

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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1893-1898

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THE result of the new election was :

Kruger	7,854 votes
Joubert	7,009 „
Chief Justice Kotzé	81 „

Joubert's party was dissatisfied with the result and entered a protest against my election. When the Volksraad met, on the 1st of May, a committee of six, consisting of three of Joubert's followers and three of mine, was appointed to hold a scrutiny. A resolution was passed, at the same

time, by which I was to remain in office until the committee had given its decision, although my term of office nominally expired on the 5th of May. The majority of the committee were of opinion that the election had been legally conducted. Nevertheless the minority handed in their own report recommending a new election. The Volksraad, on the other hand, accepted the report of the majority by 18 votes to 3, with the result that, on the 12th of May 1893, I was installed as State President for the third time. After being sworn in, I once more addressed the people, this time from the balcony of the new Government Buildings, while the public stood crowded in large numbers in the Church Square in front. I exhorted the burghers to remain unanimous, spoke a word of greeting to the women of the country and, lastly and particularly, admonished the children, with whom the future lay, to continue true to their mother tongue.¹

¹ This admonition was uttered especially in connection with the educational reforms which had been introduced in the previous year and which were based upon the principle that the Dutch language was to be employed as the educational medium.

The portion of Kruger's speech to which he refers, ran as follows :

"Dear children, 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

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Combined efforts on the part of the burghers were especially needed that year, as the country had been visited by heavy floods. The rivers

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 every one may have the opportunity of receiving it and turning it to account. . . . 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 you shall not be trusted 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 amongst you, and then posterity will honour you for your loyalty."

It was just the two points of view touched upon in this speech which President Burgers had neglected in the Educational Law

rose higher than had been known within human memory and did enormous damage.

In the year preceding the election of 1893, which he had drafted in 1874, and, with the aid of his eloquence, had induced the Volksraad to pass. He was opposed to the religious convictions of the nation. He had abolished the religious basis upon which the schools were founded. And therefore his law, wherever he himself was not able to plead for it with the power of his rhetoric, remained a dead letter.

After the War of Independence, one of the first cares of the regency, at whose head Kruger stood as Vice-president, was to obtain an Educational Law that should satisfy the real needs and wishes of the nation. Kruger thought he had found the man who possessed the necessary experience and who shared the convictions of the Boers in Dr. du Toit, and appointed him Superintendent of Education. He drafted a law which was passed by the Volksraad in 1882, but, although his intention was good, the execution was faulty. Du Toit was more of a politician than a schoolman, and he resigned his office in 1889. The development of the gold-fields and the influx of emigrants at that time made such demands upon the powers and attention of the Government that it was unable to devote as much care to the schools as it would have wished. And so the post of Director of Education remained vacant for some time. After this, when a new holder of this post was looked for, the division of the people into different Church parties determined them not again to appoint an ecclesiastic. Professor Mansvelt, the Professor of Modern Languages at Stellenbosch, was therefore approached. He at first refused, but, when again called upon and after a personal interview with the President, accepted, at the end of 1891. After he had satisfied himself by a long journey of inspection as to the condition of the schools throughout the country, he drafted a new law with the assistance of a committee appointed by the Volksraad for that purpose. The law was first submitted to the people and afterwards passed unanimously by the Volksraad.

In the main points, the outlines of the Law of 1882 were preserved, but in certain respects the new law was a great improvement

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which placed me for the third time at the head of the State, an association had been formed at Johannesburg which exercised a most disastrous

and advance upon the old. President Kruger took part personally in all the deliberations ; most of the sittings were even held in his house. He had originally entertained misgivings as to three points in particular. The increased State grants caused him to fear lest private initiative should be relaxed and the duty incumbent upon Christian parents transferred to the State. He had seen in his own Church how the heavy burdens which it owed towards the State Church had strengthened its readiness to perform acts of self-sacrifice. But he was at last obliged to admit that the perception of the necessity for supplying the best possible education to the children of a people that was called upon to hold its own in the inheritance of its fathers against a great European influx was not yet sufficiently general to allow him to act in accordance with his idealistic views. Moreover, model schools were required, and higher schools for the training of civil servants out of the children of the country, and this necessitated financial sacrifices that could not be borne by private individuals. And so now, as again later, the President accepted the position, without in any way surrendering his principle.

He also entertained misgivings regarding the demand of a general proof of the possession of a certain degree of qualification among the teachers, for he thought that this showed ingratitude towards the old teachers, who had given their services almost gratuitously to the land and people in bad times and who would now have to be dismissed. This objection was settled by a compromise, by which this class of teachers was allowed to continue in the "Outer" or "Boer Schools," at least if they were able to satisfy modest requirements.

The third point against which President Kruger at first raised an objection was the subsidy to the Higher Girls' Schools. He feared that this would result in changes and revolutions in the life of the people, which had always considered that a woman's place was at home. But he gave way to his advisers, and, afterwards, it was he himself who recommended to the so-called Progressives the admission of clever girls into the State Gymnasium. And in 1894 he

influence upon the fate of the Transvaal. This was the so-called "Transvaal National Union," which made it its business to keep the Johannesburg population in a state of constant ferment and to manufacture complaints against the Government. Every method of agitation was put into force by these gentry for the furtherance of their intrigues. Apparently they were agitating for the franchise; but their real object was a very different one, as will be seen. That Rhodes's influence was here, too, paramount was proved by later events.

The seditious spirit which actuated the personally opened the State Girls' School at Pretoria with prayers and an address. The people was converted to these reforms at the same time as its President.

Determined to make education as general as possible, he was at once prepared to agree to the proposals that, in districts with a mixed population, State subsidies should also be allowed, under certain conditions, to those schools in which education was not given in Dutch. A law of his own proposing was passed, with this object, on the 1st of June 1892, and a few English schools and the flourishing German school developed under his protection at Johannesburg. And, when the President saw that the English population made too little use of the advantages granted them and the political Opposition established an Educational Commission with an Educational Fund of £100,000 for the maintenance of schools conducted in an anti-national spirit, despite his objection, on principle, to State schools, he gave his consent to the erection of Uitlander schools at the cost of the State, to which the mixed inhabitants of the Gold Fields could send their children either gratuitously or on payment of very small fees. The only duty prescribed to these schools was

National Union stood clearly and distinctly revealed at the very first opportunity; and this came during the Kaffir War in the Blue Mountains. The Republic, at that time, had to contend against constant difficulties with the Kaffir tribes in the North. To-day it was this one, to-morrow that other, that assumed an insolent attitude towards the Government. At last, one of their chiefs, by name Malapoch, who lived in the Blue Mountains, behaved so outrageously that the Government was compelled to send a commando against him. His audacity had gone so far as to order a number of his subjects, who lived in

to give opportunities for instruction in the language of the country; and, at the expiration of two years, there were twelve of these schools, with 49 teachers and 1,499 children, each of whom cost the State £20 a year. In this way, the English enjoyed advantages superior to those of the whole population. The fact, moreover, that the President would never give up his principle that the Dutch language should be maintained as the one and only educational medium merely shows that he saw, as did others, the necessity of the preservation of the national tongue for the independent development and consolidation of a nation, especially such a nation as that of the Boers, which had to hold its ground in the midst of an overwhelming foreign population.

Education made such great strides in the course of the next eight years that, at the Paris Exhibition of 1900, the commission received two *grands prix*: a distinction which is all the more deserved when one thinks of the many obstacles with which education in the South African Republic had to grapple, such as a scattered population, Kaffir wars, dearth of labourers, continuous droughts, the rinderpest and so on.—*Editor's Note.*

the plains round about the Blue Mountains, to be murdered, because they had paid taxes to the Government of the Republic in accordance with their lawful obligations.

General Joubert collected the young men of Pretoria for an expedition against Malapoch. These young men of course included many subjects of foreign Powers, but all obeyed the field cornet's summons with the greatest alacrity, with the exception of the English.

These, as "British subjects," thought themselves much too grand to fight for the despised Boers. The English clergy did all they could to stir up the minds of these young men by public addresses. At last, the field cornet found himself compelled, in compliance with Article 5 of the Regulations of War, to arrest the recalcitrants. These lodged a complaint with the Chief Justice, and demanded that the field cornet be ordered to leave them alone. The court, however, decided that they were obliged to serve, and so these fine young gentlemen were sent under a burgher escort to the commando. Meanwhile, the so-called National Union had not been idle, but made every possible attempt to harass the Government. The insolence of these people would be incomprehensible, if it had not after-

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wards appeared who were behind them. The British Government took official notice of the occurrence and sent Sir Henry Loch to Pretoria to discuss the question with the Government of the Republic.

In the meantime, the Volksraad had passed a resolution by which any person not yet enjoying full burgher rights might be released from military service on the payment of a certain sum of money. Shortly afterwards, Sir Henry Loch came to Pretoria. On his arrival, the English behaved in the most disorderly fashion and, so soon as the Governor and I were seated in the carriage, the Jingoës took out the horses and drew us to the Transvaal Hotel, singing the usual English satirical ditties as they did so. One of the ring-leaders jumped on the box waving a great Union Jack. On arriving in front of the Transvaal Hotel, they stopped the carriage and read an address to Sir Henry Loch. A number of Transvaal burghers, seeing what was going on, drew the carriage, in which I had remained seated alone, to the Government Buildings. I need not say that this incident made a very bad impression on the minds of the burghers and added new fuel to the already existing dislike of the English. The Volksraad was sitting at the time and passed

a resolution asking the Government for an explanation why no measures were taken to prevent an exhibition so offensive to the people of the Republic. Soon after, a number of burghers assembled in the town, having come up determined to prevent a repetition of these insults.

Meantime, the so-called National Union continued their work. They invited Sir Henry Loch to visit Johannesburg; for they were fully aware that it would be much easier to provoke a riot there than at Pretoria. What they were working for was intervention from England. I was fully alive to the difficulties which must of necessity arise from Sir Henry Loch's visit to Johannesburg, and advised him most earnestly not to go. I even went so far as to say to him, in private conversation, that the responsibility, should he accept the invitation, must rest entirely with him. He thereupon abandoned his proposed visit to Johannesburg. His whole public attitude was, in fact, perfectly correct. But how did he act in secret? When the National Union discovered that the visit to Johannesburg was not to take place, they sent some of their members, including Tudhope and Leonard, to Pretoria, with an address to Sir Henry Loch. The address contained the most insulting accusations against

the Government and the Volksraad. But this caused no surprise to those who knew its source. In public, Sir Henry Loch advised the deputation to carry their complaints quietly before the Volksraad. In secret, he asked them how many rifles and how much ammunition they had at Johannesburg, and how long they could hold out against the Government, until he was able to come to their assistance with English troops from outside.

How typically English was this conduct on the part of a high-placed British official! It is characteristic of the entire English policy in South Africa. Lies, treachery, intrigues and secret instigations against the Government of the Republic: these have always been the distinguishing marks of English politics, which found their final goal in this present cruel war. If, encouraged by the question, which amounted almost to a suggestion, the Johannesburgers did not rise there and then, this is owing only to the fact that they were without rifles and ammunition. But it is not difficult to trace the consequences of this advice in the events which, soon afterwards, ensued.

I have been obliged to anticipate, in order to give a connected picture of the nature and

aims of the National Union; but events of great importance in foreign politics had taken place in the meantime. In 1893, the second Swaziland Convention was concluded. In this connection, a conference was held at Colesberg between the High Commissioner and myself: it led to no result, but was followed by a second conference at Pretoria. Here came Sir Henry Loch, with his wife, his two daughters and a numerous staff, and was given a brilliant reception. Judging by the festivities held in Sir Henry's honour, an uninitiated observer would have thought that a solemn welcome was being offered to a true friend and ally of the Republic. The arrangement which was soon come to was not of a nature to give rise to much rejoicing; but it was the best we could obtain. The chief points were:

The Republic received the right to conclude a treaty with the Queen of the Swazis by which the suzerainty and right of administration passed to the Republic, while the internal affairs of the Kaffirs were left to the Queen and her council, so that Swaziland could not be considered to form a part of the Republic.

All the white male inhabitants of the country were to obtain full burgher rights in the Re-

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public, provided that they applied for them within six months.

The Dutch and English languages were to enjoy equal rights in the law-courts.

The South African Republic confirmed her renunciation, already conceded in the first Swaziland Convention, of her claims on certain districts in the north and north-west of the country.

This arrangement was not to become valid until the Swazi Queen and her council gave their consent.

A strong opposition now sprang up among the Swazis against our taking possession of their country, as we were to do in accordance with the convention. This opposition was provoked and strengthened by all sorts of English Jingoese and adventurers, including a certain Hulett, who had come from Natal. The latter persuaded the Swazis to send a deputation to England, to protest against the transfer of their country into the hands of the Republic. The deputation achieved no result. As, however, nothing but feuds and quarrels arose in Swaziland and as, under existing conditions, it was impossible for the South African Republic to suppress them, an unbearable position arose and a new meeting accordingly took place between Sir

Henry Loch and myself at Volksrust, in 1894, at which a new, or third, Swaziland Convention was concluded, giving the Republic the right to take over Swaziland, without, however, making it an integral portion of this country. But for this restriction, Swaziland now practically formed part of the Republic. This convention was accepted by the Volksraad in an extraordinary session, in 1895, and thus this troublesome matter was settled.

We had hardly time to breathe after these difficulties about the native territories, when England suddenly annexed Sambaaland and Umbigesimaland. The Republic had long had treaties of friendship with both these countries and, during the time of the Swaziland negotiations, it had always been taken for granted that the Republic would later, so soon as the Swaziland question was settled, put forward her claims over the two countries and treat with England for their annexation. Nevertheless, so soon as the Volksraad had ratified the Swaziland Convention, in 1895, England suddenly annexed the territories in question, although she had no more claim upon them than upon the moon. The object of this proceeding can only have been to vex and harass the Republic; for, by acting as

she did, England cut off the Transvaal's last outlet to the sea, an outlet which England did not require. It goes without saying that the Republic protested against the annexation; but England did not trouble herself about that.

In 1895, one of my fondest wishes was at last effected. The railway to Delagoa Bay was solemnly opened at Pretoria. After many difficulties, the line had at last been completed, thanks to the industry of the Netherlands South African Railway Company. All the governments of South Africa were represented at the inauguration, and the Volksraad voted £20,000 to enable the burghers who cared to avail themselves of this privilege to travel to Delagoa Bay and inspect the whole work. Thousands of burghers were thus enabled to become acquainted with the new enterprise and to appreciate its value.

This railway changed the whole internal situation in the Transvaal. Until that time, the Cape Railway had enjoyed a monopoly, so to speak, of the Johannesburg traffic. This was now altered. In order to facilitate friendly competition and to secure an adequate proportion of the profits on the railway traffic to the largest city in the Republic, the Government proposed that the

profits on the joint goods and passenger traffic should be divided in equal shares between the three States whose railway-lines ran to Pretoria. These three were Cape Colony, Natal and the Transvaal. Cecil Rhodes, who was then for the second time Premier of Cape Colony, and his advisers thought differently. They asked for 50 per cent. for Cape Colony, leaving the remaining 50 per cent. to be divided between Natal and the Transvaal. The Government of the Republic would not hear of this proposal, and a tariff war ensued.

