THE

ANTI-BRITISH CRUSADE

IN

SOUTH AFRICA.

BY AN EX-OFFICIAL OF THE TRANSVAAL.

CAPE TOWN:

THE SOUTH AFRICAN VIGILANCE COMMITTEE. 1900.

INTRODUCTION.

" He thought to quell the stubborn hearts of oak, Madman!- to chain with chains and bind with bands That Island Queen, who sways the floods and lands From Ind to Ind." (BUONAPARTE.)

Tennyson.

There are many who, honestly seeking after the truth, ask (and ask not seldom) - " How far is it true? Was there a conspiracy, and if so with what object? " - and the voice of the jealous enemies of the British Empire answers from their unseen habitations "No! " For this reason we purpose in the following pages to quote from such men as may be trusted in this regard, not from men across the ocean whose eyes have seen the Boer only on paper; not from men who are biased against the Afrikander; not even from men who are neutral, but from those whose voices have weight among the Boers and Afrikanders, and from their own mouths shall proceed the evidence upon which they may be judged.

The publications most frequently referred to are Van Oordt's " Paul Kruger and the Rise of the South African Republic," and Jorissen's Reminiscences." Mr. J. F. van Oordt is a son of a Hollander resident in South Africa, Dr. J. W. G. van Oordt, and is by birth a Cape Colonist. His work upon " Paul Kruger" is at the least a semi-official publication. He acknowledges in his preface the valuable assistance rendered him by Dr. W. J. Leyds; all the State archives and documents were placed at his disposal, and President Kruger allowed a special photograph of himself to be taken as a frontispiece for the book. The work is valuable as the most exhaustive history of the South African Republic from the point of view of the Transvaal official. Dr. E. J. P. Jorissen was in 1875 a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland. In that year he was appointed by the late President Burgers to an office in the Education Department of the South African Republic. He was afterwards Secretary to the Triumvirate, and, with President Kruger and the late General Joubert, formed the first Deputation from the Transvaal which visited Europe. In 1883 he was sent to negotiate with Lord Derby regarding the Pretoria Convention. In 1884 he was elected as member of the Volksraad for Pretoria, and in that year was admitted to the Transvaal Bar. Latterly he became a Judge of the High Court, a position he still holds.

The newspapers most frequently referred to are *Ons Land* and the *Volksstem. Ons Land* (formerly called *De Zuid Afrikaan*) is the official organ of the Bond party in Cape Colony, and the Volksstem has similar relations with the Executive of the South African Republic.

We admit candidly that it is not ours to bring before the reading public a carefully printed programme with chapter and verse; but we make bold to say that we shall produce such documents and such quotations as must remove all doubt, must indeed, if their meaning be rightly grasped, reveal the scheme of the crafty conspirators against our Queen and Flag - a scheme which, ripe unto harvest, bears to-day its rank and unhealthy fruit.

THE ANTI-BRITISH CRUSADE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

There is here, unfortunately, no space to deal with anything before the eighties; "unfortunately," because it would be not a little remarkable and instructive to trace the thread of this conspiracy from its beginning; suffice it, therefore, to deal with the years 1881-1899.

The Boer Rebellion of 1880-1881 against British rule was still active when it was proposed to " call upon all Afrikanders south of the Limpopo to stand to arms, to fight against the British Government, and to establish a Dutch United South Africa from Table Bay to the Zambesi."

Dr. E. J. P. Jorissen, in his "Reminiscences," page 101, declares that he, as the authorised mouthpiece of the Transvaal Triumvirate, wrote "the third Proclamation" in March, 1881, to the whole of South Africa. We quote the closing sentences:

" And now, South African brethren, fight with us! We frankly call upon you to fight as one man side by side with us. Our fight is henceforth a fight for right and truth against a common tyrant, who to-day tramples us, but to-morrow you, under his foot. It is for you to say who shall reign in South Africa - the Afrikander or the few tyrants from Downing Street. Or will you, with folded hands, look on and watch us being murdered? Our faith is yours; he who will lose his life for his freedom shall save it, but he who will save it shall lose it." He says further: "When I read this proclamation at the request of Paul Kruger, who sat on a box to my left, there was not one person present who did not fully understand that we were deliberating not only our own future, but that of South Africa. After the reading President Brand lifted his head and sighed: 'Nay, but God forbid! 'Everyone was convinced that we ought to receive the Transvaal back as it had been taken from us. If not, then war; but war without exception; a united war of all in Natal, the Free State, and Cape Colony, who are of the same blood. In a word, a great war against England, out of which a free South Africa shall rise, or in which the Dutch Afrikander shall be conquered." It is the delight of Dr. Jorissen to make known to the world the contents of this " third Proclamation," in order to show how great is the unity among the Dutch Afrikanders; and Dr. Jorissen is, we know, not the man to pervert the truth; he is a fierce but an honest foe.

The Sowing of the Seed.

