the Church must be tried and purified, for there is much evil among us. That is why this war is an extraordinary one and a sign of the times.

And everyone must be convinced that God's Word is evident in this. They say that the people must not exist, but God says, "It shall exist, but must be purified." It lies so clear and open in my mind that the day of Grace is not far off, that the Lord will show that He is the Ruler and that nothing shall happen without His consent. When He permits that punishment descends upon us, we must submit and humble ourselves, confess our sins and return unto the Lord. Then,

when the whole nation stands in humility, seeing that it can do nothing, but only the Lord, then assuredly we shall at once obtain peace. But this humility does not yet lie deep enough in our hearts, and we must do our duty earnestly, as Peter says in 1 Peter v. verses 7 and 8: "Casting all your care upon Him; for He careth for you;" but in verse 8, however, stands: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." This is the point respecting which we must watch and, if we fall into unbelief, we shall bring ourselves into perdition.

I ask you, brothers, is that a way of acting, as was done, that Kaffirs should be called up by letter, and that these, as at Derdepoort, should murder even women and children? The English declared that no Kaffirs were employed against us, but it is a fact that Montioa, with his Kaffirs, is in Mafeking and is being employed to fight against us. More than half of the people in Mafeking consists of Kaffirs, who fight against us.

Honourable sirs, you must not think that all who fight against us belong to the Beast; there are certainly hundreds of the children of God among them, who, however, are forced to act as they do from fear of the Beast; but God knows

all hearts. We did not seek that the blood that lies on the ground should be shed, for we had surrendered all our rights; but when they wished to murder us, we could yield no more.

How did it go with Ahab? The mighty enemy came before the walls of the city, and the people had lost courage. Then came the prophet of God and said, "Fear not." Then God arose, and in that God we must place our trust, for He is still the same God. Let us, therefore, not live as though there were no God. He rules. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God, and the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. Take note of history, which must serve us as an example. It is still the same God Who led Israel from the wilderness and hardened Pharaoh's heart to the end, until at last all the first-born of the Egyptians died, whereupon Pharaoh allowed the Israelites to depart. It is still the same God Who stills the winds and storms upon the sea, and His arm is not shortened.

Some ask, But does that point only to the Church in the two Republics? No. See the three youths in the fiery furnace. Did these rejoice alone? No, but God's people over the whole earth. Was it only for Daniel, what happened in the lion's den? No, but for all

Christians over the whole earth. Thus the Lord often employs a small band, to whom He displays His miracles as an example for the whole Christian world.

Look at the blood that has been shed here on earth. What is the cause of it? We want peace and our liberty, ever since 1836, and the Lord has given them to us, and shall the Lord ever lay His hand to a thing to withdraw it again? No, but let us humble ourselves before the Lord. There is no doubt that eventually the Lord will lead us to victory. The day of Grace is not far off for His people. Let us not doubt, but remain true to God's word and fight in His name. When the water shall rise to our lips and we humble ourselves earnestly before the Lord, then shall the day of Grace have come. Let each then acknowledge that it is the Lord's hand that sets us free and none other, so that man may not glorify himself. The Lord only employs man to carry out His will.

I have laid my speech before you, and I hope that the Volksraad will not sit longer upon it than to-morrow at latest, as many of the members are burghers in the field or officers. This is not the time to discuss ordinary business, and let only those matters be discussed which I submit to you. Then I have appointed an Acting Commandant

General, for I have lost my right hand, although I do not mean to convey that I have not more of such men. I have lost the late Commandant General, Messrs. Kock and Wolmarans, formerly members of the Executive Raad. The State Secretary also is a new appointment, and I alone remain of all the old members of the Executive Raad; nevertheless I find much help and support in the present members, and God too will support us, He will give us strength. Let us therefore fight in the name of the Lord to the end. For the Lord is our Commander-in-Chief; He gives orders and He knows when to say, "Hitherto, but no further."