The Cape Government lowered their tariff as far as Vereeniging, the frontier station between the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (the Free State railways were at that time still under the control of the Cape Government). The South African Railway, on the other hand, raised its tariff on its own portion of the line, running from Vereeniging to Johannesburg, in order to neutralize the reduction in prices on the other portion. The Cape Government now thought out a new plan. In order to avoid sending their goods over the expensive stretch of line, they had them unloaded at Viljoensdrift, in order to convey them thence to Johannesburg in ox-waggons. Now the customs laws of the Republic contained a clause by virtue

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of which the President was enabled to proclaim certain places on the frontiers as "import ports;" while no goods could be imported except at places thus proclaimed. When, therefore, the Cape Government caused their goods to be carried in ox-waggon, the Government of the Republic (whose interest coincided with those of the Netherlands South African Railway Company, as they had guaranteed the latter's profits) determined to close the existing "import ports," really fords, or "drifts," to goods from over the seas. The Government proclamation was directed only against goods from over the seas, so as not to injure the home trade of the Orange Free State and Cape Colony.

What did Rhodes and his Government now do? They asserted that the London Convention had been violated. This Convention contained a clause according to which no article coming from any portion of the British Empire could be excluded, unless the importation of that same article from any other country was also forbidden. The Republic, therefore, had violated the Convention, inasmuch as she had favoured Cape Colony, a British possession, and the Orange Free State, her Sister State, above the countries over the seas. She must now either withdraw her decision, or

else resort to the odious measure of forbidding the entire importation. Rhodes addressed his complaint to the British Government. A general election had recently taken place in England, and the same Government was in power that held office at the time of the late war. Mr. Chamberlain was a member of this Government and was, of course, at once prepared to send the Republic an ultimatum. He stipulated, however, that, if the ultimatum led to a war, Cape Colony should bear half the cost, raise a force of auxiliaries and lend her railway for the free carriage of troops. To the shame be it spoken of the Afrikanders who had seats in the Ministry, they agreed to this suggestion forthwith. The Republic received her ultimatum and was, of course, obliged to give way and to undertake not again to close the drifts.

The most striking event during my third presidency was Dr. Jameson's filibustering expedition, an enterprise of which the responsibility does not rest with Dr. Jameson. It is true that Mr. Chamberlain, at the time of the raid, declared that he knew nothing of the whole conspiracy. Later, however, it was shown that the British Government, or at least the Colonial Secretary, was fully informed of Cecil Rhodes's plans and intrigues, which resulted in Jameson's disgraceful raid.

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Rhodes had long entertained the project of making himself master of the Republic in one way or another ; and he devoted his money, his influence and his position as Premier of Cape Colony to this object. The National Union, of which I have already spoken, was employed by him to keep men's minds at Johannesburg in a constant state of ferment, and it soon became his chief tool in the conspiracy against the existence of the country. Through his instrumentality, arms and ammunition were secretly smuggled into Johannesburg and concealed in the Simmer-and-Jack Mine, in which he was the largest shareholder. Rhodes was aware that Johannesburg alone was not able to start a revolution with any chance of success. He had therefore to try to obtain a place of his own, on the frontiers of the Republic, where he could collect troops in support of a rising. With this object, with the aid of his factotum, Dr. Rutherford Harris, and a lady journalist called Flora Shaw, he opened negotiations with the British Government in order to extend the territory of the Chartered Company, so as to include the necessary strategic positions. The telegrams exchanged between the above-named persons during the negotiations with the British Government show that Mr. Chamberlain knew all about the matter.

One of Miss Shaw's telegrams to Rhodes ended with the words :

"Chamberlain sound in case of interference European Powers, but have special reasons to believe wishes you must do it immediately."

Add to this the following telegram from Rhodes to Miss Flora Shaw :

"Inform Chamberlain that I shall get through all right, if he supports me, but he must not send cables like he sent to the High Commissioner in South Africa. To-day the crux is I shall win and South Africa will belong to England."

And again :

"Unless you can make Chamberlain instruct the High Commissioner to proceed at once to Johannesburg, the whole position is lost. High Commissioner would receive splendid reception and still turn position to England's advantage, but must be instructed by cable immediately. The instructions must be specific, as he is weak and will take no responsibility."

It must be remembered, moreover, that the British Government laid only a portion of the

telegrams before the so-called Select Parliamentary Committee on British South African Affairs, and probably kept back those which were most compromising. Why should this be done when an enquiry is instituted to discover the truth? Is it not the natural conclusion that Chamberlain was equally guilty with Rhodes? However, no one can seriously deny that the above-mentioned published telegrams clearly prove Mr. Chamberlain's complicity in the plot.

So soon as Rhodes was sure of obtaining the desired strip of land from the British Government, he at once began to take measures to collect the troops of the South African Police at that point and to equip them with horses and materials of war so that they might be ready to invade the Republic as soon as things at Johannesburg were ripe for the attack. Meanwhile, he had entered into correspondence with the leaders of the National Union and sent his brother, Colonel Rhodes, to Johannesburg to work in his interest and represent him. Colonel Rhodes had his unlimited authority to spend as much money as he considered necessary. Mr. Lionel Phillips, one of the conspirators, had gone to Cape Town, presumably to discuss the details with Rhodes in person. He returned suddenly, on the pretext of opening the new

buildings of the Chamber of Mines, of which he was chairman. The buildings, however, were not even finished, and the opening was only an excuse to give Mr. Phillips the opportunity of making a political speech. It took place at the end of November, and Phillips delivered a speech full of violent attacks upon the Government. Some time earlier, one or two members of the National Union had gone to Cape Town to discuss the execution of the plan. In accordance with what was then arranged, Dr. Jameson came to Johannesburg at the end of November to concert the necessary measures with the leaders of the Union. On this occasion, he asked them to give him a letter in which they appealed to him for his assistance and which he could use at any time as an excuse for an invasion. The letter contained the statement that a collision was imminent between the Uitlanders and the Government and that the women and children and private property at Johannesburg were in danger. This letter, which was signed by Mr. Charles Leonard, Colonel Frank Rhodes, Messrs. Lionel Phillips, J. Hays, Hammond and Farrar, was left undated, so that Jameson might be able to make use of it at any time. In the meanwhile, the inhabitants of Johannesburg were incited in every possible manner by the Rhodes

press in order artfully to prepare the way for an outbreak. Towards the end of December 1895, Leonard, as chairman of the National Union, issued a long manifesto raising a series of accusations against the Government. Everything that could serve to excite men's minds against the Republic was dragged in. Of course, the franchise question was one of the main grievances, although Lionel Phillips, who was also a leading member of the Union, had not long previously written to his partner in London, a German capitalist called Beit, who was closely connected with Rhodes, that "we do not care a fig for the franchise."

Just when the ferment at Johannesburg was at its height, I returned to Pretoria from my usual annual tour of the districts, and it was then that, in reply to an address in which the burghers pressed for the punishment of the rebellious element, I used the words:

"You must give the tortoise time to put out its head before you can catch hold of it."

An attempt has been made to prove from these words that I knew of the preparations for the Jameson Raid, and that by the tortoise I meant Jameson. But this statement is quite unfounded. Neither I nor any of the Transvaal authorities at

that time thought such a deed possible, much less expected it. It is true that horses, provisions and fodder were being bought up by the English even in the Republic ; but the English stated that the assembling of the police on the western frontier of the South African Republic was intended for an expedition against the Kaffirs, particularly against the Chief Linchwè. And the burghers, therefore, entertained so little suspicion that they themselves assisted in the purchase of the military stores and in conveying the goods to all the places which afterwards represented roadside stations for Jameson's ride from Kimberley to near Krugersdorp. I myself had, but a short while before, offered the British High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, the assistance of the Republic for the protection of the women and children against the Matabele, who were giving trouble to the English, and Sir Hercules had replied thanking me for my offer, but saying that our assistance would not be needed for the present. If I had had the smallest inkling of Jameson's plan, I should assuredly not have allowed him to push so far into the Republic. In the days when the troops were being collected for the Jameson Raid, General Joubert, the Commander-in-Chief of the Boer forces, was not even

at Pretoria, but on his farm in the Wakkerstroom District, and he did not return to Pretoria until a couple of days before the raid.

What I meant by the tortoise was the National Union, which was continually abusing the Government and threatening to resort to force in order to obtain the removal of their grievances. I intended to convey that we must allow the movement quietly to take its course, until it revealed its true character and showed itself so undoubtedly guilty that the Government could punish the leading members, the real rebels, for high treason. Had those men been arrested earlier, they could still have tried to deny their misconduct and we should then, perhaps, have been unable to convince the world of their guilt.

Towards the end of December 1895, the state of affairs at Johannesburg was such that thousands left the town and fled for safety to the coast, while the National Union, which henceforth adopted the name of the Reform Committee, raised corps of volunteers to whom it distributed arms and ammunition. In order to avoid a collision and prevent bloodshed, the Government resolved to confine the police to barracks. We did not look upon the rebellion as serious, as it did not originate with the people, but was

artificially manufactured from above by intriguers. The whole thing would have presented a farcical spectacle, if the results had been less serious. The only man among the so-called Reformers who understood his business was Colonel Rhodes. All the others were theatrical revolutionaries.¹

I received different deputations from Johannesburg which made it clear that a large number of the inhabitants did not wish to have anything to do with the insurrection. I promised one of these deputations that I would meet the Uitlanders in the matter of certain grievances and propose a general grant of the franchise, and I also issued a proclamation in which I declared that the rioters formed only a small proportion of the population of Johannesburg, and expressed my confidence that the law-abiding inhabitants would support the Government in its endeavours to maintain law and order.

This injunction was issued on the 30th of

¹ It has been related that the President kept his horse saddled in his stable and his rifle loaded by his bed-side during the time of the Jameson Raid. Not a word of this is true, except in so far that some friends advised him to leave Pretoria because of the danger of an attack, whereupon he replied :

"If it comes to that, I shall take my horse and my gun and join my commando."—*Editor's Note.*

December 1895. On the same day, however, General Joubert received a telegram from Mr. Marais, Commissioner of Mines at Ottoshoop, informing him that a commando of 800 of the Chartered Company's troops, with Maxims and guns, had gone past, at half-past five that morning, in the direction of Johannesburg, and that the telegraph wire between Malmanie, Zeerust and Lichtenburg had been cut.

General Joubert immediately dispatched telegrams to the different commandants, and first to those of Rustenburg, Krugersdorp and Potchefstroom, acquainting them with these reports and charging them at once to summon the burghers and stop the invaders. Meanwhile, the Government had appointed a committee at Johannesburg to maintain order. It is certainly due to the tact displayed by this committee that no bloodshed occurred. The Reformers now resolved to send a deputation to Pretoria to confer with the Government. They were received, on behalf of the Government, by General Kock and Judges Kotzé and Ameshoff, and demanded that Dr. Jameson should be allowed to enter Johannesburg, in which case they would make themselves responsible for his peaceful departure from the town and his return across the frontier. In the

meanwhile, the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, who had succeeded Sir Henry Loch at the end of 1895, offered his friendly mediation and proposed to come to Pretoria in order to prevent bloodshed. An answer was, therefore, given to the deputation to the effect that, pending the arrival of the High Commissioner, the Government would take no measures against Johannesburg, provided the town conducted itself quietly.

Meantime, Dr. Jameson had advanced with the greatest rapidity in the direction of Johannesburg. The High Commissioner issued a proclamation calling upon Dr. Jameson and all his companions to withdraw across the frontier (this proclamation was shortly followed by Cecil Rhodes's resignation of the premiership of Cape Colony). The proclamation, together with a letter from Sir Jacobus De Wet, the British Agent at Pretoria, was carried to Dr. Jameson by Ben Boucher, a Transvaal burgher. Dr. Jameson, however, took not the slightest notice of it. Lieutenant Eloff, of the Krugersdorp Police, who rode out to meet him and to charge him to turn back, was taken prisoner by his orders. A number of Transvaal burghers, however, under Commandants Malan, Potgieter and Cronjé had outstripped Jameson and taken

up their stand on the hills near Krugersdorp. Jameson at once turned the fire of his guns on the burghers' positions ; but, so soon as his troops attempted a charge, they were driven back with loss. When Dr. Jameson saw that he could not get through, he faced about to the right, in order to try to turn the Boer position. He was stopped, however, during the night by Field Cornet D. Fouché, and the next morning, when he moved still further to the right, he came up against Cronjé's burghers, at Doornkop, who compelled him to surrender after a short engagement.

It has been stated that Dr. Jameson surrendered on condition that his life and the lives of his men should be spared. Commandant Cronjé had, in fact, in a note to Sir John Willoughby, the officer in command of Jameson's troops, informed him that he would spare their lives on the understanding that they surrendered with all that they had with them and paid the expenses entailed upon the South African Republic. But, while Commandant Cronjé was still in conversation with Dr. Jameson, Commandant Malan, of Rustenburg, approached, asked what was being done and, when he heard the conditions, said to Cronjé :

"We cannot make conditions of any kind; that is a matter for the Government at Pretoria."

Cronjé agreed, and thereupon Commandant Malan caused Dr. Jameson to be informed, in English, that he must clearly understand that what Cronjé had said was that the prisoners' lives were only guaranteed as far as Pretoria, where they would be handed over to the Commandant General:

"At this moment," he continued, "we cannot make any final conditions; those must be left to the Government."

Jameson thereupon bowed and said:

"I accept your conditions."

It was not till that moment that the surrender was completed and Dr. Jameson and his men disarmed and taken to Pretoria.

In the meantime, the High Commissioner had arrived and at once had an interview with myself and my advisers. After expressing his regret at what had happened, he immediately began to speak of the grievances of the Uitlanders and of other necessary reforms. I cut him short at once, however, by pointing out to him that this was not the time to speak of those matters, and that the only question that could now be discussed was that of the measures

to be taken in order to avoid further bloodshed,¹ and how Johannesburg should be made give up its arms. The High Commissioner asked :

"On what conditions is Johannesburg to give up its arms?"

I replied :

"Unconditionally."

And, when the High Commissioner continued to hesitate and to raise difficulties against my demand, I added :

"I will give Johannesburg twenty-four hours in which to surrender unconditionally. Otherwise, I shall compel the town to do so by force."

Sir Hercules could obtain no concession. I continued inexorable, and the interview ended.

The burghers and their commandants were in a condition of extreme excitement. It is easily understood that, after being plagued and provoked for so many years by the National Union,

¹ Mr. Robinson had asked whether he might come to help to bring about a peaceful settlement of the Jameson business, and he received a reply saying :

"Yes, come, you can perhaps prevent bloodshed."

He took this to mean that he might do something to prevent the insurgents from being shot ; but, when he was told that he could advise the Johannesburgers to surrender and thus prevent bloodshed, he was no longer so assiduous with his offer.—*Editor's Note.*

they were not in the mood to allow Jameson and the Johannesburg fire-brands to go unpunished. The following will serve as an instance of the spirit that prevailed among the burghers :

A commandant and some 400 burghers, who were on their way to stop Jameson, when the latter had not yet surrendered, passed through Pretoria and took the opportunity of calling on me to bid me good-day. I went out to thank the burghers, when the commandant addressed me in these words :

“President, we have come to greet you, and at the same time to inform you that, when we have captured Jameson, we intend to march straight on to Johannesburg and to shoot down that den with all the rebels in it. They have provoked us long enough.”