Throughout South Africa this seed was thrown broadcast, and the result was soon apparent. In Natal were many who openly espoused the Boer cause; in Cape Colony a petition found 7,000 eager to apply their signatures to request the Imperial Government to hand over to the Boers the country between the Limpopo and the Vaal Rivers; while in the Free State " Messrs. C. J. de Villiers, sen., and J. Raath, commanders of the Free State forces (acting with the knowledge and consent of the majority of the Free State Raad).held a conference with Piet Joubert and others at the time when Sir Evelyn Wood and his committee were trying to conclude peace. These two promised that they would be prepared to assist the Transvaal with a strong force as soon as war should be renewed, and that they would march into the Colony of Natal, putting up a barrier between the British camp at Newcastle and Durban, whereby ammunition and provision should be cut off from the camp." *(Jorissen's "Reminiscences," page 98.) Yet, in spite of all this, " President Brand," says J. V. van Oordt. in his " Paul Kruger " was much too enlightened to believe the Afrikanders able to conquer Great Britain. This statesman saw clearly the drift of affairs, and lie understood that, if the war should last another three months, the whole of South Africa would be ablaze with the war flame. Such was far from the wish of the careful John Brand, the man who was conscious that the time had not yet arrived for South Africa to tear itself loose from England." (Page 325.) The so-called freedom of South Africa, the casting off of the British yoke, the sight of a Republican flag floating unchallenged from the River of the North to the restless ocean, is indeed the dream not of the last few years but of a century, and the dreamers have acknowledged it.

The Seed begins to Grow.

Hardly was the Convention of 1881 signed when the Pretoria. Volksraad met in Session on the 21st September. Kruger, as the mouthpiece of the Triumvirate, had much to say about the Paardekraal resolutions and the concession policy he had conceived for the future. The Raad was further informed that " the Government had decided to lay the foundation for the defence of the country's independence, to which end it was deemed advisable to create a strong artillery of the sons of the soil." - (Volksraad Minutes, 1881.) This was unanimously approved. "The day of vengeance may be far off, but it is sure to come," said some of Volksraad members.

Then, as the days passed, there were seen in Pretoria the glittering uniforms of French, German, and Hollander military officers, and the sons of the back-veld Boers were instructed in the most elaborate system of warfare. Year after year we have marked their increasing numbers, and have often visited them at the Pretoria old and new barracks. We have noted the costly system of training the artillery, have seen sometimes how the clumsy hands of the Boer sons spoiled the magnificent instru-

ments for field telegraphy; often we have conversed with master and pupil, and, learning somewhat of their mode of training, gathered also that which the future was believed to hold, and that whereof this training was the preparation. Many of the officers told us frankly that " the Government was preparing for a great war; a decisive contest with the arch enemy - Great Britain." In Cape Town *De Zuid Afrikaan* (now *Ons Land*), and in Paarl *De Patriot* were the loud-sounding voices of Boer thought in Cape Colony. That the British merchants might be boycotted Holland even supplied the Boer stores with merchandise.

Double Dealing.

The Boers soon perceived that the country west of the Transvaal was as an open door to their arch enemy, and General Joubert was despatched to the Western border. From Zeerust he wrote a letter to the Chief Gatzizibi, in which he laid grave charges against the British power, informing the Chief that Great Britain had set native tribes up against his tribe for the purpose of war. Joubert, being called before the Volksraad to give account of this, made answer: "I have done it because I feared that Gatzizibi with his tribe would fall upon us. I warned him to watch against people called Britishers, and explained to him their low tricks." - (Volksraad Minutes, 1882, and Van Oordt, page 326.) The enquiry brought forth no blame to Joubert. Could Satan rebuke sin? To the question as to whether Joubert had acted wrongly in what he had done, Taljaard and other members answered: "No, for it is only against the rooineks, and it is no sin to drive them out; they all ought to have been out of Africa long ago." Piet Joubert received no reprimand for his unfriendly action.

As we have shown, the Boer leaders made no secret of their conspiracy. After the ratification of the Convention of 1884, President Kruger, the late Vice-President Smit, and the Rev. S.J. du Toit visited Amsterdam, and were royally welcomed there. On the 6th March, 1884, one of the deputation delivered himself at a gathering as follows - in the name of the deputation, mark you " We hope that the South African flag shall wave from Table Bay to the Zambesi, be that end accomplished by blood or by ink. If it must be blood we shall not lack the men to spill it." This same deputation had a few days previously in a pious manner, and not without their customary reference to the Deity, expressed a desire to live peaceably with all men, especially their suzerain power. Kruger and all the other members of the deputation were present and heartily endorsed the speech. (See Handelsblad and Van Oordt, page 419.) Could anything be more flagrantly treacherous? We heard Dr. Jorissen in 1884 accuse the Transvaal Government, in the Landdrost Court in Pretoria, of too much plotting with the Cape Colony. " It was impossible," he declared, " for an honest man like J. F. Celliers, editor of the Volksstem, to obtain information about the affairs of State and the doings of the Executive Council, while the Bond organ at the Paarl, a thousand miles away, was continually posted with information, secret and otherwise." (See Volksstem.)

Kruger's Concessions.

