JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN
British Colonial Secretary

PAUL KRUGER
President of the South African Republic.

(Photo from Duffus Bros.)

South Africa

AND

The Boer-British War

COMPRISING

A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE WAR OF 1899, 1900, 1901 AND 1902

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BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE.

TO measure the South African War of 1899–1900 merely by the population of the two Boer Republics, would necessitate its consideration as an unimportant contest in comparison with the great international conflicts of the century. To measure it by the real power of the Dutch in South Africa, under present conditions, and by the principles involved in its inception and prosecution, makes it a struggle which rivals in importance the Crimean War, the American Civil War or the Franco-Prussian conflict. In the first of these, Great Britain, France and Sardinia united to resist the dangerous designs and aggressive policy of Russia which threatened their power in the Mediterranean and the British route to India through its intended seizure or acquisition of Constantinople. In the second, the United States was fighting a great conflict for national unity. In the third, Prussia averted a campaign of "On to Berlin" by speedy and successful military action.

All of these elements find a place in the South African War. The policy of President Kruger, President Steyn and the Afrikander Bund, of Cape Colony, has been developing for years into a dangerous and combined effort for the creation of a United Dutch South Africa and the seizure of Cape Town—one of the chief stations of British commercial and maritime power. Mr. Chamberlain precipitated matters, so far as the Cape Colony Dutch were concerned, by a policy of firmness to which they were unaccustomed at the hands of the Colonial Office and which, cautious

and conciliatoy as it was, forced the hand of the Transvaal President before his general policy was quite matured. As the diplomatic negotiations proceeded and the war itself developed it became a struggle for Imperial unity as truly and fully as was the American Civil War. Two great Colonies of the Empire were threatened, the principles of equal right and equal liberty upon which its entire self-governing portions have been built up and maintained were spurned, and the feeling of unity which has latterly grown so amazingly amongst its various countries was openly flouted by the treatment of the Uitlanders and the attack upon Cape Colony and Natal. Backed by the undoubted ability of President Kruger, the sentiment of racial unity amongst the Dutch of all South Africa, the swords and science of European officers and experts, the immense sums drawn from the Uitlanders and possibly from Europe, the armaments prepared during a long term of years with skill and knowledge, the characteristics of a people admirably adapted through both knowledge and experience for warfare on South African soil, the Boer cry of "On to Durban" was really more menacing to British interests and conditions of unpreparedness than was the cry of the Parisian populace, in 1870, to the Kingdom of Prussia. A war with France might not have been nearly as difficult or as serious a matter to Great Britain under existing conditions as the war with the Boer Republics has turned out to be.

The loss of South Africa, or the failure to assert British supremacy as the Paramount Power in that region, would not only have humiliated Great Britain in the eyes of rival nations everywhere and precipitated peril wherever aggressive foreign ambition could find a desirable opening, but it would have lost her the respect, the admiration or the loyalty of rising British nations in Australia and Canada; of lesser Colonies all over the world; of swarming millions of uncivilized races in Hindostan, China and Northern Africa.

Its influence would have been a shock to the commercial and financial nerves of the world; a blow to the independence and liberties of the "little peoples" who now rest securely under the real or nominal guarantee of British power. In the Persian Gulf and on the borders of Afghanistan, upon the frontiers of Siam and the shores of the Bosphorus, in the waters of Australasia and on the coasts of Newfoundland, upon the banks of the mighty Nile and along the borders of Canada, the result would have come as the most menacing storm-cloud of modern history. The power of a great race to continue its mission of colonization, civilization and construction was involved; and would be again involved if any future and serious European intervention were threatened.

The origin of the question itself is too wide and complicated to treat of in a few brief words. To some superficial onlookers it has been a simple matter of dispute as to franchise regulations between President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain. To the enemies of England it has been a wicked and heartless attempt on the part of Great Britain to seize a Naboth's vineyard of gold and territory. To a few Englishmen, even, it has seemed a product of capitalistic aggression or of the personal ambition of a Rhodes or a Chamberlain. To many more it has appeared as a direct consequence of the Gladstone policy of 1881 and 1884. In reality, however, it is the result of a hundred years of racial rivalry, during which the Boer character has been evolved out of intense isolation, deliberate ignorance and cultivated prejudice into the remarkable product of to-day, while the nature of his British neighbor has expanded in the light of liberty and through the gospel of equality, of labor and of world-wide thought, into the great modern representative of progress in all that makes for good government, active intellectual endeavor, material wealth and Imperial expansion.

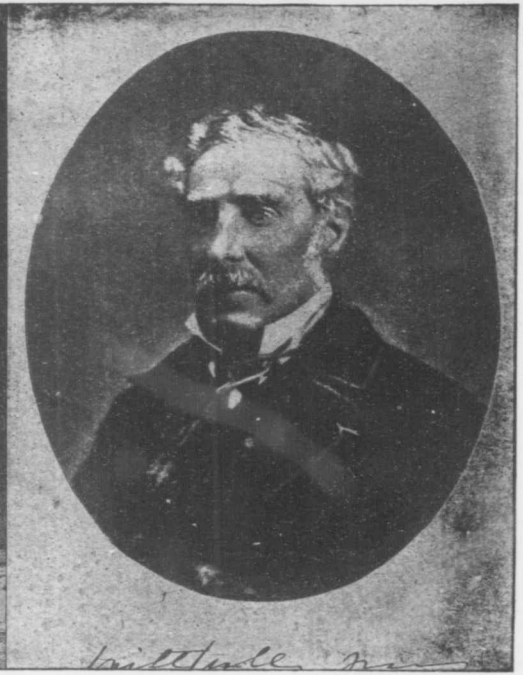
Stagnation as opposed to progress, slavery to freedom, racial

hatred to general unity, isolation and seclusion to free colonization and settlement, the darkness of the African veldt to the light of European civilization—these are the original causes of the war. British mistakes of policy in defending the Boer against the Kaffir or the Kaffir against the Boer; political errors in making the Conventions of 1852 and 1854, of 1881 and 1884; hesitancy in the annexation of territory and indifference in the holding of it; have increased the complications of South African life and government, but have not affected the root of the evil—the fact of two absolutely conflicting social and political systems developing side by side during a century of difficulty and racial rivalry. This antagonism has been absolute. The Boer love for liberty or independence became simply a love for isolation from the rest of humanity and a desire to imitate the slave-owners of Old Testament history. The final result has been the creation of a foreign, or Hollander, oligarchy in both the Dutch republics for the purpose of preserving this condition. The British ideal is freedom in government, in trade, in politics, for himself and for others, regardless of race, or creed, or color. The Boer principle of morality has always been a mere matter of color; that of the average Englishman is very different. The Boer religion is a gospel of sombreness wrapped in the shadow of Hebrew seclusion and exclusiveness; that of the true Englishman is a gospel of love and the light of a New Testament dispensation. Side by side these two types have lived and struggled in South Africa, and to-day the racial, national, individual and other differences are being thrown into the crucible of a desperate conflict. There can only be one local result—the ultimate organization of a united South Africa in which race and creed and color will be merged in one general principle of perfect equality and the practice of one great policy of liberty to all, within the bounds of rational legislation and honest life. A second and more widely potent consequence will be the closer constructive union of

the British Empire and the welding of its scattered and sometimes incoherent systems of defence and legislation and commerce into one mighty whole in which Canada and Australia and South Africa and, in some measure, India will stand together as an Imperial unit. A third and very important result, arising out of the policy of foreign nations during the struggle, should also be the drawing closer of existing ties of friendship and kinship between the British Empire and the American Republic.

J. CASTELL HOPKINS.

THE RT. HON. SIR BARTLE FRERE, G.C.B.
High Commissioner for South Africa, 1877-1881



THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.
High Commissioner for South Africa, 1854-1862

MR. CECIL J. RHODES
The Diamond King and Promoter of the Cape-to-Cairo Railroad, South Africa.

LORD ROBERTS, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.I.E.
Commander-in-Chief British Forces, South Africa.

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Illustrations.

The Illustrations in this volume have NO FOLIOS. There are 64 FULL PAGES of PLATES, and 448 pages of reading matter, making a total of 512 pages.

Glossary of Boer Terms.

That the readers of this volume may understand the meaning of certain Boer names and words which the author has found it necessary to use, we append the following glossary of those most frequently employed:

Aarde . . . . . Earth, ground
Afgang . . . . . Slope
Baas . . . . . Master
Beek . . . . . Brook
Berg . . . . . Mountain (the plural is formed by adding *en*)
Boer . . . . . Farmer
Boom . . . . . Tree
Boschveldt . . . . . An open plain covered with bush
Broek . . . . . Marsh, pool
Buitenlander . . . . . Foreigner
Burg . . . . . A town
Burgher . . . . . A citizen
Commandeer . . . . . To levy troops
Commando . . . . . A body of armed men
Daal . . . . . A valley
Dorp . . . . . A village
Drift . . . . . A ford
Dusselboom . . . . . Pole of an ox wagon
Fontein . . . . . A spring or fountain
Gebied . . . . . District
Hout . . . . . Wood, timber
Inspan . . . . . To harness or tether horses or cattle
Jonkher . . . . . Gentleman of the Volks Raad
Karroo . . . . A geographical term for a certain district. In Hottentot, a "dry place"
Kerel . . . . . A chap, or fellow
Klei . . . . . Clay
Kloof . . . . . A valley or ravine
Kop, or Kopje . . . . . A hill or small mountain
Kraal . . . . . A place of meeting, headquarters

GLOSSARY OF BOER TERMS

Kruger . The family name of present president of South African Republic
Krantz . . . . . A precipice
Laager . . A fortified camp, but often applied to any camp, fortified or not
Landdrost . . . . . Local governor
Loop . . . . . Course, channel
Modder . . . . . Mud
Mooi . . . . . Pretty
Nachtmal . . . . . Lord's Supper
Nieuwe . . . . . New
Oom . . . . . Uncle
Pan . . . . . Bed of a dried-up salt marsh
Poort . . . . . A passage between mountains
Raad . . . . . Senate
Raadsher . . . . . Senator
Raadhuis . . . . . Senate hall
Raadzael . . . . . Parliament house
Rand . . . . . Edge, margin
Rooinek . . . . . Term of contempt applied to British by Boers
Ruggens . . . . . A barren, hilly country
Schantze . . . . . A heap of stones used to protect a marksman against opposing rifle fire
Slim . . . . . Cunning, crafty
Sluit . . . . . A ditch
Spruit . . . . . Creek
Staat . . . . . State
Stad . . . . . A town or city
Transvaal . . . . . Across the valley
Trek . . . . . A journey
Trekken . . . . . To travel, or pull away from
Uit . . . . . Outside
Uitspan . . . . . To unharness, to stop
Uitlander . . . . . An outsider or newcomer
Vaal . . . . . Valley
Veldt . . . . . A prairie, or treeless plain
Veldtheer . . . . . The general in command
Vley . . . . . A prairie-like meadow
Volks Raad . . . . . House of commons or representatives
Voortrekkers . . . . . Pioneers
Vrow . . . . . Housewife
Witwaterstrand . . . . . The edge of the White Water
Zuid . . . . . South

GLOSSARY OF BOER TERMS

The correct pronunciation of Boer words is very difficult to a speaker of the English tongue, hence the attempt to give it in above glossary is omitted. The language is as peculiar to South Africa as the jargon French of lower Louisiana is to that country and even more unlike Holland Dutch than the Creole dialect is unlike Parisian French. While the Boer speech was primarily Dutch, it has been so modified by isolation from the mother country for more than two centuries, and by contact with the native African tribes, and by the influx of French, Spanish and Maylay elements, that a native Hollander is scarcely able to understand it, even when written, and to speak it, as the Boers do, he finds impossible.

PART I.

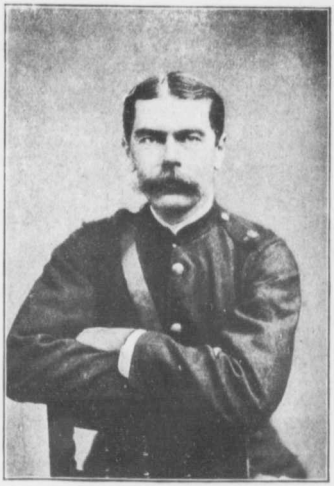
OF VOL. I.

EARLY HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

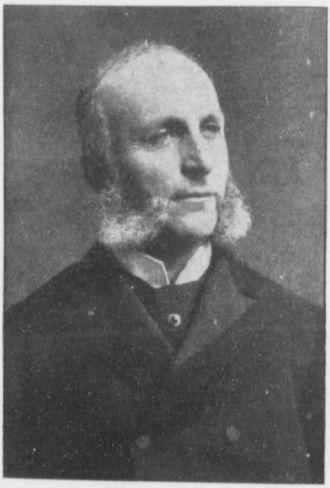
BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM GATACRE



GENERAL LORD KITCHENER



THE HON. FREDERICK W. BORDEN
Canadian Minister of Militia and Defence

GENERAL JOUBERT
Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch Forces
Died at Pretoria, March 27th, 1900

WILLIAM BRYANT, KINGSTON, CANADA
2nd Batt. Royal Fusiliers, Imperial Army, in South Africa

VICTORIA CONTINGENT FOR THE TRANSVAAL
Troops marching through Melbourne on Oct. 28th, 1899
Photo by Bishop, Prahran

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With B Co., 1st Canadian Contingent in South Africa

CHAPTER I.

Early Scenes of Settlement and Struggle.

FROM the date of its discovery by Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, until the first Dutch settlement by Van Riebeeck, in 1650, the Cape of Good Hope was simply a finger post on the route to India—a convenient and temporary anchorage for Portuguese, Dutch, English, Spanish and French ships. And around its stormy and rock-bound headlands had passed the richly laden ships of the English and Dutch East India Companies for half a century before the latter founded its pioneer establishment. Hence forward, however, the shores of Table Bay, with its towering and mountainous mass of granite sheltering the Castle of the Dutch Governor and the tiny settlement of Cape Town, was to be the scene and centre of a gradual colonization, of continuous struggle with innumerable natives, of peculiar trade conditions and curious governing experiences, of capture by the English and of varied experiments in British government.

The Dark Continent

The first Dutch settlement was really a station for supplying the passing ships of the Dutch East India Company. No idea of territorial extension was present in the minds of those who proceeded to erect a fort and to barter with wandering natives. They knew nothing of the vast interior of the Dark Continent and its two or three hundred millions of black or brown population, its merciless wars and campaigns, its savage customs and cruelties, its

The First Settlement

vast lakes and rivers and mountains and rolling plains. They were equally unaware that about the time of their own establishment in the south, under the protecting shelter of the vast square mass of Table Mountain, a tribe of dark-skinned natives, called the Bantu, had swarmed down upon the far eastern coast and were preparing to overrun from their home in Central Africa all the great region of barren upland and rolling veldt and level Karoo plain known now by the common name of South Africa. The tiny settlements of the Dutch were thus unconsciously preparing for a future in which the persistent pressure of millions of Bantu, or Kaffirs, from the north and east upon the white colonies of the south was to make history of a most prolonged and painful character. At first little was seen of the natives excepting members of a degraded coast tribe whom the Colonists called Bushmen and who lived more like animals than human beings. A little higher in the scale were the Hottentots, who, in large numbers, formed a fringe of wandering tribes along the whole of the southern part of the continent. Fighting continually amongst themselves, trading occasionally with the white men and stealing cattle wherever possible from the gradually extending settlement, these natives proved a source of much trouble to the pioneers.

The Old-Time Natives

Between 1652 and 1783 the European population of the Cape increased to about twenty-five thousand persons, in comparison with an increase of four millions in the English population of the thirteen American Colonies during much the same period. But conditions were different and the character of the settlers still more so. The Dutch East India Company ruled with despotic power, and its regulations read like a product of romantic imagination. Slaves were, of course, permitted and encouraged, and,

The Dutch East India Company

In 1754, the penalty of death was fixed for any slave raising his hand against his master, and that of a severe flogging for any who loitered outside the church doors during service time. The French Protestants, or Huguenots, who came out in 1688–90, were welcomed as settlers, but were very soon shown that no ideas of racial equality pervaded the Dutch mind. A schoolmaster was imported expressly to teach the children the language of the dominant race. No separate communities were allowed, and the French were carefully mixed amongst the Dutch and other settlers. Requests for distinct church organization were stigmatized as impertinent, and the use of the language was forbidden in official or public life. By the middle of the eighteenth century it had entirely died. Sumptuary laws of the most extraordinary character prevailed. Any person seeing the Governor approach had to stop his carriage and get out of it. No one lower in rank than a merchant could use a large umbrella, and only the wives and daughters of those who were, or had been, members of the Council could do so. The trade monopoly of the Company was so rigorous that Colonists were entirely debarred from external commerce, and were dependent upon officials for the sale and price of their products. They had not the most elementary self-government, and at the end of the eighteenth century did not possess a printing press. Cut off from all literature, having nothing but the Bible and a metrical version of the Psalms, they developed a type of character unique in itself and productive of most serious consequences.

How the French Huguenots were Received

Nor was permanency of settlement encouraged by the Dutch authorities. From 1705 to 1770 the Government issued what were termed "loan leases," or licenses to occupy land in the interior for grazing purposes upon the payment of a small rental and with a right to re-assume possession at any time retained by the Government. Combined with changes in the seasons and the pasturage

and the desire to obtain better locations, this system encouraged the formation of that peculiar characteristic called "trekking," which has marked the pages of South African history with so much bloodshed and trouble. It also brought the wandering farmers, or Boers, into contact or conflict with the wandering natives. Even the Dutch officials at Swellendam and Stellenbosch complained at last of a plan under which the farmers "did not scruple to wander about hither and thither several days' journey from their loan farms;" and finally, in 1770, the system was abolished. Meantime a region larger than the British Isles had been taken from the Hottentots and their cattle driven away from the best grass-land available for their use, and which had been theirs for centuries. The natural result of cattle-stealing which ensued upon the part of the natives was punishment by the Colonists in the form of war; in the holding of captured children as apprentices or slaves; and in the occasional application of torture to individual savages.

The System of "Loan Leases"

This matter of relations with the natives and of slavery was complicated at an early date (1658) by the introduction of some negro slaves from a Portuguese ship. They were brought from the coast of Guinea and sold to the Government for rough labor in the neighborhood of Cape Town, and also to some of the more distant settlers. Naturally inclined, already, to utilize natives for any work of a manual nature, this official encouragement immediately complicated the relations between Hottentots and Bushmen and the Dutch farmers. The latter, having once tasted the pleasures of slave-ownership in the midst of vast reserves of dark-skinned people, soon put the principle into the fullest practice and application. From time to time further consignments of slaves from other parts of Africa were introduced by those inveterate dealers, the Portuguese, and to them were soon added large numbers of native criminals from Malacca, Java and the

Successive Racial Importations

Spice Islands, who were sent by the Batavian Government to serve out terms of punishment or slavery at the Cape. They were, of course, more intelligent than the imported slaves from Guinea and Mozambique, and often made excellent masons, harness-makers, coopers and tailors; but their influence upon the moral tone of the white community amongst whom they were placed is not hard to estimate. From their arrival dates one of the many mixed races with which South Africa swarms. Another class of imported Asiatics of a higher type consisted of political offenders sent from Java at a later date to live, with their families, upon fixed Government allowances. They received occasional accessions up to 1781, when the last batch came out. As a result of these successive racial importations Cape Colony came in time to include a most singular and varied half-breed population in which Dutch and Hottentots and Malay and Negro were all intermixed.

European Population in 1759

In 1759, a century and a half after the Colony was established, its population contained 9,782 Europeans, of whom 1,486 were women and 8,104 slaves. How many natives there were it is difficult to estimate, as they were always a very movable quantity. Up to the end of the century this population lived and slowly increased under conditions which absolutely precluded real progress and evolved the character of singular stagnation which met the English conquerors in 1795. In 1779 the Dutch settlers pleaded in vain with the Directors of the East India Company for a limited privilege of making purchases directly in Holland instead of through the Company's stores at Cape Town. In vain the so-called burghers also asked for the most elementary political rights—though even then entirely unwilling to concede any rights to the surrounding natives. In vain they petitioned for printed copies of the laws and regulations of the Government and for a printing press.

They were regarded at this time by the Batavian Government much as the Transvaal authorities regarded the Uitlanders of another century. The Law Officer of the Cape Government, to whom the petitions were referred in 1779 by the Home authorities, declared that: "It would be a mere waste of words to dwell on the remarkable distinction to be drawn between burghers whose ancestors nobly fought for and conquered their freedom and such as are named burghers here, who have been permitted as matter of grace to have a residence in a land of which possession has been taken by the Sovereign Power, there to gain a livelihood as tillers of the earth, tailors and shoemakers."* At the end of the nineteenth century the Uitlanders believed themselves to have been taxed and treated in the Transvaal with very much similar motives and entirely from the point of view of Dutch revenues and the strengthening of Dutch supremacy. The Boers had been well taught this peculiar lesson in government, and nowhere better than in another part of this same document: "Now it is clear, and requires no lengthy argument, that for the purpose of enabling a subordinate Colony to flourish as a Colony it is not always expedient to apply those means which, considered in the abstract, might be conducive to its prosperity. The object of paramount importance in legislating for Colonies should be the welfare of the parent state, of which such Colony is but a subordinate part and to which it owes its existence."

The Africander Dialect

Meanwhile, to the degradation of character which came from the possession of slaves by a people naturally narrow in view and necessarily ignorant through their unfortunate environment, was added the creation and cultivation of a curious *patois*, or Afrikander dialect, which increased their isolation and intensified the problems of the future. The Huguenots had been compelled to learn and to speak Dutch, and

* *Three Lectures on the Cape of Good Hope*. Judge Watermeyer. Cape Town, 1857.

probably did not do it very well; the Boers were themselves compelled to frequently speak the language of the natives; there was no school system and no sifting of the culture of a higher class of permanent residents down through the grades of other settlers; there was no emigration of population from Holland which might have helped to maintain the *morale* of the language; and the result was the evolution of a dialect which became neither Dutch nor French, nor native, but a mixture of all three called the *Taal*. Olive Schreiner has given the following explanation and description* of this product of seventeenth century evolution amongst the Boers:

"The Dutch of Holland is as highly developed a language and as voluminous and capable of expressing the finest scintillations of thought as any in Europe. The vocabulary of the *Taal* has shrunk to a few hundred words, which have been shorn of almost all their inflections and have been otherwise clipped. . . . Of the commonest pronouns many are corrupted out of all resemblance to their originals. Of nouns and other words of Dutch extraction most are so clipped as to be scarcely recognizable. A few words are from Malay and other native sources; but so sparse is the vocabulary and so broken are its forms that it is impossible in the *Taal* to express a subtle emotion, an abstract conception, or a wide generalization."

The Batavian Republic

In 1792 a Commission came out from Holland to investigate the affairs and government of the now decadent and bankrupt Company; and shortly afterwards the widespread colonial system of that famous organization was taken over by the Home Government of Holland, or, as it became under French influence, the Batavian Republic. Minor reforms were introduced at the Cape, but they were not sufficient to meet the current conditions of corruption and stagnation, and by 1795, when Cape Town capitulated to Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, during one of the varied phases of the Napoleonic

* *The Story of South Africa.* By W. Basil Worsfold, M. A. London, 1898.

wars and European combinations against England, much of the interior Colony was in a state of rebellion. and two little republics had been established amongst the settlers away to the north and east of the capital. Thus ended a system of Government which the late Judge Watermeyer, of Cape Town, has declared was "in all things political purely despotic; in all things commercial purely monopolistic;" and which the Historiographer to the Cape Government has summarized in the words:* "It governed South Africa with a view to its own interests, its method of paying its officials was bad, its system of taxation was worse, in the decline of its prosperity it tolerated many gross abuses."

Preliminary Period of British Rule

In this way were laid the foundations of character and custom upon which have been built the developments of the nineteenth century in South Africa. So far, however, there had been no real antagonism felt towards Great Britain, no apparent reason for its creation and no direct cause for its application. But, with the entrance of Holland into the league against England in 1795 and the evolution of India as an important dependency of the Island Kingdom, had come the first real clash of English and Dutch interests in South Africa through the capture of Cape Town. This preliminary period of British rule in the country lasted until 1803. Everything possible was done to conciliate the Dutch population, which in the country districts refused at first to have anything to do with, or to in any way acknowledge, the new Government. The people of Cape Town were treated with generosity. Officials taking the oath of allegiance were, as a rule, retained in their posts; the depreciated currency, amounting to a quarter of a million pounds sterling, was accepted by the authorities at its full nominal value; some very obnoxious taxes were abolished and a popularly chosen Council or burgher Senate was established

*George M. Theal, LL. D., in "Story of the Nations' Series."

in the capital. More important than all, the announcement was made that anyone might now buy and sell as he would, deal with whom he chose in a business way, and come and go as suited him upon land and water. The farmers were invited to Cape Town to trade as they might wish, and to lay any matters they desired before the Governor. The early British administrators included Major-General Sir J. H. Craig, the Earl of Macartney, Sir George Yonge and Major-General Sir Francis Dundas.

Unfortunately, the weaknesses inherent in the British Colonial system of that time soon manifested themselves in South Africa. While free trade was allowed and promoted throughout the Colony, and a great advance thus made on previous conditions it was soon found that external trade to the East was restricted by the existing monopoly of the British East India Company; while duties were, of course, imposed upon goods coming from the West in any but British ships. Even in this, however, there was an advance upon the previous limitations under which goods could not be imported at all by the people, even in Dutch ships. These regulations, it must also be remembered, applied equally, under the strict navigation laws of that time, to British Colonies in North America, including French Canada and the West Indies, as well as to South Africa. It was not an easy population to govern. The Dutch farmer did not like the oath of allegiance, although it was made as easy as possible for him to take. The very strictness of the new Government and the absence of corruption made it unpopular in some measure. The fact that Holland had become a Republic, which in time percolated through the isolation of the public mind, added to the prejudice against monarchical government which already existed as a result of the despotism of the Dutch East India Company. Naturally and inevitably positions under the Government soon drifted into the hands of men who could speak

The New Government Unpopular

English and who possessed British sympathies. It is not difficult to realize that the somewhat sullen character of a Cape Town Dutchman who was always looking forward to some change in the European kaleidoscope—of which he naturally knew more than the farmers of the interior and therefore hoped more from—made co-operation difficult and at times unpleasant.

In the interior there had been one or two petty insurrections, or rather riots, amongst the farmers, and in the last year of the century occurred the third Kaffir war. The first had been fought in 1779 under Dutch rule, and the troublesome Kosa tribe driven back over the Fish River which, it was hoped, could be maintained as a permanent frontier between the Colonists and the Kaffirs. The second was a similar but less important struggle with the same tribe in 1789. One was now to take place under British rule. The clans along the north bank of the River joined in a sudden raid into the Colony in February, 1799, took possession of a large strip of country, drove the fleeing settlers before them, attacked and almost surprised a force of British troops marching under General Vandeleur upon another errand to Algoa Bay, cut off a patrol of twenty men and killed all but four. By August, when a large body of Dutch volunteers and some British regulars were got together, all the border country had been harried. There was nothing else to plunder, and the Kaffirs therefore withdrew before the advancing force, and readily accepted terms of peace which General Dundas offered against the wish and advice of the settlers. Three years later the war was renewed, as a result of continued and isolated Kaffir depredations and, this time, the initial movement was made by a Dutch commando. It was defeated, but the Kaffirs soon became tired of a struggle in which there was no profit to them, and a new peace was patched up. Meanwhile, in this same year, a fresh and important element of the future was introduced into

Kaffir Wars

South African life by the arrival of the first Agents of the London Missionary Society, and in February, 1803, a temporary lull having occurred in the European conflict, Cape Colony was restored to the Holland Government and a Dutch garrison of 3,000 men placed at Cape Town under the control of a Governor of high military reputation and personal worth—Jan Willem Janssens.

During the next six years the Colony was governed under some of the milder laws of its mother-land; though not always to the liking of Dutch settlers, who objected to political equality—even in the limited application of the phrase which was then in vogue—being given to "persons of every creed who acknowledged and worshipped a Supreme Being." To them there was only one Church as well as only one people, and religious or political equality was as extraneous to their ideas as racial equality. Nor would they have anything to do with the state schools which the Batavian Government tried to establish amongst them as being some improvement upon the few and feeble schools connected with the churches. All useful discussion or development of such tentative efforts at reform were checked, however, by the renewed outbreak, in 1803, of war in Europe, and by the appearance in Table Bay, on January 4, 1806, of a British fleet of sixty-three ships, with 7,000 soldiers under the command of Major-General (afterward Sir) David Baird. The troops landed on the beach at Blueberg, defeated a very motley force of German mercenaries, Dutch soldiers, volunteers, Malays, Hottentots and slaves under General Janssens and marched toward Cape Town. Capitulation followed, and, on March 6th, transports took away from South Africa the last representative of direct Dutch rule.

Restored to the Holland Government

The settlers did not take kindly to the new Government, and lived in continuous anticipation of some fresh change in the European kaleidoscope—so far as they could, in a very vague way, follow the

situation—which would once more revive the power of the Batavian Republic through a renewed French triumph, and thus give them back their allegiance. It was not that they had greatly prized Dutch rule when it was theirs without the asking; that the brief period of republican administration had really soothed their wild ideas of liberty or removed the dangers of Kaffir raid and native aggression; or that they had forgotten the century and a half of oppressive government and hurtful restriction which they had suffered from the Dutch East India Company. It was simply the earlier form of that racial feeling of antagonism which—unlike the sentiment of civilized peoples like the French in Canada and the better class Hindoos, or educated Mohammedans of India, and the wild natures of Sikhs and Ghoorkas and kindred races in the Orient—has never given way before the kindness and good intentions of British administration. Mistakes were, of course, made by England, as they have been made in Lower Canada as well as in Upper Canada, in Ireland as in India; but the resulting dissatisfaction should not have been permanent. However that may be, the new Government started out wisely. Under the Earl of Caledon, a young Irish nobleman, who ruled from 1807 to 1811, the system of the first period of British administration was revived and guided by the established Colonial principles of the time. In the matter of representative institutions and commercial regulations the Dutch of the conquered Colony were treated neither better nor worse than the Loyalists of Upper Canada, the French of Lower Canada, or white subjects in the East and West Indies. As was really necessary in a community so cut off from European civilization, so inert in an intellectual connection and so morosely ignorant of constitutional freedom, Lord Caledon governed with much strictness and even autocracy; but with boundless personal generosity and amiability. What is termed the fourth Kaffir war was

Again Under British Rule

fought with the Kosas in 1812, and this time, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel John Graham, the result was eminently satisfactory to the Europeans concerned. In the preceding year Sir John Cradock had become Governor, and he also proved himself a man of high character. Under his rule autocracy was again given its best form and application.