It is wonderful to see how unanimously the other Powers are on our side, and how all Europe prays for us with one voice; and shall the Lord reject those prayers? Oh no, trust in the Lord and let us persevere under Him, and He will perform miracles. Even if it goes so far that I am sent to St. Helena. For then the Lord will bring back the people and set it free; and the same judgment shall fall upon Babylon, the cause of all the blood that has been shed. We are fighting for the liberty that God gave us. I say again: if brothers from this Raad and private persons, who fought in the name of the Lord and believed,

should fall by the sword, then, God's word says it, they are sacrificed on the altar to the greater glory of His name and of the glorious Church which is waiting to be revealed in this sign of the times. The Church must be tried and purified, and therefore I cannot believe that it will be permitted that we shall be destroyed by this extraordinary war. The war will last until the Lord says, "Hitherto, but no further." Keep to that and fight with me. I place myself in the hands of the Lord. Whatever He may have decided for me, I shall kiss the rod with which He strikes me, for I too am guilty.

Let each humble himself before the Lord. I have spoken.

I certify that the above is a true and faithful copy.

H. C. DE BRUIJN PRINCE.

APPENDIX G

CIRCULAR DISPATCH FROM STATE PRESIDENT
KRUGER TO THE COMMANDANT GENERAL,
ASSISTANT COMMANDANTS GENERAL AND
OFFICERS

MACHADODORP, 20 *June* 1900.

Flinch not and fall not into unbelief; for the time is at hand when God's people shall be tried in the fire. And the Beast shall have power to persecute Christ, and those who fall from faith and their Church will know Him not, nor shall they be allowed to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. But those who are true to the faith and fight in the name of the Lord, wearing their glorious crown of victory, they shall be received in the church of a thousand years and enter into glory everlasting. Brothers, I beseech you abandon not your faith, but hold fast by it, and so go forth and fight in the name of the Lord. Look well into your hearts. If cowardice hiding there whispers to you, Fly, you are blasphemers, for

listening to the Tempter you deny your God, your faith is dead. Believe as you would be saved that nothing happens here below without the will of God. Victory and the sword are in His hands and He gives both to those who fight in His name. Is not our God the same God Who led Israel under the power of His miracles out of the land of Pharaoh? Did He not lead them safely through the Red Sea? Did He not hide them in the thick cloud which was darkness to the enemy, but light to His children; for the column of cloud was built upon the word of the Lord, and, if we trust Him as they trusted Him, it shall be our guide also through the darkness, leading our feet safely to the Light. But he who ceases to believe the word of the Lord shall perish in the dark prison of his unbelief. Is not our God the same God Who made water flow from a rock, refreshing all Israel? Was He not the Father of those three youths who chose death rather than deny Him? He is the same God Who guarded Daniel in the lions' den. The lions harmed him not, but, when the King commanded that Daniel's persecutors should be thrown into the den, the lions devoured them. Is He not the same God Who walked upon the waves of the sea, and, when He commanded Peter to come to

Him, did not Peter, in his faith, obey? But, when the strength of his faith left him and he became afraid of the water, he sank, and the Lord took his hand and saved him and admonished him for his want of faith. Is He not our Lord to-day, the same Lord Who, when the storm raged, laid silence upon the waves? Is He not the same Lord Who laid His hands upon the lepers and they were healed? Is He not the same Lord our Saviour Who said to His children, "Fear not, be strong of heart, I will not forsake you, for you believe in My Father and in Me." And He prophesied war and judgments of war that we might not be affrighted; for these things must be. Is not our Saviour the same Saviour Who took upon Himself death and Who rose the third day, remaining for forty days longer among mankind although the world saw Him not? But they saw Him when He ascended into Heaven before their eyes, telling them to fight the good fight and He would come again. And this same God our Lord and Saviour, Who has brought us here from our distant home and given us our liberty and performed miracles on our behalf, dare we doubt that He Who commenced this work will finish it? No, what He has raised up He will not allow to fall to the ground. I repeat, He is the same