On the deputation's return from Europe, Paul Kruger brought forward in 1884 his concession policy, of which Van Oordt (page 371-2) says: " In the matter of concession the President has his own peculiar ideas. Kruger has always been of the opinion of old Potgieter: 'The less Uitlanders in your State the better, and especially British Uitlanders. Keep them out.' Kruger thought that by giving concessions to one or more strangers - of course not Britishers - he would be able to keep the Uitlanders out of the land. It was his opinion that by concession the Government could compel the concessionaire to import only a limited number of white men, and that thereby the immigration would be checked. Further, the concessions would be a source of support to the burghers, who had greatly suffered by the war, and who would in this way avoid the payment of rates and taxes, to which they were very much opposed. The burgher is averse to paying taxes for the maintenance of a Government." A beautiful policy of boycotting, especially as regards Britishers. However, the Convention prevented the President from carrying out the first part of his scheme, although he has brought the second part into play not without success from his standpoint. " The poverty-stricken burghers clad in rags and tatters," as Van Oordt describes them, have been enriched by the labour and capital of the Uitlanders.

We will pass over the 1884 episode on the Western border, another of those neatly concocted little attempts to block the northward march of British progress, civilisation and commerce. Valuable lives were lost in connection with this episode, for it became necessary that Sir Charles Warren should proceed with Imperial troops to drive back the marauders and compel them to haul down their Transvaal flag. Not only the Transvaalers, but also Free State and Colonial Boers were on this occasion eager to take possession of the district now known as British Bechuanaland, and thereby construct a barrier against the advance of British interests.

In 1887, before the second Presidential election, Paul Kruger had seen the thousands of Britishers at Johannesburg, and declared them to be "a source of danger to the independence of the State." Actually he went so far as to tell the miners that "vote and representation were two things for which they should not hope." From Johannesburg he proceeded to Bloemfontein and met the Government of the Free State under President Brand. The object of such meeting was "a Closer Union." After much deliberation Kruger declared in his speech to the Committee: "One thing I have learned, and that is to distinguish my friends from my enemies. By sending assistance and by petitions both the Free State and Cape Colony have helped us in our war of independence The chairman (Mr. J. G. Fraser) has spoken of a South Africa under one flag. I think this is somewhat premature, for as yet I see no way to attain such an end. The Queen will object to withdraw her flag from South Africa, and we most certainly object to haul down our flag. How therefore can the idea be made

feasible? I am somewhat averse to doing anything against the Government of Her Majesty in South Africa but," he continued, " we are now small and of no great importance, yet we are growing and are preparing the way to take an honourable place among the nations of the world." Well may Van Oordt say that this was a carefully shielded speech for the speaker was still in doubt as to the card which the Free State intended to play (Page 474.)

In 1888, immediately after his election, President Reitz had a conference with Mr. Kruger at Potchefstroom, which led to the drawing up of a certain treaty having special reference to friendship and commerce at all times and active assistance in the event of war. High was the praise gained by this same treaty in Government circles at Pretoria, and Kruger on his return was not slow to speak about it.

The pen of Van Oordt describes to us how the President declared, "that in case Great Britain, in connection either with Swaziland or Johannesburg, should bring pressure to bear upon the Transvaal, that State could now count on having one confederate." Thus there was in the President's mind as early as 1888 a fear that the Imperial power would have some voice in regard to his unrighteous dealings with British Uitlanders in the Transvaal. It is but yesterday, however, that the voice was heard as it should be heard. Will it be wise if things are so ordered that there will arise, or can arise, no occasion for the voice to be heard again!

Secret Service.

The increasing wealth of the South African Republic by permitting the elaboration of the Secret Service System gave a new impetus to the conspiracy, and its dark dealings ran henceforth in wider and deeper channels. Long before the system was, in all its intricacy, established at Pretoria, and certainly before any item connected therewith had been put on the estimates, not a few of the Free State officials had become secret service agents. The ingenious, but despicable, system of espionage began to assume larger and ever larger proportions. We speak not as those who have heard but as those who know, and who do so as a result of careful observation of the highest authorities at Pretoria. Kruger himself not excluded.

Johannesburg and Barberton were a *bete-noir* to the Boers for a time. Then as the Uitlanders poured in their wealth and labour, the prospect of large profit being made there from dawned on the "pastoral Boer." Plots of waste land producing, may be with great toil, hard, sour, and well nigh valueless grass, aspired suddenly to the title of farms, and were sold to these Uitlanders at fabulous prices. The President himself had a keen eye to the main chance. He sold two farms for £104,000, and forgot that these were almost useless, and had been, in the beginning, stolen from the natives. Nevertheless Paul Kruger continued to maintain that the Goldfields "were a real danger to the independence of the State." "And although," he said in the Volksraad, 'I have to protect the Goldfields' industry on account of the poverty-stricken condition of my burghers, yet I shall be careful not

to grant any right to the Uitlanders. That is my policy." - (Van Oordt.) And so it is; the right has indeed not been granted, and for more than a decade thousands and tens of thousands of Britishers have been trampled on. Van Oordt, sketching his hero as he plays the tyrant, continues: " As the result of this policy Kruger acted in a truly autocratic manner. Practically no petition of thousands of Uitlanders praying for their lawful rights; no angry interrogation from Cape Colony; not even a Johannesburg revolution nor a Jameson raid made Kruger depart a hair's breadth from this policy. He remained firm as a rock." This policy and the fruit of its years of injustice claim the attention of the Imperial Government to-day.