The Fourth Kaffir War

Meanwhile, events in Europe were tending towards the final triumph of British arms and diplomacy and subsidies over the tremendous military power of Napoleon. Holland, once freed from French domination, overthrew the peculiar republican system which Napoleon had established, and accepted, in 1813, the Prince of Orange—who for eighteen years had been living in England in exile—as its ruler. An agreement was at once made with him by the British Government, and, in return for a payment of $30,000,000, Cape Colony and some Dutch Provinces in South America were formally and finally ceded to Great Britain by a Convention signed at London in August, 1814. In this way the Dutch of the Cape became British subjects. Not through a conquest preceded, as in the case of French Canada, by a century of continuous conflict or a rivalry which was as keen as war, but through the medium of an almost peaceful annexation succeeded by a friendly purchase of territory and ratification of the annexation on the part of their Mother-land. Had the character of the Boers not been so peculiar and exceptional, there was consequently every ground for the hope of eventual contentment under British rule and of assimilation with the developing life of the Empire during the ensuing century. There was no inherited legacy of civil war or racial hatred. The Mother-lands of England and Holland had fought with each other, it is true, but more often they had stood side by side in Europe for the cause of religious and popular freedom.

Finally Ceded to Great Britian

And, at the Cape, during the succeeding years from 1806 to 1814, there were few causes of real friction. The voices of the missionaries were occasionally heard in criticism of the Dutch treatment of natives; but the antagonism had not yet become acute. The Courts of law and public offices under British administration were found to be ruled by considerations of justice, and the local language was still in use. Dutch churches increased, the clergymen were paid by the State and six new magistracies were established. Intermarriages were also common amongst the various racial elements—sometimes too much so—and everything pointed to a period of gradually developed internal unity and racial co-operation. What followed was regrettable, and the blame for it is very hard to adequately and fairly apportion. Lord Charles Somerset, who governed the Colony from 1814 to 1826, is accused of drawing far too heavy a salary—ten thousand pounds a year—from the revenues of the country; of having treated the Dutch rebels under Bezuidenhout with too great severity; of having mismanaged relations with the Kaffirs on the northern frontier; of prohibiting the Dutch language in the Courts and official documents; and of having weakened the values of paper money to such an extent as to ruin many of the settlers. Taken altogether, there was enough in these charges, if true, to explain a considerable measure of discontent; but there was hardly enough in them to cause the absolute hatred of England and Englishmen which had developed amongst the Dutch farmers by the end of the first quarter of the century. As it was, many of the circumstances mentioned have more than the traditional two sides. If the Governor received a large salary, he certainly spent it freely in the struggling Colony. He had an expensive establishment to maintain, and the duties and pecuniary responsibilities of the position were much greater in those days than they are now. He was, in himself, prac-

A Period Tending to Racial Co-operation

tically the entire Government of the country, and without Ministers to share either expense or duties. The Castle was the centre of a hospitality which was in constant requisition for visiting fleets and passing travellers of rank to, or from, the Orient. Moreover, as in all the Colonies at that time, the local revenue was largely supplemented from London, the Army Chest was at the frequent service of the Governor, and an expensive military establishment was maintained by the Home authorities. The figures for this immediate period are not available, but a little later,* in 1836, the local military expenditure by Great Britain was £161,412, or over eight hundred thousand dollars. The Bezuidenhout matter will be considered in a succeeding chapter, and the fifth Kaffir war, in 1818, was simply another of the inevitable struggles between a race of pastoral farmers who openly despised and ill-treated the natives and tribes which possessed much savage spirit, bravery and natural aggressiveness. In any case, Lord Charles Somerset anticipated attack by attacking first, and turned over a page of history which Sir Bartle Frere was destined to repeat with the Zulus many decades after. His policy was certainly plainer and more promptly protective to the Boers than had been the action of any preceding Governor. Still, there was a period of surprise and frontier devastation, and this the Dutch settlers once again resented.

Some of the Earliest Grievances

The Fifth Kaffir War

The prohibition of the language in official and legal matters was a more important grievance. It arose out of the movement of English-speaking settlers into the country after 1819, when it was found, according to the Census of that year, that there were only 42,000 white people in the whole region. The Colonial Office and Parliament thereupon resolved to encourage colonization, voted $250,000 for the purpose, and, between 1820 and 1821, established

* Montgomery Martin. *History of the Colonies of the British Empire.* London, 1843.

some five thousand immigrants of British birth in the Colony. Within a few years about one-eighth of all the Colonists were English-speaking, and it was then decided to issue the order regarding the official use of the one language. It was a very mild copy of the principle which the Dutch had formerly applied to the Huguenots and which the United States has never hesitated to apply to subject races such as the French in Louisiana or the Spaniards and Mexicans elsewhere. It must be remembered also that the white population of the Colony was not at the time larger than that of a third-class English town, and that the statesmen in question were trying to legislate for a future population in which it was naturally supposed the English people would constitute a large majority. The policy did not go far enough, was not drastic enough, to effect the object in view, and may in any case have been a mistake; but in Lower Canada, where the opposite course was taken, the tiny French population of 1774 has developed into nearly two millions of French-speaking people in 1899, and not a small part of the population of the present Dominion think that a great error was made in the liberal practice inaugurated by the Quebec Act. It is hard to satisfy everyone. By 1828 the language arrangement was completed, so far as laws could effect it, but without the autocratic educational regulations which had made the Dutch treatment of the Huguenots so thorough. The policy certainly had an irritating effect upon the Dutch settlers, who promptly refused, as far as possible, to have anything to do with the Government, or the Courts, or the high-class Government schools which had been for some time established throughout the country, and where English was, of course, the language taught.

British Immigration Encouraged

The paper money matter was a more complicated affair, and one which the ignorant settlers were naturally unable to comprehend. The monetary system of the Colony was practically an inheritance

from the days of Dutch rule. The Company had not been very scrupulous about the security of its paper money, and the succeeding Batavian Government seems to have been utterly unscrupulous. In 1807 Lord Caledon found mercantile transactions in an almost lifeless state, and the currency not only depreciated and contracted, but the subject of usurious charges of all kinds. Every effort was made by him and succeeding Governors to effect a betterment in the mass of half-useless paper which was floating about, and, by 1825, there remained only some three and a half million dollars' worth in nominal value, of which one-third had been created by the British authorities in various attempts to ease the financial situation, while the greater part of the balance was of Dutch origin. Lord Charles Somerset finally took the desperate, but apparently necessary, course of cutting down the currency to three-eighths of its nominal value and making British silver money a legal tender at that rate of exchange. The result was the practical ruin of a number of people and the creation of much discontent; but at the same time the measure placed trade and commerce upon a permanent footing and laid the basis of future monetary safety. For the time, however, it was like the amputation of a limb in the case of an ignorant and unsatisfied patient—producing suffering and discontent without that feeling which a belief in the necessity of the operation and confidence in the skill of the physician would have given.

The Paper Money Policy

These were some of the earlier grievances which are claimed to have caused the evolution of Dutch feeling against the British. Others arose between 1826 and 1836, when the Great Trek was inaugurated. In 1828 the Courts were all remodelled upon the English plan, and the existing Dutch system replaced by a Supreme Court, in which the Judges were appointed by the Crown and were to be independent of the Governor. Minor and local matters were in the hands of

Civil Commissioners and resident magistrates and justices of the peace in the various scattered communities. The Dutch code, or law, was to be retained, but English forms and customs were to be observed. It is hard to see why this rearrangement and admitted improvement should have added so deeply to the sullen discontent of the Boers or Dutch farmers. In being allowed the retention of their own peculiar laws they were given more than any other country would have granted in those days and at the same time they obtained what French Canada was not to have for years afterwards—an independent Judiciary. The only explanation is the fact that hatred toward the more progressive and liberal Englishman (or English-speaking man) was swelling strongly and surely in the Dutchman's breast, and that every British reform or change had the effect of deepening this sentiment. The reform in the legal system was accompanied by changes in the municipal system of the capital. The antiquated "burgher senate" of Cape Town was abolished, and the Government assumed charge of the municipal and miscellaneous duties performed by that body. The measure was beneficial on the score of efficiency; but, of course, it produced some dissatisfaction amongst the Dutch residents. There were also some disputes in the interior districts as to the necessity of all jurymen understanding English, and this was eventually settled by an ordinance issued in 1831 which defined the qualifications required but omitted any language test. At the same time official salaries were greatly reduced and one of the standing causes of complaint thus removed.

Other Grievances or Reforms

In 1828 Sir Lowry Cole became Governor and made several legislative experiments in connection with the Hottentots, which were looked upon by the Dutch with open suspicion and dislike. Four years later Sir Benjamin D'Urban succeeded with a policy of extensive retrenchment in expenditures and the inauguration of

Legislative and Executive Councils after the style of other Colonial Governments of the time. Some petitions had previously been sent to England asking for representative institutions, but the Colonial Office naturally shrank from giving popular power into the hands of the evidently discontented Dutch settlers—ignorant as they were of all constitutional principles and practices. Moreover, public opinion in England would not then have permitted the grant of any legislative authority which would have limited the right of the Colonial Office, for good or ill, to manage native affairs and protect native interests. The Council of Advice, which had previously existed, was, however, changed into an Executive Council composed of four high local officials, and the new Legislative Council was made up of the Governor, as President, five of the highest officials and five representative Colonists selected by the Governor. But the primary and central object of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy was the emancipation of the slaves, and this touched a subject of so much importance as to require the fullest consideration. It was from the early evolution of peculiar and unique racial characteristics in the Dutch farmer that the South African question has been born; but it was from the opposing principles connected with the Dutch and English view, or treatment, of native affairs that the first pronounced phase of that question was produced. All other considerations were subsidiary.

Governor D'Uurban's Policy

CHAPTER II

The Dutch and the Natives.

AT the commencement of British rule in Cape Colony (1806) there were in the country 26,000 persons of European descent, chiefly Dutch; 17,000 Hottentots who wandered around the outskirts of settlement and made a precarious livelihood by raising or stealing cattle; and 29,000 slaves. The Bantu had only occasionally appeared upon the visible horizon to the east and this gathering cloud was not yet a serious subject to the people or their Governors. The yellow-skinned Bushmen had retired from sight and sound of the settlers and were in any case a small and diminishing quantity. The Hottentots were in abject fear of their masters, whether as slaves "tending another's flock upon the fields" which once had been their fathers', or as wandering and homeless vagrants constituting a continuous nuisance to the scattered communities. Apart from their subjection to the Dutch, however, they were a thoughtless, cheerful, good-natured people, ignorant of everything except a little hunting and, in physique and character, were about half-way between the Bantu and the Bushmen. Like the latter they became almost extinct under the recurring attacks of small-pox and the increasing pressure of a white population on the south and the swarming masses of Bantu on the north-east.

Hottentot Character

Following the conquest other native elements came into view. Under the earlier Dutch régime Malays from the East Indies had been introduced for purposes of special work and negro slaves

from the west coast had been obtained in large numbers. From the union of Hottentots and Malays came a mixed race called "Cape Boys," and from the union of Dutch and Hottentots came the Griquas who afterwards filled a considerable place in local history. From the seventeenth century until the abolition of slavery, in 1834, all the hard and humble work of the community was done by slaves. The Dutch farmer lost all knowledge of menial work and acquired a conviction of personal superiority which became ingrained in his character. Upon his lonely farm he was master of what he surveyed, and even the laws had little real influence or effect upon him. Constant danger from Hottentot inroads and afterwards from the far more serious and deadly Kaffir raids had bred an independence of character which isolation and ignorance deepened into extreme racial narrowness combined with contempt for men of darker colour or alien extraction.

Native Tribes

The plowing of ground and fence-building by the Dutch was to the natives a declaration of war upon the rights of Africans—that is, according to the natives themselves, just as the building and mining by the British in the Transvaal is held to be hostile by the Boers who have inherited Hottentot principles with their Hottentot blood. In 1659 Van Riebeck, of Cape Town, wrote to the Governor-General at Batavia that the natives had been in mischief again, that one prisoner spoke "tolerable Dutch," and "being asked why they did us this injury, he declared . . . because they saw that we were breaking up the best land and grass, where their cattle were accustomed to graze, trying to establish ourselves everywhere, with houses and farms, as if we were never more to remove, but designed to take, for our permanent occupation, more and more of this Cape Country, which had belonged to them from time immemorial."

Grievance of the Hottentots

Wars with the natives were frequent. The first one with the Hottentots occurred in 1659, and arose out of the natives finding their cattle debarred from accustomed pasture lands. It consisted chiefly in a series of cattle raids and fruitless return expeditions, but was perhaps as annoying as a more real war would have been. The Hottentot tribes could never be found when sought for by the Colonists, and no doubt this mobility on the part of their earliest enemy gave the Dutch settlers lessons from which they profited during the succeeding two hundred years. The last important struggle with this native race was in 1673, and arose out of the destruction by Dutch hunters of antelopes, elephants and other game which were very precious to the Hottentot, and were within the territories of the principal remaining tribe—the Cochoqua. During four years a sort of guerilla war was carried on with Gonnema, the Chief of the clan, and considerable loss of cattle, some loss of life and a great loss of sleep caused to the border settlers before peace was concluded. Their expeditions could never get at Gonnema, although he became eventually tired of living a hunted life in the mountains, moving from hiding-place to hiding-place to escape his pursuers. Gradually, however, the Hottentots disappeared from view, so far as any measure of organized hostility was concerned, and, like the Bushmen, became either wandering pariahs of the veldt or bondsmen in the fields of their fathers.

Wars with the Natives

A hundred years or more after the war with Gonnema, the Dutch came into collision for the first time with the Bantu, or Kaffirs. During the preceding century this sturdy, vigorous, brave and restless race had spread itself southwest of the Zambesi in all directions, and were now beginning to press ominously upon the tiny fringe of white settlements at the Cape. Wars, already referred to, occurred

The Kaffir Wars

in 1779 and 1789, and in each case the Dutch Governor endeavored to persuade or compel the Kosas—as this particular division of the Kaffirs was called—to accept the Fish River as the boundary line. But this they would not do with any degree of continuity, and each war was marked by raids south of the River, the capture of cattle, the burning of homes, the murder of settlers and the final driving back of the natives with hastily levied commandos of Dutch Colonists. In 1799, during the years of preliminary British rule, a similar struggle took place with very similar incidents and results. So in 1812 with the fourth Kaffir war, and in 1818 with the fifth contest. But in the two latter British troops had been employed to help the Dutch commandos, as British diplomacy had been used—not very successfully—in order to control the aggressive and quarrelsome Kosas now coming into continuous contact with the equally truculent Colonists.

Meanwhile, and during the years preceding the Kaffir war of 1835, a new factor in the general situation had developed in the form of missionary influence, chiefly of the London Missionary Society. Dr. Van der Kemp had come out in 1798 and given himself up, with the most unswerving devotion, to the establishment of a Hottentot mission in the eastern part of the settlement. With other missionaries, who joined him at a later date, he became the guardian of the hapless natives and the natural enemy of the Dutch farmers. To the latter nothing could be more obnoxious than the presence in their midst of men who not only preached to the wandering Bushmen and Hottentots, but treated them as human beings not expressly created for slavery and subjection; and who closely criticised, complained about and reported to headquarters, and finally to the Colonial Office, any arbitrary treatment by the Boers of slaves, or migratory natives, or so-called apprentices. Of course there were two sides to the

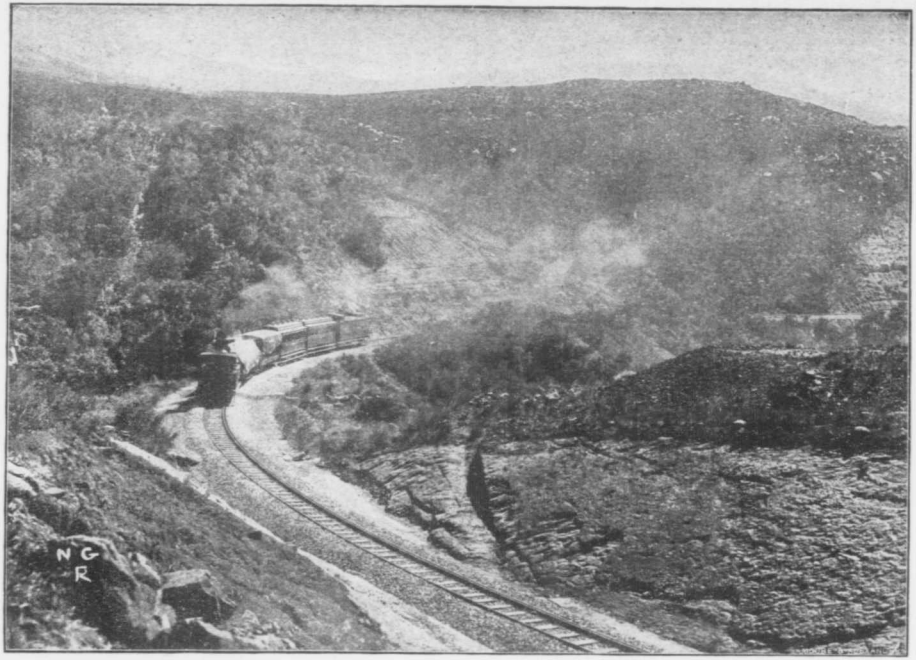
Missionary Influence

case which history has developed and which is so important to any adequate conception of the Dutch farmer and his character. To him, through close devotion to the Old Testament and to the peculiarities of its chosen people wandering in the wilderness—of whom he believed his race to be in some sense a prototype—the natives were simply servants raised up by Providence for his especial benefit. They were little better than the surrounding wild animals, and a common inscription over the doors of the Dutch churches, as they slowly spread over the land, was: "Dogs and natives not admitted."

Dutch Prejudices

To the missionary this was not only incomprehensible, but cruel and wicked in the extreme. He did not understand the nature of the Boer as evolved out of conditions of frequent war with environing tribes, and from customs which included slavery, and did not tolerate equality in color, race, or religion. He could not understand a creed of the Boer type—hard, narrow, unsympathetic and essentially selfish. He felt in his own veins the broad sentiment of a sacrificial Christianity, and, in trying to lift up the degraded and light the pathway of life to the darkened eyes of the savage, he frequently failed in comprehension of the reserved, taciturn and bigoted Dutchman. Hence the rivalries which spread from individuals to districts, and were finally transfused into the general Dutch estimate of British Government, and into the relations between the Cape and the Colonial Office and between Dutch and English settlers. Ultimately the missionaries became identified with the British authorities, and Dutch prejudices were intensified by the protection thus given to the natives within their districts; whilst the wilder native tribes outside British limits grew in turn to hate the authorities for the opposite reason afforded by their protection of the Dutch settlers—or their efforts to protect them—against external raids and attack. Thus the Colonial Office had a double difficulty and a double development on its hands.

RAILROAD NEAR LADYSMITH, VICINITY OF OF GENERAL WHITE'S BATTLE WITH THE BOERS



RAILROAD NEAR LADYSMITH, VICINITY OF OF GENERAL WHITE'S BATTLE WITH THE BOERS

PRINCIPAL STREET OF PIETERMARITZBURG, CAPITAL OF NATAL

It was, in any case, no easy matter to manage the Hottentots and Bushmen within the Colony. Up to the time of Lord Caledon's administration (1807–11) they had been allowed to run wild through the region without restraint other than their somewhat chaotic ideas of chieftainship, their innate belief in the natural superiority of any kind of a white man, and the rude justice, or injustice, of the Dutch farmer. Many of them lived as voluntary dependents of the settlers, and constituted a sort of movable slave class which associated with the permanent slaves and were treated much as they were, while retaining the nominal right to transfer their services. Children born of unions between Hottentot women and the imported slaves constituted a body of apprentices whom the farmers had the right to keep for a certain number of years, and who then became free. Practically, however, they were as much slaves as any other black children pertaining to the property. Those of the Hottentots who did not connect themselves with the farmers in any way became rovers and vagrants, who were willing to do almost anything—except steady work—for brandy and tobacco. This was the material selected by Dr. Van der Kemp and other missionaries for reclamation and protection. When the Circuit Courts were instituted in 1811 two of the best known missionaries brought a number of charges against the Boer families on the frontier, accusing them of varied acts of violence and forms of oppression in connection with their slaves and Hottentot servants. A large number of families and a thousand witnesses were involved, and great expenses were incurred by the accused whether they were found innocent or guilty. No case of murder was proved, though several were charged. Without going minutely into the result of the charges, it seems evident from our knowledge of the Boer character as it then was, and afterwards proved to be, that cru-

The Hottentots and Bushmen Within the Colony

Charges of Cruelties

elties were more than probable. At the same time there is every proof of the utter unreliability of native evidence in any matter involving controversies between white men, or affairs in which his own interests, or fancied interests, appear to be at stake.

In 1818 Dr. Robert Moffat commenced his long sojourn in South Africa by going out to the far north in what is now Bechuanaland. Two years later one of the most curious figures in Colonial history, the Rev. Dr. Philip, reached Cape Town and took charge of the London Society's Missions. He found the missionaries hampered at every point by Dutch dislike, and under some suspicion also from the Government of the Colony. The latter knew enough of the situation to feel that, beneficent as it was to spread the lessons of Christianity, it was also dangerous to inculcate the principle of absolute racial equality in a mixed population such as that of the Cape. To preach the new dispensation of freedom and equality alike to the haughty Boer and to Malay, slave, and Hottentot, was in perfect harmony with religious enthusiasm and with the growing principles of English conviction; but it was not always politic. The abolition of slavery idea, however, was carrying everything before it at home, and Dr. Philip came out with a feeling in his breast which Thomas Pringle, the South African poet, and afterwards Secretary of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, so well embodied about this time in the following lines:

The Rev. Dr. Philip

> "I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
> Still to oppose and thwart with heart and hand
> Thy brutalizing sway—till Afric's chains
> Are burst, and freedom rules the rescued land—
> Trampling oppression and his iron rod."

He found the Dutch rigidly opposed to him at every point. The great agencies of civilization in such a country as the Cape

then was were the magistrates, the missionaries, the schoolmasters and the traders. But the Boer wanted none of them in the full English sense. He accepted the appointment of magistrates, or lauddrosts, but he desired them to be Dutch and to dispense Dutch law. Any religious element outside of the Dutch Reformed Church—which had become the embodiment of his own narrow views and prejudices—was alien and antagonistic, even without missionary interference amongst the natives. Schoolmasters were only good so far as they taught in accord with his crude and very limited ideas of education; while traders were obnoxious as introducing new and disquieting conditions into the loneliness of the veldt and into his relations with the dark-skinned population. Dr. Philip, however, had a plan to work out, and he proceeded with ability and determination to the end. He established himself at Cape Town, and used an influence which came from the strong feeling known to exist in England against slavery and in favor of sympathetic treatment of colored races, to bring about continuous modification in the relations of master and slave. Sometimes he was right and sometimes wrong, but in every case the Government was between two horns of a dilemma—the Colonial Office at home and the Dutch settlers at the Cape. The latter objected to every change in law or regulation; and every interference, no matter how slight, with their living chattels produced one more ember of smouldering hatred. But, in the fourteen years from the time of his arrival until slavery was abolished, Dr. Philip usually carried his point, and by 1834 had the conditions of servitude so moderated that the Abolition Act itself made substantially little difference to the slave.

The Narrow Views of the Dutch

The history of this period and of the entire relationship of English and Dutch toward each other and toward the natives is the record of a high civilization and wide code of liberty—though with

many admitted weaknesses and errors of judgment—coming into contact, and inevitable conflict, with a wild and crude system of life and an intensely ignorant and isolated people. The famous incident of Slaghter's Nek illustrates this fact most thoroughly. In 1814 a Hottentot apprentice, named Booy, complained to the Cradock magistrate that his master, Frederick Bezuidenhout, refused to allow him to leave his service or to remove his few belongings. Instructions were given to investigate the case and it was found that the man's time of service had expired, as he claimed, and that under the law of the Colony he was, and should be, at liberty to leave his master. Bezuidenhout refused, however, to obey the order issued for the man's release, although admitting the facts to be as stated; declared that such interference between him and his Hottentot was a presumptuous invasion of his rights; and defied the authorities by beating the man and sending him with a message to the magistrate that he would treat him in the same manner if he dared to come upon his grounds to touch the property or person of a native. He treated a summons to appear before the District Court and then before the High Court of Justice with equal contempt; and when a small force was sent to bring him under subjection to the law, he retired to a cave, well supplied with food and ammunition, and fired upon his assailants until he was himself shot dead.

The Incident of Slaghter's Nek

The matter would not have been important, except as illustrating the contempt for law and still greater contempt for the natives which had developed amongst the farmers, had it not been for what followed. The brothers and immediate friends of Bezuidenhout attended his funeral and hatched a small rebellion, in which about fifty men joined—the object being an attack upon the Hottentots of the neighborhood. Loyal Boers of the vicinity joined the forces which

A Small Rebellion

were at once sent down to suppress the trouble, and all the rebels were captured, with the exception of Jan Bezuidenhout, who refused to surrender and was shot dead. Thirty-nine prisoners were tried by the High Court and six were sentenced to death. Lord Charles Somerset, after a careful investigation of the whole matter, would only mitigate one of the sentences, and five men were therefore hanged for this wild and almost incomprehensible folly.

From the standpoint of to-day the action of the Government seems harsh, and to the Boers the Slaghter's Nek incident is a vivid and continuously quoted illustration of British tyranny and bloodthirstiness. To men on the spot and comprehending the widespread nature of Bezuidenhout's contempt for British power and law and native rights, a lesson may well have appeared necessary and present sternness better than future and more general disregard of law and order. The fact is, that presumption born of mingled ignorance and pride was even then becoming so ingrained in the nature of the Boer as to have rendered some such incident inevitable. And, although the summary policy pursued planted seeds of bitterness which time has failed to eradicate, it certainly averted serious insurrectionary trouble through all the subsequent changes in the law affecting masters and their slaves, or servants, up to the days of the Great Trek.

Consequences of Slaghter's Nek

While the Dutch settlers were thus cultivating in their silent and morose manner the most intense feelings against England and the English because of the policy of amelioration in the condition of colored races—the making of fresh slaves had been forbidden by law in 1808—the British Government and the Colonial authorities were being dragged into continuous conflict, or controversy, with surrounding natives on behalf of, and in defence of, the Dutch Colonists. The latter were absolutely remorseless in their treatment of bordering tribes. Of

Continuous Conflict with Surrounding Natives

course they had suffered from raids and were in fear of future raids; but this was hardly a sufficient reason for urging and obtaining in 1811 the forcible expulsion of all the Kaffirs from within the border, and the driving of some twenty thousand men, women and children across the Great Fish River. And this in spite of most pathetic appeals to the Dutch commando, as in the following case: "We are your friends. We have watched your cattle when they were taken away by our countrymen. Our wives have cultivated your gardens. Our children and yours speak the same language."* Little wonder that during this and succeeding years many natives hated the English, who had permitted this policy, almost as much as they did the Dutch who had perpetrated it. The fourth Kaffir war had naturally followed, and the fifth had come in 1818 as the result of a British attempt to hold the border intact by endorsing a powerful native chief, without available means to take up the note by force when the chief came under the subjugation of a rival stronger and abler than himself. In 1835 occurred the most important of these wars with the Kosas, or Kaffirs—not so much because of its actual events as of the movement amongst the Dutch which it accelerated. The war was interesting, also, apart from the destruction of Boer property and the loss of life which followed. It illustrated those evils of vacillating administration which have caused so much trouble throughout the modern history of South Africa. Lord Charles Somerset's first policy toward the Kosas had been the maintenance of a vacant strip of territory between the Great Fish and the Keiskama Rivers as a sort of buffer against Boer aggression and native raids. His second plan had been the creation of a buffer native state—a sort of early and shadowy edition of the Afghanistan of a later day. The one had failed because of the lack of coherent action or system amongst the native

The Kaffir War of 1835

* Parliamentary Papers relative to the Cape, 1835, Part I., p. 176.

tribes; the second because of their rivalries and the fact of one chief being paramount to-day and another to-morrow. And, in both cases, the Governor lacked money to persuade the recalcitrant, or men to enforce his decisions.

Dr. Philip and his party agreed with a portion of this policy. Living five hundred miles from the disturbed frontier; knowing much of the mildness and docility of the Hottentot character, and little of the fiercer and wilder spirit of the Kosa; surrounded by many evidences of Dutch cruelty to the domestic or vagrant colored man, and therefore not disposed to sympathize with the Colonists' real difficulties and sufferings on the border; Dr. Philip supported with ability and earnestness a policy of frontier conciliation instead of coercion. After the conflict of 1835 was over Sir Benjamin D'Urban inaugurated a new line of action. The pressure of the wasting wars of Tshaka and Moselkatze had driven various tribes or remnants of tribes from the north and east down upon the Kosas and into the vicinity of Cape Colony. The Governor therefore took some eighteen thousand Fingoes—as one of these mixed masses of fighting fugitives was called—and established them between the Great Fish and Keiskama Rivers as a new form of the old "buffer" scheme. They and the Kosas hated each other, and he believed that the former would prove a strong British influence upon the frontier. Between the Keiskama and the Kei, further to the eastward, certain Kosa clans were proclaimed British subjects, the territory was named the Province of Queen Adelaide, and troops were located at a spot called King Williamstown. But the war had been a bitter one, the natives had been punished for an unprovoked aggression by a somewhat harsh desolation of their country, and the missionary influence at Cape Town saw and seized its opportunity.

A New Line of Action

Their plan was the formation of states ruled by native chiefs

under the guidance and control of missionaries, and from which Europeans not favored by, or favorable to the latter, were to be excluded. It was a very idyllic proposal, and was, of course, based upon an entirely wrong conception of the native character and of the necessity of strong, if not drastic, measures being employed to protect the Colony from the Bantu masses, which were now pressing upon the border tribes in all directions. To press these views, however, Dr. Philip visited London with a carefully trained Kosa and a half-breed Hottentot as examples of the wild and gallant races of the east and north, and testified at great length before a Committee of the House of Commons. He was also supported by the evidence of Captain Andries Stockenstrom, a retired Colonial official. The net result of his mission, combined with the English sympathy for colored races which was then at its highest point of expression, and the hardships of the native war just ended, was a victory for the missionary party; a despatch of unmitigated censure from Lord Glenelg, the new Secretary for the Colonies, to the Governor; the public reversal of the latter's policy with the statement that "it rested upon a war in which the original justice was on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party;" and the still more extraordinary assertion that the Kosas "had a perfect right to endeavor to extort by force that redress which they could not expect otherwise to obtain." British sovereignty was withdrawn from the region beyond the Keiskama, Sir Benjamin D'Urban was recalled, Captain Stockenstrom was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Cape Colony and shortly afterwards created a baronet, and the whole Colony was thrown into a state of violent commotion.

Formation of States Ruled by Native Chiefs

Dr. Philip Visits London

Looking back now and placing oneself in the position of a British Minister pledged by duty to protect British subjects, and by

the most ordinary rules of policy bound not to encourage or approve the proceedings of an enemy, there appears to be no adequate practical excuse for this line of action. Sir George Napier, who succeeded to the Governorship and went out to carry Lord Glenelg's policy into effect, declared some years afterwards in examination before the House of Commons that: "My own experience and what I saw with my own eyes have confirmed me that I was wrong and Sir Benjamin D'Urban perfectly right." No matter how reckless the Dutch settlers may have been regarding the border natives, there was no justification in policy for such an insensate and ill-timed defence of native invasion. From the standpoint of sentimentality, however, Lord Glenelg had much support in Great Britain as well as amongst the missionaries at the Cape; and there was much of the theoretically beautiful and Christian-like in his conception of the situation. But from the practical point of view of a statesman dealing with diverse races and absolutely different ideals, and responsible, in the first place, for the guardianship of the subjects of the Crown as against irresponsible tribal attacks, the theories and opinions of religious enthusiasts afford poor foundation for such a policy.