I replied :

“No, brother, you must not speak like that. Remember, there are thousands of innocent and loyal people at Johannesburg, and the others have been for the most part misled. We must not be revengeful; what would be the result of such a step?”

The commandant answered :

“No, President, you speak in vain. What is the use of clemency? It is only because we have

shown the rebels clemency too long that they have now gone so far. My burghers and I are determined to put an end to this sedition for good and all."

I thereupon lost my temper, or, at least, pretended to do so, and said:

"Very well, if you will not listen to me, you can depose me from the presidency and govern the country after your own fashion."

The commandant now calmed down and said:

"No, President, I did not mean that; we are quite willing to listen to you, but we have been terribly provoked."

I too answered more calmly:

"Well, if you will listen to me, do what I say and leave the rest to me."

At the meeting of commandants which, together with the Executive Raad, was to decide Jameson's fate, I had a hard battle to fight. My intention, which had already been approved by the Executive Raad, was to hand over Jameson and his companions to the British Government, in order that the criminals might be punished by their own Government according to their own laws. But the commandants would not hear of this, and it was only after Messrs.

Fischer and Kleijnveld, of the Orange Free State,¹ had also advised them to follow my wishes that I succeeded in obtaining their consent to leave this matter to the Government.

When the High Commissioner saw that I insisted on the unconditional surrender of Johannesburg, he instructed Sir Jacobus De Wet to telegraph to that effect to the Reform Committee. It is hardly necessary to say that they complied before the twenty-four hours had expired, for, with the exception of Colonel Rhodes and perhaps one or two more, there was not one among the conspirators but would have taken to his heels so soon as the first shot was fired. They had wooed and organized rebellion only in the hope that England would pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. They did not think of endangering their lives for the sake of a matter for which one of their principal members had declared, but a little while before, that he "did not care a fig."

Meanwhile the Government had informed the High Commissioner that it intended to hand over

¹ Mr. Fischer is the gentleman who was afterwards dispatched as one of the delegates to Europe. He and Mr. Kleijnveld had been sent by the Orange Free State to see if it was necessary for that State to come to the assistance of the Republic in accordance with her obligations.—*Editor's Note.*

Jameson and his men to the British Government so that they might be brought to justice in England. Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to me to thank me, in the name of Her Majesty, for my magnanimous act. Subsequent events have shown the depth of this gratitude and the way in which England has rewarded my magnanimity.

Johannesburg gave up its arms, but in much smaller quantities than was expected. Only some 1800 rifles and three damaged Maxims were handed in. Soon after, Dr. Jameson and his followers were delivered to the Governor of Natal, who sent them to England. The rank and file were at once set at liberty by the British Government. Jameson and a few of the other officers received short terms of imprisonment and were released before the expiration of their sentence.

On the 9th of January, the Reformers were arrested in their homes, or at their clubs; and taken to Pretoria. On the 10th, I issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Johannesburg in which I declared that I only looked upon a small number of crafty men within and without Johannesburg as the conspirators, and pointed out that the plot might have led to fearful disasters. I promised to confer a municipality

upon Johannesburg, and ended by appealing to the inhabitants to enable me to appear before the Volksraad with the motto, "Forgive and forget."

It is not necessary to enter into details concerning the trial of the conspirators. The Government applied to the Orange Free State to allow Judge Gregorowski to preside over the trial. The object of this request, which was readily granted, was to obtain a judge who was outside the quarrel and who could not be regarded as in any way prejudiced against the Reformers. Most of them escaped with imprisonment or fines: only the four leaders, Messrs. Lionel Phillips, Farrar, Hammond and Colonel Rhodes, were condemned to death; but this sentence was commuted by the Executive Raad to a fine of £25,000 apiece. Thus ended the first act of the drama of which the last act has just been finished on the blood-stained plains of South Africa.

Before closing this chapter, mention should be made of the great calamity with which Johannesburg was afflicted, on the 19th of February 1896, by the explosion of a number of trucks loaded with dynamite. A portion of the suburbs of Joriburg and Braamfontein was destroyed, very many persons were killed and wounded, and hundreds

rendered homeless. The Uitlanders showed their sympathy with the victims by subscribing a sum of about £70,000 within two days. To this the Government added a gift of £25,000. I repaired without delay to Johannesburg, visited the wounded in the hospital and praised the sympathy displayed in this matter by the Uitlanders, which it cheered my heart to see. I reminded them of the words of the Gospel: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

And so the attempt upon the independence of the Republic failed. But now Mr. Chamberlain was to set to work to try whether he could not be more successful. With his assistance, Jameson's Raid was to be replaced by a gigantic British Raid.

His first step was to invite me to come to England to confer on Transvaal matters, while he began by declaring that he was not prepared to discuss Article 4 of the London Convention, the only article which still in any way restricted the foreign relations of the South African Republic. One would really think, to judge from this invitation, that it was the Republic and not England that had to make amends.

At the same time, Mr. Chamberlain sent off another dispatch, in which he proposed that a sort

of Home Rule should be granted to Johannesburg, and he published this dispatch in the London official press before I had received it. When one reflects that it was the very question of Home Rule for Ireland that caused Mr. Chamberlain to withdraw from Gladstone's party and barter his Radicalism for his present Jingoism, one must stand astounded at the effrontery of his proposal, especially under the existing circumstances.

The Government of the South African Republic at first received only a short excerpt from the dispatch, embracing the principal points, whereas the whole text had already been published in the London official press, and to this it sent the reply, in brief, that it was undesirable and inadvisable to give previous publicity to views which the British Government thought fit to adopt towards the Republic, adding that the Republic could not permit any interference in her internal affairs. This reply was now also at once published in the *Staatscourant* of the South African Republic. Shortly after its receipt, Mr. Chamberlain dispatched a telegram in which he said that, if his proposal was not acceptable to the parties concerned, he would not insist upon it. Thereupon I telegraphed the conditions upon which I would be willing to come to England.

The chief point was the substitution of a treaty of peace, commerce and amity for the London Convention. Into this Mr. Chamberlain refused to enter. He continued to speak of admitted grievances which must be removed, as that was a matter of the highest importance to England as the paramount Power in South Africa, stating, furthermore, that, even if the London Convention was replaced by another, Article 4 of that Convention must, in any case, be included in the new agreement. Where, then, would have been the sense of undertaking that troublesome journey? And what would have been the use of substituting a new convention for the old one, if the only article by which the independence of the Republic was in any way restricted was to be included? Mr. Chamberlain, seeing that he could not induce me to visit England without giving some guarantee that my journey would not be futile, withdrew his invitation.

Meanwhile, it had become evident to the Government that it must prepare for possible events, and consequently a commencement was made in the purchase of ammunition, rifles and guns. This was the more necessary inasmuch as, at the time of the Jameson Raid, the Republic was practically defenceless. The burghers, at

that time, had none but Martini-Henry rifles and many did not possess a rifle at all. There was not sufficient ammunition to wage war for a fortnight. It must be added that, by the law of the land, every burgher was bound to be armed; and, when it appeared, on the occasion of the Jameson Raid, how sadly this duty had been neglected, the Government took the necessary measures, but no more, for the proper arming of the burghers, in order that they might be ready to protect themselves against further filibustering raids.

Still greater supplies of ammunition, rifles and guns were ordered after the investigation of the so-called South African Committee had taken place in London, because matters then came to light which showed that Mr. Chamberlain was not so innocent of the Raid as he represented. This is proved by the telegrams which I have already quoted and which were laid before the committee, and still more by those which were deliberately kept back, while, shortly after the investigation, Mr. Chamberlain declared in the House of Commons that Rhodes was a man of honour, and that there existed nothing which affected Rhodes's personal position as such. It was impossible to avoid drawing the conclusion

that Mr. Chamberlain was Rhodes's accomplice, and that he now publicly defended Rhodes because he feared lest the latter should make statements which would be anything but pleasant hearing for the Colonial Secretary. This, at least, was the view taken of the matter in the Republic; and it was confirmed in this view by the fact that Dr. Jameson was released from prison on account of illness and recovered his health immediately afterwards.

In view of these facts, can the Government of the South African Republic be blamed for making preparations, so that it might not fall a prey to England without striking a blow? Nay, more: was it not her bounden duty to take care, as she did, that the country was placed on a defensive footing? Yet this is the action which was constantly thrown in my face, by way of reproach, by the English ministers and the English press, and which they afterwards quoted in order to justify their unjust war.

Shortly after the closing of the South African Committee, Mr. Chamberlain began his uninterrupted series of dispatches, which continued until the war broke out, and which had no other object than to embitter the British people against the Republic and to make them believe that the

Republic was constantly sinning against England and systematically violating the London Convention. Thus, for instance, in the early part of 1897, he sent a dispatch in which he declared that the Republic had broken the London Convention by the following acts: by joining the Geneva Convention; by the Press Law; the Immigration Law; the conclusion of an extradition treaty with Portugal, etc. He based his contentions particularly on the oft-quoted Article 4 of the Convention,¹ which lays down that no treaty shall be in force until the same has been approved by the British Government.

Mr. Chamberlain now contended that the intention of this article was that, so soon as a treaty was drawn up (and therefore before its completion), a copy must be delivered to Her Majesty's Government, whereas the Government of the

¹ This Article 4 reads as follows :

"The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen.

"Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately upon its completion), have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of Her Majesty's possessions in South Africa."—*Editor's Note.*

South African Republic maintained that this was not to be done until after the treaty was finally settled, and based its contention upon the words, "Upon its completion," which occur in the article. The Government, therefore, in its reply, laid stress upon the fact that it did not agree with Mr. Chamberlain's opinion, and suggested that, in view of the difference that existed as to this point, it would be best to submit the matter to an impartial arbitrator. To this Mr. Chamberlain replied that England was the suzerain of the South African Republic and, in this quality, could not consent to refer a difference to arbitration.

It is unnecessary to say that this reply of Mr. Chamberlain's was in the highest degree vexatious to the Government of the Republic. For what other purpose than to obtain the abolition of the suzerainty had we made the journey to London in 1883 and endeavoured to secure a new convention? And, since the Convention of 1884, no one had entertained the very slightest doubt but that the suzerainty was annulled. Even Sir Hercules Robinson, who was himself one of the authors of the Convention of 1884, declared in an interview with a journalist¹ that there was no

¹ Mr. Frank Harris, at that time editor of the *Saturday Review*.
—*Editor's Note.*

question but that the suzerainty had been abolished by the Convention of 1884. In his greatly-praised reply of the 16th of April 1898, Dr. Leijds irrefutably established this fact. He was able, moreover, to quote a dispatch of Lord Derby's, of the 15th of February 1884, in which the then Secretary for the Colonies enclosed a draft of a new convention intended to replace the Convention of Pretoria. This draft commences with a reprint of the preamble of the Convention of 1881, followed by that of the Convention of 1884 and headed by the following Note :

“ The words and paragraphs bracketed or printed in italics are proposed to be inserted, those within a black line are proposed to be omitted.”

And now the whole preamble of 1881 is contained within a black line; moreover, the words “subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her Heirs and Successors” have been struck out by Lord Derby. It was especially important to prove that the preamble of the Convention of 1881, in which the suzerainty was mentioned, had lapsed, because Mr. Chamberlain contended that this preamble still existed and continued in force. In addition to what has been shown above, that this

preamble was contained within brackets and had therefore lapsed, we should, had Mr. Chamberlain's contention been correct, have had two conflicting preambles to one and the same convention. Which would have been absurd.

Now any reasonable person would have thought that Mr. Chamberlain would see that he was wrong; but no: he simply continued to maintain that the suzerainty existed. It will be universally admitted that it is impossible to come to a logical understanding with a man like that; and we must blame the well-known English insolence, where a small nation is concerned, which alone can have permitted Mr. Chamberlain to keep up his nonsensical argument.

The correspondence between the Government and Mr. Chamberlain was interrupted and accompanied by two important events in the internal life of the Republic: the negotiations concerning the work of the Industrial Commission and the conflict between the judicial and State authorities.

The Industrial or Mining Commission was appointed to investigate the complaints of the mining industry. That there were certain burdens which pressed too heavily upon that industry and which must be decreased was an undoubted fact,

and was shown in the report of the committee; but the principal reason why some mines gave no profit and others less profit than the shareholders would have liked to see was to be found in over-capitalization, in the floating of companies on worthless properties, in the reconstruction of companies whose profits went to the financial houses, and in the speculative fever which drove up shares to such a height that it became impossible for the purchaser to rely on receiving a good dividend. The great financial houses had everything in their hands and caused prices to rise or fall as they pleased; and the public was the victim of their manœuvres.

The commission, which held its sittings at Johannesburg and heard a crowd of witnesses, made a series of suggestions in its report as to how the demands of the industry could be met. The principal suggestions were :

A reduction of the import-duty on food-stuffs.

An agreement with the other States of South Africa to facilitate the engagement and cheapen the transport of coloured labourers.

The appointment of a committee to enquire into the possibility of abolishing the dynamite monopoly. Meantime, it was recommended that the Government should itself import dynamite

and sell it to the mines at cost price, with the addition of an import duty of twenty shillings.

A reduction in the railway tariff equal to a decrease of £500,000 in the gross profits of the company.

These were the principal suggestions; a few others of lesser importance may be passed over. The Government submitted the report to the Volksraad, which appointed a committee to examine the report and make suggestions. After long debates on the opinion of the Volksraad committee, it was at last moved and carried that the railway company should reduce its charges to the extent of reducing its takings by £200,000 and that the Government should endeavour to find means for a cheaper supply of dynamite to the mines. The Government succeeded in reducing the freights, especially for coal and food-stuffs and in diminishing the price of dynamite by five shillings a case. Moreover, an arrangement was concluded with Portugal by which large contingents of Kaffir labourers were obtained from Portuguese territory. Mr. Chamberlain afterwards accused the Government of disregarding the suggestions of its own Industrial Commission.

I have mentioned the conflict between the

judicial and State authorities, in other words, between the Government and the Volksraad on the one side and a section of the Supreme Court on the other. The dispute arose as follows. It was a generally accepted principle that the resolutions of the Volksraad were valid in law, even if they conflicted with the Constitution. The Supreme Court, particularly Judge Kotzé, with whom the conflict now arose, had, in former law-suits, as for instance in the "Doms" case, accepted and acknowledged this principle. Suddenly, in a subsequent case, it refused to do so. Certain tracts of land in the Krugersdorp District had been "proclaimed" as gold-fields, and, on the day when this proclamation was to come into effect, thousands of people assembled, each intending, as the law originally provided, to peg out his claims or *bewaarplaatsen* for himself. They who first pegged out those *bewaarplaatsen*, to the extent to which each was entitled in law, became their owners, subject, of course, to the payment of the legal dues. The Government had been informed that there was a danger of disorders arising out of this manner of dividing the land, owing to the great rush to the new gold-fields. They accordingly determined, so as not to give England a fresh

opportunity for an undeserved attack, to ask the Volksraad to pass a resolution to the effect that the "proclaimed" places should not, as the gold-law prescribed, be pegged out, but drawn by lot. In this way, each applicant stood the same chance of success, and all disorder would be avoided. A certain Brown, however, took no notice of this resolution, but, on the day when the proclamation (which had meantime been withdrawn) was to take effect, pegged out a large number of claims and tendered the legal dues, which were refused. When Brown's case was brought before the Supreme Court, which was sitting, Chief Justice Kotzé went back upon his former decisions and declared that the Volksraad had no right to pass resolutions which violated the principles of the Constitution.