Continental Immigrants.

Let his hatred of the British be strong as it might, Kruger, doubtless with one eye still to the "main chance," was towards Continental immigrants kindly disposed - how kindly is only known to those who have had the privilege of being initiated in the affairs of State. Let the truth in regard to one or two cases speak for itself. The concession for a mint was given to Mr. Albrecht, a stationer, and in the eighties an ordinary boarding-house keeper at Pretoria. The leather and many other concessions were simply given away to Mr. Ockerse, a farmer from Holland, who, inasmuch as he belonged to the same church, was worthy of Mr. Kruger's high esteem. The liquor, powder, and other monopolies were swindled away to a Hungarian - Nelmapius - who built Kruger his Presidency and secured him an annual income of tens of thousands. So unique was the system of swindle between Kruger and Nelmapius that the former, upon hearing that the latter had been sentenced by the Bench to imprisonment "for fraud," sent an escort in hot haste to remove Nelmapius from the Pretoria goal, over-ruling thereby the highest Judicial power in the country. At 3 p.m. on the 4th December, 1886, Judge Brand rushed into the parlour of the old Pretoria Club, and in an angry voice exclaimed: " I have sent in my resignation to that damned old Kruger! What do you think he has done now? He has released Nelmapius from gaol." We gathered round the irate gentleman and obtained the particulars of the case, which went to show that Kruger feared personal exposure.

Kruger Visits Johannesburg-,

In 1886 Kruger visited the Rand with the view of proclaiming Johannesburg a township. He was received with every mark of honour by a large and influential deputation. As the custom is, he was presented with an address of welcome - but the composers had dared to make mention therein of certain desired and much-needed reforms. Albeit the same reference was a pattern of meekness and humility, the wrath of the tyrant was stirred thereat. Angry was his tone and Dutch his language as he hurled his tirade about " the thieves and murderers, the vagabonds and schelms, who had come to his land and were now making

disturbances about grievances and expressing dissatisfaction. If this continues," he said, "I shall give them into the hands of those who do not complain " (the burghers). We noticed the change in the countenances of the sturdy artisans and brawny miners, and expected that an answer would be forthcoming; but no, they heard in silence, maybe in fear, and went back to their homes and to their labour, while Paul Kruger said to us (the officials): "I shall keep the Uitlanders in subjection; but you must help me."

On this occasion Kruger made bold to tell the Johannesburg people: "The difference I want to maintain between the old and the new population is that the latter shall **not possess a vote or a right of representation.**" (Van Oordt, page 473.) A crushing policy and an unjust one, but none the less in keeping with his conduct towards the Uitlanders from the beginning. Can one, who has not experienced it, judge how galling such a burden must of necessity be to a people whose proudest boast is freedom and whose first love is justice? It was, however, but the outcome of a life's desire - a desire to be free from British influence and to repay at the hour when such freedom should be realised capital and interest of a fancied debt which much brooding had created. This desire was voiced tersely and with no hesitation when, in connection with the railway question, Kruger said: "Before I can entertain the thought of any other, I must have the Delagoa Bay line, so that I may be independent of Great Britain." - (Van Oordt.)

The Franchise

Englishmen must in the nature of things emigrate, and no amount of ill-treatment could prevent a proportion, and no small proportion, of such emigrants turning their steps in the direction of the Transvaal. Alarm was felt by both Boer and Bond leaders at this continual influx. There was much correspondence between Cape Town, Paarl, and Pretoria, and the tone thereof was more than a little anxious. Many of the Uitlanders were, in 1890 and 1891, legally entitled to the franchise, and Kruger feared that they would claim their due privileged. Therefore he set to work with great cunning to increase the period after which the franchise might be claimed. Prior to 1881 such period had been twelve months. In 1882 it was lengthened to two years, then to five and later to nine years; until at last Kruger got his "fourteen years with restrictions."

In 1890 Kruger introduced his scheme for "a Second Volksraad." The necessity for such - or rather the value thereof - was thus explained by him: " If the Uitlanders should by pressure gain representation in the Second Raad, the First Raad will always maintain the power in their own hands, and without the sanction of the First Raad nothing can ever be done." - (Volksraad Minutes, 1890, and Van Oordt, page 504.) On this scheme meeting with some opposition in the Raad, the angry voice of the tyrant was heard to exclaim: "The danger is great, very great; accept my proposal." Accordingly, the proposal was accepted, and another barrier raised to deaden the voice of

the Uitlanders in the councils of the country - a country, mark you, which their capital and their labour had saved from the brink of utter ruin and enriched to an ever increasing extent. What profited it to gain with much strife and toil the honour of a representative in the Second Raad, if the issue of everything still remained in the hands of the old burghers in the First Raad? The opinion of Ewald Esselen, a great pro-Boer politician of the Transvaal, is worth hearing on this point. Listen then: "This Second Raad is a senseless institution; a toy in the hands of the First Raad. It will cost the country £7,000 per session, while its work might be accomplished by a few schoolboys. In fine, this Second Raad is nothing more than an annual picnic." - (Ewald Esselen, lecture, October 1891, Potchefstroom.) Such then are the facilities and liberties granted by Kruger *cum suis* to the "hated Britisher," and on a par with these, in their fictitious value and real worthlessness, will be found to be all the flaunted concessions wrung from the crafty President.