God Who helped Gideon and his three hundred warriors, Who led and strengthened them in battle and in Whose Hand lies every victory. Dear brothers, dear brothers, I beseech you, lose not your faith. Depend each one upon himself and fight in the name of the Lord. I am told that every one wishes to go to his own district, in order to fight there. That will cause confusion, and the result will be bad or at least without value. Let everybody fight where he happens to be, under whatever officer he finds himself; be courageous, firm, obedient and loyal, for that means victory. Observe the reports of our Commission from Europe. Observe the proclamation of Lord Roberts in the Orange Free State, and you will see that it is nothing but a decoy-bird. According to Psalm 83, the enemies of old said that the people shall not exist in Christ's Kingdom. Salisbury and Chamberlain stand convicted by their own words: "They shall not exist." But the Lord says, "This people shall exist," and Christ is our Commander-in-Chief, Who leads us with His Word. Dear brothers, once more I pray you, let us not fall from faith, but follow His commands. He often leads His children through the barren desert, where it seems as if they could never get through. But if we will only trust Him, I assure you He will be

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our guide. He who trusts in God's guidance is under the protection of the King of Kings and safe through the darkest night. His word is truth everlasting. See Psalm 92.

Let this be read to all officers and burghers, for our present sufferings are nothing compared with everlasting glory. Let us obey our Saviour.

APPENDIX H

TELEGRAM FROM THE STATE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMANDANT GENERAL

MACHADODORP, 7 *July* 1900.

Officers and burghers, place all your faith in the Lord. He is our highest General, Who turns all hearts whithersoever He will, and He says, "This danger is Mine," and the final victory is also in His hand. Now follow our fight from the beginning until to-day: see if the Lord does not still stand on our side with miracles, see how He has blessed our arms, so that as a rule so few men fall on our side and so many on the enemy's that, in spite of the great multitude of troops and guns opposed to us and the thousands of shots fired at us, the enemy's arms have not been blessed. Brothers, we must have become unbelievers and lost sight of God's authority, if we doubt that He is on our side. The enemy has until now flooded our country with his vastly superior forces, which we have not been able to

repel on every side; he has not done so by force of arms, so that there is no doubt but that an end will come to this flood and that the victory will be ours. So do not flinch in the faith and do not be alarmed because some of us fall away. The Apostle Paul has already said this before me in 1 Timothy. But I look at the matter thus: some of our burghers, who, overpowered by the enemy, were obliged to lay down their arms, I excuse, if they join again at the first opportunity, in order to go on fighting; but, when others go so far as to lay down their arms and take the oath and not return, then that, according to the Scriptures, is a falling away from God, though, to be sure, such men will say, even as the Beast, that they believe in the Lord. But the Lord says, "Show Me thy faith by thy works." And, when they then perform the works of the Beast, in order to betray their brothers, then they assume a faith which is dead. See Revelation xiv. 9, 10: "If any man worship the Beast and his image, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God," and so on. Brothers, any of you who may perhaps have gone so far, turn back and humble yourselves before the Lord: He will forgive you; and then fight bravely in His name. Read this telegram to the officers and burghers at every opportunity.

APPENDIX I

CIRCULAR DISPATCH FROM THE STATE PRESIDENT TO THE COMMANDANT GENERAL, ASSISTANT COMMANDANTS GENERAL AND OFFICERS

MACHADODORP, 24 *July* 1900.

I see by your report and many other reports that the spirit of unbelief walketh about like a roaring lion seeking to make our men lose heart. Brothers, you must understand, when you let the enemy pass you and you begin to hesitate whether you shall attack him or not, you drive the others who still remain behind, in the whole country, wherever they hear this, to hesitate and doubt in their turn; but, when you do your duty and attack him wherever he shows himself, then you inspire our men who have remained on the farms in the Republic and who hear this with courage to help in the fighting, though they and we too be but few. For the victory is not in the hand of the greater force, but in the hand of the Lord, and the Lord gives it to them who fight in His name,

however few we may be. Listen to the words of the Lord: "When He forsakes the people, He blunts its sword and does not bless it;" and see, we are convinced of that, that the Lord has not blunted our sword, but, on the contrary, has blessed it wonderfully against the enemy. Whenever the enemy attacks us and fires thousands and thousands of shots at the few of us, our few shots hit many more of his men than do his of ours. Is it not the spirit of unbelief that hovers through the air, to bring us to doubt and thus to make us guilty before the Lord and to let us doubt that all is within the power of the Lord? And has it not yet become evident to you that, as I said in my former sentence, we live in a time when we are being tried by faith? He who stands firm in the Lord can say, with the Apostle Paul and with Timothy: "Be not discouraged when you see blasphemers, for some must fall away." And the Lord Jesus Himself says, in Matthew xxiv., that there shall be wars and rumours of wars: "But see that ye be not troubled, for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet." Remember 1 Peter v. verses 7 and 8: "Casting all your care upon Him; for He careth for you." And verse 8 says: "But be sober, be vigilant against the