This decision would have upset the whole country, for a number of rules concerning the gold-fields, the franchise and so on depended on resolutions of the Volksraad. It was therefore impossible for the Government to acquiesce in this decision, which would have caused unspeakable confusion. In a country whose conditions undergo such rapid alterations as must naturally occur in a gold-producing country, and which harbours so many speculators and

schemers as were constantly flowing into the South African Republic, it was absolutely necessary that, at any given moment, certain interests could be protected and dangers averted from the State by decrees of the Volksraad. To give an instance: in November 1896, the revised gold-law, which had been passed in the former session, was to come into operation. It contained one clause, however, which was not quite clear and which, unless the point in doubt was elucidated by force of law, might seriously injure the mining industry and deliver its rights into the hands of speculators. What happened? The mining industry naturally went to the Government and called attention to the danger. Dr. Leijds thereupon attended a sitting of the Volksraad, explained the position and obtained a decree which removed the danger. Every one looked upon this as the natural course. Now, suddenly, a different view was taken; and it was this that caused the conflict.

Sir Henry de Villiers, the Chief Justice of Cape Colony, who, by the way, shared the opinion of the Government, brought about an adjustment: the judge promised to respect the decrees of the Volksraad and I, on my side, promised to move the revision of the Constitu-

tion in the Volksraad. Not long before, a law had been passed by which every judicial functionary, on taking his oath of office, was to promise not to assume the right of *toetsing*,¹ that is to say, of testing the laws as to their validity. In February 1898, however, Chief Justice Kotzé wrote to me saying that I had not effected the revision of the Constitution which I had promised him, that he therefore considered himself to be released from his own promise and that he intended in future to test the validity of all the resolutions of the Volksraad by the Constitution. This was too much: I had had no opportunity of introducing a bill for the revision of the Constitution, seeing that the Volksraad did not meet till May. I now gave the Chief Justice his dismissal. The English press ranted and raged, and Mr. Chamberlain afterwards turned this incident into an "Uitlander grievance."

Meanwhile Mr. Chamberlain had found the man he wanted for his dealings with the South African Republic. In 1897, Sir Alfred Milner was appointed Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa. Sir Alfred

¹ Testing, or criticizing. In my translation of President Kruger's speech, printed in the Appendix, in which he ascribes the invention of this right to the Devil, I have ventured to employ the phrase, "the right of criticism," throughout.—*Translator's Note.*

had formerly served his country in Egypt, and, if he learnt anything there, it was to look upon the fellahs as creatures of an inferior species. The ideas which he had imbibed in Egypt he brought with him to South Africa, so much so that he forgot that the Afrikander is a different creature from the Egyptian fellah. There is no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain appointed Sir Alfred Milner only with a view of driving matters in South Africa to extremes. The appointment was received by the Jingoese with loud jubilation. The aim and principle of his policy are to be found in the words which he spoke to a distinguished Afrikander :

“The power of Afrikanderdom must be broken.”

This tool of Mr. Chamberlain's has fulfilled his mission faithfully, and to-day enjoys the satisfaction of having turned South Africa into a wilderness and robbed thousands of innocent people of their lives. Lord Milner is the typical Jingo, autocratic beyond endurance and filled with contempt for all that is not English.

When this man assumed office, my term as President had expired and new elections were about to be held. This time three candidates presented themselves: Kruger, Joubert and

Schalk Burger, a member of the Executive Raad and Chairman of the Industrial Commission of 1897. This was the first election which, according to the new law, was held by ballot.

Meanwhile, new elections had also taken place in the Free State, as President Reitz was obliged, owing to long illness, to resign his office. Judge M. T. Steijn was elected President in his place. To give a portrait here of this man would be superfluous. His heroism, his resolution and his patriotism are known to all the world; and, write what one may, it will always remain an impossible task to give a description of the feelings of attachment, respect and love that fill the hearts of all true Afrikanders for President Steijn. He will certainly be handed down in the memory of his people to the furthest generation as one of the greatest and noblest men that have seen the light in South Africa.

Some time after President Steijn's election, a new conference was held at Bloemfontein with the object of bringing about a closer alliance between the two Republics. The impulse towards this closer alliance was felt on both sides and was due, above all, to the Jameson Raid. I and some of my councillors went to Bloemfontein with this object; and it was during our stay

there, on the occasion of a dinner that was given us, that I made a jest in the course of my speech by saying that Queen Victoria was a "*kwaaië vrouw*." Now, although every one who knows the Afrikander Taal understands that, by this, I meant to convey only that Queen Victoria was a lady with whom one must be careful what one does, the Jingo press tried to make it appear as though I had grossly insulted the Queen, whereas the opposite, of course, was true.¹

The conference between the two Governments was eminently successful. It was resolved that burghers of both States should be treated on an equal footing, so that, for instance, the rights which a Transvaaler enjoyed in the Free State were also granted to a Free Stater in the Transvaal, only the franchise being left untouched. Furthermore, a political alliance was concluded, which created a council of delegates, or federal council, which was to sit every year, alternately at Pretoria and Bloemfontein, and make recommendations on matters that might lead to federation as well as suggestions for the assimilation of

¹ The reader may take it that to call a woman a *kwaaië vrouw* in the Taal, or *kwade vrouw* in European Dutch, is equivalent to saying that she is "a bad woman to deal with, to quarrel with, to trifle with." The epithet, in short, can be used in Dutch in an objective as well as in a subjective sense.—*Translator's Note.*

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the laws of the two Republics. The Volksraad of each State approved this treaty, and the only modification introduced was to resolve that a burgher of either Republic should receive burgher rights in the Sister State so soon as he had taken the oath prescribed.

CHAPTER XII

PAUL KRUGER'S FOURTH PRESIDENCY

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The Bunu Question—Sir Alfred Milner—F. W. Reitz—J. C. Smuts
—The agitation of the South African League—The Edgar Case
—The Crisis: the suffrage, the suzerainty—The Ultimatum—
The War—President Kruger during the War—On the way to
Europe—On foreign soil—Homeless—Conclusion.

THE result of the new election came as a surprise to friends and enemies alike; for, although my re-election was certain, no one suspected that I would obtain such an overwhelming majority. The official figures were:

Kruger	.	.	12,858 votes
Schalk Burger	.	.	3,750 "
Joubert	.	.	2,001 "

On the 12th of May 1898, I took the oath for the fourth time as State President. On this occasion I made a speech which took me almost three hours to deliver, and in which I set forth my religious and political views on the actual

situation and on the problems confronting the State.¹

During the session of the Volksraad of 1898, Dr. Leijds was almost unanimously re-elected State Secretary, but was shortly afterwards appointed Envoy Extraordinary of the Republic in Europe. As his successor, Abraham Fischer was elected, one of the ablest and most sagacious statesmen in South Africa, and at that time a member of the Executive Raad of the Orange Free State. He refused, however, to accept the proffered appointment, whereupon Mr. F. W. Reitz, who had recently been promoted to a judgeship in the South African Republic, was elected State Secretary, a happy choice, for Mr. Reitz is looked upon by friend and foe alike as one of the most honest men that have ever played a part in politics. Moreover, he possessed an abundant knowledge of affairs, thanks to his long political past.

At the same time, J. C. Smuts, a representative of the younger generation of Afrikanders, was

¹ This speech, by far the longest speech that President Kruger ever delivered, is really a series of addresses to the First and Second Volksraad, the Executive Raad, the representatives of the Orange Free State, the *corps diplomatique*, the burghers, the naturalized foreigners, the new immigrants, the judges, the clergy, the schoolmasters and mistresses and the children. It will be found in the Appendix.—*Editor's Note.*

appointed State Attorney. Smuts is one of the cleverest lawyers in South Africa and a man of versatile attainments besides. He is personally a very simple man, and, to meet him, one would not suspect that he possesses so iron a will and so determined a character as he does. Although scarcely 30 years of age and without the slightest previous experience of military affairs, he developed, in the later phases of the war, into a most brilliant general, so that he added to his position as State Attorney that of an Assistant Commandant General of the South African Republic. Smuts will yet play a great part in the future history of South Africa.

Shortly after the swearing-in of Messrs. Reitz and Smuts, the Bunu Question became urgent, and Sir Alfred Milner received his first chance to provoke and thwart the Republic.

The Bunu Question was briefly as follows: according to the old custom, the Swazi King had the right to put any of his subjects to death whenever he pleased. This condition was naturally altered from the moment when the Republic took over the administration of Swaziland. In the early part of 1898, Bunu murdered one of his indunas, named Umbaba, in addition to some others. It was stated by eye-witnesses that Bunu

had killed Umbaba with his own hand. When Bunu was summoned by the State Attorney to appear before the court at Bremersdorp, he at first refused to come, and, when eventually he did come, arrived accompanied by an armed suite, and adopted a threatening attitude towards Krogh, the Special Commissioner for Swaziland. Krogh was consequently obliged to let the matter drop, and Bunu returned to his town.

The Government had no choice but to send an armed force to Swaziland, in order to protect life and property and to compel Bunu, if necessary by force, to appear before the court. Meanwhile, the High Commissioner deemed it necessary to interfere in the matter, probably with no other object than to cause the Republic needless annoyance. Perhaps, also, he thought that the Bunu Question would give him the occasion to involve the Republic in war with England. He contended, namely, that the Government had not the right to summon Bunu before the Swaziland Court, notwithstanding that the Swaziland Convention contained an article stipulating that criminal cases occurring in Swaziland should be tried by the Supreme Court at Bremersdorp. When Bunu saw that the Government of the Republic was in earnest, he fled to Zululand and

placed himself under the protection of the British Government. In order to avoid getting into difficulties for Bunu's sake, the Government was obliged to conclude an agreement with the High Commissioner which determined that Bunu should be allowed to return, and that he should only be punished with a fine. At the same time, a clause was added to the Swaziland Convention, distinctly deciding which cases should, in future, be within the competence of the Supreme Court of that country.

Already at that time, and shortly after the settlement of the Bunu Question, the English in and outside South Africa were adopting a defiant attitude towards the Government of the Republic. At Johannesburg, a branch of the South African League had been established, at the undoubted instigation of Cecil Rhodes. This league did its utmost to involve the Republic in difficulties with England. No methods were too base or too mean to attain that end. When the Government arrested some coloured persons, British subjects, because they were without the passes which they were obliged to carry by the Pass Law, a great hubbub was raised and the League leaders called a meeting in the Amphitheatre at Johannesburg to protest against the action of the Republic. The

burghers' blood boiled at the attitude of this Rhodes institution: they attended the meeting in large numbers, with the result that a brawl arose and the demonstrators were dispersed with sticks by the burghers. That this brought grist to the mill of the Jingoës, that it was probably just what they desired is easily understood.

Shortly after, another incident occurred which caused yet more excitement and which was represented by the English press in a shamefully distorted fashion. Even Mr. Chamberlain did not blush to make use of these misrepresentations, although it would have been easy for him to learn the whole truth. What was the question? On the night of the 18th of December 1898, a certain Foster, a British subject, was attacked by another British subject, called Edgar, and so maltreated that he was left lying for dead. He was taken to the hospital and died a few days later in consequence of the blows which Edgar had given him. Immediately after the perpetration of his crime, Edgar fled to his room, and soon a few police came upon the scene, attracted by the screams of the bystanders. Among the police was one named Jones, a son of a former coachman to the Queen of England, who had, however, in his quality as a policeman, become a burgher of the Republic.

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This Jones, thinking that Foster was dead, followed Edgar to his apartment to arrest him for murder. As Edgar was caught in the very act, the police had the right, according to the laws not only of the Republic, but of the whole of South Africa and of England herself, to enter his house, if necessary by force, and arrest the culprit. As Edgar had locked the door and refused to open it, Jones broke it open and, while doing so, was struck a violent blow by Edgar with a bar of iron. Thereupon Jones shot Edgar dead. Although every one will admit that the policeman only did his duty, he was nevertheless prosecuted by the State Attorney for manslaughter, in order to remove any ground for complaint on the part of England. He was, however, as was to be expected, acquitted by the court. But how did Mr. Chamberlain represent this matter? As follows: that policemen broke into a man's house at night without a warrant on the mere statement of one person, which subsequently turned out to be untrue, that the man had committed a crime, and killed him there and then, because, according to their own account, he hit one of them with a stick! Can malevolence go further than this? And ought not a minister to be ashamed thus to violate the truth in an official dispatch?

We now come to the period immediately preceding the serious crisis. In the meantime, the English and the English press, both in South Africa and England, were agitating and vociferating against the Republic. An election had taken place, in the previous year, in Cape Colony, in which the Afrikaner Party had gained the victory, a fact which drove Rhodes and all his Jingo clique to fury. Sir Alfred Milner, instead of confining himself to his *rôle* of Governor, showed himself in his true colours and openly espoused the side of the Jingo in Cape Colony. It was evident to all that a crisis was at hand which, if not carefully treated, could end only in catastrophe. But where there are two parties, it avails nothing that one party is yielding and compliant, when the other party at all costs pushes matters to extremes and, as in this case, to a war. That the Government of the South African Republic, in the negotiations that preceded the war, was yielding and compliant is shown by the manner in which the correspondence with England was conducted at this time.

The question of the franchise was that which Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain employed as a pretext to force a war upon the Republic. Before, therefore, discussing the negotiations concerning the franchise question, it is well to mention

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the fact that, so early as the commencement of 1899, I had held meetings of the burghers at Rustenburg and Heidelberg, in order to obtain their support for my proposal to reduce the period required for securing the full franchise from fourteen years to nine years. From there I went to Johannesburg, and there declared, at a public meeting, that I hoped later to reduce the period of nine years' residence to a still shorter period. This fact deserves special mention, because it was probably that which startled Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner and impelled them to hurry on the crisis. Firmly determined as they were to force a war upon the Republic, these two men saw that they must lose no time, since I myself had begun to introduce reforms which might presently deprive them of their pretext for going to war. Sir Alfred Milner was in England at that time, and doubtless turned his stay to account to arrange with Chamberlain how they must set to work to carry out their imperialist programme. By the time he returned, the whole thing was settled and arranged.

The League at Johannesburg began by drawing up a petition to the Queen in which they enumerated a mass of grievances which, as British subjects, they claimed to possess against

the Republic, and ended by asking for the intervention of the British Government. Mr. Fraser, the Acting British Agent, refused to receive the petition. For this he was rapped over the knuckles by the Colonial Secretary, who was just seeking an opportunity to meddle with the internal affairs of the Republic, with the result that, on a later occasion, Mr. Conyngham Greene, the real representative of the British Crown at Pretoria, who had also been to England with Sir Alfred Milner, knew better what was expected of him. In the meantime, Sir Alfred Milner had declared that an anti-British movement existed among the Afrikaner population throughout South Africa. This, *nota bene*, after he had cabled to England in 1897, on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee, that the Afrikaners in Cape Colony were very loyal to England.