Sir George Napier's Declaration

At the same time, no one can take the two principles of Government exhibited in the respective incidents of Slaghter's Nek and the results of the sixth Kaffir war without paying an involuntary tribute of admiration to the noble ideal of the British authorities; apart from questions of practical statecraft or wise administration. The Dutch Colonists' principle was the enslavement of the Hottentot; the subjugation of the Kosa within British territory so long as his retention in servitude was safe; the driving of him out of the Colony with ruthless severity when his numbers became considerable; the carrying of fire and slaughter into native regions when war broke

Noble Ideals of the British Authorities

out. The policy of succeeding British Governors seems to have been an attempt at compromising between the views of a local missionary party which could see no gleam of good in the Dutch character and the feeling of the latter that all natives were created for the special footstool of a chosen people. The British public, while knowing little of the Dutch farmers beyond their belief in slavery felt very strongly the duty of Great Britain as a guardian of inferior races, and was willing to go so far in defence of an ideal of freedom as to tacitly approve—without probably fully understanding—the extreme development of this policy in the action of Lord Glenelg. The latter was philanthropic, it was Christian-like in a high and cosmopolitan sense, but it was also injurious to the interests of British and Dutch settlers and to the welfare and peace of the Empire. Had a large force of British troops been kept in the Colony to enforce British theories of liberty and high-minded justice, as between natives who knew nothing and could comprehend nothing of either and Boers who would sooner starve than accept the principles thus propounded, the ideal might in the end have been put into praiseworthy practice. As it was the policy of Lord Glenelg helped to promote the Great Trek and to lay the foundation in a territorial sense of that South African question which in its racial connection had now been developing for a couple of centuries.

CHAPTER III.

The Great Trek and its First Results.

THE abolition of slavery is one of the landmarks in South African history. The motive for the expenditure of a hundred million of dollars in freeing slaves within the bounds of the British Empire was noble beyond all criticism. The act itself was wise and necessary. But the immense distance of the British Government from the scene in South Africa and the unfortunate ignorance of the Colonial Office, at times, concerning conditions in those far-away regions, produced mistakes in the carrying out of their policy of freedom which created a distinct injustice and made memories which still rankle in the breasts of Dutchmen from the Cape to the Zambesi. The Slave Emancipation Act came into force in Cape Colony on December 1st, 1833, and by the terms of its administration $6,235,000 was apportioned to the Cape proprietors, as against the $15,000,000 at which they had valued their property. The difference was considerable and, as many of the slaves were mortgaged it is apparent that some measure of trouble must have followed even had the whole six million dollars been promptly distributed amongst the farmers, As it was, the period of seven years' apprenticeship originally granted in order to prepare all parties for the inevitable change of condition was shortened to five years, while the money itself was doled out from London after individual proof of claim. The result, through a natural and complete ignorance of procedure amongst the farmers, was the

Abolition of Slavery

wholesale disposal of claims against the Government for mere trifles and the enrichment of hordes of agents at the expense of the settlers.

To many this meant ruin. Their source of labour was gone; they could not, or would not, themselves perform manual work; their discontent with the British Government was intensified by a bitter feeling that the missionaries were their sworn enemies and were installed at the ear of the Governor and in the heart of the Colonial Office; their belief in British power was at a minimum owing to weakness in dealing with the Kaffirs; their homes had been harried along the border during many Kaffir wars and sometimes in days of peace; their pleas for a vagrancy law which should restrain wandering Kaffirs or Hottentots while within the Colony had been refused from fear of harshness in its local administration; their whole social system, religious sentiment and racial pride seemed in a state of revolt against existing conditions. At this unfortunate moment another Kaffir war broke out. There had been warning signs of danger along the eastern frontier of the Province, much alarm had been felt and expressed and appeals were sent to Cape Town for protection. Dr. Philip, the political missionary and self-constituted defender of all natives, declared these fears unwarranted, and Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had just come out as Governor, failed to take any serious measures for defence. The result was that on December 23rd, 1834, 10,000 Kaffirs swept over the frontier, plundered the farms, murdered fifty Europeans within a week and, before the Colony was cleared of them, had wholly, or partially destroyed 806 farm-houses and captured, or destroyed sixty wagons, 5700 horses, 111,000 horned-cattle and 161,000 sheep. This was the final blow to thousands of Dutch settlers. Had they been naturally loyal to British institutions and

A Disastrous Measure

allegiance, their repeated misfortunes must have produced some discontent, and, as it was, they were said to create an absolutely impossible situation. Disregarded by their own slaves, whom they despised and often ill-treated; pillaged by the native tribes, whom they hated with a bitter hatred and oppressed wherever possible; governed by the English, whom they had learned to dislike intensely and to in some measure despise; controlled by rules of administration which they failed to understand and by laws of liberty which aimed at their individual right of control over human chattels, while striving to permeate by education the dense mass of their inherited ignorance; they prepared their caravan-covered wagons, gathered together their household possessions and flocks and herds, and withdrew in thousands from the Colony, and, as they hoped, from British rule.

The Trek Commences

Such is a brief pen-picture of the immediate and surface causes of the Great Trek. It gives the most favorable view for the emigrant farmer, and constitutes, in various forms, the basis for the belief in foreign countries that the Boers were forced to migrate from Cape Colony by British tyranny or maladministration; that they deserved their independence if ever a people did; and that Great Britain had no right to interfere further with them in the interior. Such an opinion is far from correct. As we have seen in preceding pages, the British Government had made sundry serious mistakes in policy; but they had occurred under conditions of exceptional difficulty and from motives of the highest and best. The Boers, in fact, did not want firm government or free institutions; they desired liberty to do as they liked with their own living chattels and with the natives of the soil. They deliberately cultivated modes of life and thought diametrically opposed to everything the Englishman holds dear, and carefully fanned the smouldering embers of dislike and distrust in their own

Qualities and Mode of Life

breasts until they became a flame of active hatred. The development of conditions, therefore, which in Canada or Australia would have produced protests and elicited eventual and satisfactory reforms only served, in South Africa, to intensify individual bitterness, to increase the racial misunderstandings and prejudices, and to hasten the great migration into the interior.

There are some important details to consider in this connection. Many of England's troubles in administering the eastern part of the Colony were due to Boer arrogance and contempt of native rights and property; while the wars which resulted in the destruction of Dutch property, in turn, were natural though regrettable ebullitions of that spirit of revenge which is not always confined to savages. Unwise as Lord Glenelg's despatch to Sir Benjamin D'Urban was, its terms clearly prove this fact. As to the Trek itself, there is a possibility that it would have occurred in any case. The Boers were accustomed to a wandering life in wagons, and, in time, their laagers must inevitably have extended further and further into native territory. The loss of their slaves would have naturally driven parties of the more enterprising and youthful into the vast interior, and the spirit with which they slaughtered natives as readily and as cheerfully as they did wild beasts would have surely established Dutch communities to the north and east without the provocations afforded by missionary charges of cruelty, the Slaghter's Nek incident, the freeing of the slaves, or native raids of retribution across the frontier. The pity of it is that the feeling of hatred toward England and Englishmen was so early in its origin and so deep-seated in its nature that some of these occurrences, which superficial writers give as the undoubted cause of the sentiment, were in reality more like the froth and foam upon the top of a slow-gathering wave of sullen and stubborn resentment against a superior racial civilization.

The Boers who migrated were chiefly those of the eastern part

of the Colony, far away from the seat of Government and almost entirely isolated from communication with English settlers—largely by their own desire. They were accustomed to fighting the natives, and had the authorities allowed them at pleasure to throw off their allegiance and move into the interior in detached bodies, there would have been no end to complications with the native tribes, while a prolonged series of little wars in partial defence of men who were alien in race and thought and policy would have resulted. At this period, too, England still maintained throughout the world the principle that he who is born a British subject is always one, and in South Africa, up to 1836, it was really good policy to prevent isolated Dutch settlements in the native regions. When the migration became too large and too well organized to prevent, later developments made it still necessary to press this claim of allegiance in order to try and control, or check, the new régime of strife and bloodshed which the Boer commandos had established and which threatened both British interests and settlers in Natal. There was much of the picturesque and something of the apparently heroic in this famous migration. Out of Egypt and from the bondage of the Englishmen—who would not let them retain their bondsmen—the Boers went to the number of at least ten thousand, and traversed the vast wilderness stretching through what is now Griqualand East into the Natal of to-day; or else trekked into the regions north of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. The interest and striking features of the migration were undoubted, but the heroism was not at first so clear. As events turned out there was much of danger and death in these determined raids into native territory—conquered and partially cleared of population by the wars of Moselkatze and Tshaka—but at first the contempt of the Boers for all savages, their absolute belief in themselves as a chosen people and in their shot-

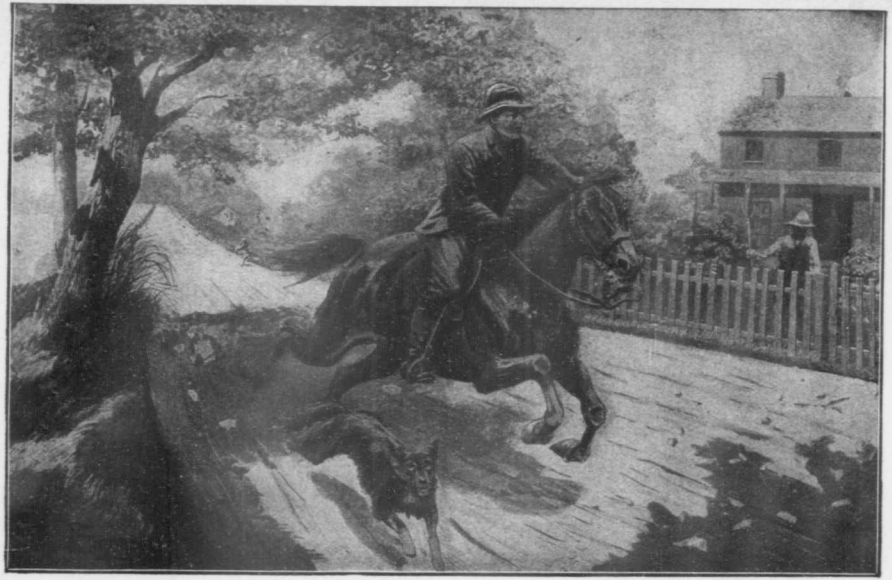
Troubles with the Natives

guns as invincible allies, made the movement an apparently simple matter.

In 1836 the Great Trek began. All through the frontier districts sounded the hum of preparation, while the still primitive roads became crowded with large wagons laden with household goods, provisions, ammunition and the families of the men who rode on either side or guarded the droves of cattle and horses and the flocks of sheep and goats which accompanied each caravan. The parties travelling together were usually made up of related families, and were led by one of themselves duly elected to the post and to the title of Commandant. The first party to start was divided into two sections of about fifty individuals each. One section met the not uncommon fate of over-confident invaders in a land of savages, and its members were destroyed with the exception of two children. The other went away up to the north and east, and only a few finally reached the Portuguese settlement at Delagoa Bay alive. Fever and the Tsetse fly had been too much for the expedition. The second party was a large one under command of an able leader—Hendrik Potgieter. Slowly and carefully he guided his people up to an extensive strip of land lying between the Vet and Vaal Rivers, and of this they took possession. It was not long, however, before Moselkatze, the potent Chief of the Matabele, heard of this invasion of his sphere, and some isolated parties of the farmers were killed by his warriors. Then came the news that a grand attack was to be made and the settlement wiped out. Potgieter at once selected a suitable elevation, made a strong defence with wagons and trees, and with forty men awaited the attack. The result of fierce onslaughts upon such a position by the naked bodies and brandishing spears of a Matabele

Preparations and First Party of Trekkers

The Second Party



BRITISH COURIER CARRYING THE NEWS OF THE BEGINNING OF WAR TO THE ENGLISH SETTLERS

INSPECTION BY THE COMMANDANT OF THE ASSEMBLED "COMMANDO" IN THE MARKET PLACE OF A DORP

BEGINNING OF THE WAR—BOERS LEAVING PRETORIA FOR THE FRONT

army was what might have been expected, and 155 corpses of the enemy were finally left outside the laager.

Relief came to the party from a third contingent of emigrants under Gerrit Maritz, who soon after joined forces with them, and then the Boers with their characteristic and inborn comtempt for the natives organized an expedition of one hundred and seven farmers to attack the nearest kraal of the Chief whose name was a household word of terror amongst alien tribes and a force for unity and fighting power amongst his own people. The commando surprised a large kraal from which both Moselkatze and his Induna happened to be absent, slew at least four hundred warriors, fired the village and returned to camp with nearly seven thousand cattle as trophies of victory. The emigrants then established themselves at a place on the Vet River, which they called Wynburg, and here they were soon joined by other families from Cape Colony, and, notably, by one band with Pieter Retief at its head. The latter was elected Commandant-General, and a skeleton of a constitution, after the Dutch plan, was framed. Instinct, however, with the roving spirit of their people, many of the continually arriving bands would not settle down even at this spot, and hankered after the lowlands and sea-coast of Natal. Pieter Uys, one of the leaders, had visited this region a couple of years before, and was eloquent in praise of its beauty, fertility and delightful climate. The fact that Natal had been partially colonized as early as 1825 by Englishmen, under arrangements with Tshaka; that it was claimed as a British possession, and that, in 1835, the settlers at Durban had petitioned the Imperial Government to take them formally under its protection; does not seem to have greatly concerned the Boers. The only point in question was how Dingaan, who had succeeded Tshaka as head of the Zulus, could be persuaded or coerced into a cession of territory outside the immediate sphere of British settlement on the

The Third Contingent

coast. To this end Retief himself crossed the Drakensberg mountains, paid a visit to Dingaan in what is now Zululand, and found him apparently quite willing that the farmers should settle in Natal. Meantime a second Dutch expedition against the Matabele in the west had been organized, and the result, as told by Dr. Theal, the Cape Town historian,* is so typical of Boer methods and character in warfare that no apology is needed for its reproduction here:

How they Obtained Land

"It consisted of one hundred and thirty-five farmers in two divisions, under Hendrik Potgieter and Pieter Uys. Moselkatze was found on the Marikwa, about fifty miles north of Mosega, and he had with him at least twelve thousand warriors, all splendidly trained and as brave as any troops who ever lived. But the advantage of the farmers in their guns and horses was so great that the hundred and thirty-five did not hesitate to attack a force which was to theirs as ninety to one. For nine days the Matabele tried to reach their opponents, but all their efforts were in vain. The farmers were more than once nearly surrounded; still their plans were so perfect that they were never quite entrapped. They had little else but dried meat to live upon, and they had no resting-place but the bare ground with a saddle for a pillow. Only the hardiest of men and horses could have carried on aggressive operations so long. The loss of the Matabele was great, so great that at the end of the nine days Moselkatze gave up the contest and sought only to escape. With his people and his cattle he fled to the north, and in the country beyond the Limpopo commenced to destroy the Mashona tribes as he had destroyed the southern Betshuana. The farmers were too wearied to follow him, and indeed they could not have continued in the field much longer under any circumstances, so they contented themselves by seizing six or seven thousand head of cattle, with which they returned to Wynburg."

Ruthless Warfare

There seems to have been no particular reason for the expedition except the driving of the Matabele out of a region which the Boers wanted and the making of their own position more secure. It

* *The Story of South Africa.* By George M. Theal, LL. D. London, 1895.

is probable that negotiation would have answered the purpose, as Moselkatze was more amenable to reason than other native potentates had proved to be, and was to some slight extent under the influence of Dr. Moffat. But the emigrant farmers wanted territory, and despised the native owners too much to care about taking time and trouble for its acquisition. Better a bold assault, a speedy and successful slaughter of the enemy, than an ordinary and peaceful but prolonged settlement. The immediate result of this raid was a proclamation issued by Commandant Potgieter in which he declared territory now including the greater part of the Transvaal, a half of the Orange Free State, and the whole of northern Bechuanaland, to belong to the emigrant farmers. Not satisfied with this immense acquisition, or annexation of territory, Retief, in the succeeding year (1838) led a large party of Boers over the Drakensberg, and went on himself with about seventy men to Dingaan's capital —Umkungunhlovu, where he claimed the formal cession of that part of Natal which had been previously promised him. The Zulu Chief expressed his approval of the deed which had been drawn up, affixed his mark to it, and then invited the visitors into his own private part of the kraal. Unsuspiciously leaving their guns behind them, the entire party seated themselves, and were then seized, bound and slaughtered by surrounding guards. Immediately afterwards ten thousand Zulus left the kraal, and after a march of eleven days fell upon the nearest Boer encampment at a place since called Weenen, and destroyed men, women, children and slaves. The horrors of that massacre have never been forgotten or forgiven by the Dutch. Had not one young man, sleeping at a distance from the camp, awakened in time to save himself on a swift horse, every Dutch emigrant in Natal must have suffered the same fate. As it was, he succeeded in warning the other scattered parties in time for

Subjugation of Matabele

Pieter Retief

them to form their simple laagers and to shoot down the attacking Zulus until surrounded, literally, by heaps of dead savages.

Immediately upon hearing of the disaster Potgieter and Uys collected every available fighting man and crossed the mountains to the relief of their comrades. The Englishmen of Port Natal, or Durban, also offered their assistance. Finally, a force of 347 Boers rode straight for the Zulu capital, intent only on vengeance. After five days' journey they were, however, drawn into an ambush and lost ten men, including Commandant Uys, and much ammunition and baggage. About the same time seventeen Englishmen, leading fifteen hundred friendly natives, of whom some four hundred were armed with muskets, started out to help the Dutch. A little south of the Tugela River they came upon a Zulu regiment, and were in turn drawn into an ambush on April 17, 1838, which resulted in one of the bloodiest battles ever fought in that region of almost continuous conflict. The little force found itself between the wings of a Zulu army numbering at least 7,000 men and with thousands more coming in during the battle. Three times the Englishmen and their little force beat back the enemy. One division, with four white men and four hundred blacks, did fight its way down the steep bank of the Tugela and across the river. The other division, after battling for hours with the serried masses of savage warriors, was finally overpowered and slaughtered. Natal was now overrun by Dingaan's soldiers, and the remaining Boer families were gathered together in fortified camps, which the Zulu armies could not carry by storm.

War with the Zulus

Natal Overrun by Native Soldiers

In November, 1838, however, a change came over the scene. Andries Pretorius, a Boer leader of great natural skill and characteristic self-confidence, arrived in Natal, was elected to the command of the scattered forces, and speedily succeeded in getting together a

compact and mobile little army of 464 men. With prayers and psalms the men rode straight for the place where they expected to find the enemy. Every precaution against surprise or ambush was taken, and wherever they camped they were surrounded with a circle of wagons lashed together; while scouts were maintained continuously in all directions. A vow was made that if victory came to the little troop they would build a church and set apart a yearly thanksgiving day in commemoration. On the 16th of December, Dingaan's army of ten or twelve thousand men attacked their camp on the margin of a stream which has ever since been called Blood River, and for two hours the brave Zulu warriors faced the storm of bullets from that deadly laager. It was useless, however. The guns and artillery of the invaders killed over three thousand of the enemy before they finally broke and fled. Pretorius followed them to the Zulu capital, which Dingaan meantime set on fire, and then tried without success to capture the Zulu Chief, who had fled with some thousands of men to a part of the country where cavalry could not operate. Finally, the commando returned to Natal with some 5,000 head of cattle and the loss of six white men in the entire campaign. Dingaan also returned and rebuilt his capital, while the Dutch founded Pietermaritzburg, erected a church in memory of their victory, and commenced the annual celebration of Dingaan's Day which is still maintained.

Pretorius in Command

Meanwhile Durban had been re-occupied by a small British force in accordance with a proclamation issued by Sir George Napier, Governor of Cape Colony, and dated November 14, 1838, which declared that it was intended "to put an end to the unwarranted occupation of the territories belonging to the natives by certain emigrants from Cape Colony, being subjects of Her Majesty." No definite inter-

Durban Re-occupied by the British

ference was effected, however, and a year later the troops were withdrawn in one of the multiform mutations of Colonial Office policy; though Sir George Napier absolutely refused to recognize any right of control over the country by the Boers, and declared in January, 1841, that "Her Majesty could not acknowledge the independence of her own subjects." Despite this Pretorius acted as if he were the head of a free and all-powerful community, and with a degree of autocratic contempt for other races and peoples which was very characteristic. Dingaan, during the year succeeding the battle on the banks of the Blood River, remained passive, and does not appear to have had any aggressive intentions. In September, 1839, however, the Boers made common cause with a local rebellion raised by his brother Panda, joined the latter in January, 1840, with four hundred men under Pretorius, invaded Zululand and defeated Dingaan with great slaughter. The latter fled to the Delagoa Bay region, and was shortly afterwards murdered, being replaced by Panda as "King of the Zulus" under the terms of a curious proclamation signed by the Boer leader as "Commandant-General of the Right Worshipful Volksraad of the South African Society," and in which he claimed for the farmers the whole of Natal by right of conquest. During this campaign against Dingaan—from which the Dutch farmers received a booty of 40,000 head of cattle—an event occurred for which there is no adequate excuse, and which illustrates the unscrupulous nature of Boer warfare. Dingaan, at one stage of the invasion, tried to come to terms with his enemy, and sent an officer named Tambusa to negotiate for peace. Contrary to all the rules of war, savage or civilized, Pretorius had the envoy arrested, tried by court-martial for an alleged but unproven share in the Umkungunhlovu massacre, and executed.

Invasion of Zululand

What was called by the Boers the Republic of Natalia, stretching

from the Umzimvubu to the Tugela and including a claim to much of modern Zululand, was thus established. The first act of its Government, toward the close of 1840, was to attack a chief named N'Capai, living two hundred miles from the territory of the alleged Republic, and not far from the border of Cape Colony. Without apparent rhyme or reason, the men were slaughtered, their cattle captured, and seventeen young children carried away into slavery. This at last aroused the Colonial Government, and, in turn, the Home authorities. Sir George Napier promptly sent some soldiers into the region to watch events and prevent further aggression upon the natives, announced his intention to resume the military occupation of Natal, and at the same time appealed to the Colonial Office for further aid and instructions. Ultimately it was decided to occupy Natal permanently. But before this was done there had to be some fighting with the irrepressible farmers. A small British force had been sent to defend Durban, but before it reached that place was surprised and almost surrounded by a number of Boers. After fighting for some time the British retired, losing their guns and oxen and some nineteen men. Captain Smith found a new position, strengthened it, and stood a siege at the hands of Pretorius and his six hundred men, until he was relieved on June 25, 1842, by troops from Cape Town, who came to his rescue by sea.

Republic of Natalia Established

The further developments of the situation were peaceful. Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary, wrote a despatch on December 13, 1842, appointing Mr. Cloete as British Commissioner at Durban, and laying down definite and important rules in a new system of administration for the country. Under these instructions the white people were to be called together and given every opportunity for stating the nature of the institutions they desired, although full legislative power was

Further Developments

not yet to be granted. "I think it probable," said Lord Stanley, "looking to the nature of the population, that they will desire those institutions to be founded on the Dutch rather than on the English model, and however little some of those institutions may be suited to a more advanced state of civilization, it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government that, in this respect, the contentment of the emigrants, rather than the abstract merits of the institutions, should guide our decision." There were, of course, to be certain limitations in this connection. No distinction or disqualification founded on "color, origin, language or creed," was to be recognized. No "aggression upon natives beyond the Colony" was to be tolerated or sanctioned. Slavery in any shape or form was to be "absolutely unlawful." But the Boers were incorrigible. They would not meet with the British Commissioner or fairly discuss his terms. They would not accept the principle of racial and religious equality under any condition of affairs. They would not accept any restriction upon their right to take whatever territory they liked from the natives outside of Natal and at any time they might feel disposed. They would not endure the principle of negro freedom in this new region any more than in the older Colony at the Cape. Apart from these basic principles of government, practical details also galled them. The establishment of a Land Court to limit and define the possessions of settlers and to give legal rights of ownership to the natives, was especially objectionable, and, by 1847, most of the emigrant farmers had again trekked away to the Orange Free State and the country beyond the Vaal.

Boers object to Racial Equality and other Principles of Government

There seems to have been no valid reason for this movement. The British Government, outside of certain fundamental principles of morality and administration, desired to give the farmers every possible latitude. It had no wish for territorial expansion, and would

never have interfered at all if the aggressive policy of the Boers meeting the wild instincts of the Bantu, or Zulus, half-way, had not drenched the region with blood. But the deterioration of the Boer character, or rather the expression of that character in a sphere where it was practically uncontrolled, had assumed a form in which the possession of large tracts of land and the compulsory service of natives appeared as absolute essentials of life, which they had the right to take by force—in the same way as Moselkatze and Tshaka had done previously and with apparently no higher motives than those which had actuated savage chiefs at war with weaker tribes. Moreover, they had failed signally in this first effort at self-government, and the rivalry of leaders like Hendrick Potgieter, Gerrit Maritz and Andries Pretorius had not only helped to prevent the establishment of any form of administration amongst the people capable of levying taxes and compelling obedience to the state, but had made constant raids upon neighboring native tribes appear almost essential to the holding together of the scattered communities in a common bond of conflict and territorial acquisition.

British Principles of Government

With the failure to acquire and hold Durban and to rule themselves or the regions of Natal which they had taken from the Zulus ended the first Boer effort to reach the sea and to establish Dutch independent communities in touch with the external world. The bulk of the farmers, as already stated, trekked north of the Orange or the Vaal. Here they found conditions, in 1845–47, which were scarcely less perplexing and troubled than their own had been. Over an area of some 700 miles long and 300 wide was established a Dutch population of about fifteen thousand persons which was constantly at war with the natives, and, as a result of losses in this connection, did not increase greatly in numbers despite the numerous accessions from Cape

They Trek North of the Vaal River

Colony and Natal. Nominally, and by British theory, they were still British subjects; practically, from the Orange to the Limpopo they were independent communities whom the Colonial Office would have preferred to forget altogether rather than to assert claims over or make demands upon. But their relation of permanent and bitter hostility towards the natives appears to have made absolute British neutrality impossible. Accordingly, in 1843, an effort was made to further isolate the Boers from Cape Colony, and "buffer states" of native or half-breed tribes were established and recognized; much in the same way as in the days of the Kosa tribes on the eastern frontier of the Colony. Then, however, it was for the protection of the Dutch farmers against the natives; now it was for the protection of native and Colonial interests against the turbulent Boers.

Moshesh the Basuto

Moshesh the Basuto was at this time established in much strength upon the borders of the present Orange Free State and in territory now known as Basutoland. He was one of the ablest men produced by the Bantu, or Kaffir, race, and, unlike chiefs of the type of Moselkatze the Matabele or Tshaka the Zulu, did not build his fortunes and his power upon bloodshed and devastation. When the regions afterwards covered by the Dutch republics and Natal were swept by a sanguinary tide of conquest under the leadership of the two chiefs mentioned, Moshesh followed in the wake of the wave of slaughter, gathered together scattered remnants of tribes, conciliated, strengthened and united them until, by almost imperceptible degrees, he had established a strong state around the rock-ribbed heights of Thaba Bosigo—the centre of his kraal and his kingdom. In 1843, therefore, when the British authorities were looking around for some means of restricting the sphere of Boer difficulties and aggressions upon the natives, Moshesh seemed an ideal instrument. He was intensely ambitious to extend and consolidate his power. He was

not a savage or barbarous potentate in the sense of Dingaan or his predecessor; and to him the proffered alliance, a small annual subsidy, an extension of recognized territorial rights and supremacy over minor chiefs in contiguous regions, was extremely attractive and easily acceptable. West of his territory lived a tribe of Griquas—a half-breed people of mixed Dutch and Hottentot blood—numbering about two thousand and ruled over by a man named Adam Kok. They were largely influenced by missionaries, and were an inoffensive and, as it turned out, perishing race. With Kok a similar arrangement of alliance was made, and he was recognized as ruler of all the territory from the Basuto border westward to where Andries Waterboer—another Griqua chief—held sway over the region afterwards dominated by Kimberley and including Modder River and the southern portion of the present Free State. East of Moshesh and the Basuto territory a similar alliance was made with the Pondo Chief, Faku, and thus the girdle, or league of allied states between British territory and the Boers was complete.

Establishment of a Border Native State

But the plan did not work out as well as was expected. The racial elements involved were too mutable, the conditions too loose, the Governments too inadequate in strength and *prestige*, the Dutch too aggressive and hostile in character, to admit of its permanent success. A strong man, backed up continuously with plenty of British troops, might have saved the situation and averted the wars which followed; but continuity of policy for these fluctuating frontiers seems to have never prevailed at either London or Cape Town. The Treaty States did not prevent personal and commercial intercourse between the Boers of the Cape and of the interior. They did not avert further emigration or encourage the return of those who had left the Colony. The Dutch population in Adam Kok's territory did not like being ruled by a half-breed chief, and the

greater part of them repudiated the right of Great Britain to support him in this government. Some of the minor native chiefs refused to accept the sovereignty of Moshesh. The first result was a small Boer rebellion against Kok and the defeat of 250 men by some British troops under Colonel Richardson. The second was an entire rearrangement of existing matters by Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had meantime become Governor at the Cape. Kok's sovereignty over the whole region was still acknowledged, but he was limited in government to the portion of it occupied by Griquas; while the whites living in the other section were placed under the supervision or rule of a British officer, who, in 1846, established himself at a small place called Bloemfontein, where some three hundred Boers of a friendly disposition took the oath of allegiance to the Queen. The rest moved north to Wynburg and out of the region thus controlled by Major Warden. With Moshesh much less could be done. He had been far too shrewd to violate directly the terms of his arrangement with Great Britain or to accept any proposals which would seriously alleviate the differences between himself and the bordering tribes or neighboring Boers. Thus the State, which had been strengthened with a view to maintaining peace, now threatened to promote conflict instead, and in this condition matters rested when Sir Harry Smith came out to Cape Town in 1848 as Governor and High Commissioner. Now the events which immediately followed came the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic.

Rebellion by the Boers

CHAPTER IV.

Birth of the Dutch Republics.