Devil, whom resist stedfast in the faith, for he walketh about like a raging lion seeking whom he may devour." Then see in Matthew, when the Evil Spirit took the Lord Jesus into a high mountain and said, "All these things will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship me." Then the Lord Jesus said, "Get thee hence, Satan; thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." Brothers, mark me, that is the good fight, to win the crown. And he who cannot fight the good fight shall not win the crown. For then he falls and is joined with the evil spirit of the air, who flies with his great force over the earth. And so he receives the mark of the Beast in the forehead and will drink with the Beast of the wine of the wrath of God. Read Revelation xiv. verses 9, 10, 12 and 13. Note, in particular, verse 12, which says: "Here is the patience of the saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of the Lord Jesus." No, no, my brothers: let him who has grown faint-hearted fly to the Lord and remain faithful to Him. And by your faithful acts you will convert thousands more to the faith, so that they may fight for the liberty which the Lord has given us. He who says that he believes in the faith of the Lord Jesus and His works and

goes with the Evil Spirit, that man's faith is a dead faith, for the Lord says, "Show me thy faith by thy works." And see the promise of the Lord in Psalm 108, where He says that they who fight through God shall do so valiantly, and the Lord will deliver them and tread down their enemies. Keep courage therefore, you God-fearing band; the Lord will display His strength to your weakness. Also I will call your attention to the history of the American War of Independence, where they had to fight against hundreds and thousands, and, although their number was at length reduced to less than 2,000 men, yet they conquered and the Lord gave them back their liberty. Now each of you knows as I do how unjust and godless the war is, as we were willing to yield almost everything, if we could only keep our liberty and our independence. See Psalm 83, how the evil spirit of the air said that the valiant fighter named Israel must not exist, and the Lord says, "He shall exist." And see in our declaration, which we sent to Salisbury, that we only wished to keep our independence. Then the same spirit answered that this nation must not exist, or, to use his own words: "I will not permit your nation to continue to be a nation." Dear brothers, through

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God's Word I am sure of this, that the victory is ours. But let us remain true and fight in the name of the Lord, on the strength of His promise, and I request the officers often to read and re-read this notice to the burghers.

APPENDIX J

PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT STEIJN AGAINST THE ANNEXATION OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE

Whereas, in the month of October 1899, an unjust war was forced upon the people of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic by Great Britain, and those two small Republics have for more than eight months maintained and are still maintaining the unequal contest against the mighty British Empire ;

Whereas a certain proclamation of the 24th of May 1900, alleging to be issued by Lord Roberts, Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in South Africa, is published to-day and contains the statement that the Orange Free State has been conquered by Her Majesty's troops and is annexed to the British Empire, while the forces of the Orange Free State are still in the field and the Orange Free State has not been

conquered, and the aforesaid proclamation is therefore opposed to international law ;

Whereas it is well known that the British authorities themselves have recently admitted that the Orange Free State was excellently governed, and it therefore becomes an offence against civilization as well as an infraction of the fundamental rights of such a nation to rob it of its liberty under any pretext whatsoever ;

And whereas I deem it desirable immediately to inform all whom it may concern that the aforesaid proclamation is not recognized by the Government and people of the Orange Free State :

Now I, Martinus Theunis Steijn, State President of the Orange Free State, after deliberation with the Executive Raad, do hereby proclaim, in the name of the independent people of the Orange Free State, that the aforesaid annexation is not recognized and is null, void and invalid.

Given under my hand at Reitz in the Orange Free State on the 11th day of the month of July 1900.

M. T. STEIJN,
State President.

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