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A Trek that Failed.

South, West, and East, the Transvaal borders had been pushed to what was at that time their utmost limit; the great tracts to the North seemed a prize which might yet be grasped. That this territory was by a treaty of 1836 under British protection made the proposal* to trek thither but the more desirable. The voice whose utterance was law was not raised in opposition, nay more, it was well known in Pretoria that the President secretly favoured the plan, and even used it as a threat against Great Britain in connection with disputes in Swaziland. The leaders both in Bond and Boer circles advocated the proposal with no little warmth; and, inspired by such support, "they of the blood "in all parts of South Africa made ready to play a part in so righteous an undertaking. In due time, therefore, they flocked in scores into the Transvaal to swell the number of the "trekkers" into the promised land. Chief among such were Nico Hofmeyer, exeditor of the Bloemfontein Express, and D. J. Malan, son-in-law of the late General Joubert. With much blowing of trumpets they gave to the public their " declaration of rights." This was no half-hearted statement; it was almost a direct challenge to the British power. "

The right to decide the policy and destiny of South Africa belongs alone to the Afrikanders, and any interference with, or assumption to, that right is not only unlawful and unconstitutional, but an insult and an abuse to the natural freedom of the people of South Africa." -(Van Oordt, page 523.) Year by year then the leading spirits of the Afrikander party from Cape Town to Pretoria were becoming bolder, and the seed of sedition, which had been cast far and wide throughout South Africa by the "Third Proclamation," was already springing into life and growing with the days. The reader cannot fail to see the double purpose which Kruger had in view in encouraging the trek. The plan must indeed be regarded as one of his masterpieces. But for timely interference this trek would have resulted in the loss to Great Britain of Rhodesia and the road to the North.

^{*} Early in 1891

Newspapers and Secret Service,

During 1891 there was thought over and perfected what might well be termed a " tonic " for the conspiracy - a forcing mixture to aid the ripening. In 1892 the same was proposed in the Volksraad. For several years some newspapers had been subsidised by the Government, but during this session the idea of bribing newspapers was first made public. When the member for Barberton - Mr. Loveday - condemned such a system, some of the Raad members brought forth their knowledge gained from Dr Leyds, namely: " that all the Great Powers of Europe did the same, and that it would be very beneficial " - (Van Oordt.) Every district in South Africa should have one or more newspapers setting forth - in prescribed colours - and defending the Afrikander policy, and blackening as far as might be the policy of the Imperial Government. Not so openly, but none the less strongly, it was also decided to speak to the same purpose through the Continental and the British Press. £100,000 per annum was held by Kruger and Dr. Leyds none too large a sum for this object It was publicly argued in the same Volksraad session that, if such a course was not adopted, the Press would pass into "the hands of their enemies, and would be detrimental to the independence of the State." " The criticism of the Government would be of such a nature that their hands would be bound, and then what would become of their country? " The irony of the proposal was fully appreciated by the Raad. The money for subsidies was obtained from the Uitlanders and used for their oppression.

Another 'branch of the conspiracy is the "Secret Service System." There is a wide superficial knowledge, and a wider imaginary conception, of the methods of this iniquitous system, but few have a real grasp of its extent. The man who gives the best information on this subject is the oft quoted Van Oordt, the trustworthy friend of Paul Kruger. He says: "Above all else the Transvaal Government found it necessary, as early as 1891, to employ certain persons as spies in order to keep the Government posted with whatever occurred. We may approve or disapprove such a system; that is according to our own choosing, and does not affect the scheme. We have the fact that this System of Spies, under the heading 'Secret Service,' is in existence. It is splendidly worked; so much so that they in Pretoria are intimately acquainted with all that happens in Government circles in Cape Town. They know things with which the Cape Town journals 'are absolutely unacquainted." - (Page 689.) Had an enemy to the Boer cause so informed us, we might with some reason doubt the truth of his statement, but this information is obtained from the Pretoria archives, which were searched with the view of upholding the Afrikander cause, and must therefore be taken as correct; indeed, we are aware from personal knowledge that Van Oordt's statement is true, and, further, that the half has not been told. It is estimated that during the last six years not less than £200,000 per annum has been paid in the wages of treachery, lying and deceit. Where the hire was so liberal and the work more dastardly than laborious, is it to be wondered at that the workmen were not hard to

find? The wages, mark you, were paid by the Uitlanders - wrung from them in scandalous and burdensome taxation. "It was Mr. Fraser," says Van Oordt, on page 580, " who told Paul Kruger that the President paid for nineteen farms - from 8,000 to 20,000 acres each - but £44 per annum, while an ordinary business man at Johannesburg paid not less than £400 per annum." Mr. Michell, the General Manager of the Standard Bank, Cape Town, said, in a lecture in 1898, that the average man at Johannesburg paid £21 a year in taxes, a sum unprecedented in any other part of the world.