BY the middle of the century there were some twenty thousand emigrant farmers scattered over the region between the Orange and Vaal Rivers and north of the latter. They had no organized government; no bond of union except a feeling of hostility to British sovereignty and a common love of independent isolation; no adequate security against sudden attacks from surrounding savages. Occasionally they combined in small forces and fell with merciless severity upon tribes which had aroused their displeasure. They would brook no control, even from self-constituted authorities, and at first endeavoured to govern themselves by general meetings of citizens. Distances were too great, however, to render this practicable, and small elective Assemblies in several semi-republican communities eventually developed. But the Boer character possessed a positive genius for disobedience, and the fueds of families and communities soon became as marked as those of the native tribes around them—whose cattle they delighted to capture and whose children were occasionally enslaved by Dutch commandos. The settlers were not seriously interfered with by the British Government in London, or in Cape Town. A general supervision, or pretence at supervision, over their relations with the natives was maintained and with ultimately important results. But for some years following the Natal annexation nothing of importance occurred. No formal recognition of their feeble efforts

British Policy During the Middle of the Century

at self-government was given, they remained British subjects in the eyes of the law, and Sir Peregrine Maitland's Proclamation of August 21, 1845, at the Cape, expressly reserved the rights of the Crown in this connection.

Meanwhile, however, two other communities had developed in their neighbourhood. East of what afterwards became the Orange Free State and in territory which the emigrant farmers, or Boers as they were beginning to be called, claimed for themselves, an exceedingly able native chief, in the person of Moshesh the Basuto, had risen into power and had welded together the scattered fragments of tribes which had been crushed by the raids of the Matabele and Zulus. From the rugged heights of Thaba Bosigo he dominated a large extent of country, an increasing native population and much spoil in cattle and slaves. To the south and west of the Boers two half-breed leaders named Adam Kok and Waterboer had established themselves respectively with strong, armed bands of Griquas—the name given to the offspring of Dutch farmers and Hottentot women—and had become a recognized force. With Moshesh they constituted the elements of a new British policy which was inaugurated in 1843. The Colonial Office did not want at this time to extend its territories. South Africa, indeed, appeared during the first portion of this century as the least promising, and the most turbulent and troublesome, of all British possessions. The soil was supposed to be arid and without fertility or minerals, the population seemed hostile and the net result of colonization and administration had been a series of costly Kaffir wars. In dealing with the Kaffirs, or Kosas, on the eastern frontier of the Colony the British Government had shown this disinclination with quite sufficient clearness. But to allow the emigrant Boers to repudiate their allegiance was another matter, and even to the not very

Moshesh the Basuto

far-seeing statesmen of the Colonial Office of that day it presented possibilities deserving of consideration. With Sir Harry Smith's arrival and the termination of the Kaffir War of 1846–47 came another development of the situation. The new Governor of Cape Colony, who for the first time had also been appointed High Commissioner with power of control over native matters outside of the bounds of the Colony, visited the Orange River region, looked into the results of the Treaty State policy, came to the conclusion that agreements with native chiefs were like arrangements made with little children, and determined to suppress these creations of missionary statecraft as soon as might be possible.

Meanwhile the High Commissioner was well received at Bloemfontein, and soon made arrangements with Adam Kok and Moshesh which greatly curtailed their authority and independence. On February 3, 1848, he announced the annexation to British dominions of the whole territory between the Vaal and Orange Rivers and the Drakensberg mountains under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. The colored population was left under the control of its chiefs, and their land was carefully reserved for their own use. All relations between tribes, however, or with Europeans, were to be guided by British authorities. Major Warden was continued at Bloemfontein as the Governor, or Resident, and Sir Harry Smith returned to Cape Town after having carried out a policy which should have been effected long before. And it was now too late. Although without any definite government amongst themselves, or any allegiance to the little republics which had sprung up over the Vaal, a certain number of Dutch farmers in the new Sovereignty would not accept British rule, and they were speedily aided by the Transvaal Boers under Pretorius in a direct attack upon Bloemfontein. Major Warden was compelled to surrender, and the British officials were

Orange River Sovereignty

speedily driven out of the country. Sir Harry Smith, however, was too vigorous and able a commander to stand this sort of thing, and he hastily got some troops together, crossed the Orange River, attacked Pretorius in a strong position at a place called Boomplaatz, defeated him and re-established the Sovereignty Government. Those of the Boers who were inveterately opposed to British rule at once crossed the Vaal and were not interfered with by British officials. Their places, to some extent, were taken by fresh emigrants from Cape Colony, many of them English, and from this time forward the Orange River State was populated by white settlers more or less passively friendly toward England and composed of the least hostile amongst the emigrant farmers with a certain proportion of Englishmen.

For a time all went apparently well. Then, in 1851, Moshesh, finding his power had been restricted by the new arrangements, and knowing that he was much stronger in a military sense than the British authorities had any conception of, began to foment disturbances between his own people and native clans in the Sovereignty. He did not appear publicly in the matter, but his policy was none the less effective in drawing both Major Warden and the Cape Governor into a determination to punish Molitsane—a vassal of Moshesh—who was a distinct offender. With 162 soldiers, 120 Boers and some fifteen hundred natives, Major Warden marched out from Bloemfontein, and at Viervoet was drawn into a trap and suffered a disastrous defeat. It is said that Moshesh himself was surprised at the easy result. At any rate, he at once threw off the mask and joined forces with his vassal. A section of the Boers also repudiated the Sovereignty Government, so far, at least, as to promise Moshesh absolute neutrality if he would leave their cattle and property unharmed. This he promised and fulfilled by plundering without mercy the Boers

Rebellion of Molitsane

who remained loyal. Major Warden was now helpless at Bloemfontein, as Cape Colony was in the throes of another Kaffir war. and not a soldier could be spared—a fact of which Moshesh and the disloyal Dutch were perfectly aware. The latter added to the difficulties of the situation by suggesting to Pretorius that now was his time to avenge Boomplaatz. He was not unwilling, but thought a primary duty lay to his own adherents beyond the Vaal; so he wrote Warden that if the independence of the Boers of that region were definitely acknowledged he would refrain from participation in the struggle.

Major Warden reported to Sir Harry Smith that the safety of the Sovereignty for the time lay in assenting to this proposal, as he could not hold it against the Basutos and the Transvaal Boers combined. The result was the appointment of Commissioners and the negotiation in 1852 of the Sand River Convention "with the Commandant and Delegates of the Boers living beyond the Vaal," by which the British Government "guaranteed to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws without any interference on the part of the British Government." Provisions were included by which the British authorities disclaimed all alliances with colored peoples north of the Vaal, and the Boers accepted the declaration (on paper) that "no slavery is or shall be permitted or practiced" in the country under their control. This arrangement finally severed the two communities, carried across the Vaal another migration of the anti-British element, and in time consolidated the bitterly hostile and prejudiced sections of population into the present Transvaal Republic. Meanwhile, peace had been made with the Kaffirs, and Sir George Cathcart, who was now Governor at the Cape, invaded Basutoland with a considerable force of regulars for the purpose of

The Sand River Convention

punishing Moshesh. As usual in South African warfare, he underestimated the numbers and fighting skill of his opponents as well as the natural strength of this Switzerland of the Veldt. Thaba Bosigo was too hard a nut for his force to crack, and he was, besides, drawn into an ambush and defeated. Moshesh, however, was wise enough not to press his advantage too far, and with statecraft which was worthy of a greater sphere, asked and received peace on terms very beneficial to himself.

But the Colonial Office was now in the hands of the Manchester School party, England was living in the exhilaration of a period of great and growing commercial prosperity, and her politicians were sick of the prolonged succession of petty and costly wars which had marked South African history. It was decided that all further responsibility must be avoided, that existing boundaries must be drawn back wherever possible, and that extension of territory must be imperatively resisted. The first point of contact with this feeling was the Sovereignty, and the Duke of Newcastle, who was then acting as Colonial Secretary, sent Sir George Russell Clerk out in 1853, as a Special Commissioner: "To ascertain whether it was practicable to make arrangements for the abandonment of the whole of that territory." Then followed the most extraordinary and perhaps regrettable incident in all the turbulent and troubled history of South Africa. The Commissioner had called a Convention of European Delegates for the purpose of taking over the government of the Sovereignty. But these twenty-four men sounded public opinion, and they had soon found that the feeling was clear and unmistakable that from every standpoint of right, honor and expediency Great Britain should retain its authority and continue its protection. Sir George Clerk, however, was under definite instructions, and any protests from the Delegates, or from the public meetings which were hastily held, were simply regarded

Changed Policy

as so much unnecessary obstruction to the fulfilment of his mission. The Convention refused to accept in any way his proposition, and was promptly dissolved. A small body of men were found, however, to favor independence, and with these representatives of a distinct minority Sir George concluded an agreement on February 23, 1854, by which the country was practically handed over to them as the Orange Free State. This precious document "guarantees on the part of Her Majesty's Government the future independence of that country and Government"—although it also provides "that this independence shall, without unnecessary delay, be confirmed and ratified by an instrument promulgated in such form and substance as Her Majesty shall approve, finally freeing them from their allegiance to the British Crown, and declaring them, to all intents and purposes, an independent people." So far as can be ascertained this instrument was never actually promulgated, and it may be a delicate technical point as to whether the Free State people have ever been legally freed from their allegiance to Great Britain.*

Formation of the Orange Free State

Large popular gatherings were held to protest against the policy of dismemberment, and the Chairman and another member of the late Convention were sent to England to bring the whole case before the Queen's Government. But it was all in vain. Hardly any notice had been taken in Great Britain of the Sand River Convention, and even less concern was exhibited over this new development of weak and nerveless Colonial administration. A motion upon the subject in the House of Commons had to be withdrawn for lack of a seconder, and Parliament voted $240,000 as a compensation to loyal settlers—presumably as a solace for having forced them to give up their allegiance. By the terms of the Bloemfontein Convention—already quoted from—no slavery or trade in slaves was to be permitted and

**Westminster Review.* April, 1869.

the Government was made free to levy import duties and to buy ammunition in the British Colonies. In this way were two Boer Republics founded in South Africa, and the evils which might naturally have been expected from the intense isolation and ignorance of the emigrant farmers crystallized into constitutional shape, and finally into military form. These Conventions of 1852 and 1854 legalized a lasting and bitter schism in the small European population of South Africa, and even the conditions and interests of the Free State and the Transvaal were not, for many years afterwards, considered identical by the Boers themselves.

CHAPTER V.

Development of Dutch Rule

FROM 1854 to 1877 the two Republics developed along very different lines. Their general principle of government was the same, but it was not administrated in the same way. In form their constitutions were nominally republican; in practice they became essentially arbitrary and absolutely antagonistic to British and Colonial ideas of government. The coloured people who, in hundreds of thousands, were established around the Dutch, had few civil rights and no political ones. They were the prey of small military bodies, the source of an enforced labour which could not in practice be distinguished from slavery, the object of personal contempt and with little protection from public law or private conscience. Citizenship was practically limited to the Boer, in the Transvaal; and in the Orange Free State, through the stringent military conditions connected with the privilege, the same result followed for some years. The right of participating in the Government of the country was thus confined to one class, the burghers or native-born Dutch citizens. These alone could elect the President, the Executive Council and the Volksraad, or popular Assembly.

Development of the Two Republics

There were important differences, however, in the further evolution of the Republics. Something of this was due to the modified feeling of the Orange River Boers towards England, to their proximity to the Cape and to the fact of English settlers being scattered amongst them with the natural result of friendly association and occasional intermarriage. They, therefore, approximated

in character and type to the Dutchmen of Cape Colony. The Boer of the Transvaal, on the other hand, was entirely isolated, of unmixed stock and with sentiments of hostility toward everything British as strong and stern as they were when he first left Colonial territory. Both Republics were allowed to develop their own institutions in their own way and were, as the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 declared, "to all intents and purposes a free and independent people." No slavery, or trade in slaves, was to be permitted, however, and what might be termed Imperial rights of control over native questions was retained along lines enunciated as follows, by Sir M. E. Hicks-Beach, in a despatch dated November 20, 1879: "Neither by the Sand River Convention of 1852, nor at any other time, did Her Majesty's Government surrender the right and duty of requiring that the Transvaal should be governed with a view to the common safety of the various European communities." The same principle, of course, covered the Free State position and, later on, was applied in connection with Moshesh and the Basuto question.

Important Differences

Without roads and bridges, churches and schools, or the ordinary machinery of government, the Dutch of the Free State commenced the work of organization in 1854, and the ultimate result reflects considerable credit upon the ignorant burghers of those scattered communities. As in the Cape Colony and the Transvaal the fundamental law was the old Roman system as modified by the Legislature of Holland prior to 1652. The official language was Dutch, and the Courts were constituted after the Dutch fashion. For a short period Josias Hoffman was President, and then Jacobus Nicolaus Boshof was elected to the position. Relations with Moshesh and the Basuto tribe constituted the chief

Early Organization

trouble of this early period. The continuous object of this ambitious ruler was to recover certain territory which had once belonged to tribes of which the remnants now acknowledged his rule. The Boers wished to retain regions which had in great part appeared as wild and empty wastes when they had settled there. Apart from the general question, both sides were aggressive and warlike. Each hated the other, and the intermittent struggles which ensued were of the usually merciless character. But Moshesh was too much for the Boers in skill and craft, and, in 1858, the Free State President, after appealing in vain to his Transvaal brethren for aid, turned to Sir George Grey, who was then Governor of the Cape. Sir George accepted the position of mediator, studied the situation closely, and came to the apparent conclusion that the claims of Moshesh were in a measure just. To him, therefore, he gave a piece of territory which the Boers believed to be theirs, and handed over to the latter an outlying mission station which had hitherto acknowledged Basuto authority. Mr. Boshof promptly resigned the Presidency, and was succeeded by Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, a son of the famous general. He devoted himself to effecting a union with the Transvaal republics of the time, but was unsuccessful, owing to conflicting interests and jealousies and to the declaration from Cape Town that such action would dissolve the Conventions with Great Britain.

Meantime, and during the greater part of the years from 1854 to 1868, the Boers of the Free State were in a chronic condition of war with the Basutos. There were few direct conflicts, and the troubles consisted mainly in raids, the burning of houses or kraals, the stealing of cattle, or the kidnapping of children. The Basutos fought in much the same Fabian manner that the Boers themselves practiced, and met invaders concealed behind rocks or cairns or the ever-present kopje. The region ruled by Moshesh was a compact and round-shaped territory

Chronic Condition of War

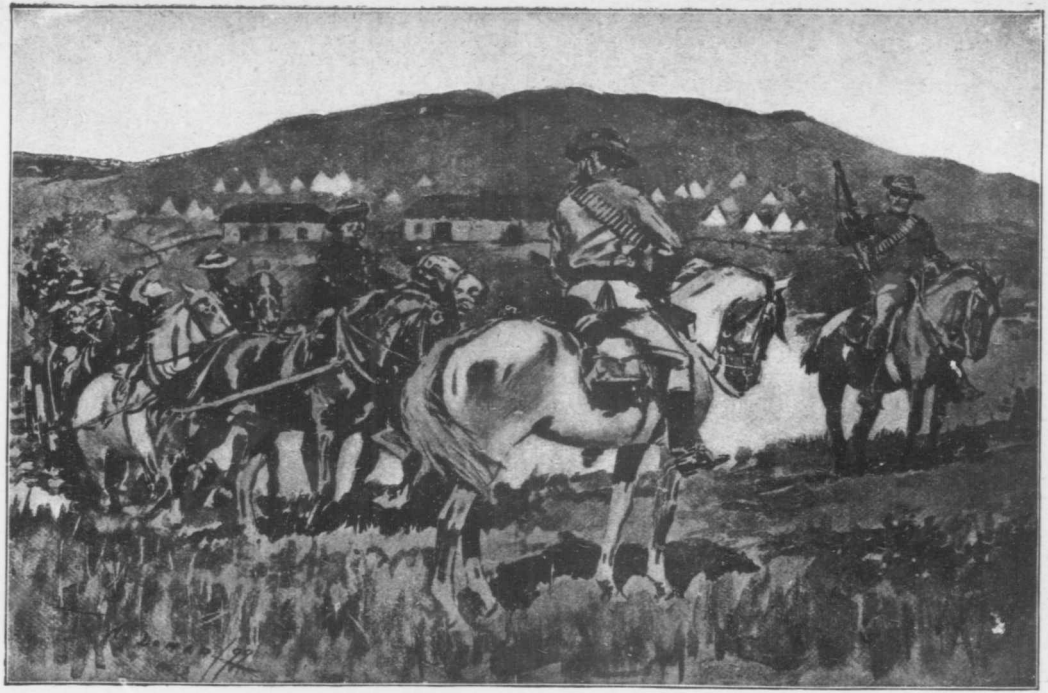
lying between Natal, Cape Colony and the Free State. Its surface was broken by steep hills or mountains with more or less flat summits admirably fitted for villages or kraals, and with every requisite for defence in the form of perpendicular wall-like sides. Between these natural fortresses were the sweeping and fertile valleys where the Basutos grew their corn and raised their cattle, and which for years it was the delight of the Boers to raid; as it was the primal pleasure of the Basutos to pour down in sudden forays from their rocky fastnesses upon Dutch territory. This constant interchange of robbery and pillage embittered the character of both peoples, but naturally had the most degrading effect upon that of the Boer. For a presumably civilized and Christian race to be engaged year in and year out in the seizure of cattle from a savage enemy and in the occasional enslavement of children or the shooting down of stray individuals and small parties of a mobile enemy could not but have an evil influence upon a character so peculiar as was that of even the best and most enlightened of the emigrant farmers.

The Basutoland

After a decade of this sort of intermittent struggle, however, the Boers were encouraged by familiarity with that part of the Basuto country which lay in the valleys and fields to try the task of storming some of the strongholds of the enemy. With the aid of a few small cannon, the first attempts were successful and surprisingly easy. Thus encouraged, within the three years following 1865, the greater part of Basutoland was overrun and the best cornfields captured. They were promptly "annexed" to the Free State, and then attention was devoted to the French missionaries, who had, meanwhile, been doing a splendid work amongst the natives. They were turned out of the country in which half a million of dollars had been expended upon their stations; their homes were plundered and the private prop-

Basutoland Overrun

AN ARMORED TRAIN SHELLING A BOER BATTERY AT NIGHT.



BOERS CROSSING THE MALMANI FORD NEAR MAFEKING

erty of men who had, in some cases, been laboring for thirty years in the region was confiscated; furniture, books and other items of value were destroyed, and all redress was refused. Permission was afterwards given to re-occupy their stations, not as such, but as farms for which $500 was in each case to be paid the Boer Government. Much of the conquered territory was also surveyed and sold. But the power of the Boers was a very fitful one. With a weak Government at home they were unable to hold the regions which they captured from time to time, and the result was a re-occupation by the Basutos, an attempt to cultivate their fields, further reprisals, and more attacks upon the mountain strongholds. Upon one occasion the Boers destroyed all the growing crops of an extensive section. But Thaba Bosigo, the central fortress of the country, could not be subdued by any force available.

In 1867 one last struggle occurred, and then Moshesh, weakened by age and realizing that his sons were much as other natives were, and did not possess the ability to hold the country together when his own end had come, turned to Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Governor and High Commissioner at Cape Town, and asked that his people be proclaimed British subjects. This was done, partly from a wise unwillingness to have the Free State so immensely strengthened as it would have been by the possession of Basutoland, partly by a natural objection to have so large a number of natives dispersed over the country without home or special object, and partly by dislike of the policy which the Boers had been for years pursuing in regard to savages generally and missionaries in particular. The Free Staters were intensely annoyed. They had lost the opportunity for a lasting revenge upon their enemy and the possibility of possessing the Switzerland of South Africa. In the light of after events the action of Sir Philip Wodehouse seems almost Providen-

Basutoland under British Rule

BOERS CROSSING THE MALMANI FORD NEAR MAFEKING

tial, and is certainly one of the few instances where British statecraft was really brought into play in this part of the world. Were the Basuto strongholds in possession of Dutch sharpshooters and fortified by German science and artillery, the struggle of 1899–1900 would be infinitely more serious than it is at the time of writing.

The Boers of the Free State bitterly resented this annexation. Although now governed by the wisest Dutchman who has come to the front in South Africa—Jan Hendrik Brand—(afterwards better known as Sir John Brand) who had succeeded Pretorius as President in 1865—they were also greatly influenced by a small and compact body of men, known as Hollanders, who had obtained possession of nearly all the offices of emolument in the State. These Hollanders afterwards drifted largely into the Transvaal where they had fuller and freer scope for anti-British sentiment and policy; and for isolation from the British ideas and principles which gradually and, in the end, powerfully, controlled the policy of President Brand. Meantime, however, these adventurers from Holland had much influence in the Free State. In 1858, when the Basutos had driven back the farmers and were threatening their homes and cattle during one of the ups and downs of the long struggle, a number of the Boers, and even some of the Hollanders, were in favor of seeking annexation to Cape Colony, and actually a resolution to that effect went through the Volksraad. But five years later, when fifteen hundred and fifty signers of a memorial asked the Volksraad to press an agitation to this end, the situation in regard to the Basutos had meanwhile changed, and the Hollanders opposed the proposition strongly. The movement was never seriously revived. Speaking in this connection at the prorogation of the Cape Parliament in September, 1868, Sir Philip Wodehouse declared that: "Entirely on my own responsibility, giving expression only to my own opinions, I may say

"The Hollanders"

that I regard the measures which severed from their allegiance the European communities in those regions to have been founded in error."

This Hollander party refused to enter into any negotiation with the High Commissioner concerning the Basutoland annexation, indulged in much talk about French and Russian intervention, and finally despatched two Commissioners to London armed with a long and emphatic protest. Fortunately for all concerned, the British Government approved of the policy pursued by Sir Philip Wodehouse and authorized him to take such further action as, to his knowledge of local conditions, might seem desirable. This wisdom of this course was so unusual and striking in connection with South African affairs that a tribute of respect seems due to the Colonial Secretary of that period—the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. The annexation was, in fact, in the immediate interest of the Free State as well as in the future interests of Great Britain. It gave the exhausted republic a rest from protracted and injurious conflict. It afforded an opportunity for the statesmanship of the new President to assert and express itself. It facilitated the development of a friendliness between Cape Colony and the Free State which, so long as President Brand lived and ruled (1865–88), did much for the general good of South Africa and something for the improvement of individual character amongst the less implacable farmers of the little republic. There was indeed much for a statesman to do. Ideals of Government amongst the best of the Boers were still so crude as to be almost laughable. Masses of useless paper money were in existence. Farms or ranches had been neglected, many cattle destroyed and heavy debts incurred.

The Boers Protest

Just at this moment the discovery of diamonds effected a revolution in South African affairs. As this incident is variously described

by many writers, and as its importance is so great from an historical point of view, I propose to pin my faith upon the record given by Dr. George M. Theal. His position as a civil servant and Historiographer to the Cape Government would, perhaps, lay the most impartial of historians open to occasional allegations of favoritism in dealing with annals so permeated with Dutch and English rivalry as are those of South Africa. But there can be no question as to his accuracy in treating of such questions of fact as this.* He states that: "One day, in 1867, a child on a farm in the north of Cape Colony was observed to be playing with a remarkably brilliant pebble, which a trader, to whom it was shown as a curiosity, suspected to be a gem of value. It was sent for examination to a qualified person in Grahamstown, who reported that it was a diamond of twenty-one carats weight and that its value was £500. Search was immediately commenced in the neighborhood by several persons in odd hours, and soon another, though much smaller, was found. Then a third was picked up on the bank of the Vaal River, and attention was directed to that locality. During 1868 several were found, though as yet no one was applying himself solely to looking for them. In March, 1869, the 'Star of South Africa' was obtained from a Korana Hottentot, who had been in possession of it for a long time without the least idea of its value except as a powerful charm. It was a magnificent brilliant of eighty-three carats weight when uncut, and was readily sold for £11,000."

Discovery of Diamonds

The lower Vaal then became the scene of a bustling, restless and struggling population of miners and speculators. Wealth and diamonds go together, and with them naturally came questions of ownership and territorial rule. The latter was and had been in dispute for many years. The southern bank of the river was probably Free

* The Story of the Nations Series. *South Africa*, p. 322.

State territory, but the ownership of the northern bank was in grave doubt. No actual government had been established there, although the Transvaal, the Free State, the Batlapin tribe of natives, and the Griqua captain—Waterboer—all claimed portions of the ground. There was naturally much disorder at the mines, both north and south of the River, under such conditions, and, finally, as the bulk of the miners were British subjects, the High Commissioner at Cape Town decided to interfere, and proposed a general arbitration. President Brand declined the suggestion, but President Pretorius of the Transvaal acceded, and a Court was established at Bloemhof, on the northern bank of the Vaal, with Mr. Keate, Governor of Natal, as final Umpire. From the information then available there seems no doubt that the Award issued by Mr. Keate in October, 1871, was just. He acted, and could only act, upon the evidence presented to the Court, and, as the Free State refused to work up or present its case, and as Waterboer was enabled by the use of a clever advocate to prepare a fairly strong one, the region in dispute was finally awarded to him. He had already offered his claim to the territory to the British authorities, and, as soon as the legal decision was announced, Sir Henry Barkly, as High Commissioner, proclaimed the Diamond Mines and what had long been familiarly known as Griqualand West, to be a British dependency. Afterwards, during the holding of a special Court for the settlement of individual ground-claims, a minute search into the history of the region south of the Vaal revealed an unsuspected flimsiness in Waterboer's title, and the judgment of the Court thereupon threw out all titles based upon Griqua grants. This very impartial verdict—under all the circumstances of the case—at once gave President Brand a position in the matter which he did not hesitate to use. He went to London and laid his case before the British Government, which replied that the

Ownership and Territorial Rule

possession of the country in question was a necessity to the paramount Power in South Africa, but that he would be given $450,000 as a settlement of the Free State claims. This he accepted.

A Momentous Decision

The decision was as momentous in its results as the annexation of Basutoland. Without the possession of Griqualand West, the British Government and settlers, and Cape Colony itself, would have been shut off from expansion to the north. The unclaimed country from the Limpopo to the Zambesi would have been open to the raids and eventual occupation of the Boers of the two Republics. The diamond mines of South Africa—with their hundreds of millions' worth of precious stones—would have been in the hands of England's enemies as well as the gold mines. Matabeland and Mashonaland and the empire created by Cecil Rhodes to the north and west of the republics would have been alien ground. The development of British South Africa would, in a word, have been effectually confined to the limited region south of the Orange River and the Drakensberg Mountains. The Keate Award, therefore, and the dispute between the two Dutch Governments and that of Great Britain, turned upon more important issues than the discovery of diamonds. The Boers did not really want the latter, but it is fairly evident now that they fully appreciated the importance of holding the only route to the north which still remained open to British acquisition. Had President Brand shared in the hostile sentiments of many of his own people and of his compatriots over the Vaal toward Great Britain, he would never have sold his claim even for the sum which did so much to place the finances of the Free State upon a sound footing. From this time forward to the end of the century, however, the Orange Free State enjoyed a condition of progressive prosperity. Roads, public buildings and bridges were constructed. A fairly good system of Dutch public schools was established in the villages, though it did not greatly affect

the farmers on their wide ranches. A railway was run through the country from Cape Town to Pretoria, largely at the expense of the Cape Government, while branch lines in time connected the Free State system with Durban, in Natal, and with Port Elizabeth and East London, on the southeast coast of Cape Colony. President Brand was re-elected to his position until he died in 1888, leaving the highest of reputations as a wise administrator, a warm friend of Great Britain, and a sincere admirer of British institutions. After his time other influences predominated, and the first evidence of this was in the election of Mr. F. W. Reitz—previously Chief Justice of the State—as his successor.

Railway from Cape Town

Meanwhile, the Transvaal State, or South African Republic as it called itself, was passing through an infinite variety of more or less painful experiences. The region possessed by the Boers north of the Vaal is a great tract of fairly fertile and level land broken here and there by rugged hills. The climate is varied, but upon the whole pleasant and healthful. Its wheat-producing capabilities are famed throughout South Africa. Coffee and tobacco also thrive. But cattle-raising was and is the primary pursuit of almost the entire white or Dutch population. The Boers of this region did not arrive there all at once, or found their State upon conditions of mutual interest and a basis of common principles. Their one tie of union, their single basis of co-operation, was hatred of the English. Whether trekking north from Cape Colony under Potgieter and fighting the Matabele for a country to live in; or leaving Natal in utter disgust at the proposed free institutions of the new British administration; or crossing the Vaal from the Orange River Sovereignty to escape from even friendly relations with British communities; they were, and remained, the most implacable, the most ignorant, the most isolated and unmanageable of

Condition of the Transvaal

the emigrant farmers. At first the Boer population numbered only some sixteen thousand, and in 1837, after the destruction of Moselkatze and the Matabele power on the south side of the Limpopo, an unsuccessful attempt was made to form a common government. A little later four republics—Pochefstroom, Zoutpansberg, Lydenburg and Utrecht—were established, but without much effect so far as practical government was concerned. A period of wild license followed, and was marked by much cruelty towards the natives as well as anarchy and strife amongst the farmers themselves.

In all the great region between the Orange River and the Limpopo these conditions, however, prevailed between 1836 and 1850 to a greater or lesser degree. South of the Vaal a check came through the vicinity of British power and population; but north of that historic river there was little ameliorative influence until about 1864.

Transvaal Under Pretorius

Marthinus Wessel Pretorius became President of one of the Transvaal sections, or republics, in 1857, and by 1860 had united the entire region under his control. Even then, however, there was a further period of civil war until, in 1864, Pretorius succeeded in obtaining general acceptance by the people and a legal election, with S. J. P. Kruger as Vice-President. He at once resigned the Presidency of the Orange Free State, which he had also held since 1858—but without success to his efforts at uniting the northern and southern republics—and devoted himself to breaking the power of the Baramapulana tribe which had established itself, in great and growing strength, upon the southern banks of the Limpopo and in territory which the Boers thought they should control. During more than three succeeding years the Transvaal tried in vain to subjugate this tribe. The State, however, had no money, and could not even pay for the transport of ammunition from Durban, on one occasion, while its people were not united in the prosecution of the war. The result was a practical withdrawal from

the Zoutpansberg region; a recognition of the independence of the Baramapulana under the nominal form of a small annual tribute; and the creation of difficulties amongst other tribes which realized the check thus given to a people who had often oppressed them and frequently attacked their kraals. Wars followed with the Baralong and other clans, and the Republic presently found itself unable to assert its authority over the natives within its claimed sphere of supremacy, or to even hold its own territory intact. By 1870, when the Transvaal became mixed up in the Diamond Fields controversy and entered into the arbitration resulting in the Keate Award, the condition of the people was deplorable. The generation which was now grown up had absolutely no knowledge of anything beyond their own family circle, and had no acquaintance whatever with books, or history, or external affairs. The rivers were unbridged, the Treasury was empty, the salaries of the officials were only occasionally paid and trade was carried on by barter in the absence of gold or silver. The natives around them could not be more densely ignorant, or more completely isolated, than were these farmers on the veldt with all their thriving flocks and herds and stores of grain and vegetables and fruit. Whatever the poverty of intellect, or knowledge, or the primitive nature of their government, there was never any lack of food and wealth of cattle amongst the Dutch of the Transvaal. Like the Matabele and Zulu in their days of power, the Boers always possessed these requisites of life. Yet they would not pay taxes, or support their government, or educate their children.