A second petition was drawn up by the League and signed by 21,684 British subjects. The signatures were collected by every kind of fraud. The Government of the Republic obtained many sworn declarations which stated that individuals had signed as many names as came into their heads. In the same way, the names of deceased and absent persons were placed on the lists. This is easily understood, when one realizes that the

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persons who went round with the lists were paid according to the number of names which they obtained. A few days later the Government at Pretoria received a petition with nearly 23,000 signatures, in which the signatories, Uitlanders of every nationality, declared that they were satisfied with the administration of the country. But it was not Mr. Chamberlain's object to receive a genuine petition, so long as he could obtain a weapon with which to attack the Republic, and this weapon was afforded him by the afore-said petition, which was speedily dispatched to him by the British Agent, Mr. Greene.

Meanwhile, at the commencement of May, Sir Alfred Milner had sent a cablegram to England which would have done credit to a sensation-mongering journalist. In this dispatch, he declared that Her Majesty's Government must give some striking proof of its intention not to be ousted from its position in South Africa, that thousands of British subjects were kept permanently in the position of helots and that the case for intervention was overwhelming. Mr. Chamberlain thereupon sent a dispatch, dated 10 May 1899, in which he acknowledged the receipt of the petition to the Queen, recapitulated all the grievances of the Uitlanders and ended by suggesting to Sir

Alfred Milner that a conference should take place between him and Kruger at Bloemfontein at which the question would be discussed. In the meantime, prompted by a sincere desire to put an end to the prevailing disquiet, President Steijn, before the receipt of this dispatch, had made the same proposal to both myself and Sir Alfred Milner. We both accepted the invitation, and the well-known Bloemfontein Conference met on the 31st of May 1899 and lasted several days. With me were Schalk Burger and A. D. Wolmarans, members of the Executive Raad, and J. C. Smuts, the State Attorney. Mr. Abraham Fischer, a member of the Executive Raad of the Orange Free State, kindly offered to act as interpreter.

The conference came to nothing. Sir Alfred Milner showed from the commencement that he had not the least desire to come to an agreement. He demanded :

1. Franchise after five years' residence.
2. An alteration in the oath of naturalization.
3. Increased representation of the new burghers in the Volksraad.

After several days' discussion, I offered :

1. Naturalization after two years' residence.
- Full franchise after five years more (or seven

years in all, instead of fourteen, as the law then stood).

2. Increased representation of the Uitlanders in the Volksraad.

3. An oath of naturalization similar to that in the Orange Free State.

I demanded, however, that the franchise should be made to depend on the possession of a certain amount of property and naturalization on the production of proof that the individual concerned possessed civic rights in his own country. I also asked that, as a compensation for the concessions which I was making, the British Government should accept the principle of arbitration in the case of differences between the two States. Sir Alfred Milner, however, declared that the concessions were quite insufficient.

During this conference, I pointed out to Sir Alfred that a quantity of the signatures appearing on the petitions to the Queen were spurious, whereupon the latter answered:

"Very well, we will investigate the matter."

He asked me whether the petition which had been addressed to the Government of the Republic did not also contain false signatures. I denied this positively, and said I was prepared at once to appoint a committee to enquire into the genuine-

ness of both petitions. I said I was further prepared to grant the British Government the right of nominating Englishmen to act as members of this committee. Only, the committee must not be appointed from England or acquire an official character, as this might make it appear as though the Republic were under British suzerainty. Hereupon Sir Alfred would hear no more, and said :

“Let us drop the subject.”

For the rest, he continued to insist upon what he called “his irreducible minimum.” He declared that he had other grievances, which would remain, even if the franchise question were settled, and refused to produce them until the franchise question had been settled in his way.

The same evening, I sent to Sir Alfred asking him to meet me again the next morning for further deliberation ; but Sir Alfred answered that he “considered this unnecessary and that the conference was ended.”

So soon as I had returned to Pretoria, the State Secretary wrote a letter to the British Agent touching the proposed arbitration tribunal, towards which proposal Sir Alfred Milner had adopted an apparently friendly attitude. This letter was dated 9 June 1899, and in it the State

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Secretary made the following proposal to the British Government :

“(1) All future differences between the two Governments arising out of varying interpretations of the London Convention shall, subject to what is set forth under paragraph 3, at the instance of this Government or of Her Majesty's Government, be referred to an arbitration tribunal, on the understanding, however, that no matters or differences of trifling importance shall be submitted to arbitration.

“(2) The arbitration tribunal shall consist of an arbitrator to be nominated by this Government and an arbitrator to be nominated by Her Majesty's Government (as, for example, the Chief Justices respectively of the South African Republic and the Cape Colony or Natal). These two must agree respecting a third person, who shall act as President of the Arbitration tribunal, this person not to be a subject of one of the arbitrating parties; and failing agreement upon this point, the two Governments shall together name a President; the decision in every case to take place by a majority of votes.

“(3) The Act of Submission shall in every case be drawn up jointly by the two Govern-

ments, so that each shall have the right to reserve and exclude points which appear to it to be too important to be submitted to arbitration, provided that thereby the principle itself of arbitration be not frustrated.

“(4) The Arbitration tribunal shall itself decide the place of its sittings, and shall deal as it thinks fit with the condemnation of parties in the costs, unless special arrangement has been made concerning these points in the Act of Submission.

“(5) The regulations of procedure of this Arbitration tribunal can be similar to those agreed to by the Institute of International Law in the Hague in 1875, in so far as they do not conflict with the foregoing provisions, and in so far as they are not amended by both parties in the Act of Submission.

“(6) In order to obtain a test of the suitability of such tribunal, this Government has no objection to its being agreed that this reference of Conventional differences shall provisionally take place for a period of five years.”

The letter ended by expressing an earnest hope that Her Majesty's Government would accept the proposal, which would put an end to the permanent feeling of anxiety from which South

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Africa was suffering. The proposals were made in the manner set forth above, with the special purpose of meeting the views of the British Government, as that Government objected to an Arbitration Court composed of foreigners and, in any case, declined to submit all questions to arbitration.

Meanwhile, of my own initiative, I introduced a draft law into the Volksraad which fixed :

1. A seven years' residence for obtaining the franchise.

2. The immediate grant of the franchise to all who had lived nine years in the country, while only five years' residence should be necessary for those who had been in the country for two years.

3. All adult sons of foreigners, born in the Republic, to receive the franchise immediately on attaining their majority.

4. An increase in the representation of the Gold Fields in each Raad by four members.

The bill was passed on the 19th of July. In the meanwhile, the Intelligence Department of the War Office in England had already issued "military notes" indicating how war should be waged against the Republic. At the same time, although this was not yet known, Lord Wolseley had laid his plans before the British Government for the conquest and seizure of the *two* Republics.

On the 26th of June, the British Agent replied to the arbitration proposals as set forth in Mr. Reitz's letter. In this answer he stated that Sir Alfred Milner could not recommend the acceptance of the proposal to the British Government, as he considered that the question of finding a remedy for the grievances of the Uitlanders should first be disposed of. Furthermore, he intimated that the scheme drawn up by Mr. Reitz was not acceptable to Her Majesty's Government, seeing that, to make no mention of other objections, the President of the Court, according to that scheme, could not be a subject of either of the arbitrating parties.

At the commencement of July, the leaders of the Afrikaner Party, Messrs. Hofmeyer and Herholdt, went from Cape Town to Bloemfontein and thence to Pretoria to persuade the Government still further to simplify the new Franchise Law in such a way as to make the seven years' clause retrospective: so that every one who had spent seven years or more in the Republic could obtain the franchise at once; those who had been six years in the country would have to wait one year more in order to obtain the franchise; those one who had spent three years in the country must wait four years more, and so on.

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Their suggestions found a ready hearing among the members of the Government and the Volksraad, who were inclined to make even more concessions for dear peace' sake.

On the 18th of July, probably after having been informed by Messrs. Hofmeyer and Herholdt of the result of their mission, the Cape Ministry issued a note in which they expressed the conviction that, in their opinion, there existed not the least occasion for intervention on the part of England in the internal affairs of the Republic.

On the 20th of July, the so-called Uitlanders' Council telegraphed to England that they were not satisfied with the Franchise Law which had just been passed (the law of the 19th of July).

On the 27th of July, Mr. Chamberlain sent a dispatch in which he recapitulated the events since the Conference, persisted in his contentions that not only the letter, but the spirit of the London Convention of 1884 had been constantly violated by the Government of the Republic, and ended by maintaining his contention that the preamble to the Convention of 1881 (respecting the Suzerainty) still held good. He rejected the proposed Arbitration Court, although he suggested that certain questions might be submitted to some judicial authority.

On the 1st of August, Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to the High Commissioner proposing that England and the Republic should appoint a joint commission to revise the Franchise Law which had been passed, and to enquire whether this law would afford a sufficient representation to the Uitlanders and, if this were not the case, to see what additions or alterations might be necessary to attain this object. This proposal of Mr. Chamberlain's was a direct violation of the London Convention of 1884, for it is hardly possible to imagine a clearer case of interference with the internal affairs of the Republic.

The State Secretary, accordingly, replied, on the 12th of August, calling Mr. Chamberlain's attention to the fact that, according to the Convention of 1884, the British Government was not to meddle in the internal affairs of the Republic, and expressed the hope that, in making his proposal, Mr. Chamberlain did not mean to encroach upon the rights of the Republic. The State Secretary further gave expression to the opinion that the object which Mr. Chamberlain had in view in the appointment of a joint commission could be as easily attained by asking questions and obtaining information about the measure. He also observed to Mr. Chamberlain that a judgment could only

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be formed as to whether a law answered its purpose or not, if it had been in operation for some time.

On the 15th of August, the State Attorney, Mr. J. C. Smuts, had an interview with the British Agent, in which he asked him whether Her Majesty's Government would consider the seven years' retrospective franchise, with an increase of seats for the Uitlanders in the Volksraad, to be sufficient and, in that case, waive the joint commission. Mr. Greene answered that he did not know whether Her Majesty's Government would consent to abandon their demand, but that the position was very critical; that Her Majesty's Government had made promises to the Uitlanders, and that they would, therefore, be obliged to insist on their demands and, if necessary, to employ force. He added that the only chance for the South African Republic was to comply without delay with the demands put forward by Sir Alfred Milner at Bloemfontein.

On the 19th of August, the State Secretary wrote to the British Agent making this alternative proposal to Her Majesty's Government :

“(1) The Government are willing to recommend to the Volksraad and the people a five years' retro-

spective franchise as proposed by His Excellency the High Commissioner on June 1st, 1899.

“(2) The Government are further willing to recommend to the Volksraad that eight new seats in the First Volksraad, and, if necessary, also in the Second Volksraad, be given to the population of the Witwatersrand, thus, with the two sitting members for the Goldfields, giving to the population thereof ten representatives in a Raad of twenty-six, and in future the representation of the Goldfields of this Republic shall not fall below the proportion of one-fourth of the total.

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

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

“(5) In putting forward the above proposals the Government of the South African Republic assumes—

“(a) That Her British Majesty's Government will agree that the present intervention shall not form a precedent for future similar action, and that, in the future,

no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic will take place.

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

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

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

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

The State Secretary ended by saying “that the Government trusts that Her Majesty's Government will clearly understand that in the opinion of this Government, the existing franchise law of this

Republic is both fair and liberal to the new population, and that the consideration that induces them to go further, as they do in the above proposals, is their strong desire to get the controversies between the two Governments settled; and, further, to put an end to the present strained relations between the two Governments, and the incalculable harm and loss it has already occasioned in South Africa, and to prevent a racial war, from the effects of which South Africa may not recover for many generations, perhaps never at all; and, therefore, this Government, having regard to all these circumstances, would highly appreciate it, if Her Majesty's Government, seeing the necessity of preventing the present crisis from developing still further, and the urgency of an early termination of the present state of affairs, would expedite the acceptance or refusal of the settlement here offered."

On the 21st of August, the State Secretary again wrote to the British Agent to explain and complete his letter of the 19th of August. In this second letter, he makes it clear that the proposals regarding the question of franchise and representation in the dispatch of the 19th of August must be regarded as expressly conditional on Her Majesty's Government consenting to the points set forth in paragraph 5 of the dispatch, viz. :

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(a) In the future no interference in the internal affairs of the South African Republic.

(b) No further insistence on the assertion of the existence of the Suzerainty.

(c) The acceptance of arbitration for the settlement of questions in dispute.

These proposals were made after the State Attorney had had a new interview with Mr. Greene, the result of which was to convince him that the British Government would be prepared to take those proposals into consideration. This would cause the proposal for a joint commission to lapse.

On the 25th of August, the so-called Uitlanders' Council and the South African League declared that the franchise reforms were still insufficient, and demanded further "reforms," such as the disarming of the Boers and the demolition of the forts.

On the 26th of August, Mr. Chamberlain made a speech on the occasion of a garden-party at his place at Highbury, in which, among other things, he said:

"Mr. Kruger dribbles out reforms like water from a squeezed sponge, and he either accompanies his offers with conditions which he knows to be impossible, or he refuses to allow us to make a satisfactory investigation of the nature of these

reforms. . . . The sands are running down in the glass. . . . The knot must be loosened . . . or else we shall have to find other ways of untying it."

On the 30th of August, he sent a dispatch in which he stated, among other things, that Her Majesty's Government assumed that the adoption in principle of the franchise proposals would not be hampered by any conditions which would impair their effect; that Her Majesty's Government were unable to appreciate the objections entertained by the Government of the South African Republic to a Joint Commission of Enquiry; that Her Majesty's Government, however, would appoint a commission on their side to institute an enquiry into the law and to make the necessary suggestions to the Government of the Republic, and trusted that different conditions, as to previous registration, qualification and behaviour, would be omitted from the proposed new law. With regard to the conditions of the Government of the South African Republic, Mr. Chamberlain said, as regards intervention, Her Majesty's Government hoped that the fulfilment of the promises made and the just treatment of the Uitlanders in future would render unnecessary any further interference on their behalf, but that Her Majesty's Govern-

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ment could not debar themselves from their rights under the Conventions. (*N.B.*—The Convention of 1881 had lapsed, as is known.) With regard to the Suzerainty, Mr. Chamberlain referred the Government to a former dispatch, in which he maintained that the Suzerainty still existed. With regard to the proposed tribunal of arbitration, he agreed to a discussion of the form and scope of such a tribunal, from which, however, foreigners and foreign influence were to be excluded. He moreover proposed that a further conference should take place between myself and the High Commissioner at Cape Town, and ended by reminding the Government of the South African Republic that there were other matters of difference which could not be settled by the grant of political representation to the Uitlanders and which were not proper subjects for reference to arbitration.

Mr. Chamberlain afterwards declared that, in this dispatch, he accepted the proposals of the Government of the South African Republic as set forth above. He is probably the only man in the world who read his dispatch in this light: every impartial judge will think the opposite.