Arms and Forts.

In 1893 the War Office at Pretoria, importing war material, found the method whereby such importation was performed far from satisfactory. The tenders had been granted to the firm of T. W. Beckett & Co., Limited, Pretoria, but both arms and ammunition failed not unfrequently to stand any firm test by experienced military officers. To Europe, therefore, was despatched no less a person than Dr. Leyds himself. To Europe - and with a great purpose, the armament not only of the Transvaal, but of South Africa! Lest the real object should be transparent, an excuse was highly necessary, and such was fortunately at hand. Dr. Leyds had a throat complaint, and his throat complaint necessitated European treatment. This was a half truth but the executive and a large number of the members of the First Volksraad knew that which was unsaid. Very important was the European treatment of this throat complaint. Let us prescribe it - (1) The completion of a treaty between the Transvaal Republic and the German Empire; (2) the discovery of the best sources from which arms and ammunition might be obtained, and (3) last, but not least, the engagement at high prices of the most eminent military officers to train the artillery and to supervise the construction of forts. Surely an expensive course of treatment! Even of the desired alliance between the Transvaal and Germany Van Oordt makes no secret. " Kruger," he declares, " found it necessary to seek help from the great European powers, and although the documents in connection therewith have not yet come to light, but are still covered with a secret veil, it cannot be denied that there exists correspondence between Pretoria and Berlin." As clear an acknowledgment this - and from the Boer side - as could be wished for, although we were not unacquainted with the fact ourselves. The stroke of business done by Dr Leyds in this matter was good - distinctly good but it was not lasting. From 1894 onward the glittering uniforms and dangling swords of the continental military officers do not become ever more numerous in Pretoria; nor were they there for an idle holiday. Four magnificent forts at Pretoria, and others else where, which had been commenced long before 1894, were now completed according to German models. The Pretoria Barracks are on a scale only equalled in Berlin. The officials seemed regardless of expense because it affected them not a whit; the Uitlanders paid with their sweat for the forging of the chains to bind

themselves. The firm of Beckett - in compliance with an official whisper began to import ammunition by the million, arms by the ten thousand, guns by the score. Germany, France, America, Scandinavia, and even Birmingham, did a roaring trade in Krupps, Martini-Henris, Lee-Metfords, etc.; the best arms that could be bought - and again regardless of expense. The ledgers of this firm (Beckett & Co.) may yet testify - and perchance at no distant date - that during the first six years of the last decade of the nineteenth century, Kruger imported large and small arms to the value of many hundred thousand pounds sterling. The testing of such was performed as a rule by Joubert, Loots, De Souza, Pabbs, and Wolmarans. We have frequently asked the military officers at the Pretoria Barracks for what purpose these great armaments were being made, and there came always the one reply: " For the coming war; the great war of Africa against England, but this time a war to a finish." All the Transvaal burghers and many across the western and southern borders were armed; the military preparations were increased annually; the best and most up-to-date war material, and unlimited quantities of foodstuff were stored in the specially built warehouses of Beckett, Jack, Johnstone, and other merchants. All this we marked, and knew that the officers spoke truly. A war was to come and they prepared.

The Drifts.

In 1895 we thought that the "Bubble would burst." The complete boycott of all British trade by closing the drifts (fords) was simply a feeling of the pulse by Dr. Paul Kruger. On the receipt of a final warning from the Imperial Government to the effect that the drifts must be opened the President " promised that he would close the drifts no more; and that he acted wisely in this is beyond doubt, as the Transvaal was not at this time in a position to go to war; partly because it was not sufficiently armed, and partly because the Uitlander population at Johannesburg had yet to be accounted for" - (Van Oordt, page 616.) It is clear then that Kruger would have accepted the ultimatum if he had been sufficiently armed. But the Boer, who had all to gain and nothing to lose, could afford to wait a little longer. A stricter watch, a heavier pressure, a few more unrighteous laws, such as the Expulsion of Aliens and Press Law, added to the burden of the Uitlanders, and the desired end would be in view. A little more correspondence with Berlin, with the Afrikaner Bond, and with ex-President Reitz, and the conspiracy would be ripe unto harvest; only an hour of preparation before the dawn, and the dream of a lifetime would, be within a measurable distance of realisation. That the dream was one of blood, of treason, and of widespread death we can imagine: that it contained the picture of the hated Britisher being driven ruthlessly into the sea, we know.

The Movement Fully Ripe.