Ignorance and Isolation

President Pretorius was compelled to resign as a result of his participation in the Diamond Fields' arbitration, and the Reverend Thomas Francois Burgers, a clergyman of unorthodox views, who had distinguished himself as a lawyer, was elected, in 1872, to the position. He was an able man, but somewhat visionary for the

strained situation which required his attention. He had to deal with a few thousand ignorant men of seventeenth century views who were unable to govern themselves, or to control the surrounding natives, and be expected within a few years to mould out of this unpromising material a prosperous Republic with colleges, railways, telegraphs and a great name amongst the nations of the world. That his dreams were afterwards in a measure realized reflects credit upon his patriotism and perspicacity; but his policy broke down before the obstacles of the immediate present. Money to the extent of $450,000 was obtained from Holland, which the President visited in 1874, under authority from the Volkraad. With this sum railway material was purchased for a proposed line from Lorenzo Marques to Pretoria, and a Superintendent of Education was brought back to manage a system which was not yet in existence and for the creation of which there was neither money nor popular desire. When Mr. Burgers arrived home again he found discontent and disintegration everywhere visible, and his educational scheme was put aside; while his railway material was sent to rot at the Portuguese port for want of more money to carry on the enterprise. Then the strong Bapedi tribe under Sekukuni rose in rebellion; many of the Boers refused to fight under an agnostic President; and a large commando which he succeeded in getting together failed to accomplish anything and in the end stampeded homeward. The first result of this failure was anarchy, and the secondary consequence was the development of a situation, through the menacing attitude of the Zulu forces upon the frontier, which brought about annexation to the British Crown and the creation of the strictly modern phase of the South African question.

Discontent and Disintegration

CHAPTER VI.

Development of Cape Colony.

THE dismemberment of South Africa, which commenced in the days of the Great Trek, which was made more distinct by the Conventions of 1852–4, and was destined to culminate in the Conventions of 1881–4, was at first somewhat of a boon to Cape Colony. It removed about ten thousand of the most discontented, restless and ignorant portion of its population and left plenty of land and room for the occupation of future immigrants. They came slowly, however, as the Kaffir wars had given the country a bad name and the reputation of its climate was not particularly good. But, between 1845 and 1850, some five thousand British settlers were brought in under aid from the Government, and a little later a number of Germans who had fought for England in the Crimean war migrated to the Cape. In 1858, two thousand German peasants were settled on lands near the southern coast of the Colony which had once belonged to the Kaffirs. They made excellent settlers, and in time merged with the British population, which came to predominate in the eastern part of the country, as the Dutch did in the western section.

Gradual Growth of Cape Colony

The climate was found to be reasonably healthful. To newcomers the sudden change from heat to cold, owing to the south-east winds, was found unpleasant, and in cases of weak constitutions somewhat dangerous. But with proper care in clothing and gradual acclimatization this difficulty soon moderated, and the

peculiar dryness of the climate was found to make strongly for health. Sunstrokes were rare, and the only serious evil arising from the heat was the drying up of the rivers in the interior of the country. In most parts of the continent malarial fever was then an admitted and serious danger, as it is to-day in the great lake region of Central Africa and in the valley of the Nile. In German East-Africa, in parts of the Transvaal and in the Delagoa Bay region there is still a similar state of affairs. But Cape Colony, the Orange-Free State and Natal were then, and are at the present time, almost entirely free of this dreaded disease. For weak lungs it was discovered that no finer country exists in the world than the Cape, and for the development of general healthfulness and vigour the settlers of the Colony soon found themselves in an ideal region.

The Climate

Natural resources were not quite so apparent. A wealth of brilliant flowers and tropical plants existed, but forests were few, timber was scarce and costly, and it was years before the introduction of the Australian Eucalyptus embowered many a village from the Cape to Kimberley and from Buluwayo to Pretoria in groves of that useful tree. The land in some cases was fertile, but, on the whole, was perhaps more suited to the raising of sheep and cattle than to agriculture in the American or Canadian sense. Farming of the latter kind involves severe labour, and neither the original slaves, the coloured labourers of an after-time, nor the Dutch farmers, were fitted by disposition or nature for the work. But, as the population increased from 26,000 Europeans in 1805 to 182,000 in 1865, and to 237,000 ten years later, the country assumed a more civilized and prosperous appearance. Sheep and cattle were literally scattered over a thousand hills, while various collateral industries were developed by English settlers which the

Natural Resources etc.

slow-moving Dutch would never have dreamed of. Between 1812 and 1820 the Merino sheep was introduced, and its wool soon became a source of profit and wealth. In 1865 ostrich farming was commenced, and speedily developed great importance through the process of artificial incubation. Roads were made, churches and schools were built, municipal government in the towns and villages was introduced, and the Colonial finances were put into shape despite the expenses of Kaffir wars and native troubles—which were mainly charged to the Imperial exchequer. The first railway was constructed in 1859, and wagon roads were carried over various mountain passes and through much of the settled part of the country.

An Executive Council Created

In 1834 an Executive Council had been created composed of members nominated by the Governor, and therefore more or less dependent upon his good-will. Perhaps at that time, and in view of the limited population, the racial rivalry and religious and educational complications, it was just as well that such a body should not be elective, as some desired. Twenty years later, however, when conditions had somewhat changed, a representative Legislature was established composed of a Council and a House of Assembly. Members were to be elected upon a wide franchise, with no distinction of race or color, excepting that a Kaffir had to hold some small amount of property and to have given up the tribal system. There were very few natives in this condition. Meanwhile the dissensions between the Dutch part of the population and the missionaries continued, and they extended at times to the English settlers also. There can be no doubt of the intense irritation aroused by this controversy. The Dutchman looked upon the native as created and existing for his special benefit, and through the effect of contiguity and similarity of conditions often induced the English farmer to agree with him

The missionary, on the other hand, believed himself appointed to guard the interests of the weaker race, and was too apt to forget the suffering caused by Kaffir raids from the outside, in his general sympathy for the downtrodden representatives of the race in the Colony itself.

A Long Struggle

From about 1820 to 1860 this struggle lasted. It weakened the hands of the Governors, who usually shared the Colonial view of the Kaffir wars, as against the missionaries. It injured the reputation of the Colonial Office throughout South Africa from the widespread belief that its officials were inspired, or guided, by the friends of the missionaries and by the impracticable sentiments of Exeter Hall, rather than by the wishes of the people of Cape Colony. It seriously affected the continuity of policy which should have marked the action of the British Government, in these regions of all others, and which, unfortunately, so seldom characterized their treatment of either Cape Governors or native questions. In 1846 commenced the seventh Kaffir or Kosa war. Sandili was the heir of Gaika, the Kosa chief who had figured in a previous conflict, and he had for some time prior to this date permitted raids upon the settlers of the Colony's eastern territory, and had entirely disregarded pledges and arrangements. Finally, Sir Peregrine Maitland sent a military force to occupy the region controlled by Sandili and bring him to terms. With incomprehensible but oft-repeated carelessness in South African warfare, a long ammunition wagon train following the expedition was left practically unguarded, and was, of course, surprised and seized by the Kaffirs. The result of the ensuing retreat of the British troops was a combination of the Kosa and the Tembu tribes, a sweeping raid along the entire frontier, the murder of settlers, the capture of cattle, and the burning of dwellings. The local forces of the Colony

A Sweeping Raid

were hastily got together, and operations carried on in a scattered sort of way for some months until the arrival of several British regiments from abroad. A temporary submission was then made by the natives with a view to the planting of their maize. As soon as this was garnered the war broke out again.

The Governor had meantime been recalled, and was succeeded for a few months by Sir Henry Pottinger. Sandili, however, soon had enough of the struggle, and, in 1847, peace was made after an enormous cost to the British authorities and amid the clamor of ruined Eastern farmers. At the end of the year Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith came out as Governor and High Commissioner, with unusual personal powers and under the awakening perception of the Colonial Office that it was better to let the man on the spot guide affairs than to attempt the real government of South Africa from six thousand miles away. It was not a permanent awakening, but it was useful so long as it lasted. Sir Harry Smith adopted the repudiated native policy of Sir Benjamin D'Urban; proclaimed the territory between the Kei and the Keiskama as a British possession for the absolute use of the western clans of the Kosa tribe; appointed a Commissioner to exercise general authority over the Chiefs and sent a strong body of troops to garrison various forts; and named the region—which once for a brief season had been called after Queen Adelaide—the Province of British Kaffraria. A few years later the eighth Kaffir war took place. The tribes seem to have considered the peace as nothing more than a truce, and as soon as the British authorities began to suppress the worst of their savage customs—notably the murders and tortures arising out of the hunt for witchcraft—discontent very speedily developed into the war of 1850–51. The usual struggle followed, with surprises, raids, murders and the ravaging of the frontier. The war was the most costly of all the

The Province of British Kaffraria

conflicts with these restless tribes, and was specially marked by an event memorable in the annals of British bravery—the loss of H. M. S. *Birkenhead* with 400 soldiers on board. It occurred near Algoa Bay, where the ship had struck a reef in the middle of the night. The women, children and sick people were sent away safely, in all the available boats, while the troops remained drawn up in line as though on parade, with the ship breaking up under them and a sea swarming with sharks around them.

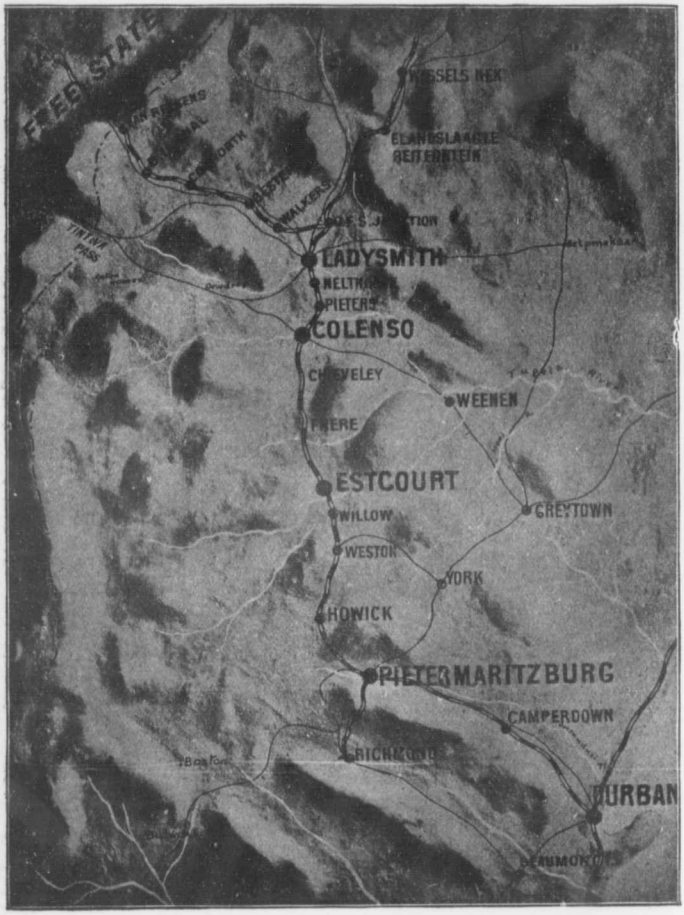
For two years a large force of soldiers, farmers and auxiliaries of various kinds were employed in trying to end a war with enemies who had the fleetness of the antelope and powers of disappearance equal to that of a bird. When their food was exhausted, and not before, the Kosas gave in and asked for peace. As usual in such cases, the Governor was recalled, and Sir George Cathcart appointed his successor. The government of British Kaffraria was reorganized and the region subdivided amongst the Tembus, a section of the Kosa tribe under a chief named Kreli, the western clans of the Kosa and the loyal Fingos. Several regiments of regular troops were maintained in the Province and a body of local police formed from amongst the younger white colonists. In 1857 there took place one of those extraordinary incidents which can only occur in a region such as South Africa. The Kosas, prompted by some wizard who professed to wield unknown and vast powers and to hold communication with the unseen world, destroyed all their cattle and stores of grain in the belief that their ancestors would, as a reward for their faith, join them in driving the white man out of the country and in creating for them a boundless stock of new cattle and a limitless supply of fresh crops. Famine naturally followed, and some 30,000 natives perished of hunger or disease despite all that Sir George Grey, who, in 1854, had become Governor at Cape Town, could do

An Extraordinary Incident

A GENERAL VIEW OF ESTCOURT, TWENTY-FIVE MILES SOUTH OF LADYSMITH

GENERAL VIEW OF CITY OF LADYSMITH [illegible]TAL

(From Photo by Henry Kisch)



MAP SHOWING COUNTRY FROM DURBAN TO LADYSMITH

for them in a hurried supply of provisions and work. Some good came out of the evil. Large tracts of depopulated land were taken possession of by European settlers, peace came to the exhausted region, and in 1865 it was annexed to Cape Colony. It may be added here that some small risings occurred in 1877, termed the ninth Kaffir war, and that in 1880 the region held by the Pondos was formally annexed to the Colony, and its borders thus became coterminous with those of Natal.

Meanwhile, the history of Cape Colony was by no means confined to conflicts with border natives or to the controversies with the Orange Free State, which have been detailed in preceding pages. In 1850 occurred one of the most striking illustrations of what mistakes a fair-minded and well-meaning Home Government may at times be involved in when dealing with far-away regions. There seems to have been no perception in those days of the wrong which might be inflicted upon a Colony by the exportation of convicts undergoing various terms of penal servitude. Confinement in Australia or South Africa seemed to British statesmen, and especially to Earl Grey, who presided over the Colonial Office at this time, no more objectionable on principle than it would be if they were kept at home in the British Isles. They forgot that on being released these men —some punished for serious crimes, some for slight offenses—were let loose upon a community widely scattered and isolated and composed of many persons who, taken in this way, were easy victims to robbery or attack. And they entirely overlooked the danger of allowing hundreds, or in time thousands, of men without personal responsibility or character, to roam at will amongst a large and restless population of natives. They appear to have felt only that in the vast and vacant spaces of the Colonies there was room and verge for a released convict, or a ticket-of-leave man, to make for

A Vexed Question

himself a new career untrammelled by the past, or by the danger of drifting again into the deeps of the great cities at home.

When it was understood at the Cape that the Imperial Government proposed to establish a penal settlement in the Colony, similar to the one which had been formed at Botany Bay, the indignation aroused was immediate and intense. Petitions and protests were sent in great number to London, meetings were held throughout the Colony, and when the *Neptune* arrived in Simon's Bay, Cape Town, with convicts on board, nearly all the people of the Peninsula bound themselves together in a pledge to supply nothing to the ship or to have any dealings with persons connected with it. Sir Harry Smith, who was then Governor, had expressed his own strong opposition to the plan; but he was compelled to obey his orders from home and could not therefore send the vessel back. For five months it lay in the Harbor, supplied from passing men-of-war and treated by the Colonists as though the plague were within its wooden walls. And then, at last, came the order—in frank and acknowledged response to the petitions of the Colonists—transferring its convict cargo to Tasmania.

Penal Settlement in the Colony

Four years after the satisfactory settlement of this vexed question came the grant of Parliamentary institutions to the Colony. This action was part of a general Colonial plan by which full responsible or ministerial government was established in Canada, under Lord Elgin—there had long been elective legislatures in the British-American Provinces—and a system formulated in the Australias similar to that of the Cape. The details of the proposed changes were left by the Colonial Office largely in the hands of the Governor and the appointive Legislative Council, which had been created in 1834, and it was therefore not expected that the result would be extreme in a demo-

A New Constitution

cratic sense. The new constitution was promulgated on March 11, 1853, and by its terms an elective House of Assembly numbering forty-six members was created—afterwards increased to seventy-six, and with a five years' limit in time as against the earlier seven years period. The Upper Chamber or Legislative Council was, to the surprise of many, also made elective. It consisted of fifteen members, who were afterwards increased to twenty-two, with the Chief Justice of the Colony as an additional member and *ex-officio* President. The right to vote for both Houses was given to every male British subject over twenty-one years of age who occupied a house or land worth $125, or was in receipt of a salary or mixed remuneration valued at $250. There was no distinction as to race, color, religion or mode of life, and this pronounced measure of electoral liberty was a matter of constant friction in the minds of the Dutch settlers—so far as they cared in these years to think or trouble themselves about the affairs of an alien rule. The legislation, however, was more important as the enunciation of a principle than because of its working out in practice at this particular period. There were few natives for many years in a position to take advantage of even this low franchise, and, of course, all who continued to share in the tribal system were absolutely debarred. In 1892 the right to vote was limited by fresh legislation—resulting from the rising political power of the Afrikander Bund and the Dutch dislike to the natives—to such adult males as were able to sign their names and write down their addresses and employment. The franchise qualification was raised to a property one of $375, while the wage qualification was allowed to remain as it had been.

Right to Vote Limited

The first Parliament of the Colony met in June, 1854, and from that time onward all laws had to be sanctioned by both Houses and approved by the Governor. As elsewhere in the Empire the right

of disallowance was reserved to the Queen for a given period after such laws reached London, but in practice the power was, and is seldom used. Like so many of the apparently dormant prerogatives of the Crown it is, however, available for an emergency. Following this creation of Parliamentary institutions came the usual struggle for Parliamentary control over the appointments to office, over the expenditure of money, and over the *personnel* of the Governor's Council. As in other Colonies, it was found impossible to construct in a day, or a year, an exact imitation of Great Britain's Cabinet and governmental system, with all its complex Parliamentary code, its elaborate constitutional checks and counter-checks, its numerous traditions and precedents. And there was, of course, the same difficulty as Canada had already faced and overcome—the presence of a large electoral population with no hereditary or natural adaptability to the British constitutional system, and without, in some cases, the basis of cordial loyalty which is so essential to its successful operation. At first, therefore, the officials of the Executive Council (or what afterwards became the Ministry) were appointed by the Colonial Secretary. They framed the financial legislation of the Government and introduced it to the House of Assembly, and they held the right of discussion, though not of voting, in both Houses. This system was maintained for eighteen years, and, in view of England's heavy financial responsibilities in South Africa, the racial condition of Cape Colony itself and the continuous troubles everywhere with natives and Boers, it was, perhaps, as well that the threads of government should be largely held in London. And this may be said despite all the vacillations of the Colonial Office. Had there been firmness and continuity in the general Home policy concerning South Africa, there could be no question at all upon this point.

The First Parliament of the Colony

Meanwhile, Sir George Grey had been distinguishing himself by

a singularly wise administration between the years 1854 and 1859. He conciliated the Hottentots of the Colony by granting certain claims which had been long and fruitlessly pressed upon the authorities. He settled for a time the native troubles in Kaffraria, and founded a great hospital for natives, in which, by 1890, more than 130,000 cases had been treated, and the resulting cures heralded in many corners of "Darkest Africa" as a proof of the Englishman's power and unexpected beneficence. He despatched troops to India at a critical period of the Mutiny and upon his own responsibility, settled the German Legion from the Crimea in the Colony, and brought out a number of German families for its members to marry into. Finally, during his first Governorship, he urged the union of the Legislatures of the Cape, Natal and Orange Free State in a common federal system, and at a time when the Free State might easily have been persuaded to accept the policy. But the Colonial Office would have none of it. Unfortunately, and to the lasting injury of South Africa, the Home Government distrusted him, and in 1858 he was recalled.

Wise Administration

The Derby Administration, however, met with defeat while Sir George Grey was on the sea, and when he reached London it was to find that he had been reappointed to his position. It long afterwards became known that this was done by the personal command of the Queen, who had appreciated the policy he pursued and had sympathized with his proposed federal scheme.* But despite this fact the new Government, as a whole, was so strongly opposed to the much-feared increase of responsibilities, under a federation in South Africa, that Sir George Grey was obliged to forego the hope of even attempting to carry his scheme further. During his second administration, which only lasted until 1861, he entertained Prince Alfred (the Duke of Edinburgh),

Sir George Grey Reappointed

* *Life and Times of Sir George Grey.* By W. L. Rees. London, 1892. Vol. XI., p. 298.

and traversed with him a great part of Cape Colony, Kaffraria and Natal; improved to an immense extent the splendid natural Harbor at Cape Town; visited the Orange Free State and established at Bloemfontein, as a token of friendship, the Grey Institute, in which so much has since been done for the higher education of the youth of that State. In 1861 he accepted the Governorship of New Zealand, and was succeeded by Sir P. E. Wodehouse, whose administration was chiefly distinguished for the annexation of Basutoland. In 1870 Sir Henry Barkly took charge of affairs and assumed possession for Great Britain of the Diamond Fields. With the coming of Sir Bartle Frere, in 1877, arose new developments along the lines of Sir George Grey's disappointed hopes and hampered policy. This time, however, a check was to be given from within the Colony instead of by the Colonial Office. The wheel of fate refused to reverse itself.

Annexation of Basutoland

The year 1872 had seen the grant of full responsible government to the Colony and the crowning of its Parliamentary system by the establishment of the first Cape Ministry. As in the British-American Colonies, from 1854 onwards, the Ministry now had to obtain and hold the confidence of a majority of the members of the House of Assembly, and its defeat upon any important question necessitated immediate retirement. The head of the Government, or Prime Minister, was *ex-officio* in charge of native affairs within the Colony, but, owing to the complex position of South Africa in the relationship of its various states to each other and towards the natives, the Governor of Cape Colony remained High Commissioner in South Africa with the control of British interests outside the bounds of Cape Colony. In such matters he was responsible to the Crown and not to his own Colonial Ministry. Parliament could be dissolved, constitutionally, at the pleasure of the Governor, but practically and mainly upon the advice

The First Cape Ministry

of his Ministry. It could not sit longer than five years, so that the people were, and are, able to turn out their Government either through pressure upon their representatives at Cape Town, resulting in a Parliamentary vote of want of confidence, or by their own votes at the polls as the result of a general election. The following have been successively Prime Ministers of Cape Colony:

1872, Sir John C. Molteno, K. C. M. G.
1878, Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, K. C. M. G.
1881, Sir Thomas C. Scanlen, K. C. M. G.
1884, Sir Thomas Upington, K. C. M. G.
1886, Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, K. C. M. G.
1890, The Hon. Cecil J. Rhodes.
1893, Right Hon. Cecil J. Rhodes, P. C.
1896, Right Hon. Sir Gordon Sprigg, P. C.
1898, Hon. W. P. Schreiner, Q. C., C. M. G.

Lord Carnarvon's Scheme of Federation

Upon the structure of these Governments and around the names of their members turns much of the history of Cape Colony during these years; although a man of the wide influence of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr never held office except for a few months in 1881, while Sir John Henry de Villiers has not been in a Ministry since 1873 when he retired from the Molteno Cabinet to accept the Chief Justiceship of the Colony. The first great question which had to be dealt with under the new constitution was Lord Carnarvon's scheme of federation. This most cultured representative of British statecraft had, curiously enough, been Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time when the head of that Department, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, had refused any favorable consideration to the policy proposed by Sir George Grey in 1858. He had then agreed with his chief; now he was at the head of the Colonial Office, under the inspiration of Lord Beaconsfield's new Imperialism, as a convert in

the most enthusiastic degree to the general principle of Colonial federations under the Crown. Accordingly, in 1875, he addressed a despatch to the Cape Government pointing out the complications of South African inter-state relations, the advantages of unity and the willingness of the Imperial Government to enact legislation bringing into effect a federal union of the various communities. At the same time he sent out, as a sort of confidential envoy to press the matter upon public attention, a man who, with all his brilliant attainments as a writer and historian—the late James Anthony Froude—seems to have been without that tact and personal magnetism so essential to the success of a delicate mission. His own record of the matter in *Oceana* proves this conclusively. And it was not a favorable moment for any general consideration of the matter. The Orange Free State

Sir Garnet Wolseley as Governor

was in a somewhat exasperated condition over the annexation of Griqualand West to Cape Colony, and had not yet become mollified by the personal influence of President Brand and by the results of the monetary return given for the loss of the Diamond Fields. The Transvaal was in a position of such factional discontent and general disintegration that its people could hardly have dealt clearly with such an important issue had even their still keen hatred of the English been eliminated from the question. Natal was in imminent danger from the massing of Zulu spears upon its frontiers; while the Dutch people in Cape Colony looked upon the whole matter with suspicion and certainly without sympathy.

Following Mr. Froude's mission to the Cape came the appointment of Sir Garnet (afterwards Field Marshal Lord) Wolseley as Governor of Natal, with the special object of studying the situation and promoting federation. He returned to London after a few months without accomplishing anything very definite, and on August 3, 1876, presided over a Conference held in the metropolis and attended by

THE LEICESTERSHIRE REGIMENT RETREATING TO LADYSMITH BOMBARDED BY THE BOERS

THE NAVAL BRIGADE AT LADYSMITH SHELLING THE BOERS, OCTOBER 30, 1899

The large gun mounted on Captain Scott's carriage is shown in action

several South African delegates. Amongst them was Theophilus Shepstone, a clever and ambitious man who had for years been in charge of native affairs in and around Natal, and for some time prior to this date had been in London urging a union of the various States as the only way out of existing evils and difficulties. The meeting adjourned, however, without any practical result, and in the succeeding year Sir Bartle Frere, a brilliant Anglo-Indian administrator, was sent out as Governor and High Commissioner with a special view to the promotion of confederation. About the same time Mr. (now created Sir) Theophilus Shepstone was given exceptional authority as a Special Commissioner in Natal to take steps for the annexation of the Transvaal under certain possible conditions of necessity or willingness on the part of its inhabitants. These conditions appeared to present themselves and annexation followed; as did the Zulu war and the war of 1881. Meantime Sir Bartle Frere found himself and his policy opposed by practically the whole Dutch population of Cape Colony. He was violently criticised by the press and politicians of the Colonial Boers—who were now awakening to the possibilities of racial power under the new institutions of the country—and in 1880 had the mortification of having his carefully prepared federal proposals thrown out of the Cape Parliament; chiefly at the instigation of the Transvaal Boers, who were just then entering upon their struggle for independence. Meanwhile the Beaconsfield Government was defeated, Mr. Gladstone came into power, and in the prompt recall of Sir Bartle Frere and the equally prompt repudiation of his policy another unmerited grave was dug in the cemetery which South Africa has provided for the reputations of many Governors.

Steps for Annexation of Transvaal

This action of the Cape Parliament was an effective evidence of the growing political influence of the Dutch population in the

THE NAVAL BRIGADE AT LADYSMITH SHELLING THE BOERS, OCTOBER 30, 1899
The large gun mounted on Captain Scott's carriage is shown in action

Colony. Another was the establishment in 1882 of the dual language system. Prior to this date, and since 1828, the English language alone could be used in Parliamentary debate, in the Courts of Law, or in the Public Offices. But now the local Dutch farming population had awakened to its real political influence—largely through the formation of the Afrikander Bund in 1881—and its representatives in the Assembly soon obtained a change in the law. Henceforward either language could be used in any place or position, and it was also enacted eventually that no one should be admitted to the ordinary branch of the Civil Service without a perfect knowledge of both English and Dutch. Such a result was inevitable, under the circumstances, but it is hard to see any real advantage which has ensued. The measure did not improve the standard of public life, and even Dr. Theal, who is disposed to give the brightest view of Dutch development in the Colony, declares that it would be incorrect to say that the change "raised the tone of debate in Parliament or improved the administration of justice in the slightest degree." As a matter of fact it helped still further to isolate the Dutch people, encouraged the publication of Dutch newspapers, helped the progress of Dutch political organization in Parliament and in the Afrikander Bund, and promoted the use of a *patois* which was very far, indeed, from being the mother-tongue of the race.

General Progress

Meanwhile, Cape Colony was making considerable material and general progress. It was largely an English development, as the Dutch population still adhered to the slow-going ways of its ancestors, and cattle and sheep remained the chief support of the farmers under British rule as they did of those beyond the Orange or the Vaal. At the beginning of the century, when the Colony finally came under the control of Great Britain, its products had been limited to grain, cattle and wine—the total exports being under half a million of dollars in value.

At present they include aloes, coffee, copper ore, ostrich feathers, dried fruits, guano, angora hair, hides, horns, skins, tobacco, wine, wool and diamonds. In 1875 the vines of the Colony yielded four and a half million gallons of brandy. In the same year three million pounds of tobacco were produced; while the Colony, as a whole, possessed eleven million sheep, twenty-two thousand ostriches, over three million goats and a million horned cattle. The trade of the country has always been chiefly with Great Britain and carried in British vessels. Between 1861 and 1886 the imports doubled and the exports trebled. From 1872 to 1897 they rose by leaps and bounds—the imports increasing by $67,000,000 and the exports by $66,000,000. Since English agricultural settlement and work has increased the growth of grain in some of the richer regions has been considerable. Wheat, maize, oats, barley and millet are common crops, while rice and cotton are grown in certain localities—the latter being still an experimental production. Merino sheep have largely taken the place of the big-tailed sheep of the early Dutch settlers. The following table,* beginning with 1854 and including 1872, as the years marked by important constitutional changes, will illustrate the general progress in this connection:

Facts and Figures

	1854	1872	1897
Receipts,	$1,479,010	$ 5,770,205	$ 36,949,830
Expenditures,	1,562,605	4,612,840	34,261,930
Public Debt,	none	7,755,470	136,412,025
Shipping, tons (inwards),	1,202,715	2,412,780	32,101,005
" (outwards),	1,197,975	2,353,455	32,166,020
Imports,	7,740,185	21,943,640	89,659,390
Exports,	3,822,305	30,347,645	97,181,520

In 1868 the declared value of diamonds exported was $750,

*Condensed from official figures in the *Statistical Register*. Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. 1897.

while from 1881 onwards the export averaged twenty millions a year—in 1897 being $22,271,880. In 1872 the export of wool reached its highest point, and exceeded sixteen millions in value. Since then it has diminished, owing to the effect of frequent droughts upon the sheep, and, in 1897, was but little over seven millions. Of all the exports Angora hair is now the most important, and excels gold, diamonds and precious stones. In 1857 its export was about $5,000 in value; forty years later it was $60,900,000. The population had meantime been growing slowly. The Census of 1865 gave the Europeans as numbering 181,592, and the natives 314,789. Ten years later the figures were 236,783 and 484,201, respectively, and in 1891 the Census of that year showed an increase to 382,198 Europeans and 1,217,762 natives. How far these figures are accurate it is difficult to say. There has been an objection to differentiating between European races in the official returns—partly from the English portion not liking to appear in so marked a minority and partly, perhaps, from the Dutch themselves not desiring to have their full strength known. And it is not improbable that the last Census very greatly understated the numbers of the latter; as seems to have also been the case with the figures of Boer population in the two Republics.

Other Statistics

In other branches of development there have been marked evidences of advancement; though in the figures which follow, and notably in connection with railways and banking, the English part of the population is again the principal progressive element. In 1860 there were 225 schools and 18,757 scholars, and in 1897 2,358 schools and 119,812 scholars. The railways were taken over by the Government in 1873 to the extent of 64 miles. In 1897 the railways under Government control covered 1901 miles, with total receipts of $15,350,000 and expenditures of $9,500,000. This particular branch

of progress was greatly assisted by the Orange Free State under President Brand. Telegraph lines, with 19 stations, 781 miles of wire sending 15,500 messages in the year, were also assumed by the Government in 1873, and in 1897 there were 426 stations, 18,631 miles of wire, and 2,392,503 messages despatched. The fixed and floating deposits in the banks of the Colony amounted, in 1865, to ten million dollars and the bills and notes under discount to over fifteen millions. In 1897 the fixed deposits were $13,500,000, the floating deposits $24,000,000, and the discounts $17,000,000, in round numbers. The chief railways in the Colony start from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London, and the main line into the interior now reaches Buluwayo. If Mr. Cecil Rhodes ever succeeds in the aim of his life, it will eventually reach Cairo, and thus connect the Cape with Egypt.