On the 31st of August, Sir Alfred Milner telegraphed to Mr. Chamberlain:

“The purport of all the representations made to me is to urge prompt and decided action ; not to deprecate further interference on the part of Her Majesty’s Government. British South Africa is prepared for extreme measures. . . . I fear seriously that there will be a strong reaction of feeling against the policy of Her Majesty’s Government if matters drag.”

In reply to Mr. Chamberlain’s dispatch of the 30th of August, the State Secretary, on the 2nd of September, wrote to the British Agent at Pretoria that the Government of the South African Republic had heard with the deepest regret that Her Majesty’s Government had not seen their way to accept the proposals which were set forth in the Notes of the 19th and 21st of August, under the conditions attached thereto, the more so as the Government had supposed from semi-official discussions that it might infer that its proposal would have been acceptable to Her Majesty’s Government. In consequence, the Government of the South African Republic considered that its proposal had lapsed. With regard to the unilateral enquiry, the Government was willing, if it should appear that the existing franchise law might be made more effective, to lay proposals before the

Volksraad. It appeared, however, to it that the findings of a unilateral Commission, especially when made before the working of the law had been properly tested, would probably be of little value. Passing to the remarks made by Mr. Chamberlain in connection with the conditions attached to the proposals in the Note of the 19th of August, the State Secretary observes :

“(a) That this Government has never, with reference to the question of intervention, either asked nor intended that Her Majesty's Government should abandon any right it may have, as a matter of fact by virtue of either the Convention of London of 1884 or of General International Law, to take action here for the protection of British subjects.

“(b) That with regard to the alleged existence of suzerainty, the denial of its existence by this Government according to its view has already been so clearly explained in its dispatch of 16th of April 1898, that it would be superfluous to repeat the facts, arguments and consequences mentioned therein : it merely wishes to observe that it adheres to its contentions stated in that dispatch.”

With reference to a tribunal of arbitration the Government was pleased to see that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to enter into

negotiations with regard to the form and scope of such tribunal. It was however not clear to it :

“(a) If Her Majesty’s Government consents that burghers of the Orange Free State may also be appointed as members of such tribunal.

“(b) What subjects shall be submitted to the decision of such court.

“(c) What are the subjects Her Majesty’s Government thinks cannot be laid before such court. Her Majesty’s Government states that there are such points, but does not specify them.”

The object contemplated by the Government of the South African Republic, *i.e.* the securing of a final regulation of all points at issue would, it opined, be altogether frustrated by these limitations. With reference to the recommendation of a Conference to be held, the Government would await further communications from Her Majesty’s Government. The State Secretary went on to remark that the proposal made by his Government with reference to the franchise and representation of the Uitlanders was extremely liberal, and, as a matter of fact, went further than the propositions of the High Commissioner put forward at the Bloemfontein Conference; that the conditions attached by his Government did not demand from the side of Her Majesty’s

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Government any abandonment of existing rights under the Convention of London of 1884 ; that the Government of the South African Republic could never have expected that the answer of Her Majesty's Government to its proposal would be unfavourable ; that it continued to cherish the hope that a solution of existing differences might be arrived at ; and, in order to attain this peaceful solution, the State Secretary ended his letter by accepting the Joint Commission formerly proposed by Mr. Chamberlain.

On the 12th of September, Mr. Greene, on behalf of the British Government, answered Mr. Reitz's dispatch of the 2nd of September, and said that Her Majesty's Government could not now consent to go back to their former proposal of a Joint Commission ; that Her Majesty's Government were still prepared to accept the proposals, provided that the enquiry which Her Majesty's Government had proposed, whether joint or unilateral, showed that the scheme would not be encumbered by conditions which would nullify its intentions. His Government assumed that the new members of the Volksraad would be permitted to use their own language. He ended his letter by pressing for an immediate reply, and stating that, if the reply was negative or

inconclusive, Her Majesty's Government reserved to themselves the right to reconsider the situation *de novo* and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement.

To this the State Secretary replied, on the 15th of September, that his Government learnt with deep regret that Her Majesty's Government withdrew their invitation and substituted in its place an entirely new proposal; that the proposal contained in the Notes of the Government of the 19th and 21st of August was induced by suggestions given by the British Agent to the State Attorney, and these were accepted by his Government in good faith, and on express request, as equivalent to an assurance that the proposal would be acceptable to the British Government; that his Government could not disguise from itself that, in making the proposal contained in its Note of the 19th of August, it probably ran the danger not only of its being disclaimed by the Volksraad and by the people, but also that its acceptance might affect the independence of the State by, as therein proposed, giving an immediate vote in the Legislature of the State to a large number of inpouring foreigners, but it set against that the continuous threatening and undoubted danger to its highly prized independence aris-

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ing from the claim of suzerainty made by Her Majesty's Government, from the interference of that Government in the internal affairs of the Republic and from the want of an automatically working manner of regulating differences between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Republic, and was, in consequence prepared to recommend to the Volksraad and to the people to run the danger attached to the offer made in order to avoid the certainty of the greater danger; inasmuch, however, as the conditions attached to the proposal, the acceptance of which constituted the only consideration for its offer, had been declared unacceptable, it could not understand on what grounds of justice it could be expected that it should be bound to grant the rest. As regards the question that the new members should speak their own language in the Volksraad, the Government could not enter into this and denied having made any such promise. The State Secretary ended his letter by expressing the hope that the British Government would abide by their own proposal for a Joint Commission and thus put an end to the present state of tension.

To this letter of the State Secretary the British Agent replied, on the 25th of September, that Her Majesty's Government had on more than one

occasion repeated their assurances that they had no desire to interfere in any way with the independence of the South African Republic (*N.B.*—They were always doing so); that they had not asserted any rights of interference in the internal affairs of the Republic other than those which were derived from the Conventions (*N.B.*—There was only one!); and ended by saying that it was useless to further pursue a discussion on the lines hitherto followed, and that Her Majesty's Government were now compelled to consider the situation afresh, and to formulate their own proposals for a final settlement of the issues which had been created in South Africa by the policy constantly followed for so many years by the Government of the South African Republic.

On the 17th of September, the State Secretary asked the High Commissioner for explanations regarding the concentration of troops on the frontiers of the South African Republic. The High Commissioner replied that those troops were there to defend British interests and in order to be prepared for "possibilities."

On the 22nd of September, the mobilization of an army corps for South Africa was announced in England, and, on the 28th of September, it was announced that the greater part of that army corps

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would leave for South Africa without delay. The Government thereupon commandeered the greater part of the burghers to take up their position near the frontiers of the Republic, in order to be prepared for a sudden attack on the part of England.

On the 30th of September, the State Secretary informed the British Agent that he would be glad to know the decision of the British Government (*i.e.* with reference to the "own proposals" announced in the dispatch of 25 September). Mr. Chamberlain answered, on the 2nd of October, that the dispatch of Her Majesty's Government was being prepared, but that it would not be ready for some days. It is clear that Mr. Chamberlain only desired to gain time, in order first to have sufficient troops in South Africa, before sending his promised dispatch, which was nothing else than an ultimatum.

Before the final steps were reached, President Steijn of the Orange Free State had intervened in order to make every effort, on his side, to avoid war. On the 19th of September, the High Commissioner telegraphed to President Steijn that a detachment of troops, ordinarily stationed at Cape Town, was being sent to assist in securing the line of communication between the Colony and the British territories lying to the north of

it; and that, as this force, or a portion of it, might be stationed near the borders of the Orange Free State, he, the High Commissioner, thought it desirable to acquaint His Honour with this movement, and the reasons for it, in order to prevent any misconception. He added that Her Majesty's Government were still hopeful of a friendly settlement of the differences which had arisen between them and the South African Republic, but that, should this hope unfortunately be disappointed, the British Government looked to the Orange Free State to preserve strict neutrality.

President Steijn replied, on the same day, that he was unable to see that the differences justified the use of force as their only solution. Seeing the state of tension in South Africa, he noted with apprehension and regret the stationing of troops near the borders of the Orange Free State, as the burghers would consider this a menace to that State. If, therefore, unwished-for developments should arise, the responsibility would not rest with the Government of the Orange Free State. His Honour concluded his telegram by stating that he would view with deep regret any disturbance of those friendly relations which hitherto had existed between Great Britain and the Orange Free State.

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On the 27th of September, the ~~Volkraad~~ ^{SOCIETY} of the Orange Free State adopted a resolution in which it declared that no cause for war existed, that such a war would be morally a war against the whole white population of South Africa, but that, come what might, the Orange Free State would honestly and faithfully observe its obligations arising from the political alliance with the South African Republic. At the same time the Government were instructed to do everything in their power to contribute by peaceful efforts towards the solution of the existing differences.

That same day, the 27th of September, President Steijn sent a dispatch to the High Commissioner in which he reminded him of the ties of blood and friendship by which the Orange Free State was bound both to the Cape Colony and the South African Republic, and, in addition, of the close political alliance between the two Republics. He said that it was this strong feeling of amity towards both Great Britain and the South African Republic that led him to bring about the conference between the High Commissioner and myself; that it was largely due to the Orange Free State and other friends of peace that such radical reforms had been effected by the South African Republic in so short a

time; that the Orange Free State ever kept in view the spirit in which it assumed that the British Government was willing to act, viz., "to adopt an attitude of friendly suggestion and not of dictation in the internal affairs of the Republic;" that, while the Government of the Republic, encouraged thereto by the advice of the Free State, were busy in meeting the wants of the Uitlanders, the British Government had departed from the basis of not interfering in the internal affairs of the Republic; that the request for the Joint Commission of Enquiry emphasized that fact beyond any shadow of doubt; that, notwithstanding this, the Government of the Orange Free State advised the South African Republic to accept the invitation of the British Government, in the hope that an impartial investigation might inaugurate a renewal of the employment of friendly methods of negotiation; that great, therefore, was the disappointment of the Government of the Orange Free State when it transpired that the British Government now rejected its proposal and that the unfortunate tension seemed to be only increasing; that the Government of the Orange Free State were still prepared to tender their services to procure a peaceful solution of existing difficulties, but that they felt themselves hampered

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now as in the past (*a*) by a want of knowledge as to the definite object and extent of the demands of the British Government, compliance with which that Government considered themselves entitled to insist on; (*b*) by the fact that, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the British Government that it did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic nor to disturb its independence, that Government had pursued a policy which seemed to justify a contrary conclusion. As an instance in support of this contention, His Honour mentioned the enormous and ever-increasing military preparations on the part of the British Government, indicating a policy of force and coercion, notwithstanding the alleged friendly nature of the negotiations. His Honour, therefore, trusted that Her Majesty's Government might see their way clear, pending the arrival of the further dispatch intimated as about to be sent, to stop any further movements or increase of troops on or near the borders of both States, and further to give an assurance to that effect, and added that his Government would be glad to be favoured with the precise nature and scope of the concessions, the adoption of which Her Majesty's Government considered themselves entitled to claim, or which

they suggested as being necessary or sufficient to ensure a satisfactory and permanent solution of existing differences.

On the 2nd of October, President Steijn informed the High Commissioner that, in view of the totally undefended state of the border and in view of the prevailing unrest and the continual increase and movement of troops on two sides of the Orange Free State, he had deemed it advisable to call up his burghers in order to satisfy them that due precautions had been taken in regard to guarding their borders, adding that he was still looking forward to a reply to his dispatch of the 27th of September.

The High Commissioner replied, on the same day, regretting that the President had called up the burghers and declaring that His Honour was aware that the South African Republic had placed a very considerable army on the borders of Natal.

The President replied, on the 3rd of October, that the concentration of burghers on the Natal frontier by the South African Republic was only the natural result of the constant increase of British troops and their movement in the direction of the Transvaal border. He did not, however, anticipate any immediate aggressive action on the part of the South African Republic, unless further forward

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movements of British troops should indicate an intention of attack upon the Transvaal. He went on to press for an answer to his dispatch of the 27th of September.

The High Commissioner answered, on the same day, that all the movements of British troops had been necessitated by the natural alarm of the inhabitants in exposed districts and were not comparable in magnitude with the massing of armed forces on the borders of Natal by the Government of the South African Republic.

The President replied, also on the 3rd of October, that he did not consider that the movements of British troops had been necessitated by the natural alarm of the inhabitants in exposed districts, nor in fact had he ever thought that there were any fair grounds justifying such movements. On the contrary, the ever-increasing military preparations, both in England and South Africa, had retarded and hampered the efforts that had been directed to effecting a fair settlement. He ascribed the failure to arrive at a solution of existing difficulties to the bitter and hostile tone of the utterances made, both by responsible men and by the English press in South Africa and England, bristling with misrepresentations and constant menace to the Transvaal, accompanied by ever-

increasing military preparations, not only in South Africa and in England, but throughout the British Empire, which were openly stated as being directed against the Transvaal. He wished to place on record his earnest conviction that on those in authority who introduced the military element, and who thereby inaugurated a policy of menace and forcible intervention, would rest the responsibility, should all efforts fail to secure peace and an honourable settlement. He could not but recognize the fact that, in view of the action of the British authorities already alluded to, the Transvaal Government could not be blamed for acting as they had done. He was the more confirmed in this view by the fact that, whilst he was still without any reply to his telegraphic dispatch of the 27th of September, the reasonable request therein made that the increase and further movement of British troops should be stayed, which if acceded to would probably have prevented the calling out of the burghers both in the South African Republic and in this State, had not only been ignored but activity in military preparations and the dispatch of troops had been going on more persistently than ever. He was not in a position to judge whether the movement of British troops on the border of the South African Republic was

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comparable or not in magnitude with the recent massing of armed force of the South African Republic on the borders, but it must not be forgotten that on all sides in the English press and otherwise the assertion constantly found expression that the British troops already in the country were more than a match for the undisciplined burgher force of the Republic. Moreover, troops were being dispatched almost daily from England, which would justify a conviction in the minds of the burghers of the South African Republic that England had abandoned any idea of attempting to arrive at a solution of differences except by force.

On the 4th of October, the High Commissioner replied that there was, he thought, a conclusive reply to His Honour's accusation against the policy of Her Majesty's Government, but that no good purpose would be served by recrimination; that the present position was that Burgher forces were assembled in very large numbers in immediate proximity to the frontier of Natal, while the British troops occupied certain defensive positions well within those borders. He would not despair of peace and felt sure that any reasonable proposal, from whatever quarter proceeding, would be favourably considered by Her Majesty's Government.

On the 5th of October, the President replied that he was prepared to make a proposal, but that he considered it would not be practicable to induce the Government of the South African Republic to make or entertain proposals or suggestions, unless not only the troops menacing their States were withdrawn farther from their borders, but an assurance were given by Her Majesty's Government that all further dispatch and increase of troops would at once and during negotiations be stopped, and that those now on the water would either not be landed or at least would remain as far removed as could be from the scene of possible hostilities. The President urged upon His Excellency the urgent necessity of intimating to him without delay whether His Excellency saw his way clear to give effect to those his views and wishes; and if so he would take steps to obtain an assurance from the South African Republic to safeguard against any act of invasion or hostility against any portion of Her Majesty's territories. He would further support all reasonable proposals which would possess the element of finality and give the assurance of a lasting peace.