We now enter upon the closing scene of this dreadful drama. Not only were British sons north and south of the Vaal River " chained with chains and bound with bands ": they were sorely oppressed, mocked at

without ceasing, jeered at, scorned, despised, aye, freely cursed by all "of the same blood " - Bond or Boer. In vain had these labouring thousands, down-trodden and crushed, appealed for justice to Pretoria. In vain had their voice called for the removal of " lawful grievances which it could not be denied that there existed " - (Kruger's speech in VanOordt, page 466.) Without result, even had they applied to the High Commissioner at Cape Town. Let no one wonder therefore that as a last resource they sought help from elsewhere. The fact that Jameson was riding to their aid was, thanks to their spies, no secret to the Pretoria Government. When about six weeks before the raid actually took place, the Middleburg townsfolk asked Kruger at a public meeting, *' President, what is this that we hear about Johannesburg? " Kruger's answer was, " Hush! Keep quiet about this; don't speak about it, we are waiting until they move." -(Van Oordt, pages 689, 690.) Early in December, 1895, orders were given to all Commandants and Field- cornets to keep their burghers in readiness, and see that all were fully armed. The Boers who went from their Christmas Church gatherings to their New Year dances were in the greater part of the Transvaal spurred, armed and mounted, and were in the northern part of the Republic prepared, as they said to "leave the dance for the battlefield." Everyone spoke freely on the subject of commandeering, and many at Pretoria, lest their services should be required and enforced, took an unexpected holiday.

A Handle.

Kruger might easily have prevented Jameson from entering the Transvaal, but such was not his intention for obvious reasons. Here was the opportunity he had so long sought; here was a handle which he might employ against the Imperial Government, a faux pas which made him no sinner, but one sinned against; here was an excuse for the disarmament of Johannesburg, and he meant to make the most of it. Unfortunately, he succeeded. He was only luring his opponent on, conscious that every step which lessened the distance between them made his final blow more decisive. That blow he was prepared to strike. "Not only were the Transvaal Boers up in arms, but the Free State had posted two thousand mounted troops on the south bank of the Vaal River, ready to cross whenever Kruger at Pretoria should give the command." We thus see how complete was the union between the Transvaal and the Free State, and there were thousands in Cape Colony only too sorry to miss such a glorious opportunity. Mr. Nico Hoffmeyer says in his "Afrikaner Boer:" " That the two Republics, with two strong and true patriotic men at the head, are busy arming and fortifying themselves, is a fact which no one will take the trouble to contradict - it is natural and necessary." And again, "Should our State be overthrown, then the neck of the Afrikander would be for ever broken; then the triumph of all that is English would be secured in this Continent; then would 'God's Englishmen ' be for ever the rulers." Such is the language of a British subject born under the British flag;

of the man who had served long as a spy, and had his voluminous book nearly complete before the Jameson invasion; of a man who knew the deepest undercurrents of the conspiracy, for he was himself a conspirator, He for ever gives the lie to the statement that " the Transvaal only began to arm after the raid, or that there was no plot."

The phantom dread of the Afrikander party is the establishment for once and all of English rule in this land - for such would be the death blow to their dearest rights - slavery, knavery, oppression and corruption. Therefore is the advance of "God's Englishman" viewed with much fear - therefore, with the sweat of it still on them, do they conspire to trip them up.

A Voice.

Ons Land, the Cape Town Bond organ, printed in the shadow of the Houses of Parliament of a British Colony, edited, prepared, and supported by British subjects, aided - in the way of advertisement - by the Government of this same British Colony - this mouthpiece of treason, lies, and slander, declared in its issue of the 12th March, 1896: " Afrikanderdom has awakened to a sense of earnestness and conscientiousness which we have not observed since the heroic war for liberty in 1881. From Cape Town to the Limpopo the second Amajuba - Doornkop - has given birth to a new inspiration and a new movement amongst our people. A new feeling has rushed in huge waves over South Africa. The flaccid and cowardly Imperialism, which had already begun to dilute and weaken our national idea, has gradually receded before the new current which has permeated our people. Many who, disgusted at the slow development of the National idea, had resigned to Imperialism, now paused and asked themselves what Imperialism produced in South Africa. Bitterness and race-hatred beyond a doubt. Since the day of Harry Smith Imperialism in South Africa has gone hand in hand with bloodshed and fraud. However wholesome the effects of Imperialism may be elsewhere, its continual tendency in this country (South Africa) during all these years has been nothing else than one long attempt to force our national life and national character into foreign grooves, and to seal this pressure with blood and tearsTruly this is a critical moment in the existence of Afrikanderdom all over South Africa. Now or Never! The iron is hot, and the time to strike is now. In the past blood was thicker than water. The blood of the voortrekker is the same as that of those who staved behind."

Ripe unto Harvest.

The conspiracy was now ripe. The "Closer Union" with the Free State, the secret sowing of the seed in Cape Colony and Natal had done the expected work. Like the leaven, it had pervaded the whole lump. The disarmament of the Uitlanders; the triumph of Kruger's tool, Steyn, over the honest Fraser in the Free State; the defeat of the

Progressive Government in Cape Colony; above all, the vast network of secret agents undermining all things social or political in South Africa; this was but the crop of sedition, whose growth we have watched from the seed sown broadcast in the night season. Now was it noon, and that which had grown was ripe unto harvest. Yet was the night coming, and to-morrow!