Until the discovery of gold in the Transvaal the British emigration to South Africa was never extensive, and even since that time it has not been greatly added to so far as Cape Colony is concerned. The total of those sent from England between 1873 and 1884 was only 23,337. From a religious standpoint the condition of the Colony is somewhat complex. There are two Church of England Dioceses, and the Church is very popular amongst the English part of the community, whilst its organization is excellent—a fact largely due to the work done during many years by Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town. It is in close touch with the Church at home, and in 1874 had 45,000 adherents, of whom 19,000 were colored people. The Roman Catholic Church at that time numbered 8,000, and the Dutch Reformed Church, which is, of course, the Church of the Boers, included 132,000 adherents. In 1891 there were, according to the Census, 186,073 white members of the Dutch Reformed congregations in the Colony and 24,441 colored; 46,114 white adherents of the Church

The Colony from a Religious Standpoint

of England and an equal number of colored; 20,215 white adherents of Wesleyan Methodism and over a hundred thousand colored; and 12,000 Roman Catholics, mostly white; with the balance of the population scattering amongst minor denominations and the various sections of the Lutheran Church.

The most prominent public man of British extraction in the earlier period of the history of Cape Colony was the Hon. William Porter, C. M. G., who died in 1880 after many years' seclusion at his home in Ireland. A native and barrister of Erin, he was Attorney-General of Cape Colony as far back as 1839, and held office for a long period prior to the attainment of responsible government. The constitution of 1854 was largely his creation, and his personality, combined with great natural eloquence, made him a strong place in the hearts of the people. Three times he refused the position of Chief Justice, and, in 1872, declined the office of Prime Minister under the newly established system of complete self-government. Bishop Gray of Cape Town, who died in the year just mentioned, was also one of its great public figures. During quarter of a century, and amidst innumerable ecclesiastical storms and political complications, he administered the affairs of the Anglican Church, and left it in a strongly organized position as the "Church of South Africa," with its own Synod, prosperous finances and growing membership. Sir Walter Curry, of Cape Mounted Rifles fame; Sir Sydney Smith Bell, a learned Judge of twenty-three years' labor; Sir Christoffel Josephus Brand, the first Speaker of the House of Assembly; the Hon. Robert Godlonton, M. L. C., and Thomas Burt Glanville, M. L. A.; Hon. Saul Solomon, M. L. A., Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., M. L. A., Hon. J. W. Leonard, M. L. A., Hon Jonathan Ayliff, M. L. A., Hon. George Wood, M. L. C., the Hon. Andries Stockenstrom, Judge of the Supreme Court, and John Noble, C. M. G., were all men who left their mark upon the history of the Colony.

After William Porter, the most prominent of the earlier Colonists, was the Hon. John Paterson. A Scotchman by birth, he went out to South Africa in 1840, and became a teacher, a journalist, a capitalist, a banker, and, finally, during many years was a keen politician. A member of both Houses in turn, a strong advocate of Confederation and railway development, a progressive leader in every sense of the word, his death by drowning in 1880 left a serious void in the life of the Colony. Of Sir John Charles Molteno, the first Premier at the Cape, much might be said. An Englishman by birth, he was a Colonist from the age of sixteen (1830) until his death in 1886. Participating in different Kaffir wars, fighting for responsible government, struggling for railway extension, sharing in all the ups and downs of local political life, he became Prime Minister in 1872, and retired from public life in 1883, after receiving the honor of knighthood from the Queen.

In later years and in the development of Dutch individuality the Afrikander Bund did some measure of good.

Some Prominent Leaders

Apart from its influence in arousing a racial passion which was innate, but as yet sluggish, amongst the Cape Boers, it had detached them somewhat from their previous position of absolute isolation, and, under the local leadership of Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr and others, had brought them into political and constitutional action. That this growing knowledge and experience was ultimately twisted by the influence of President Kruger of the Transvaal and President Reitz of the Free State into an increased and active aversion to Great Britain and the English was the misfortune of the situation. Meantime, however, the movement taught the Dutch something of the freer life of British politics and brought some able men to the front. Mr. Hofmeyr could have been Premier at almost any time during these years, but seems to have been without personal ambition of the official kind.

Sir John Henry de Villiers was the first Attorney-General under responsible government, President of the Legislative Council for many years, and has been Chief Justice of the Colony since 1873. He was a Delegate in 1894, with Mr. Hofmeyr, to the Colonial Conference at Ottawa, and three years later was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council—the highest Court of Appeal in the Empire—as part of a new policy which included Canadian, Australian and South African members in that important body. He has long represented the best type of loyal, cultured and able Dutchmen at the Cape. His name indicates the strain of Huguenot blood which so curiously mingles with many of the Dutch families of the Cape.

Sir Pieter Hendrik Faure, K. C. M. G., is another Dutch leader of the same type—loyal to the finger-tips and progressive in ideal and in practice and as a follower of Cecil Rhodes. He was in the latter's Ministry from 1890 to 1896, and in the succeeding Government of Sir Gordon Sprigg until 1898. The Hon. Jacobus Wilhelmus Sauer has been a very different style of political leader. A thorough Dutchman and enthusiastic member of the Afrikander Bund, he helped to break up the first Rhodes' Ministry, in which he had been included as a part of the Premier's conciliatory policy, and he is now a member of very doubtful loyalty in the Schreiner Government. He has declined a knighthood. Mr. Wilhelm Philip Schreiner has not had that opportunity, but he has accepted a C. M. G., or Companionship in the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He was a member of the second Rhodes' Ministry (1893) for a short time, and, in 1898, when the Bund had become a strong political factor and had overpowered Rhodes and his friendly successor—Sir Gordon Sprigg—at the polls, he became, on October 14th of that year, Premier of Cape Colony as well as the local leader of the Bund in practical succession to Hofmeyr. As events developed in the

direction of racial hostilities in South Africa, and as political power at the Cape came to centre in the hands of the Bund Ministry, Mr. Hofmeyr's influence has naturally diminished and that of Messrs. Schreiner, Sauer and Te Water increased. The latter, the Hon. Thomas Nicholas German Te Water, B. A., M. D., has been, for some time, a leader of the Afrikander party, and, though a graduate of Edinburgh University, a student of Berlin, Vienna and other Universities and a man of culture, he also has become enmeshed in the web of racial or Dutch ideals. He was for two years in the last Sprigg Ministry, and is now in that of Mr. Schreiner.

First and foremost of all English leaders in South Africa, and ranking higher in practical power and developed policy than any British Governor or ruler in its history, is Mr. Cecil John Rhodes. He has been in the Parliament of Cape Colony since 1880, and was for a short time, in 1884, Treasurer in the Scanlen Ministry. He held no other official post until he became Chairman of the British South Africa Company in 1889, and Premier of the Colony in 1890. Of the other Prime Ministers of the Cape Sir Thomas Upington was a clever Irish Roman Catholic lawyer, a brilliant speaker and strong Imperialist, who became Attorney-General in 1878, after he had only been a couple of years in the Colony. Six years later he was Premier. Sir John Gordon Sprigg is an Englishman by birth and a politician of acknowledged personal probity. He is, however, described by a well-known writer on Colonial affairs* as a political opportunist who has changed his opinions upon various subjects, and who generally believes in being in accord with the majority wherever an opening may occur. This opinion arises somewhat from the fact that his policy of recent years has been in accord with that of Rhodes—up to 1895—and was very conciliatory toward the Dutch majority, while

Mr. Cecil Rhodes

* *Problems of Greater Britain.* By Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M. P. London, 1890.

his own views were known to be strongly British. Sir James Sivewright has not been Premier of the Colony, but was the pioneer head and front of its telegraph system—a native of Scotland and a graduate of Aberdeen—and was a member of the first Rhodes Ministry and the third Sprigg Ministry. One other politician must be mentioned—the Hon. John Xavier Merriman. A native of England, a son of Bishop Merriman of Grahamstown, a graduate of Oxford, and an early Tory and loyalist of strong views and enthusiastic adherence to Rhodes; he has developed into a Radical and a follower of Schreiner and the Afrikander Bund. It has been a remarkable change, presents a curious combination of racial inconsistencies, and has made him intensely unpopular amongst the Progressive, or Rhodes' party of recent years, as well as amongst the English element of the troubled present. He has been a member of the Scanlen Ministry, the first Rhodes Ministry, and belongs to the present Schreiner Government.

Sir James Sivewright

Meanwhile the parties of to-day had been developing—the Afrikander party and the Progressives. The former included Dutch leaders such as Hofmeyr, Schreiner, Te Water and Sauer, and a few Englishmen like J. X. Merriman. The latter was composed of English politicians such as Rhodes, Sprigg and Upington, and a few Dutchmen like Sir P. Faure. The policy of the former is and has been openly for some time voiced in the phrase: "Africa for the Afrikander." The policy of the latter is that of territorial expansion—as in the annexations to Cape Colony of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland—and of British supremacy throughout South Africa. Of course there have been many changes and developments, and it has only been within the past few years (1896–1900) that the policy of conciliating the Dutch has been in great measure dropped owing to its apparent impracticability. For the time being the Afrikander party is in

The Parties of To-day

power. It triumphed in the general elections of 1898, and the Legislative Assembly at Cape Town has a Dutch majority, the Ministry is emphatically a Bund Government, and the Legislative Council has fifteen Boer members to eight English. Such has been the final development of equal rights and British constitutional freedom in this South African Colony.

CHAPTER VII.

Imperial Policy in South Africa.

LIKE most of England's Colonial Governors those of the Cape were, from the time of Lord Caledon's arrival in 1807, men of character, standing and ability. They might make mistakes in policy, they might occasionally be led astray by local advisers and they were always liable to censure or recall from a Colonial Office which too often judged local conditions from the standpoint of Downing Street rather than by a clear comprehension of the difference between struggling pioneer communities and a wealthy and matured home society. But their intentions were good, they were never known to be, or even charged with being corrupt, and they usually had a degree of experience in public life which was naturally useful to a new country with crude institutions. Lord Caledon improved the postal system and established Circuit Courts for the better administration of justice in outlying districts. Sir John Cradock, who came out in 1811, established schools in the country regions and tried to control the nomadic tendencies of the Dutch farmers by making them freeholders of farms ranging from 6000 to 20,000 acres in extent. Lord Charles Somerset—a brother of the Duke of Beaufort and of Lord Raglan, the well-known Crimean General of after-years—was appointed in 1814 and carried out many measures of value to the infant Colony. He founded new townships, promoted industrial development, encouraged the importation of sheep and himself brought out Merinos whom he

The Early Governors of Cape Colony

established in sundry breeding-farms. At the same time he broached and carried out the important scheme of immigration known in its result as the Albany Settlement and as one of the chief factors in the progress of the period. His large salary of fifty thousand dollars, paid by the Local Government was, therefore, well earned and though an unpopular and arbitrary man he certainly appears to have done good service to the community.

In 1826 Sir Lowry Cole succeeded to the position and attempted for a time the difficult and dangerous task of Anglicizing the population. Eight years afterwards General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who had seen military service in Canada, and elsewhere, was appointed to carry out the slave emancipation policy. Then came Sir George Napier, under whose régime a splendid system of roads was created and, in 1847, General Sir Harry Smith, a most popular and able Governor. He was followed by Sir George Cathcart in 1852. All of these rulers had to deal with native or Boer wars and none of them had much time to spare for the cultivation of material progress in the generally harassed country. From 1854 to 1862, however, Sir George Grey administered the affairs of the Colony and to this remarkable man South Africa owes much, and would have owed more had he not been hampered and overruled at every turn by Imperial fears of a policy of expansion and Imperial objections to the assumption of further responsibilities.

Good Service to the Community

This was the period when Little Englanders abounded in the mother country; when Tories and Radicals were agreed in opposing any added links to the chain of Empire; when the masses believed that the manufacturing industries and commerce which they saw advancing by leaps and bounds on every side were entirely independent of political boundaries and national allegiance; when

the markets of the world seemed for a time to belong to England, and the markets of the Colonies were in comparison absolutely insignificant; when public men like John Bright and Richard Cobden, Cornewall Lewis and Sir William Molesworth, Lord Brougham and Lord Ellenborough, Robert Lowe and even Lord John Russell, spoke of a future in which the Colonies would be independent, and of a present which was simply preliminary to a destiny which they did not regret. The popular idol of that day was Trade, as the popular idol of the last days of the century is Empire. The swing of the pendulum has come indeed, but it has brought with it a war which the acceptance of Sir George Grey's policy at this time would have prevented.

England's Unsettled Colonies

There is, of course, much to excuse this view of the Colonies in, and about, 1850. The British-American Provinces were still in a dissatisfied and disorganized condition from the Rebellion of 1837, the racial troubles of 1848, and the fiscal difficulties which followed the repeal of the Corn Laws and Preferential duties by England. The value and resources of Australia were practically unknown. It was still the home of convicts, and had only just entered upon a period of rushing settlement and turbulent mining successes in which the problems of government were extremely complicated. South Africa had been the scene of nothing but war and trouble. All the later Governors had been recalled one after the other, and their policy frequently reversed without either conciliating the Colonists or controlling the restless masses of native population along the ever-changing frontiers. As a rule the earlier policy toward the Kaffirs had been one of half-measures. The first plan of alliances with native chiefs broke down, and in Lord Charles Somerset's time had ended in conflict. Then came the Boer wars with the Zulus in Natal and a British effort to protect the natives against the invaders' onslaughts. Sir

Benjamin D'Urban's policy in 1835, after the Kaffir war of that time, was the establishment of a living frontier along the east of Cape Colony, which should be sufficiently strong to resist the pressure of the savage masses from beyond. A line of European settlers was to be established, and beyond that a body of loyal Kaffirs supported by a string of forts. Before a Committee of the House of Commons this was afterwards declared by D'Urban's successor, Sir G. Cathcart, to have been a wise and necessary policy. But, unfortunately, it involved an advance from the Fish to the Kei River, and such a thing the Colonial Office would not tolerate. The policy was reversed and the territory in question given back to the Kaffirs.

Sir George Grey (1854–61) took a different line of action and policy. Everything that he did was bold and determined. He acted first, assumed the responsibility next, and made it necessary for the Colonial Office to either approve, or else recall, a Governor who had for the first time in a quarter of a century proved a successful South African ruler. This statement is not necessarily a reflection upon previous Governors. Sir Benjamin D'Urban was overruled by Downing Street. Sir George Napier went out simply to reverse a certain policy under detailed instructions. General Sir Peregrine Maitland had distinguished himself as a soldier, had made an excellent Governor of Upper Canada and of Nova Scotia, and was no more responsible for the Kaffir war which caused his inevitable recall than was the Premier of Great Britain. General Sir Harry Smith, the victor of Aliwal in India, and the only British officer who before 1899 had won a direct victory over the Boers, had in him the making of a statesman, as his annexation of the Orange River region proved. But the war with Sandili brought about his recall, and a very few years also saw the reversal of his policy toward the Boers, the creation of the independent Free State,

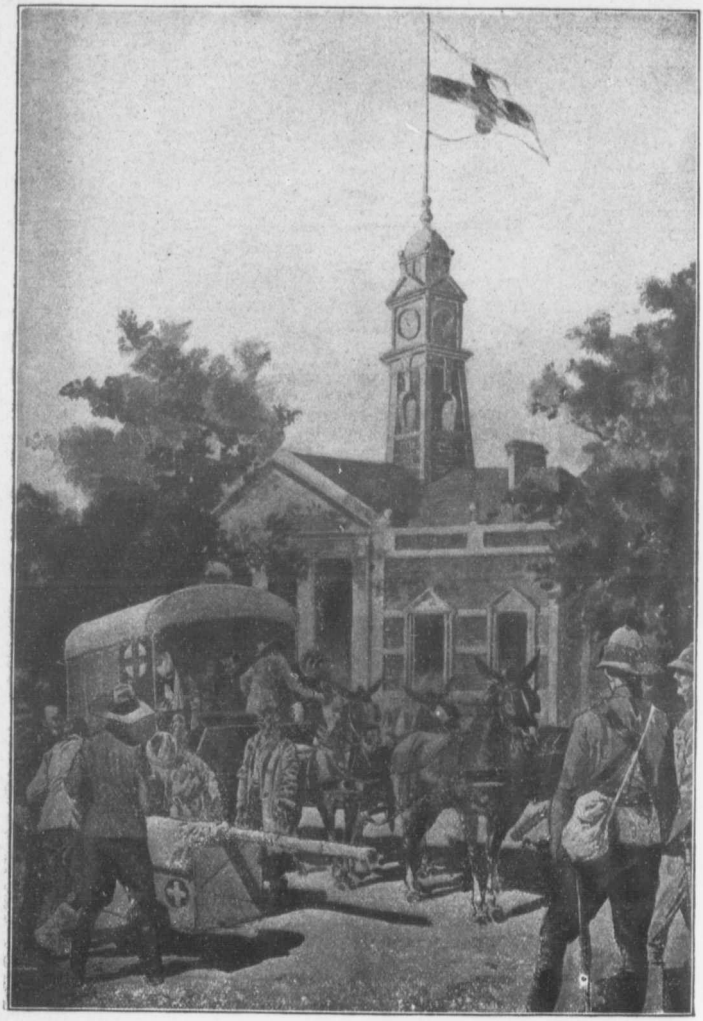
The Establishment of the Transvaal

the establishment of the Transvaal, and the foundation of endless opportunities for trouble in the future. For these actions the Government of the Earl of Aberdeen and the Secretaryship of the Duke of Newcastle must always hold an unpleasant responsibility. Sir George Grey did what he could to rectify the errors which had been made. He was instinct with the Imperial idea, and, although doomed to fail in some measure in the attainment of his great ambitions, none the less did splendid work for the Empire. The men at the Colonial Office were constantly changing, and the only continuity in their policy was a common desire to be relieved from any new developments and fresh responsibilities. Politics did not come into the matter at all, as one party was then as ignorant of Colonial requirements and as indifferent to Colonial possibilities as the other.

Governors and Colonial Office Differ

During Grey's seven years' administration of the Cape, for instance, Sidney Herbert (afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea), Lord John Russell, Sir William Molesworth, Henry Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Lord Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), and the Duke of Newcastle, succeeded each other at the Colonial Office; while Sir Frederick Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford) was Permanent Under-Secretary during part of the period. Molesworth, Russell, Stanley and Labouchere were all tainted strongly at this time with the Manchester School theory, and Sir F. Rogers who, in his more permanent position, had greater influence than all the passing Secretaries of State put together, is upon record as having advised his chief, on more than one occasion, to encourage the Colonies in every line of thought and action which would develop separatist and independence sentiment. It was little wonder, therefore, that Sir George Grey failed in his effort to weld the infant States and Colonies—first of South Africa and afterwards of Australasia—in a federal union. Had he succeeded in the one it would

HOSPITAL TRAIN LOADING WOUNDED SOLDIERS



THE TOWN HALL AT LADYSMITH CONVERTED INTO A HOSPITAL

have averted much bloodshed and racial hatred, and in the other much of useless controversy, crude constitution-mongering and demagogic development. "I believe I should have succeeded," he declared in bitterness of heart many years afterwards; but the statesman proposed, the Colonial Office disposed. For years the whole scope of the suggested federation was discussed between the Governor and the Imperial authorities. The former suggested the constitution of the then federated islands of New Zealand as a practical basis, and even obtained a Resolution of the Free State Volksraad in favor of the general principle. The consent of Cape Colony would have been unanimous. Natal was ready, and it is not likely that the conflicting and tiny republics into which the Transvaal was then divided would have long resisted Free State influence and the personal magnetism which Sir George Grey could have brought to bear upon them. Even had their deeper prejudices and denser ignorance prevailed for a time in the perpetuation of their isolation, the increased prosperity of the Free State under the new conditions would have ultimately brought them into the union.

Federal Union Proposed

When the Cape Parliament met in 1859 the Governor placed before it the Resolutions of the Orange River Volksraad, and in his accompanying address said: "You would, in my belief, confer a lasting benefit upon Great Britain and upon the inhabitants of this country if you could succeed in devising a form of federal union under which the several provinces composing it should have full and free scope of action left to them, through their own local Governments and Legislatures, upon all subjects relating to their individual prosperity or happiness; whilst they should act under a general federal Government in relation to all points which concern the general safety or weal." Along this path alone lay safety and success for the South African States. A copy of the address was sent to the Colo-

nial Office with full explanations and comments, and then came a reply expressing great dissatisfaction at the question having been brought before the Legislature at Cape Town without authority from the Ministers at home. Sir George claimed, on the other hand, to have indirectly understood that the policy proposed had the approval of the Colonial Department. There seems, however, to be little doubt from the terms of the general correspondence that he did really try to force the hands of the Imperial Government in this matter; as one which he deemed essential to the welfare of the Empire, and for the success of which he was willing to risk personal humiliation in a bold effort to stem the tide of anti-colonialism then swelling on the shores of British thought and sentiment. The result, however, was his recall in a dispatch from Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, dated 4th June, 1859, and containing an expression of the high opinion held by the Government of Sir George Grey's endowments and patriotism, but explaining that "they could not safely continue to entrust with your present functions one committed, as you have committed yourself, to the policy of which they disapprove on a subject of the first importance; nor could they expect from you the necessary assistance when steps, which you have taken without that authority, have of necessity to be retraced." The reply to this was dated July 20, 1859, and constitutes a distinct and complete vindication of his general policy. In its closing paragraph is summed up the situation facing more than one Governor of Cape Colony, or High Commissioner to South Africa, before and since his time:

Government's Disapproval of Grey's Policy

"Can a man, who, on a distant and exposed frontier, surrounded by difficulties, with invasions of Her Majesty's territories threatening on several points, assume a responsibility which he, guided by many circumstances which he can neither record nor remember as they come hurrying on one after another, be fairly judged of in respect of the amount of responsibility he assumes by those who, in

the quiet of distant offices in London, know nothing of the anxieties or nature of the difficulties he had to encounter? If Her Majesty's possessions and Her Majesty's subjects are saved from threatening dangers, and they gratefully acknowledge this, whilst the Empire receives no hurt, is it a fitting return that the only reward he should receive should be the highest punishment which it is in the power of Her Majesty's Ministers to inflict? This may be the reward they bestow; but the true one of the consciousness of difficult duties performed to the best of his ability, with great personal sacrifice, they cannot take from him."

Sir George Grey's Vindication

But Sir George Grey had friends of greater power than the novelist politician at the Colonial Office or his narrow-visioned assistant. From the time, in 1857, when he had diverted troops to India, which had stopped at Cape Town on their way to China, and by this seemingly reckless assumption of responsibility had enabled Sir Colin Campbell to relieve Lucknow and to save the situation in those terrible days of mutiny, he was given the lasting friendship and appreciation of the Queen. His further policy of conciliating the natives by personal visits and explanations of the situation; his wise trust in the friendship of savage chiefs whom he knew often understood honor and practiced it better than the white man himself; and his stripping the country of troops and munitions of war in order to give additional help in the Indian crisis; naturally added to the esteem which his first and most daring act had inspired in the mind of a Sovereign who was, even in those days, an Imperial statesman in the highest sense of the word. Of his action in changing the route of the troops from Hong Kong to Calcutta, and sending Cape troops and artillery and stores and specie to India in time to be of the most valuable service, the Queen commanded Mr. Labouchere, Colonial Secretary, to express privately to Sir George Grey "her high appreciation" as well as in a more formal manner. Later on she hesitated for some time

Grey Reinstalled by Palmerston

in giving her assent to his recall, and short of precipitating a Cabinet crisis did refuse. A little later the Derby Government was defeated, and as soon as Lord Palmerston came into power Grey was promptly reinstalled, and, on his arrival in London, was informed by the Prince Consort of the Queen's "approval of the measures taken by him and the policy of confederation which he had pursued," and her opinion that the plans proposed were "beneficent, worthy of a great ruler, honorable to himself and advantageous to her people." Speaking at Sydney, New South Wales, in 1891, Sir George Grey referred to this matter, and declared that "one person in the Empire held that I was right, and that person was the Queen."

Advancement During Grey's Governorship

Back he went to South Africa amid general rejoicings at the Cape, but with the refusal of the new Government at home to take any steps whatever in the direction of federation. But, as if to expressly mark the Queen's sympathy with Grey's Imperial ideas, Prince Alfred was sent out in 1860 to make a tour of South Africa, and to evoke, as he did, the same sentiments of loyalty as were aroused by the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada at about the same time. Cape Colony, Natal and the Orange Free State were visited with due ceremony by the Governor and the Prince, and at Bloemfontein one of the arches of welcome contained the significant motto: "Loyal, though discarded." During the succeeding year Sir George Grey finally left the Cape to take up the Governorship of New Zealand, at a critical period in its troubles with the Maoris, and at a time when the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, had given him to understand that the Governor-Generalship of Canada and ultimately of India were open to him after leaving South Africa. But duty seemed to require him in New Zealand, and thither he went to live for years as Governor, for other years as Prime Minis-

ter, and for a still longer period as a private citizen. During the eight years in which he had ruled Cape Colony he had inaugurated representative institutions and established schools, libraries, hospitals, public works, roads and railways. The Cape Town and Wellington Railway, the first line in the Colony, was his enterprise. The great ostrich-farming industry of the future was started by him. Above all, he won the affection and respect of the most varied types of native races, and the after voluntary submission of Moshesh, the Basuto, to British authority may be largely traced to the friendly feeling inspired by a visit which Grey paid to the rocky heights of Thaba Bosigo. In his greatest aim he had failed, and in later days he became eccentric and erratic in his views; but none the less does South Africa owe much to the life and memory of Sir George Grey.

His successor, Sir Philip E. Wodehouse, was a man of ability who had been Governor of British Guiana, and was afterwards for five years Governor of Bombay. His administration was signalized by the inauguration of a new and wiser policy on the part of the Colonial Office. Whether it was that the Manchester School, in reaching the meridian of its power during these years, had temporarily overlooked South Africa; or that it had become apparent even to the Colonial Office that the man on the spot must be allowed some latitude; or that Sir Philip Wodehouse was more trusted and less feared by the Home authorities than Grey; is not visible upon the surface. But the fact remains that in 1865 British Kaffraria was finally incorporated with Cape Colony, and definite responsibility assumed for its government and control, and that in 1868 Basutoland was annexed to British dominions—not to the Cape Colony—and perhaps the most rugged and strongest natural fortress in the world prevented from falling into Boer hands. Sir Henry Barkly, an experienced Australian Governor, assumed charge in 1870, and

a year later Griqualand West, with its vast potentialities as a diamond-producing country and as the only available British route to the far interior, was annexed and placed, like Basutoland, under the authority of the Cape Governor as High Commissioner for South Africa and direct representative of the Crown and the Colonial Office.

Meantime Natal, which had up to 1856 been under the control of the Governor at the Cape, was in that year made a separate Colony governed from the Colonial Office under a Lieut.-Governor, and with only partially representative institutions. Zululand and the Zulus were to this region what the Kosas had been to the Cape settlers so far as the fear of raids and the dangers of war were concerned. Of actual and serious war there was but little from the time of the Boers until 1879. Of trouble in management, however, there was abundance because of the number of Zulus within as well as from the Zulus without the strict limits of Colonial territory. In 1873 Cetywayo was installed under authority of the British Government as head of the Zulu nation, and from this time dates the inauguration of the serious situation which culminated six years later and ended in the annexation of a large part of that region in 1887, and the protectorate established over the sea-coast country, called Tongaland, in the same year. These two events marked a singularly wise expression of Imperial policy, as they checked and prevented the realization of the greatest ambition of the Transvaal Boers—the obtaining of a sea-port. While this extension was taking place in the east under the general administration of Sir Hercules Robinson (afterwards Lord Rosmead) as High Commissioner, and the whole sea-coast region from Portuguese territory to Cape Town was being made British, a similar expansion had occured in the north and west.

Natal a Separate Colony

It was to a great extent forced upon the British authorities by

Boer aggressiveness which, after the war of 1880–1 and the succeeding Conventions, had become very marked. The Transvaal Dutch first trekked into Zululand when it had been placed again under Cetywayo's rule—after the war of 1879 and in the useless hope of avoiding its annexation—and endeavored to establish there another Boer republic. In order to prevent this and to protect the Zulus, under pledges previously made, the Imperial Government had to formally annex the greater part of the region. Then the Transvaalers turned to the west, and a large number trekked into Bechuanaland, threatened to cut off British territory and trade from the interior and menaced the independence of Khama—a wise and friendly ruler to the north of Bechuanaland. Sir Charles Warren's expedition of 1884 was despatched by the Imperial Government and checked this movement, though at the serious risk of war, and forced the Boers to recede. Bechuanaland was then made a Crown Colony. Khama's Country was proclaimed, in 1885, a British Protectorate, while in the preceding year, the important naval station of St. Lucia Bay, just south of Zululand and about the ownership of which there was some doubt, had also been annexed. Four years previously Griqualand West had been taken from the direct control of the Colonial Office and annexed to Cape Colony, and, in 1895, the Dutch of the Cape had recovered somewhat from the angry feelings provoked by the Warren expedition and the repulse of Boer ambitions which its success involved, and permitted Mr. Rhodes to arrange the annexation of all Bechuanaland to the Colony and its consequent removal from the control of the Governor as High Commissioner to his charge as the constitutional Governor of the Cape.

Zululand Annexed

This curious combination of duties had been first created in 1847 when Sir Henry Pottinger, for a few brief months, held the position of Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for

South Africa. The latter position simply involved, at that time, certain powers of control over border tribes and certain specified authority in negotiation. There were then no recognized independent States in South Africa, and no self-governing powers at the Cape to complicate matters. In time these conditions developed, and yet the Governor of the Cape, responsible to his Ministers and Parliament for every detail of local government, remained apart from that Parliament as the centre of a thousand strings of diplomacy and negotiation throughout all South Africa and the Governor of various regions, with undefined powers and with responsibility only to the Colonial Office or the Crown. In 1889, for example, Cape Colony was under complete self-government, and Natal only partially so—the latter having a Governor of its own. Basutoland, Pondoland, Bechuanaland, the Khama Country and the sphere of British influence to the far north were under the Governor of Cape Colony as High Commissioner only. In the same year the latter region came under the direct control of Cecil Rhodes as Chairman of the British South Africa Company, and Mr. Rhodes, in 1890, became Premier of Cape Colony and the responsible adviser of the Governor. Zululand and Tongaland were at the same time subject to the joint control of the Governors of Cape Colony and Natal, though not in any way governed by the Ministers of either official. Meantime, Swaziland (northwest of Tongaland) was managed by alternate British and Boer Committees, and ultimately was allowed to pass into the hands of the Transvaal; while the latter Republic was nominally under the Queen's Suzerainty and the Orange Free State was absolutely independent.