The High Commissioner replied, on the 6th of October 1899, that he regretted that the President should suggest, as a condition precedent to further

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negotiations, an assurance from Her Majesty's Government hampering their freedom of action with regard to the disposition of British troops in British territory. Such an assurance it was impossible for him to ask Her Majesty's Government to give. If, on the other hand, the President could obtain an assurance that, pending negotiations, no act of hostility would be committed, he was prepared to advise Her Majesty's Government to give an assurance to the like effect.

Steijn replied, on the same day, that he could not be expected to ask the South African Republic to continue negotiations in the face of the fact that from all sides of Her Majesty's dominions troops were being poured into South Africa with the avowed object of coercing the South African Republic into accepting whatever terms Her Majesty's Government might decide to impose. The President added that he had no doubt that, in so far as Her Majesty's troops were intended for the defence of Her Majesty's possessions, the same purpose could be effected in another way, and he would be willing to assist in its being effected; but the point which he thought it fair to urge was that it would be taken by the South African Republic as virtually amounting to an act of hostility on the part of Her Majesty's Govern-

ment to be continuously increasing their forces during the negotiations.

On the 7th of October, His Honour received a reply to his dispatch of the 27th of September, in which the British Government stated that they had repeatedly explained their views on the questions at issue between them and the Government of the South African Republic, and did not think their position open to misunderstanding; but, if the President of the Orange Free State desired elucidation of any special point, they were prepared to give it. As regards their military preparations, they had been necessitated by the policy of the South African Republic converting that country into a permanent armed camp. In view of the rejection of their last proposals by the Government of the South African Republic, Her Majesty's Government were reconsidering the situation, having regard to the grave fact that both Republics had now placed themselves on a war footing.

On the same day, 7 October 1899, a royal proclamation appeared in England, summoning Parliament and calling out the reserves; at the same time, an order was issued for the mobilization of an army corps for South Africa.

On the 9th of October, President Steijn sent

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a telegram to the High Commissioner demurring to the statement that the military preparations made by Her Majesty's Government had been necessitated by the action of the South African Republic. He again urged the withdrawal of forces on both sides, such withdrawal to include an undertaking by Her Majesty's Government to stop the further increase of troops.

I have now given the course of negotiations and described events precisely as they occurred. Any one who views these matters impartially must admit that the British Government, and particularly the High Commissioner and Mr. Chamberlain, did their utmost to cause the negotiations to fail and to bring on a war.

The Government of the South African Republic clearly saw what the British Government wanted, that a collision was inevitable, that the British Government were only waiting to send their ultimatum until sufficient troops had arrived in South Africa to overwhelm the Republic from every side. When it realized that a war was inevitable, that to make concessions availed nothing and that its only chance lay in compelling the British Government to display their real intentions before all the British troops were landed, the Government of the South African Republic had recourse to

extreme measures, and, on the 9th of October, wrote a letter to the British Agent, the so-called "Ultimatum." In this document the Government once more set forth how England had not the slightest right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic; how the Republic had yet found occasion to discuss in a friendly fashion the franchise and the representation of the people with Her Majesty's Government; how on the part of Her Majesty's Government the friendly nature of those discussions had assumed a more and more threatening tone; how Her Majesty's Government had finally broken off all friendly correspondence on the subject; how the Republic was still waiting for the proposal which the British Government had promised to make for a final settlement; how, in view of the British military force on the frontiers, the Republic had been obliged, as a defensive measure, to send a portion of the burghers to protect the frontiers; how Her Majesty's unlawful intervention in the affairs of the Republic, in conflict with the Convention of London, 1884, had caused an intolerable condition of things to arise whereto the Government felt itself obliged, in the interest not only of the Republic but of all South Africa, to make an end as soon as possible, and

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therefore felt itself called upon and obliged to press earnestly and with emphasis for an immediate termination of this state of things, and to request Her Majesty's Government to give it the assurance :

"(a) That all points of mutual difference shall be regulated by the friendly course of arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government with Her Majesty's Government ;

"(b) That the troops on the borders of this Republic shall be instantly withdrawn ;

"(c) That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since the 1st June 1899 shall be removed within a reasonable time, to be agreed upon with this Government, and with a mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this Government that no attack upon, or hostilities against, any portion of the possessions of the British Government shall be made by the Republic during further negotiations within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the Governments, and this Government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this Republic from the borders ;

"(d) That Her Majesty's troops which are

now on the high seas shall not be landed in any port of South Africa."

The dispatch ended by requesting Her Majesty's Government to return an answer before or upon Wednesday the 11th of October, not later than 5 o'clock p.m., adding that, in the event of no satisfactory answer being received within that interval, the Republic would with great regret be compelled to regard the action of Her Majesty's Government as a formal declaration of war and would not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof, and that, in the event of any further movements of troops taking place within the above-mentioned time in the nearer directions of the borders of the Republic, the Government would be compelled to regard that also as a formal declaration of war.

On the 11th of October, Mr. Greene brought the reply of the British Government to the effect that the conditions demanded by the Government of the South African Republic were such as Her Majesty's Government deemed it impossible to discuss. At the same time, he asked for his passports, in order to enable him to leave the country. And so, in spite of all the concessions, all the patience and indulgence of the Republic,

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the war broke out. The Volksraad, which was still sitting, adjourned when it became evident that hostilities were soon to commence; both our Volksraad and that of the Orange Free State unanimously declared themselves ready to risk their lives and property for their rights and for their liberty; and both repeated this vow in their last session during the turmoil of war.¹

The course and the vicissitudes of the War do not come within the scope of these Memoirs, as I took no personal part in the fighting. I had a different work before me, which kept me employed day and night. All looked to me for advice, hints and consolation. Daily I sent off telegrams to all the commandoes, encouraging, advising and exhorting the burghers. These labours fully occupied the mornings from eight to twelve and the evenings from two to four or five o'clock. Not till then did I leave the Government Buildings. I went to bed at eight, only to get up again at eleven to go through the telegrams that had come to hand. I rose once more at two, to inspect any dispatches that had arrived in the meantime, and it was often

¹ Official reports of President Kruger's speech at the closing of the First and Second Volksraad and of the speeches of both Presidents at the last meetings of the Volksraads of the Transvaal and Orange Free State will be found in the Appendix.—*Editor's Note.*

four o'clock before I could seek my rest again. In the later stage of the war, when the federal troops were being driven back on every side, my sleep was interrupted regularly three times every night, and frequently as often as four times, in order that I might deal with the telegrams without delay. I was thankful for every success and did not lose courage when reverses were announced, as many of my telegrams could show, had they not been scattered to the winds.

After the relief of Ladysmith, I went myself to Natal to exhort the burghers to keep courage. At Glencoe, where the burghers had once more taken up their position, I addressed them in a long speech, pointing out the urgency of keeping up the fight. General Joubert spoke to them to the same effect.

I had scarcely returned to Pretoria, when I went to Bloemfontein in order to proceed thence, by waggon, to Poplar Grove, on the Modder River, where I intended also to address and encourage the burghers. But I could not come so far, for I had only just reached General De Wet, when I was obliged to go back, as French, with his mounted troops, had effected a turning movement and I was in danger of being cut off. Heavy fighting took place on my arrival, for the English general in command knew of my

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presence, and I had only just time to retire: I had hardly crossed the Modder River, when French arrived with his cavalry. Here, however, De la Rey, who had just arrived with his staff, flung himself against him and held him in check until the laager and guns were safe. As I resumed my homeward course, the shells were flying all around me, and one fell just behind the cart in which I was seated. I was, therefore, obliged to return to Pretoria, but went straight on to Kroonstad, there to encourage the burghers and attend a general council of war. It was on this occasion that the deeply-lamented Colonel de Villebois-Mareuil received his promotion to General of the Foreign Legion.

Shortly after, I received a heavy blow through the death of General Joubert, who had worked together with me for so many years in building up the Republic. His death was profoundly mourned by the whole people, and there is no doubt that the decease of this upright lover of his country exercised a discouraging influence upon his fellow-burghers. Fortunately, he had, before his death, appointed a successor in the present Commandant General Louis Botha, who has shown that the confidence placed in him by the dying general was well-deserved.

Shortly before the capture of Bloemfontein, the two Governments resolved to send a deputation to Europe to endeavour to secure intervention. This deputation consisted of Mr. Abraham Fischer, a member of the Executive Raad of the Orange Free State, who had taken a prominent part in the negotiations during the crisis, and who now acted as a delegate for both States, with Mr. C. H. Wessels, President of the Volksraad of the Orange Free State, for his own State, and Mr. A. D. W. Wolmarans, a member of the Executive Raad of the South African Republic, for his State. All three were men in whom the Government and people of both Republics placed the greatest confidence.

A while before that, after the surrender of Cronjé, the two Governments had sent a dispatch to Lord Salisbury, in which they declared that the Republics were willing to make peace if their independence, the only thing for which they were fighting, were acknowledged. Lord Salisbury replied that he could not accept this proposal; for the Republics were not to be allowed to retain a shred of independence: and that after he had declared, only three months earlier, in a public speech, that England sought no gold-fields and no territory.

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Although the preceding days made heavy claims upon me, those that followed made even more strenuous demands. After the relief of Mafeking, when the British troops began to stream into the Republic from every side, it became daily more clear that, in my old age, I should have to leave my wife, my home and all that was dear to me, in order to seek a refuge in the East of the Republic, and there commence the struggle anew. The thought of this departure lay heavy upon my heart, the more so as my wife was so old and weak that I could not think of taking her with me. The doctor had declared that such a journey as this would mean death to her; and yet I felt sure that I should never see her again in this life. The day of our separation after a long and happy marriage came ever closer and closer, and an uncertain future, full of dangers and privations, faced me. It was with this knowledge that I opened the Volksraad at the commencement of May.¹ Many of the best-known figures in public life were already at rest in their graves, and their seats in the Volksraad stood empty.

Lord Roberts had at last pushed forward to Johannesburg, and, as we were informed that he

¹ For Kruger's speeches on this occasion, see the Appendix. They show that he had not lost confidence.—*Editor's Note.*

intended, with a flying column, to cut the Delagoa Railway line to the east of Pretoria, it was resolved that I should leave Pretoria with the Government and transfer the seat of government to the East of the Republic. On the afternoon of my last day at Pretoria, 29 May 1900, while my things were being packed, I received the American lad, Jimmy Smith, who brought me an address in which thousands of school-boys in Philadelphia, the children of a city which was the first to declare its independence of Great Britain, "sent a message of sympathy to the leader of the people which was now engaged in defending its independence against the same nation." He also handed me a Transvaal flag which had been embroidered in America. I thanked the boy and the American gentlemen who had accompanied him, and, one hour later, when it was already dark, I drove with a few faithful friends to Eerste Fabrieken, the first station on the eastern line. From here I went by railway, over Middelburg, to Machadodorp, where the seat of government was provisionally established. I lived in my saloon-carriage, to which a telegraph apparatus had been fitted: my work was no less arduous than at Pretoria, and I was constantly sending telegrams to encourage the burghers in the fight.

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The first days of June are among the darkest of my life. On the 5th of June, Lord Roberts occupied Pretoria, and many of the burghers, discouraged by recent events, listened to the tempting proclamations by which that general sought to seduce them from their allegiance and their duty to the land and people, laid down their arms and took the oath of neutrality. I warned and admonished them, for my faith in the future was still unshaken. On the 7th of June, I sent the following telegram to all the officers:

"Tell the burghers that it will avail them nothing to lay down their arms, as Lord Roberts has issued a proclamation that, in future, he will release no more burghers on their oaths, as he has found that the burghers continue to fight in spite of their oaths. He has moreover decided to take all male persons above twelve years of age prisoners, whether they be armed or not. If they are taken prisoners, they will be sent to St. Helena. Children also are therefore no longer safe. We have resolved to fight to the end. Be faithful and fight in the name of the Lord, for they who flee and leave their positions or run away from commando are fleeing straight to St. Helena."

And in longer telegrams I set forth the religious grounds for my hopeful persistency.¹

As Machadodorp is one of the coldest places in the Transvaal, and at that time I was suffering greatly from my eyes, I yielded to the pressure of the burghers and moved on to Waterval Onder, which lies on the Eland River, among high mountains, and enjoys a very mild climate in winter. Here I occupied a scantily-furnished little house, where I spent the happiest two months that I have known since my departure from Pretoria. The seat of government, however, remained at Machadodorp; and the State Secretary and the members of the Executive Raad also remained there, but came every morning by train to Waterval Onder to the sittings of the Executive Raad, in order to attend to the current business. From here, too, were issued the decrees and requisitions, the provisoes for furlough, the enactments against dilatory burghers and officials, the orders for the reorganization of the army; and the necessary measures were taken to frustrate the proclamations of the enemy and their consequences. Towards the end of August, President Steijn and his escort arrived at Waterval Onder to discuss the position in the country.

¹ Some of these telegrams will be found in the Appendix.—
Editor's Note.

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It was at about the same time that Lord Roberts, acting in conjunction with General Sir Redvers Buller, delivered his decisive attack on Botha's positions at Dalmanutha. The result is well known. After the burghers had fought for eight days like lions and defeated every attempt of the enemy to break through, Buller at last succeeded in capturing a weak post occupied by 79 men of the Johannesburg Police, and in thus forcing his way into our men's positions. Botha had about 4,000 men and had to defend a line that extended for over 30 miles. Roberts attacked him with over 50,000 men and a mass of heavy guns. The result of this battle made it clear to the Commandant General and the other officers that it was not possible for their small force of burghers to repel the enemy or to continue to fight him in the way they had done hitherto, and that it was better to send the President away, so as to leave the commandoes freer in their movements. We moved on to Nelspruit, a station on the Delagoa Railway, about half-way between Waterval Onder and the Portuguese frontier. The removal of all the baggage, waggons, carts, horses, mules and so forth gave great difficulty, but the excellent manner in which the Netherlands South African Railway Company had so far satisfied

every demand made upon it was now repeated. On arriving at the spot which had now been selected as the seat of Government, we received Lord Roberts' proclamation annexing the South African Republic. I at once issued a counter-proclamation :

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

“Whereas I am informed that a certain proclamation, dated 1 September 1900, has been issued by Lord Roberts, Field Marshal, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in South Africa, stating that the South African Republic has been conquered by Her Majesty's troops and that the South African Republic is annexed to the British Empire, while the forces of the South African Republic are still in the field and the South African Republic has not been conquered, and the aforesaid proclamation is therefore opposed to international law ;

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"And whereas the independence of the South African Republic has been recognized by nearly all the civilized Powers;

"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 South African Republic:

"Now I, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, State President of the South African Republic, by the advice and consent of the Executive Raad, in accordance with Article 147 of its Minutes of the 3rd of September 1900, do hereby proclaim, in the name of the independent people of this Republic, that the aforesaid annexation is not recognized, but is by these presents declared null and void.

"The people of the South African Republic is and remains a free and independent people and refuses to submit to British rule.

"Given under my hand at Nelspruit in the South African Republic on the third day of the month of September 1900.

"S. J. P. KRUGER."