Arms poured into the Republics in ever-increasing streams, streams which flowed long ere the Jameson Raid - but had now become rivers. All in high places in the Transvaal knew what was at hand. In 1898 the forts had become closed doors to the uninitiated, and behind their walls were already vast armaments whose purpose was not uncertain. Warehouses arose - for the foodstuffs already imported filled those that had been. Great guns from Europe came secretly over the border, and shells as flies; rifles of the latest pattern were there - not a burgher but had two, three, or even more, and handling the same lovingly, knew its meaning; as the dust on the highways were cartridges and small-arms; and the thin veil of hypocrisy and lies hid it for a time.

Not a few of those still loval in the Legislative Assembly of Cape Colony protested - for they knew; and yet more and more came the munitions of war through Colonial ports - heavier and heavier rumbled the trains with their deathtubes over the Colonial railroads; and not a train passed but the Bond Ministry knew its burden. The day of small things had been despised - and it was gone; the evil that a hand might have held had become a great many-headed monster whom none might mock. Yet there is a voice still heard, and its cry is to forgive, to forget, to let this nightmare be as though it had never been. In a "Century of Wrong," Mr. Reitz tells us for the last time what kind of a war we are now waging. He writes: " Once more in the annals of our blood-stained history has the day dawned when we are forced to grasp our weapons in order to resume the struggle for liberty and existence, entrusting our national cause to that Providence which has guided our people throughout South Africa in so miraculous a way. The struggle of now almost a century, which began when a foreign rule was forced upon the people of the Cape of Good Hope, hastens to an end; we are approaching the last act in that great drama which is so momentous for all South Africa; we have reached a stage when it will be decided whether the sacrifices, which both our fathers and ourselves have made in the cause of freedom, have been offered in vain; whether the blood of our race, with which every part of South Africa has been, as it were, consecrated, has been shed in vain; and whether by the grace of God the last stone will now be built into the edifice which our fathers began with so much toil and so much sorrow. The hour has struck which will decide whether South Africa, in jealously quarding its liberty, will enter on a new phase of its history, or whether we shall be exterminated in the deadly struggle for liberty, which we have prized above all earthly treasures, and whether South Africa will be dominated by capitalists without conscience, acting in the name and under the protection of an unjust and hated Government seven thousand miles away.

"An unjust and hated Government! " This then is the judgment of Reitz - nor were we unprepared for it. Twenty years has he struggled, twenty years has he plotted, twenty years has he spoken, and with one purpose. There is no hesitation; as little with him as with his master, Paul Kruger. But Reitz has spoken for the last time.

Conclusion.

What more shall we say? What more need we say? If he who reads, and reads with a desire to know the truth, asks still and asks not seldom: "Is it true? Was there a conspiracy? " - and if the while he believes the voice that comes from unseen habitations, answering "No!" - then have we failed. We have stated what we have known, and what is beyond doubt the truth; if the manner of the telling has been unconvincing - then have we failed.

If, however, the telling has carried with it the ring of truth; if our reader sees and knows, what we would have him see and know, and grasps the real meaning of what to-day appears - then would we ask him to let his voice go up with ours in the cry for justice. In the fullness of time, in the due hour and day, may he, if he will, see to it that the years to come do not hold worse disaster for the Imperial Power in the Dark Continent. The day of small things was despised - and it has gone - the night is, and to-morrow is to come. In your hands is the morrow's welfare; in your hands we trust that it will receive just dealing. This is no hobby - it is a grave duty, and it is yours.

Before laying down our pen we translate the following from the *Volksstem* of the 26th August 1899. If we have not made the translation a poem, it is that the original meaning may be strictly adhered to. Its voice is not hesitating - and needs from us no answer:-

The Last Day of the Britishers in South Africa.

And wilt thou longer trample- trample -Or from our goods increase the debt; All deaf to plea for peace or justice Mock our meekness with a threat?

Then be the buffalo example, Who, tired of taunt, prepares to meet And rend his cruel persecutor -To crush him with his heavy feet.

Then burn the warflame all our meadows.
Then spread our wrath o'er hill and vale,
Then rise the smoke from out your mansions,
Then shake the earth with murder tale

Then shall our ears with pleasure listen
To widow's wail and orphan's cry
And shall we gird as joyful witness
The death-coach of your villainy.

Then shall we massacre and butcher You, and swallow glad your blood, And count it: "Capital with interest "Villain's interest - sweet and good. And when the sun shall set in Heaven, Dark with the clouds of steaming blood, A ghastly, woeful, dying murmer Will be the Briton's last salute.

And when the chilly nightly cover Shall deck the steaming bloody earth, The jackal midst the dying victims Shall gnaw, devour, and have no dearth.

Then shall we start our jolly banquet And toast the first " the British blood," The next, " In honour of our heroes; "-The last, " How England's courage stood.

And when day dawns on the horizon, To God in prayer the Boers shall kneel, To Him who from the "British Mongrels" Has saved his chosen people well.

This the fruit of Milner's action
That of Kruger's manly stand
To which this British Statesman yielded.
Hail Kruger - righteous in demand!

Then, spite oppression by Great Britain.
Shall joy and liberty appear;
No more shall Briton dare affront us
With money-bribe or vengeful fear.

Then shall we see South Afric's countries, United, but one flag shall fly, United by the people's courage, And by the strength from God on high.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Vigilance Committee

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