Mr. Rhodes Premier of Cape Colony

Such a complication, it is safe to say, never existed in any other region of the world, or in any other record of colonization and expanding empire. That government was possible at all reflects great credit upon the administrators, and shows that, as years passed on,

the Colonial Office had at last risen to the level of its responsibilities, had grasped the true spirit and the absolute necessity of Imperial growth, and had learned that the men in charge of distant regions must have the confidence of rulers at home and a policy with some degree of continuity in plan and principle and detail. What really caused this change in policy and the resulting expansion of Great Britain in South Africa is an interesting historical question. The position of late years has been so different from the developments of the fifties and from the dominating ideas and ideals of the Manchester School of thought that some explanation is necessary. The discovery of gold and diamonds does not afford an adequate one. There was none of either in Basutoland, or Zululand, or Bechuanaland, or Tongaland, or in the great regions which the Chartered Company had acquired and held under the Crown. Much was due to the slow but sure subsidence of the Little Englanders after 1872, when Mr. Disraeli in a famous speech expressed the first formal antagonism of a great party, as a whole, to any further playing with questions and principles of Imperial unity. More was due to the sustained Imperialism of his succeeding Ministry, to the purchase of the Suez Canal shares and increasing public appreciation of the value of the Cape in connection with the route to India, and to the growing popular comprehension of the value of India itself. More still was due to the rise of a new school of British statesmen, in all parties, who had become instinct with the spirit and pride of Empire and inheritors of the sentiment which Disraeli in his later years, and under his new designation of Lord Beaconsfield, so strenuously propagated. The Imperial Federation League, formed in 1884 with strong support from leaders such as the Earl of Rosebery, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Edward Stanhope, Mr. Edward Gibson, Mr. W. E. Forster, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Lyon Playfair and Lord Tennyson, constituted a most important

Gold not the Cause of Expansion

educative influence. Writers like Froude and Dilke and Seeley took the place of philosophic disintegrationists of the Molesworth and Cornwall Lewis school; whilst Radical politicians of the Chamberlain and Cowan type came gradually into touch upon this subject with aristocratic Imperialists such as Salisbury, Carnarvon and Rosebery.

Cecil Rhodes and Expansion

The rise of Cecil Rhodes and his enthusiastic perception of the necessity for South African expansion and unity had also much to do with the change, while the discovery of diamonds did of course have some effect in creating, at the time, a fresh interest in a country hitherto chiefly known for wars and natives and missionary explorations. So too with the natural rivalry aroused by German and French and Italian efforts at acquisition of African territory. The Transvaal annexation and war, 1877–81, had an effect also of considerable importance. It projected South Africa into the wide publicity of a place in British politics, and taught many opponents and supporters of Mr. Gladstone more than they had dreamt of in all their previous philosophies. The result was unfortunate as a whole, but in a somewhat undefinable degree it cleared the way for a knowledge of conditions and necessities which made the expansion policy of 1884–95 possible. The sending of Sir Bartle Frere to the Cape in 1877 was an illustration of the Imperialistic principles which actuated the Beaconsfield Government. No more brilliant and honorable administrator had ever graced the service of the Crown in India than Sir Bartle Frere. He was loved by subordinates, respected by all races and creeds, trusted by Ministers at home, and, like all the greater Governors of the Empire, was a strong believer in the closer union of its varied portions. Reference to his connection with the Confederation question, the Zulu war and the Transvaal annexation has been made elsewhere, and must be still more expanded in another chapter. But, some-

thing should be said here as to his general treatment by the Imperial authorities. He went out with distinct powers in connection with the unification of South Africa, and, with the additional ones given Sir Theophilus Shepstone in Natal, held practically a free hand.

The annexation of the Transvaal and the subjugation of Cetywayo were duly accomplished, but success to the policy as a whole was prevented by the war of 1881; and the latter was greatly encouraged, if not practically caused, by the eloquent objections urged in England by Mr. Gladstone. There seems to have been no very clear comprehension of the issue, and there was certainly no accurate knowledge of the Boer character and history, in Mr. Gladstone's mind. They were simply to him a pastoral people asking, and then fighting, for a freedom for which they had struggled steadily during half a century. He knew nothing of the land and cattle and liberties stolen by them from unfortunate native races; of the bitter and ignorant hatred felt by them towards England and British civilization; of the contempt for missionaries and religious or political equality; or of their ambition, even in those days of weakness, to expand north and east and west and to cut off British power to the north and eventually in the south. He never had an Imperial imagination and cared little for the ideal of an united South Africa under the Crown. An historical imagination he did possess, as was shown in his devotion to the cause of Greek independence and his willing transfer of the Ionian Isles, in earlier years, to the new Hellenic Kingdom. But that was based upon his love of Homer and ancient Greek literature—not upon so modern and material a matter as the welfare of British settlers in a distant and storm-tossed colony.

Gladstone and the Boers

However that may be, his eloquent attacks upon the Government hampered their further action, and when the Transvaal rebellion broke out Sir Bartle Frere—to the lasting discredit of the

Administration—was promptly recalled. Then and to-day his name is perhaps the most loved in the list of British rulers at the Cape—not even excepting Sir George Grey. In the *Diary* of Prince Alfred Victor and Prince George of Wales, written during their cruise around the world, in 1880–81, there is a reference to the Governor who had just left the Cape of interest in this connection: "Ask any Colonist, haphazard—Afrikander or English—and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred you will be told that he was conscientious, able, far-seeing, magnanimous, truthful and loyal." The reversal of his policy followed, and was embodied in the Convention of 1881. The new Governor and High Commissioner, Sir Hercules G. R. Robinson, was a man of considerable ability and of prolonged experience. After the settlement of the Transvaal troubles he was given a certain amount of latitude in dealing with the natives and in controlling the Boer disposition to seize territory in every outstanding direction. The annexations and protectorates already alluded to followed in due course, and Sir Hercules claimed before he left Cape Town in 1889, after eight years of administration, that: "As Governor of a self-governing Colony I have endeavored to walk within the lines of the Constitution; and as Her Majesty's High Commissioner for South Africa I have, whilst striving to act with equal justice and consideration to the claims and susceptibilities of all classes and races, endeavored at the same time to establish on a broad and secure basis British authority as the paramount power in South Africa."

Governor's Restraint of Boers

To this claim there was certainly one exception. The treatment of the Swaziland question during these years was a distinct evasion of responsibility on the part of both High Commissioner and the Imperial Government, and appears to have been better suited to the earlier fifties than to the developments of the eighties. It was, however, a fitting sequel to events such as the somewhat indifferent

agreement of the British Government, in the days of Lord Granville's weak administration of the Foreign Office, to the German acquisition of Damaraland and North Namaqualand on the western coast—for no other apparent reason than to have some territory contiguous to that of Great Britain. Fortunately, the vigorous protests of the Cape Government prevented Walfisch Bay—the only useful harbor on the shores of all that parched and arid region—from being given up to the same Power. The Swazis were a branch of the Zulu race, and their territory bordered the Transvaal to the north-west, and Tongaland and the Delagoa Bay region to the south-east. Its acquisition meant that only Portuguese territory would lie between the Boer country and the great harbor at Lorenzo Marques. But apart from the immense strategic importance of the country—afterwards so strongly realized—it was the duty of the British Government to have in this case withstood the covetous designs of the Transvaal.

Protected by the terms of the Convention of 1884, when their practical independence was guaranteed, and appreciating the policy by which the infant Boer republics of Stellaland and Goshen had been suppressed in Bechuanaland by the Warren expedition, the Swazis naturally looked to England for support when they found numerous individual Boers settling amongst them and preparing for further and more active aggression. In 1886 and 1887 the Swazi Chief appealed to the British Government for the establishment of a formal protectorate; but was refused on the ground that the Convention of 1884 by guarding their independence practically prevented Great Britain from taking such a step. For years prior to this period the Swazis had been friendly to the British, and had stood by them in war and peace. Promises of consideration were given, but nothing was done. The fact of the matter is that the Afrikander party in Cape Colony

Swazis Appeal to England

wanted to help the Transvaal to a seaport, and from some motive of conciliation, or strange error of judgment, Sir Hercules Robinson shared, or appeared to share, the same sentiment. So far as this point was concerned, the protectorate established over St. Lucia Bay and Tongaland neutralized the evil of the subsequent acquisition of Swaziland by the persistent Boers, but nothing can ever compensate the loyal and friendly Swazis of that time for their apparent desertion through the final refusal of the British Government—after a discussion with a delegation of Chiefs in 1894—to interfere with the action of the Transvaal in claiming full possession of their country. It is only fair, however, to say that the issue had become complicated by extensive and voluntary Swazi grants of land to individual Boers.

In this connection some reference must be made to the Portuguese territory of this coast, in view of the important international issues since involved. Delagoa Bay is, perhaps, the most important harbor on the east coast of Africa and a vital naval factor in the protection of trade with India and China. The surrounding country is of little value, and in the main a hot-bed of malarial fever. The harbor was claimed for many years by Great Britain under terms of cession from a native chief to an exploring party in 1822. Portugal resisted the claim, and in 1872 the matter was referred to the arbitration of Marshal MacMahon, President of the French Republic. As usual in such cases, the decision was against Great Britain, but with the curious concession of a right to purchase the territory at any time Portugal might desire to sell it, and to the exclusion of the wish of any other Power in the same connection. It is stated that Portugal was actually ready at that time to sell her rights for £60,000;* and Lord Carnarvon, British Colonial Secretary in 1874–78, afterwards stated that: "When I succeeded to office I had reason to think that the offer

Delagoa Bay Decision

* Molteno: *Federal South Africa*, page 87.

of a moderate sum might have purchased that which a very large amount now could not compass. Unfortunately *the means were not forthcoming*, the opportunity was lost, and such opportunities in politics do not often recur." The inference from this statement is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Sir Stafford Northcote—was the obstacle. If so, and in the light of the many millions sterling which Great Britain in 1900 would give for this bit of territory, his name certainly merits recollection.

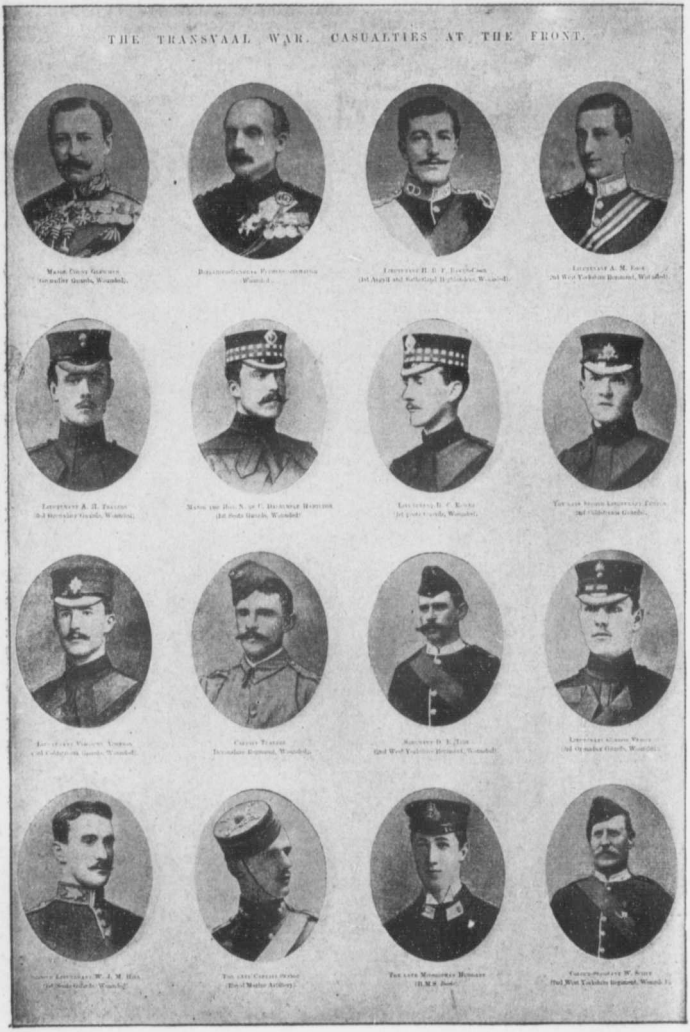
Sir Henry Brougham Loch, a most successful Australian Governor, and afterwards created Lord Loch, became Governor and High Commissioner in 1889, and, in 1895, was succeeded by Sir Hercules Robinson again for a couple of years. It does not appear that the latter was recalled in 1889, but was simply not reappointed at the expiration of his term of office. He left the country in the midst of much and strongly expressed regret, and when he returned six years later was welcomed with open arms. Shortly afterwards he became Lord Rosmead, and, in 1897, his health compelled a retirement which was soon afterwards followed by death.

Milner Appointed Governor

Sir Alfred Milner was then appointed and at a most critical period. He had to assume charge of a complicated political and racial situation, and to supervise the relations of Great Britain and the Colonies with the increasingly aggressive Transvaal Republic and Afrikander organization. A strong Imperialist, a man of high reputation for ability in conducting the finances of Egypt for some time, and as Chairman of the British Board of Revenue in the preceding five years, he went out to Cape Town with large powers and with the complete confidence of Mr. Chamberlain and the Imperial Government. The immediate result of his conclusions and policy will be treated elsewhere in this volume, and whatever verdict the historian of the future may have to give upon data and documents and secret developments not now available,

there is no doubt that he will accord to Sir Alfred Milner a high place for honest statesmanship, conciliatory personal policy and absolute conscientiousness of action in events, and amidst surroundings, calculated to disturb the equanimity of the coolest statesman and to influence the reasonableness of even the most strong-minded representative of the Crown. Unlike Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Sir Harry Smith, Sir George Grey and Sir Bartle Frere, he has had the rich and rare privilege in South Africa of being endorsed and supported through all the tangled threads of a complicated situation by the Colonial Office, the Imperial Government, the British Parliament, and, eventually, the people of the Empire. Of this he will always have reason to be proud, whatever may be the arduous labors and responsibilities and perhaps changes of the hidden future. And the fact, in itself, affords a fitting conclusion to the consideration of British policy, or policies, in South Africa, and marks the wonderful change which has come over the face of affairs since the days of D'Urban and Lord Glenelg, Grey and Bulwer-Lytton, Frere and Hicks-Beach—the Governors in Cape Colony and the Secretaries of State in London.

BLUE JACKETS FROM THE BATTLESHIP "RENOWN" FIGHTING AT LADYSMITH



OFFICERS WHO FELL IN THE EARLY BATTLES OF THE TRANSVAAL WAR

CHAPTER VIII.

The Native Races of South Africa.

THE physical and mental differences between the three chief native races of South Africa have been very great. The genuine aborigines, or Bushmen, ranked amongst the lowest of human races, and may be placed upon much the same level as the Fuegians or the Black-fellows of Australia. Though primarily natives of the coast they seem to have become scattered in after times throughout the region from the Cape to the Zambesi. Nomadic by nature, knowing nothing of agriculture, and not even owning cattle, they wandered here and there, living upon such wild animals as they could kill with poisoned arrows, or upon wild fruits and the roots of plants. They were small in stature and untamably savage, swift in passage from place to place, and capable of enduring the severest fatigue. Almost inevitably, the pressure of a civilization which had to often shoot them in self-defence, the influence of progressive settlements which destroyed the game upon which they lived, and the force of stronger types of savagery which bore down on them from the north, have in the end blotted the Bushmen out of existence.

The Bushmen

Superior in some respects were the Hottentots. Though small in stature they were not by any means pygmies, and they lived in a better manner than the Bushmen knew anything of. They possessed sheep and many lean cattle, which they drove hither and thither over vast tracts of country, doing a little intermittent hunting, fighting occasionally with one another and living

in a tribal system which the lower racial type found it impossible to emulate. Like the Bushmen their muscular power was slight, their hair grew in woolly tufts upon the skull, and they were of a yellowish-black colour. They made fairly good servants after a period of subjugation, but suffered in numbers very greatly from the spread of small-pox and similar epidemics, which were at times introduced into the country from the ships of the white man. In 1713 immense numbers perished from this cause. The Hottentot was for many decades in the succeeding century a favourite subject of missionary labour in Cape Colony, but it is to be feared that the degraded elements which are to be found in every white community, with the additional factor of an absolute contempt for all natives amongst the Dutch of South Africa, had far greater influence for evil upon the unfortunate tribes than English legislation and Christian efforts had for good.

The Hottentots

A far more important native race than either of these, and one which has taken a place in history as distinct as that of the Indian in America or the Maori in New Zealand, is the Bantu, with its many tribal sub-divisions. Popularly known as Kaffirs from the earliest days of Portuguese discovery and slave raids, there seems little reason to doubt that they have gradually drifted southward from the Upper Nile and the Nyanza Lake region; while the brown colour of many of them would appear to indicate an admixture of Arab blood from settlers and traders along the coast of the Indian Ocean. The majority are black and they all possess the thick lips, woolly hair and scanty beard of the typical negro. Usually they are strong and well-made, fierce in battle, savage in their punishments, brutal in many of their customs. Their bravery is of a high order, as a rule, but has varied somewhat in quality, and the various tribes in later days have developed

The Bantu and its Sub-Divisions

special lines of intelligence. At the present time, for instance, the Zulus and the Matabele are the most noted for courage and for fighting skill of a savage sort, the Fingoes show some natural adaptiveness for trade and barter, and the Basutos, under the influence, no doubt, of English contiguity and friendliness have given distinct indications of steady industry—a most unusual quality amongst natives.

There are various groups of this widely scattered race. They include the Amakosa, with whom the Cape Colonists so early came into conflict along the Fish River frontier, and who afterwards became known as Tembus and Pondos; the Amazulu of Natal and Zululand; the Swazis, the Matabele and the Amatongas; the Bechuanas, who are subdivided into Bamangwato, the Basutos, the Barolongs, and the Barotze; the Makalakos of Mashonaland. The speech and habits of these people are sufficiently similar to denote a common racial origin and to stamp them as a distinct type. As a race they are very prolific, and in this respect present a marked contrast to the primeval natives of America or Polynesia. The approach of civilization, instead of killing them off, has surrounded them with safety, bound them to a more or less peaceful life, and thus prevented the strife which at one time changed the central part of South Africa from the home of a teeming population into an almost lonely and empty wilderness. The result of this régime of peaceful power is that their numbers all over South Africa are increasing at a rate which, in itself, creates a serious problem for the future and resembles the rapid advance of the population amongst the myriad races of Hindostan under the gentle rule of Great Britain. Dr. Theal states* that "the Bantu population in South Africa from the Limpopo to the sea has trebled itself by natural increase alone within fifty years," and he goes on to add that even this is asserting "what must be far below the real

Civilization Helping the Natives

* Theal. *History of the Republics.*

rate of growth." In 1879, for instance, there were 319,000 Kaffirs in Natal as against 455,000 in 1891; while in Cape Colony between 1875 and 1891 the natives increased from 483,000 to 1,150,000. Roughly speaking, the native population of all South Africa south of the Zambesi was, in 1893, about five millions.

Of this population Great Britain controls more than one-half. About a million and a half are in the Portuguese possessions, a hundred thousand in the German Protectorate, seven hundred thousand in the Transvaal, and something over a hundred thousand in the Free State. Since the time, in the early fifties, when Earl Grey was at the Colonial Office, and the proposed abandonment of the Orange River region was announced, he added in his despatch to the Governor: "That done, no war in future, 'however sanguinary,' between the different tribes and communities which will be left in a state of independence beyond the Colonial boundary are to be considered as affording ground for your interference." In this vain effort to avoid further responsibility beyond the outer marches of the Cape Lord Grey was certainly logical. But, like the Manchester School in this respect—although he did not adhere very closely to its general views—he bore a striking resemblance to Mrs. Partington, in the familiar pages of *Punch*, sweeping back the ocean tide with a broom. He believed that, with utterly inadequate military resources at the Cape and with absolute indifference at home, it was useless to try to control a vast region where the majority of the white settlers were opposed to Great Britain and the masses of the natives strongly hostile. But he overlooked the impossibility of maintaining a stable frontier amid the shifting sands of a savage population, and he forgot that justice had to be done, as between native and native and often as between white man and native, if Great Britain was to fulfill her mission and do her duty. Neither of these ends could be accomplished without strife

Vain to Avoid Interference

or expansion. As time passed, and amid all the countless mutations of South African policy, this inevitable advance of the British border and gradual incorporation of native tribes went on. In 1865 British Kaffraria, with its 78,000 natives, was annexed to the Cape, and then Basutoland, with (in 1893) some 218,000 natives, was brought under British control. Following this came Griqualand West, with its 30,000 natives; British Bechuanaland, with some 50,000; Khama's Country, or the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with over 100,000; Zululand, with its 140,000; Pondoland, with 200,000, and Tongaland, with 80,000; and finally Rhodesia, or British Mashonaland, with a quarter of a million Matabele and Mashonas.

Earl Grey's despatch was, in fact, only a passing phase of the many-sided British policy toward the native territories. Every now and then, however, this principle of non-extension and non-responsibility, so far as the Kaffirs were concerned, continued to come into practice—as in the previous case of Lord Glenelg and the Kosas. Instances in point may be mentioned such as the giving up of part of Zululand and much of Swaziland to the Transvaal, the earlier and prolonged refusal to annex the Kosa country, afterwards known as Kaffraria, the hesitating and lingering policy over Bechuanaland and the refusal to annex Damaraland and Namaqaland at a period when no objection would have been raised by anyone, and a region covering 300,000 square miles and, with the Providential exception of Walfisch Bay, guarding the entire western coast, might have become British instead of German territory. There were three causes—all connected, directly or indirectly, with the natives and the native question—for the ultimate and inevitable expansion. The first was the determination of the British people to suppress and prevent slavery. This produced emancipation in Cape Colony, and partially caused the Great Trek of the Boers. The second was the intensity of Dutch

Expansion Inevitable

arrogance, the frequency of Dutch oppression and a continuous Dutch policy of aggression, in connection with native tribes. The third was the impossibility of holding frontiers intact against uncivilized races, and the natural wish of missionaries to extend British influence and through it the power of Christianity. The second and third causes worked together in some measure and may be seen controlling or modifying many complicated conditions.

Little doubt exists as to the continued practice of slavery amongst the Boers—in Natal before 1846, in the Orange Free State up to recent years, and in the Transvaal at the present time. There was, in the earlier period, a state of absolute lawlessness amongst the Boers themselves, combined with constant war, or raids, upon surrounding tribes. Kaffirs were shot down in cold blood, beaten at pleasure, their families burned out of their little huts and their children, or the most promising of them, taken away as "apprentices" for a given period—the euphemistic expression for a condition of permanent enslavery. Of course the natives retaliated when they could, and during the first thirty years of the Boer migration and history—1836 to 1866—the state of affairs was lamentable. It was estimated in 1869 that six thousand child-slaves were in the Transvaal as the much-prized booty of casual raids upon different tribes. And this despite the clause in the Sand River Convention forbidding, and promising to prevent, anything of the kind. During these years agitation in England against these practices of the Boers was incessant, and local protests from missionaries and others at the Cape and in Natal equally so. Papers in 1868 were laid before the Natal Legislature describing many accredited instances even at that late date, and three years before, Mr. W. Martin had laid before the Government of that Colony a detailed statement of his own experiences across the Vaal in this connection. The Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. John Maclean, C. B.) transmitted the

Slavery

documents to Cape Town, and the High Commissioner intimated that while he believed there was much of truth in the charges, yet it would be practically impossible to intervene successfully without being prepared to use force. A Resolution of protest against this view was at once passed by the Legislature, of which the following is an extract:

"That the traffic is a direct breach of the Treaty entered into with Her Majesty's Commissioners, is an outrage upon humanity and civilization, and is an aggravation of the traffic which Her Majesty's Government has so long sought to suppress upon the east coast. That so long as this traffic in children is suffered to exist there can be little hope for the progress of civilization amongst the native tribes in the Transvaal Republic, while the prevalence of such practices in the immediate neighborhood of independent and colonial tribes has a most pernicious and injurious effect, and tends to lower the position and influence of the white race. That it is impossible for the High Commissioner, living as he does so far from the scene of those atrocities, to judge clearly and fully their character and tendencies."

This statement regarding the Boer slave policy represented the feeling and knowledge of Englishmen generally along the borders, or when they came into contact with the Dutch and the natives together. Of the missionary sentiment in this connection the works of Livingstone and Moffat and the more recent statements of the Rev. Dr. Stewart afford abundant evidence. And this aside from the aggressive and sometimes mistaken or exaggerated views of Dr. Philip and Cape Town missionary leaders and semi-political preceptors in the earlier days of Kosa or Kaffir warfare. All around the frontier of the two Republics commandos would from time to time attack isolated tribes, with slight excuse and sometimes none at all, burn their kraals, take their cattle and kidnap their women and children. Dr. Livingstone has put it on record,* after prolonged experience of both Boers and

Livingstone Reports on Slave Trade

* *Missionary Travels.* By David Livingstone. London, 1857.

Blacks and with a personal character for honesty and honor which no one will impeach, that "the great objection many of the Boers had, and still have, to English law is that it makes no distinction between black men and white." Elsewhere in the same volume he declares that "it is difficult for a person in a civilized country to conceive that any body of men possessing the common attributes of humanity should with one accord set out . . . and proceed to shoot down in cold blood men and women, of a different color it is true, but possessed of domestic feelings and affections equal to their own. . . . It was long before I could give credit to the tales of bloodshed told by native witnesses; but when I found the Boers themselves, some bewailing and denouncing, others glorying in the bloody scenes in which they had been themselves the actors, I was compelled to admit the validity of the testimony." The great missionary proceeds, in detail, to describe one of the Boer methods of fighting natives. "When they reach the tribe to be attacked, friendly natives (previously captured) are ranged in front to form as they say 'a shield;' the Boers then coolly fire over their heads till the devoted people flee and leave cattle, wives and children to the captors." He knew of this being done nine times within his own personal experience, and upon no occasion was any Boer blood shed. He also declares that the Boers never intended to abide by the promise regarding slavery made in 1852–4, and describes how a slave raid amongst the Bechuanas was organized and carried out by 400 Boers under Piet Scholz immediately after that engagement was entered into. It was the same all along the line until, in the latter sixties, England began to advance into the interior and to definitely plant her feet upon regions which the Boer deemed himself heir to and, almost, actual owner of. During these years the Natal *Mercury*, the Cape *Argus* and the Transvaal *Argus*—a small but energetic sheet—drew con-

Early Scenes of Bloodshed

tinuous attention to this slave system and policy, and a bulky pamphlet was published in 1868 at Cape Town containing a mass of printed proof as to the real condition of affairs. As Dr. Livingstone says, no attention was ever paid, or intended to be paid, to the pledges in the Conventions. The only effect was to change the name of "slave" to "apprentice." The following paragraph from an authoritative source* summarizes the situation in this respect:

"Children were kidnapped, trained to work in the fields, had their price and were as little protected by the law as any other live stock on the farm. The 'apprenticeship' never came to an end. Wagon-loads of slaves, 'black-ivory' as they were called, passed through the country and were put up to auction or were exchanged, sometimes for money, and sometimes for a horse, or for a cow and a big pot."

Such were some of the causes of British dislike for Boer methods and for naturally unfriendly contact with them through strong sympathy for oppressed races and utter abhorrence of slavery in every shape and form. The relation of the Boer and the native was indeed at the root of much of British expansion during the last thirty years of the century. The threatened subjugation of Moshesh caused the annexation of Basutoland. The Transvaal attack upon the Bapedi under Sekukuni and its failure precipitated the annexation of 1877. The danger of a Zulu invasion of the same country and of Natal, as a consequence of this attack, caused the war with Cetywayo and the establishment of a feeble and tentative protectorate over Zululand. The raids of the Boers into the latter region and the formation of what they called the "New Republic" caused the ultimate annexation of a greater portion of the whole country and of Pondoland. Their attempt to crush the Batlapins and Barolongs in Bechuanaland and to establish the so-called Republics of Stellaland and Goshen caused

English Abhorrence to Slavery

* Martineau's *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*. Vol. II., p. 174.

the expedition of General Warren and the annexation of the territory. Their effort in 1891 to trek north of the Limpopo and to take possession of a portion of Rhodesia had to be repressed by Dr. Jameson under threats of force. Their previously well-known ambition in this connection had much to do with Mr. Rhodes' determination to extend British power northwards by means of his Chartered Company. Similar efforts in Tongaland had, meanwhile, compelled its ruler to appeal to the Queen's Government for protection in 1887. The complications of British policy with the natives of South Africa north and east of Cape Colony, in the latter half of the century, were, therefore, as much the fault of Boer ambition and arrogance and ill-treatment of the Blacks as were the difficulties in the earlier part of the century with the Hottentots and Bushmen and Kosas.

Of these natives—Bantu, or Kaffirs, or whatever their local names might be—much has been written and much might be said here.

The Napoleon of South Africa

The race has produced some great men. Merciless in war they generally were, but it is a question whether the cruelties perpetrated by Matabele or Zulu chiefs have not been excelled by leaders of Christian nations without the aggravation of continuous warfare or the excuse of natural savagery. The religious strife of mediæval Europe, or the fire and sword and tortures of Spain in Mexico and Peru, will occur to every mind. Bravery was an almost universal quality amongst the Bantu, though it varied in degree. Tshaka, the founder of the Zulu nation, possessed boundless ambition, a powerful and ruthless will, a genuine genius for military organization and rule. He was emphatically the native Napoleon of South Africa. Dingaan, his successor, had a few of his qualities; Cetywayo enough of them to constitute him an interesting figure and to give him a permanent place in history. Had he not been obliged to contest his supremacy

with the firearms and cannon of the white man, he might have extended his sway up to the Zambesi and been a greater warrior than Tshada. Moselkatze, until he came into conflict with the emigrant farmers, was a savage potentate of considerable ability. Like Tshaka with his Zulus, he organized the Matabele into a strong military power and ruled the west and north with a rod of iron for many years. His successor, Lobengula, resembled the Zulu Cetywayo in many respects, and in none more than in his final overthrow by the white man. Had conditions been otherwise the two chiefs might have disputed the primacy of South Africa; and it is hard to say which would have won. These men were all warriors by nature and environment and generals by instinct. Moshesh the Basuto was, however, a statesman as well, and his rise and progress and career afford most striking evidence of the natural ability which a savage may possess. Of a somewhat similar character is Khama, the present Chief of the Bechuanas. So much for the greater names among the Bantu.