Meanwhile, it became evident that the hope that we should be able to arrest the enemy's

progress in the mountains, was futile, thanks to his overwhelming superiority of numbers; and, when the enemy began to advance from every side on Nelspruit, a decisive step became necessary. A council was called, consisting of the members of the Transvaal and Orange Free State Governments and a number of officers, including the Commandant General, and resolved to delegate me to Europe, to endeavour to promote the cause of the Republics. General and Vice-president Schalk W. Burger was to hold office as Acting State President during my absence. A proclamation was issued, giving notice of this resolution in the following terms :

“Whereas the great age of His Honour the State President render it impossible for His Honour to continue to accompany the commandoes;

“And whereas the Executive Raad is persuaded that His Honour’s invaluable services can still be profitably employed in the interests of the land and people :

“Now the Executive Raad does hereby resolve to grant His Honour a six months’ furlough in order to proceed to Europe and there promote our cause. His place will be filled, in

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accordance with the law, by Mr. S. W. Burger, Vice-president.

"S. W. BURGER,

" *Vice-president.*

"F. W. REITZ,

" *State Secretary.*

"GOVERNMENT OFFICE, NELSPRUIT, 10 *September* 1900."

If my departure from Pretoria was a bitter blow to me, my departure, under such sorrowful circumstances, from the land to which I had devoted my life was doubly bitter. I saw it swarming with the enemy, who, in his arrogance, was already declaring that the war was over and that only guerilla bands now infested the country. I had to bid good-bye to the men who had stood beside me for so many years and to leave my country and my people, my grey-haired wife, my children, my friends and the little band of lion-hearted fighters who, surrounded as they were on every side, had now to make their way through an uninhabited district to the North of the Republic, there to re-organize and recommence the struggle. But I had no choice. I must either submit to the decision or allow myself to be taken prisoner. My age prevented me from riding and it was, therefore, impossible for me to accompany the commandoes

further. On the other hand, it was a consolation to leave the government in the hands of such true men as Schalk Burger, Reitz, Louis Botha and De la Rey, and I knew the loyal support which they would receive from the noble President Steijn. On the evening of the 10th September, we took leave of one another at Nelspruit and I was left alone with the escort which the Executive Raad had given me for my protection.

On the next day, after spending the night at Crocodile Poort, I began my long pilgrimage to Europe, a journey the result of which neither had nor could have been anticipated. From Crocodile Poort I travelled in the private railway-carriage of the manager of the Netherlands South African Railway Company. At Hectorspruit, I waited a few hours for President Steijn and a few other friends, who had come there to take leave of me, and then continued my journey to Lorenzo Marquès over Komati Poort, the last station in the Republic, and past the frontier station, Resano Garsea, where the director of the Portuguese railway took charge of the train. At Lorenzo Marquès, the train was not stopped at the station, but shunted to a siding, so that, as darkness had already set in, I was able to reach Consul-general Pott's house unobserved. It was my intention to remain there until I could

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embark for Europe on board the first outgoing steamer, which would have been the steamship *Herzog*, of the German East African Line. But, on the next day, the Portuguese Governor arrived and said that he had been instructed to take me to his own house as the guest of the Portuguese Government. When I showed some hesitation, the Governor declared that I must accompany him at once and that, if I refused, he must employ force. This action on the part of the Portuguese Government must undoubtedly be ascribed to the pressure brought to bear upon it by the British Government, for the Portuguese Governor governed only in name: the real governor was the British Consul at Delagoa Bay. Governor Machado, who was probably fulfilling a disagreeable task greatly against his own wish, treated me with great kindness, but would not allow me to move without accompanying me. None of the members of my escort, who were also quartered at the Governor's house, was allowed to set foot in the town unless accompanied by an aide-de-camp; and even then they were not permitted to enter into conversation with any one. At first, the two gentlemen who travelled with me, as well as a few other friends, were at least allowed to visit me; but this, too, was very soon forbidden, on the ground, as we

were informed, that the British Consul had complained. This position lasted some weeks, during the whole of which time I was practically a prisoner in the Governor's house; and it was there that I kept my seventy-fifth birthday. I was not allowed to receive the congratulations of the burghers who thronged the town and who were reduced to shouting good luck to me from the street outside.

The first ray of light that broke through this night of affliction was the Queen of Holland's offer to carry me to Europe on a man-of-war, an act which was appreciated in the highest degree by the whole Boer nation. Now, at least, all uncertainty was removed as to my being able to pursue my journey. As the ship, however, was still at some distance from Delagoa Bay, I was not able to embark until the 21st of October, and then the *Gelderland*, whose captain and officers received me with every mark of friendship and loving-kindness, had first to take in coal. The journey from Delagoa Bay to Dar-es-Salam, where the *Gelderland* arrived on the morning of the fifth day, passed off very well. It is true that, at first, I suffered a little from sea-sickness, for the first time in my life; but I was soon able to light up my pipe again, a certain proof that the sickness

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was past. At Dar-es-Salam, some German officials came on board and invited me to a dinner which they wished to give in my honour. I begged, however, to be excused, in view of the sorrowful circumstances of my country. The same thing happened at Djibouti, where we arrived on the 2nd of November. From here the journey was continued to Suez. Every ship that passed the *Gelderland* saluted, and I was cheered by the passengers on board those which came close enough. One French ship even went out of her course to salute the *Gelderland*, and the only exceptions were most of the English ships, of which, at one time, as many as five were in sight, near Sardinia. From Suez we proceeded to Port Saïd, where we stopped to take in coal. The voyage from here to Marseilles was exceedingly unpleasant, quite apart from the numbers of newspaper correspondents who made fruitless attempts to interview me. A storm raged which sent the waves flying over the ship; and the vessel pitched and rolled to such an extent that my sickness returned.

At the end of the voyage, the captain of the *Gelderland* invited my friends and myself to an official dinner. The saloon was decorated with the Dutch colours and with a Transvaal banner,

the same flag which the American school-boys had sent me, with an address, from Philadelphia. In consequence of the bad weather, we arrived one day late, on the 22nd of November, in the harbour of Marseilles.

A few days before our arrival, the members of the South African Deputation, with the exception of Wolmarans, who was unwell, had gone to Marseilles, with Dr. Leijds and some other gentlemen, to receive me. Professor Hamel, of the University of Groningen, kindly acted as interpreter. From the deck of the man-of-war, to which the members of the deputation put out in a long-boat, one saw nothing but one mass of people, all cheering and waving their handkerchiefs. Even the steamers lying at anchor in the harbour swarmed with people.

I went on shore, after cordially thanking the captain of the ship and his officers for the kindness and consideration which they had shown me: I still retain the pleasantest recollections of my voyage on the *Gelderland*. Thousands of people were shouting their greetings with the loudest enthusiasm. The president of the Committee for the Independence of the Boers, which had been lately formed, "interpreted the feelings of all Marseilles," as he himself said when he welcomed

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me and added that the enthusiasm which I beheld around me would convey more to me than any words which he could utter. I declared that I gratefully accepted the welcome offered me, although, in view of the sorrow in which my country was wrapped, I had not come in order to be festively received :

"The war in South Africa," I continued, "has exceeded the limits of barbarism. I have fought against many barbarous Kaffir tribes in the course of my life ; but they are not so barbarous as the English, who have burnt our farms and driven our women and children into destitution, without food or shelter. I hope that God will not abandon the Boer nation. But, if the Transvaal and the Free State are to lose their independence, it shall only happen when both nations have been annihilated with their women and their children."

On the road to the hotel stood thousands of people, who cheered me continually as I passed, and, during the afternoon, a number of deputations came to welcome me.

This splendid reception was a thorn in the side of the English at Marseilles, and they tried to spoil the procession by throwing coppers from the windows of an hotel among the populace, in order to raise a tumult. But this pro-

ceeding narrowly escaped having serious results, as the people, furious at this behaviour, stormed the hotel, so that police protection had to be sent for.

Immediately after my arrival, I telegraphed to President Loubet to salute him and to thank him for the sympathy of his Government and people. The Prefect of Marseilles called on me on behalf of the President.

On the 24th of November, I started by special train for Paris, and was cordially cheered throughout the journey. The train stopped at one or two stations, and great crowds had gathered to welcome me. I stepped out of the train at Lyons, to receive the welcome of the crowd, and the mayor handed me a beautiful medal as a souvenir. At Dijon, where we spent the night, the drive to the hotel was accomplished to a salute of guns.

On the next morning, we continued our journey to Paris, where a solemn reception took place and several speeches were delivered. In reply to the address of the Vice-president of the Municipality of Paris, I said that, "so soon as I had set foot on Parisian soil, I had acquired fresh confidence, for the arms of the city, a ship floating on the waves, assured me that the Republics would not go under."

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On the way to the hotel, immense masses of people had gathered, who cried, "Long live Kruger! Arbitration for ever!" and continually flung nosegays into the carriage. The people in front of the hotel called out for me to appear on the balcony, and I had to do so three or four times a day, before the crowds would disperse.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, President Loubet received me at the Élysée, sending me a company of cuirassiers as an escort, and immediately afterwards paid me a return visit.

During my stay in Paris, from the 26th of November till the 1st of December, I visited some of the sights, including the Eiffel Tower, the Hôtel de Ville, the International Exhibition, at which I was greatly touched to read the inscriptions on the walls of the Transvaal pavilion, containing every good wish for the Boers. In the sessions-hall of the Hôtel de Ville, where the whole Town Council had assembled, the chairman expressed the admiration of the people for the heroism of the Republics and said that, "if the Republics were silent, the nations must speak," and thus bring about arbitration.

The president of the *Conseil général* also made a speech. In my reply, I said that, "if the Boers, who were not yet defeated, but would go

on fighting much longer, could hear of the reception which had been given me in France, they would be still further strengthened in their resolve to keep up the struggle." I also thanked the press for the light which they had thrown on the English methods of warfare and added:

"If you were able to send reporters straight to the seat of war, they would stand astounded at the atrocities that are being perpetrated by England."

After receiving a series of deputations, I left Paris on the 1st of December, amid scenes of undiminished enthusiasm and escorted by the authorities and private societies, for Cologne. On the way to the French frontier, the same scenes were repeated which had marked the journey from Marseilles to Paris. At every station where we stopped, I was received by great crowds. The same thing happened in Belgium. The enthusiasm which I witnessed in France not only delighted me, but confirmed me in my hope that my journey would not be in vain.

This hope, however, was doomed to be very soon frustrated. On the evening of the same day, we reached Cologne, where an enthusiasm reigned such as Cologne has, perhaps, never beheld before. Unfortunately, an accident occurred at the railway-

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station which cost one of the spectators his life. The crowd was such that two people fell through an opening on to the platform, one of whom broke his leg and died of the results of the fall. Owing to the size of the crowds, I had to drive by a circuitous route to my hotel. Here, shortly after my arrival, I received a telegram from the German Emperor, saying that His Majesty could not receive me at that time, as he had a hunting engagement. We then resolved to proceed to the Hague; but, before leaving Cologne, I received a series of deputations, who gave me every mark of sympathy. I also received the wife of the man who had died of the accident at the station and assured her of my heart-felt condolence. I did not miss the opportunity of visiting the famous cathedral.

It is really not necessary for me to say that, throughout my journey through Germany and Holland, I met everywhere with the same sympathy for the cause of the Boers as at Cologne. At station after station, I was received by the representatives of the different towns, in addition to corporations and societies with their banners and badges. The train drew up at the Hague in the evening, when it was already growing dusk. The precincts of the railway-station and all the streets

leading to the hotel at which I was to stay¹were closely packed with an endless crowd of cheering people. I had telegraphed to the Queen, on reaching the Dutch frontier, to offer her my homage. Immediately after my arrival at the hotel, Her Majesty's ministers called upon me, and, on the next day, I went to the Court, to wait upon the Queen and to thank her for her great kindness in sending a man-of-war to bring me to Europe. I was afterwards invited to dine with the Queen, and Her Majesty's Consort, the Prince of the Netherlands, called on me at the hotel.

After a short delay, I paid a visit to Amsterdam, where a great reception was held in the *Paleis voor Volkslijt*, and a solemn service in the principal church. On returning to the Hague, where I had not originally intended to stay, as it was necessary that I should as soon as possible consult a good physician about the condition of my eyes, I fell seriously ill: I had probably caught a cold, which very soon developed into inflammation of the lungs. I recovered, however, and proceeded to Utrecht, where I stayed for two months and a half, during which period I underwent a successful operation on both eyes, effected by Professor Snellen and my own physician, Dr. Heymans. From there, I moved to Hilversum, where I lived

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for eight months, at the Villa Casa Cara, with my suite. Our stay was interrupted by a visit of some weeks to A. D. W. Wolmarans at Scheveningen and by a long-promised visit to some of the other Dutch towns. At Rotterdam, I was shown a tree which I had planted in the Zoological Gardens in 1884, and took a trip up the Maas, on board the *Lehmann*, which the Fop Smit Steamship Company had placed at my disposal. I was proud, on this occasion, to see the old church at Dordrecht where the Synod of 1618 to 1619 was held which exercised so great an influence upon the Church to which I belong. I also revisited Kampen, the Mecca of the Protestant Church. In both towns my reception was of the most cordial nature imaginable.

Shortly after my return to Hilversum, I received the heaviest blow of my life. A cablegram informed me that my wife was dead. My profound sorrow was consoled by the thought that the separation was only temporary and could not last long; and my faith gave me the strength to write a letter of encouraging consolation to my daughter, Mrs. Malan. Wolmarans invited me to spend another fortnight with him at Scheveningen, to distract my thoughts a little. I then went back to Hilversum, where I lived in absolute retire-

ment, interrupted only by the necessary conferences, and devoted myself entirely to the perusal of my Bible.

At the commencement of the winter, on the 10th of December 1901, I moved to the Villa Oranjelust, on the Maliebaan, at Utrecht. Here I received the news of De la Rey's brilliant victory over Lord Methuen. I rejoiced exceedingly at the victory, but, when some one observed, during the reading of the news, that it was to be hoped that De la Rey would keep Methuen a prisoner, I said :

"I could not approve of that, and I hope that De la Rey will release him without delay ; for we Boers must behave as Christians to the end, however uncivilized the way in which the English treat us may be."

When I learnt that Methuen was released, I expressed my sincere gratification. A series of further favourable tidings arrived from home, so that the position of things seemed to justify the greatest hope.

For the rest, I had, throughout the war, replied to every enquiry from the scene of war that my confidence was still unshaken, but that it must be left entirely to the generals in the field to decide whether and how, under the

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stress of circumstances, they wished to alter their previous resolutions. During the peace negotiations, I had only one answer to all the questions put to me as to what I thought of peace, namely, that all would happen as God wished. And, when peace was at last concluded, I applied to the generals the text in the Bible, 2 Cor. viii. 3 :

“For to their power, I bear record, yea, and beyond their power they were willing of themselves.”

Nor, in so far as I myself am concerned, will I consent to lose courage because the peace is not such as the burghers wished it. For, quite apart from the fact that the bloodshed and the fearful sufferings of the people of the two Republics are now ended, I am convinced that God does not forsake His people, even though it may often appear so. Therefore I resign myself to the will of the Lord. I know that He will not allow the afflicted people to perish. He is the Lord and all hearts are in His hand and He turneth them whithersoever He will.

THE END

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.*

APPENDIX A

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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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