Native Bravery

Their customs and characteristics are, and have always been, somewhat varied in detail amongst the different tribes, though the main points are the same. In a military sense they all possess bravery, skill in ambush, and resourcefulness in attack or defence. The assegai is certainly a manly weapon in many respects, as well as a deadly one. It required physical strength, skill and courage in assault, and marked powers of endurance in the long marches which they have so often undertaken to surprise a foe or raid a kraal, to attack a British force or a Dutch commando. The southern tribes—Zulus, Pondos, Tembus and Kosas—have been perhaps the fiercest and strongest warriors, but the Matabele of the north ran them pretty close. On the west coast, however, owing to intermixture with the Bushmen and Hottentots, the Bantu have deteriorated in both physique and intellect. As a whole, they knew something in earlier days of

agriculture and tilling the soil, though their women performed the labor; could work in metals to some extent; had a common language, fairly developed, and a sort of general law of custom. In government they were, with certain exceptions, autocratic, and the chiefs possessed great personal power. Cattle constituted and still comprise the principal source of wealth and measure of value. Slavery amongst the tribes of the interior was common up to the days of British rule, and was a natural result of wars of conquest or predatory excursions. With the Zulu and the Matabele, as with the Boer, it was a matter of course to keep prisoners of strength or usefulness as slaves, and to the Kaffir, being constitutionally lazy, it was a great advantage to have some in his possession. If he had none, his wife, or wives, occupied a position of practical serfdom.

Religion and Superstitions

Religion has always been a strong factor in Kaffir life. It is not, however, a principle of Deity worship, nor has it ever been potent in morals, or government, or military enthusiasm. It is more like the Chinese deification of ancestors, and consists chiefly in a worship of the spirits of the dead. The greater the dead chiefs or warriors, the more pronounced the worship, and the system has, therefore, some influence in maintaining loyalty to the living chiefs. Spirits are supposed to pass into animals, and at different times and places, snakes and lions and antelopes and crocodiles are revered, and have been propitiated by the sacrifice of other animals—but never of human beings. It is a moot question as to whether a Supreme Being has ever been so much as thought of in their original conception of religion, and the probabilities seem to be against it. Of proof there is practically none. With a simple superstition which peoples the world with spirits of no higher character than their own gross or wild imaginations it has, therefore, been a matter of course that the Kaffir religion should not influence for good the morals and habits of the tribes or inspire

them even with the religious and military enthusiasm of the Mahommedan dervish or the Hindoo devotee. Such power as it had, up to recent years, lay with the wizards, or witch-doctors, who took the place of the priests in other creeds, and, like the medicine men of the Red Indians, revelled in cruelties and ruled by playing upon superstitious fears. The practice of "smelling-out" persons suspected of witchcraft or of causing sickness, or drought, or cattle-disease, gave a tremendous power into the hands of chiefs and their unscrupulous allies. Once a victim was "smelled-out" little chance was left him, and, no matter how wealthy in person, or strong in influence, his end had usually come. His property then went to the chief. The murders and terrorism this system gave rise to constituted perhaps the darkest side of native life, and its suppression has caused at least one war between the British and the Kaffirs; while it was for long the greatest obstacle in the way of the missionary. Of morals the Kaffirs never knew much, and could not, therefore, lose by association with the white man in as important a degree as other savage races have done. They were distinctly inferior in their conception of woman's position to even the Indian of North America, and females appear to have always held a very degraded place amongst them. Hence the easy immorality of the Boers and the practical impossibility of abolishing the polygamous system amongst semi-independent tribes despite all the efforts of generations of missionaries.

Tribal Divisions

These general characteristics were, of course, modified by surroundings and external influences. Roughly speaking, the Kaffirs are divided into the military and industrial Bantu. The former live largely in the fertile regions between the Drakensberg mountains and the Indian Ocean, in the Zoutpansberg district of the Transvaal and in Kaffraria. The latter prefer the mountainous country, and are to be found in Basutoland, in the greater part of the two Boer republics

and in the regions south of the Orange River or on the confines of the Kalahari Desert. The differences between these classes of the same race are pronounced. The military Bantu is stronger, fleeter of foot and sterner in battle. His assegai has a short handle and a long blade, and is used for fighting at close quarters; while the other tribes have a weapon with a long shaft and light blade intended primarily for hunting. Among the former the chief is a despot; amongst the Mashonas and Bechuanas and Basutos his power is limited by a council and sometimes by a general assemblage of the people. The town, or kraal, of the former is designed chiefly for defence; that of the latter for purposes of open intercourse and barter. The sole business of the one has, up to recent years, been warfare and the raising of corn and cattle as a subsidiary pursuit. The latter cultivated gardens, sowed fields of grain and could smelt ore and work in iron. Their seats of power and influence were, and are, in Basutoland and Bechuanaland. Outside of the steadily improved civilization and character of the Basutos themselves their country is noteworthy for the career of Moshesh; his almost final words in 1868, after twenty years of intermittent conflict with the Boers: "Let me and my people rest and live under the large folds of the flag of England before I am no more;" and for the general and sincere loyalty of its people in these later days. Bechuanaland is famous as the scene of the labors of Robert Moffat, David Livingstone and John Mackenzie; as being the trade route from Cape Colony to Central Africa; and as the scene of a prolonged struggle voiced in the words of Livingstone: "The Boers resolved to shut up the interior and I determined to open it." Eventually it was opened, and the work of the great missionary became triumphant.

Meanwhile, much was being done by the British in the various parts of South Africa which they controlled, from time to time, to elevate the life and pursuits and character of the natives. In re-

gions governed by the Dutch no such idea was ever tolerated. Dr. Moffat tells a story in this connection which describes much in a few words. He was visiting a Dutchman's house, and suggested that the servants be brought in to the Sunday service. His host roared with laughter. "Preach to Hottentots!" he exclaimed. "Call in my dogs and preach to them! Go to the mountains and preach to the baboons! Preach to the Hottentots! A good joke." Aside from the missionaries, Sir George Grey was probably the first prominent Englishman to even partially understand the natives, and he was certainly the first to put his views into effect as Governor. He was greatly respected by all the tribes with whom he came into contact personally or by policy. Yet he had his limitations. Mr. Rees in his biography of the Governor tells an amusing story of his having upon some public occasion remonstrated against the extravagant folly of a number of the native women in wearing brass ornaments. One of the chiefs promptly rose and pointed out that there were bounds to human power. "Rest content, O great chief," said he, "with what you have accomplished. You have made us pay taxes. You have made our people work. These things we thought could never be. But think not you can stop women wearing ornaments. If you try to do this, O Governor, you will most surely fail."

British Efforts at Civilizing the Natives

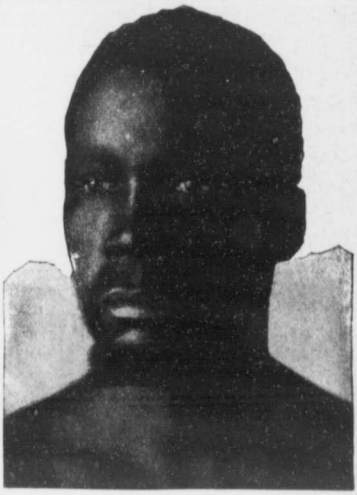
The first and most important point in the improvement of the native races is the matter of education. To be really effective it must take the form of an organized system with plenty of pliability and machinery; and there should be a fair number of Europeans in the general community to prevent the native children, after they have once been trained and taught, from relapsing by degrees into the barbarism of their natural associates and older relatives. For this reason little has been done in Natal to educate the Kaffirs; although there are some seventy-three native schools and the natives appear to

be improving in general character and even in willingness to perform mild sorts of intermittent labor. Nothing of importance has been achieved in the purely native territories except such isolated teaching as the missionaries can manage. Nothing has been even attempted in the two Republics. But in Cape Colony very successful results have followed the labors of many men during a number of years—assisted by special provision made through the Government for purposes of native education. Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education, reported in 1883 that there were 396 mission schools in the Colony, with an attendance of 44,307 pupils; 226 aborigines' schools, with 13,817 pupils; and 21 boarding and trade schools, with 2,519 pupils. About one-third of the annual Education Grant, which amounted in 1866 to $110,000, and in 1889 to $425,000, and in 1897 to nearly a million dollars, was appropriated to these purposes. In the latter year, it may be added, the number of mission schools had risen to 551, and the aborigines' schools to 420. Of the various native schools, or institutions, that at Lovedale is the most important. In 1883 there were 300 pupils in attendance, and it had a yearly revenue of $125,000. Native clergy and teachers are trained in its College department; young men are taught book-binding, printing and other trades in its workshops; young women are instructed in sewing and laundress work, and there is also an elementary school for children.

Education of Natives

The Superintendent-General of Education, already quoted, in a supplementary Report published in 1884, speaks of the general opposition he has had to meet as coming from two classes of people—one which describes the schools as worthless and decries educated natives as useless, and another which describes the aborigines as getting a better education than white people and denounces the system as consequently increasing the competition in industrial employ-

A MATABELE CHIEF.

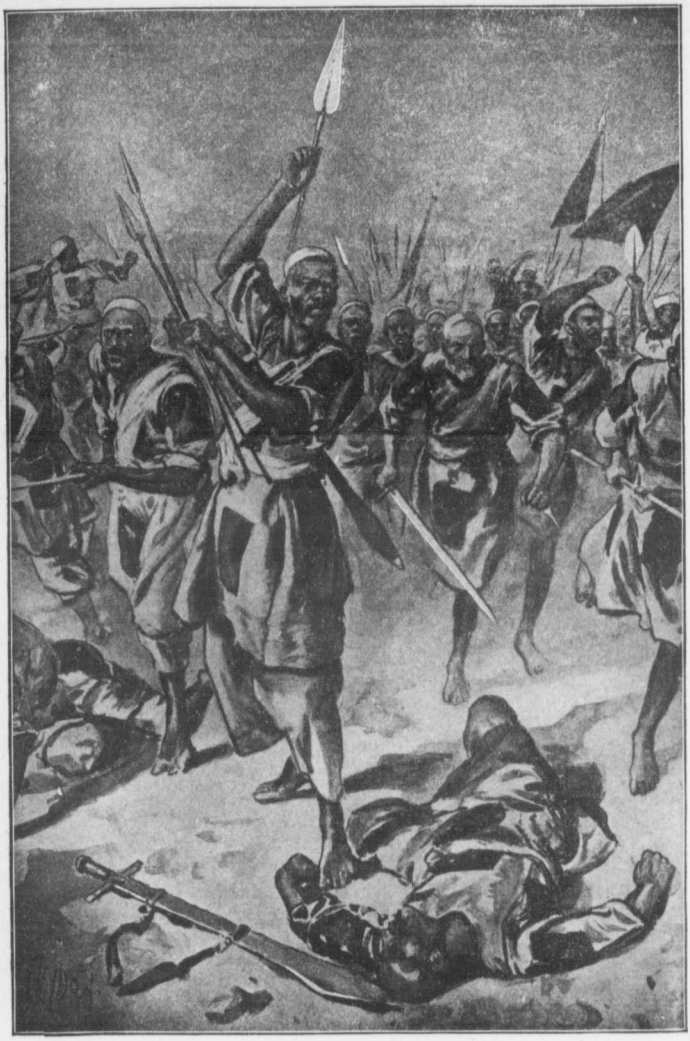


A KAFFIR CHIEF.

PRESIDENT STEYN, Orange Free State.

SIR W. HALY-HUTCHINSON, Governor of Natal.

ENGLISH, DUTCH AND NATIVE TYPES, SOUTH AFRICA



A DERVISH CHARGE, SOUDAN WAR

A battle of the Soudan in which Sir Herbert Kitchener avenged the massacre of Hicks Pasha and his 12,000 men; also the death of the heroic Gordon which occurred a year later.

ments. And then he appeals to such evidences of progress and success as: "The large interchange among natives of letters passing through the Post-Office; of the utilization of educated natives as carriers of letters, telegrams and parcels; of the hundreds who fill responsible posts as clerks, interpreters, school-masters, sewing-mistresses; and of the still larger number engaged in industrial pursuits, as carpenters, blacksmiths, tin-smiths, wagon-makers, shoe-makers, printers, sail-makers, saddlers, etc., earning good wages and helping to spread civilization amongst their own people." This is a good record, and there is no doubt that amongst the million natives of Cape Colony the influence of the system is steadily spreading. There is the natural defect, however, of the refusal of the white population to mix with the black either in school or elsewhere, outside of politics. The native schools and the native system are things apart and isolated, although, throughout the Colony, there are wealthy and influential Kaffirs, many of whom are substantial owners of property. And, as a matter of fact, there are more negro children now attending Government schools than there are pupils of white extraction.

Progress of the Natives

Everywhere in British territory an effort has been made to utilize Kaffir free labor and to make the native appreciate the money value of his work and his time. But although some progress may be seen, it has not been very great. In Natal, for instance, the sugar industry, with an invested capital of nearly five million dollars, finds colored labor absolutely essential. But the Kaffirs cannot be got to work with any degree of permanence, or effectiveness, and the planters have had to import coolies in thousands, while all around them are multitudes of natives admirably suited to the work. At the Diamond Mines of Kimberley, Mr. Rhodes has employed thousands of black laborers, but it has only been for short periods and in successive relays. They make a little money and then go back

to their huts, or kraals, as miniature millionaires—able to obtain cattle enough to buy a wife and to settle down in Kaffir comfort. Of the important matter of liquor drinking and liquor selling to natives a word must be said here. In Natal, where there are at least half a million Zulus, scattered around the villages and settlements of the fifty thousand white men, it is naturally a vital question—as in a lesser degree it is all through South Africa. The law is therefore very strictly administered, and the penalty for a European selling liquor to a native is severe. It is practical prohibition, and a similar law has been enforced in the vast territories of the Chartered Company. Incidentally, it may be said that in the Colony of Natal the general native management approximates somewhat to the model of India. The tribal organization has been largely preserved, instead of being broken up, as it was in Cape Colony by Sir George Grey. The native mass was too great to be merged in the small white population. European Courts, mixed Courts of native and European Judges, and Courts composed of Kaffir chiefs alone, administer the law in a peculiar form which admits the validity of Kaffir custom and precedents and law—modified, of course, by Colonial statutes. Order is maintained, and splendidly so, by a system of passes and by a code of special police regulations applicable to natives alone. Written permission from a magistrate must be obtained before a Kaffir can change his abode, and in the towns all natives must retire to their huts when curfew rings at nine o'clock. Registration of firearms is imperative, and the sale to natives is guarded by very strict enactments. Every native who is responsible for a hut has to pay a yearly tax of 14s., and this is very cheerfully done.

The Liquor Laws

Drunkenness amongst the Kaffirs of Natal is limited, as may be inferred from this sketch of their management. But in Cape Colony the natives are not nearly so well guarded from its evils—

partly because of the aversion of the Dutch electorate to legislate in their behalf or to enforce laws of this kind when they are made; partly from the influence of the wine-growers and distillers, who naturally have something to say; partly, in general result, from the intermixture of lower races such as the Hottentot and Bushmen, and the creation of a type of negro and half-breed much inferior in parts of the Colony to the Kosa of the east or the Zulu of Natal. In the important matter of civil rights there is a common feeling among all settlers of British origin in South Africa, as elsewhere in the Empire, that no color line should exist in the franchise—other things being reasonably equal. The qualification is, of course, vital, although the Dutch part of the community make no qualification or admission of equality in any way, shape or form, and were, for instance, greatly disgusted when, in 1895, Khama, the educated, Christianized and civilized Chief of the Bechuanas, was received in England with respect and consideration, and entertained by prominent personages. The principle of political equality is, however, firmly established in British South Africa. But, so far as the natives are concerned, the tribal system must be given up, and this debars the greater part of the population of Natal. In that Colony, also, a native must have lived for seven years exempt from tribal laws before he can share in the franchise under qualifications of the same kind as affect the white population. In Cape Colony there are similar conditions, with an added proviso that the would-be native voter must be able to sign his name and write his occupation and address.

Civil Rights and Qualifications

Practically it is only at the Cape that the experiment of native suffrage has been fairly tried. In Jamaica it failed for various reasons, and in Natal it did not work when first tried, and at present has little more than a theoretical existence. In the eastern part of Cape Colony, which contains the chief native population—including the

Kaffraria of earlier days and the Transkei region—a member of the Legislative Council is apportioned to mixed constituencies containing an average respectively of 227,000 colored people and 18,000 whites; and a member of the House of Assembly is similarly given to every 56,000 natives and 4,500 whites.*

Native Suffrage

There are, as yet, not very many constituencies where this colored vote is an important consideration. The chief exceptions are to be found amongst the Malays in and around Cape Town, the Hottentots of the Kat River Settlement, and the Kaffirs at King Williamstown, Beaufort and Alice. But the number of voters is growing, and in the eastern part of the Colony their influence appears to be very good. The educated Kaffir is very unlike the educated Hindoo, who is apt to become a sort of skeptic in patriotism as well as in creed. He is intensely conservative in a natural fondness for land and aversion to change. He is also loyal in the extreme to the British institutions from which his opportunities and position are derived; and in this respect has set an example of gratitude worthy the appreciation of some more civilized peoples. Practically, he is an Imperialist, and one student of the subject has recently expressed a belief that the wiping out of the native vote in Cape Colony would mean the loss of eight or ten seats to the Progressive party in the Assembly. Most instructive of all, and even more striking than the fact of their being adherents of Mr. Rhodes' advanced British policy, has been the support given by educated natives to measures presented to the Legislature for the prohibition of the sale of liquor to colored people—proposals defeated from time to time largely by the Afrikander vote. This is, indeed, a fitting statement to conclude a brief sketch of native history and development.

* Tables of Director of Census. Cape Town, 1891.

CHAPTER IX.

Character of the South African Boer.

THE Dutchmen of South Africa present in character and type one of the most peculiar racial results of all history. They came originally of a people who had proved its love of liberty and its faith in religion on many a well-fought field and in the pages of noble national annals. Yet they did not carry their qualities with them to the new land in any sufficient measure to overcome surrounding influences of a pernicious nature. They were raised from the lowest class in the home community and migrated practically for the wages offered them by the Dutch East India Company. In this respect the origin of the Colony was greatly different from that of New England, to which men of high character and earnest thought had migrated in order to obtain religious freedom; of Virginia, where men of the best English families and culture came in that adventurous spirit which has made the British Empire or the United States a present possibility; of French Canada, where Jesuits roamed the vast forests in a spirit of intense missionary zeal and where the scions of noble French families hunted in the wilderness of the West, or fought the Iroquois on the banks of the St. Lawrence; of English Canada, to which the United Empire Loyalists came from motives of loyalty to King and country.

A Peculiar Type

As these Dutch settlers drifted into the Colony, over a period of a hundred years, they left every source of knowledge, refinement

and high principle behind them. It is true they had their Bible. Upon its interpretation depended greatly their future development of character amid surroundings of absolute isolation, and it has been a permanent misfortune that they chose the natural view of narrow and ignorant men, and made their religious life one of practical devotion to the Old Testament dispensation in a most crude and sometimes cruel application. Around them on all sides were the moral laxities of savage life, the dangerous powers of slavery, the looseness incident to any small population of whites in the midst of great numbers of ignorant and superstitious natives. Their Government was intolerant in the extreme, they had no books or newspapers, they saw no intelligent visitors, and the naturally somewhat sombre character of the Dutchman developed under these conditions into a unique mixture of religious zeal, intolerant ignorance and qualified immorality. To this character was added the quality of undoubted bravery and into the general melting pot was thrown the further attributes, as time went on, of intense dislike and distrust of the Englishman and of absolute confidence and belief in themselves.

Their Religious Life

The Huguenots, who joined the small Dutch population of 1689, brought a considerable element of culture and liberality of thought with them, but although many of the best families in Cape Colony, and South Africa generally, to-day trace their descent from these settlers, the effect upon the scattered masses of the people was very slight. The distinctive language and religion and culture to a large extent disappeared under laws which enforced uniformity and in time merged the Frenchman in the Boer. Of course, the influence was to some extent a good one and it yet dwells on the surface of affairs in such names as De Villiers and Joubert,

Mixture of Huguenot and Dutch Culture

Du Plessis and Le Seuer, or their local corruptions. A more potent factor in this evolution of character was the solitary nature of the settler's life. Pioneers on the American continent were often alone with their families for a time in some advanced frontier location, but it was not usually a continuous isolation. As the years passed on other families joined them, settlements grew rapidly, and with these villages came the various amenities of social and civilized life. But the Boer seemed to catch from the wandering savages around him something of the spirit of their roaming life, and in this he was encouraged by the nature of his occupation and by the Government regulations, which simply charged him rental for three thousand acres of grazing ground without confining him to any specific location. He did not carve his farm out of some primeval forest, build a permanent home for his family on his own land, or cultivate the soil with the strenuous labor of his hands. During the century in which his racial type was developing the Dutch settler moved from point to point with his cattle in accordance with the season and the pasture, and lived an almost nomadic life. His covered wagon was to him what the wigwam has been to the savage of the American continent, while his skill in shooting held a somewhat similar place to that of the bow and arrow in Indian economy. Hence the accentuation of his intellectual narrowness by continued isolation and the strengthening of the physical frame at the expense of mental power.

Boer and American Colonist

As the years passed on, however, and settlement increased; as the effects of English administration and laws were felt more and more throughout the regions owning the authority of the Cape Government; as, unfortunately, the growing inroads of the Kaffirs and their continuous raids made combination necessary amongst the Dutch farmers; as villages grew more numerous and occasional schools were to be found in the communities; some modification of

these personal conditions might have been expected. Amongst the Dutch farmers of Cape Colony changes of this kind did occur. They adopted some of the customs of civilization, they lost a part of the more intense Boer narrowness and ignorance of the past, they developed a qualified interest in education of a racial character, they lived upon terms of slightly freer intercourse with their neighbors of both races, they had drilled into them a wholesome respect for the law and a more humane, or, at any rate, legal view of the natives position. But to the emigrant farmers of Natal, of the Orange River and the Vaal, these modifications of character were long indeed in coming, and to a great mass of them have never come at all. In their main pursuits the Boers of all South Africa are the same—owners of cattle and horses and dwellers upon ranches as widely separated from each other as conditions of population and law will permit. Of course, in Cape Colony and Natal, there are town and village Dutchmen sufficient to constitute a small class by themselves; and the slow-spreading influence of a persistent educational system is having its effect in other directions; while the natural increase of population has been doing its work in lessening the isolation of the farmers. So to some extent in the Orange Free State.

Boer Characteristics

Physically and mentally, however, the Dutch farmer is much the same everywhere in South Africa—tall, raw-boned, awkward in manner, slow of speech, fond of hunting whenever and wherever possible, accustomed to the open air, lazy as regards work, but active in pursuits involving personal pleasure. Especially has this latter quality been apparent in such amusements as war with the natives, or the English, or in predatory excursions into alien territory and the shooting of big game.

All these qualities have become accentuated in the two republics, while the latter ones have not been called into practical exercise of

late years in the Colonies proper. The Boer of the Transvaal and the Free State is, in fact, a most peculiar type even in that region of the strangest inconsistencies. Authorities are not wanting who praise his general character in terms of the highest laudation. Mr. J. A. Froude, after spending a few crowded weeks in South Africa, declared with almost poetic enthusiasm of the Boers that they: "of all human beings now on this planet, correspond nearest to Horace's description of the Roman peasant soldiers who defeated Pyrrhus and Hannibal." Mr. F. C. Selous, who has hunted with and amongst them for years, found "no people in the world more genuinely kind and hospitable to strangers than the South African Dutch." Other less well-known travellers and public men have spoken in equally high terms of the Boer; while during the last few years a whole library of literature has been published on his behalf, and proves, if it does nothing else, that Englishmen have plenty of impartiality in dealing with such subjects. On the other hand, evidence accumulates that the character made by history and environment is in this case a permanent one; that the Boer of to-day is the natural and inevitable product of the past; and that the visitor, or traveller, or the interested advocate of racial and political theories, can no more turn over the pages of a record written in blood and sorrow throughout the wild veldt of South Africa than the Boer himself can, in Rudyard Kipling's phrase, "turn back the hands of the clock" in the region now under his control. Dr. Livingstone saw more of the emigrant farmer in the formative days of his republican and independent existence than any other Englishman, and he has described the strongest influence in his historic evolution as a distinct racial type* in the following words:

Livingstone's Description of the Boers

"They are all traditionally religious, tracing their descent from

* Dr. Livingstone's *Missionary Travels*. London, 1857.

some of the best men (Huguenots and Dutch) the world ever saw. Hence they claim to themselves the title of 'Christians,' and all the colored race are 'black property' or 'creatures.' They being the chosen people of God, the heathen are given to them for an inheritance, and they are the rod of divine vengeance on the heathen as were the Jews of old. . . . No one can understand the effect of the unutterable meanness of the slave system on the minds of those who, but for the strange obliquity which prevents them from feeling the degradation of not being gentlemen enough to pay for services rendered, would be equal in virtue to ourselves. Fraud becomes as natural to them as 'paying one's way' is to the rest of mankind."

Impressions of James Bryce

Mr. James Bryce, in his *Impressions of South Africa*, points out with evident truth that: "Isolation and the wild life these ranchmen led soon told upon their habits. The children grew up ignorant; the women, as was natural where slaves were employed, lost the neat and cleanly ways of their Dutch ancestors; the men were rude, bigoted, indifferent to the comforts and graces of life." Canon Knox Little, so well known as a divine and a writer, declares* that "it is probable that even the most corrupt of the South American republics cannot surpass the Government of the Transvaal in wholesale corruption," and then proceeds to analyze the Boer character in the following expressive terms: "They detest progress of any kind, are frequently regardless of truth and unfaithful to promises when falsehood, or betrayal of engagement, will suit their purpose. They are subject to alternations of lethargic idleness and fierceness of courage which characterize many wild animals. Some of them are, of course, not bad fellows to get on with, if there is no reason for crossing them. They delight in isolation, detest work, dislike paying taxes, hate all progressive ways, cling to the most wretched stationary stage of semi-civilization with

Opinion of Canon Knox Little

* *Sketches and Studies in South Africa.* By W. J. Knox Little, Canon Residentiary of Worcester. London, 1899.

unparalleled tenacity, and love what is called 'independence'—that is, selfish self-seeking up to the verge and over the verge of license. They are utterly uncultured—indeed, have no conception of what culture means; their very language is incapable of expressing high philosophical ideas; and the pastoral home life so much insisted upon by their panegyrists thinly veils in many cases—such is the testimony of the many credible witnesses who have lived among them—the most odious vices."

Similar quotations might be given from many sources and of the same repute and strength. But, leaving unfavorable generalizations on the one side to offset favorable ones on the other, it might be well to take the qualities of the people in detail and examine them from various points of view. Religion is perhaps the first and foremost influence. The creed of the Boer is based by universal admission upon the Old Testament. The love and light and liberty of the newer dispensation has no place in his belief or in his life. The Bible, as he reads it, permits slavery, tolerates concubinage, teaches the perpetual intervention of a personal Providence, and makes him as truly one of a chosen people as was ever Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob. He lives upon the broad veldt of South Africa a patriarchal life not unlike in some respects that of the Hebrew of old, and he has thoroughly convinced himself that the British are to him what the Philistines were to the Jew, while the natives are intended to be his footstool as fully as ever were some of the surrounding races of Palestine to the heroes of Scripture. His religion is essentially a gloomy and serious one. There is no lighter side of life to him, and a text from the Old Testament is made to apply to most of the events of the day. Built into his character by isolation and intensified, in the crudest and wildest application, by an environment of inherited and continued ignorance, this religion has produced some very curious conse-

Misinterpretation of the Old Testament

quences. It has not made the Boer an enthusiast; it has simply rendered him contemptuous of all other creeds and sects to a degree of arrogance which is hard to meet and worse to endure. It has not had any softening influence, but rather a hardening one—making every prejudice stronger, every hatred more bitter, every avenue of intellectual expression more narrow and less susceptible to the forces of modern progress and education. It has developed into a more or less formal expression of defiant racial pride through the almost profane belief that the God of the Hebrews has become, essentially and entirely, the Providence of the Boers. The continuous use of Old Testament words and phrases has become a part of his individual life, though it usually means as little as do the continuous oaths of the cheerful sailor in the performance of his work. Ignorance has, in fact, crystallized the faith of his fathers into an extraordinarily narrow creed of which Tant' Sannie, in Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm*, presents one of many picturesque embodiments:

Prejudice Against Civilization

"*My* mother boiled soap with bushes and I will boil soap with bushes. If the wrath of God is to fall upon this land (said Tant' Sannie, with the serenity of conscious virtue), it shall not be through me. Let them make their steam-wagons and their fire-carriages; let them go on as if the dear Lord didn't know what he was about when he gave their horses and oxen legs—the destruction of the Lord will follow them. I don't know how such people read their Bibles. When do we hear of Moses or Noah riding in a railway?"

It would appear, therefore, as beyond doubt, and the conclusion may be stated in very few words, that his religion has intensified the racial peculiarities of the Boer; has increased an already strong natural bigotry and tendency to superstition; and has helped to evolve a most unique and unpleasant personal character. What it has not done for him may be still further summarized. It has not taught him that "cleanliness is next to

Godliness:" that morality is more than a matter of the color line; that honesty in word and action is a part of righteousness; that hatred toward his territorial neighbors, and malice or contempt toward his racial inferiors, are characteristics of anything rather than Christianity. Incidentally, it may be said that the Boer hates the slightest tendency toward show or display in his religious worship, and that he will obtrude his views of religion upon others at any and every opportunity. The Dutch Reformed Church is the State Church of the Transvaal, and has two branches—the Gereformeede, which believes in the singing of hymns during service, and the opposing Hervormde Dopper branch, which has been led by Paul Kruger since the disagreement of 1883 upon this subject. The matter has become a political one, and the party opposed to singing hymns has now been in power for a decade. To the Boers of both Republics the Nachtmaal, or annual Communion, is the great event of the year. Pretoria is the centre of the annual pilgrimage and the Mecca of all Boers at this period. From the ranch and farm and village they trek to that point in wagons loaded with supplies and holding the entire family. It is really a national holiday, as well as a religious festival, and is the one occasion upon which the Boer throws aside his love for solitude and shows himself willing to mix with his kind. Such is the religion of the Boer in its general results.

Home Life and Morals

Of his home life and morals much might be written. The families live far apart from each other in a house which forms the centre of some wide-stretching ranch or farm, and the larger the farm, the more isolated the situation, the fewer and further the neighbors, the better pleased is the Boer. In a limited sense only is he hospitable. Visitors are very few, and when they come on horseback and properly attended they are received in a sort of rude way. Englishmen are not

considered desirable guests—unless they happen to be great hunters with many stories of the sport which the Boer loves so well. Poor men, or those who have met with misfortune, are spurned. The women of the republics are very ignorant, and as mentally feeble as might be expected from their surroundings and history. Physically, stoutness is the end and aim of female ambition, and to weigh two, or even three, hundred pounds is the greatest pride of the Dutch women of the veldt. They are invariably treated as the inferior sex, and even eat apart from the men. The Boer woman thinks little of dress, and in the house wears chiefly a loose and scantily made gown, which does for night as well as day. Out of doors, upon the weekly visit to church, something slightly better is used, together with an immense bonnet and a veil so thick as to make the face invisible. Next to the desire for fatness is the wish for a good complexion, and these two vanities constitute the special distinction of the Boer woman. She does little work and takes less exercise; except in times of war, when she sleeps as easily on the veldt as in a feather bed, and handles her gun as skilfully as does her husband. The Kaffirs and Hottentots and miscellaneous colored servants do the labor of both the kitchen and the farm. They do not share in the long prayers of the family, or indeed in any religious exercise, as the Boer regards them as animals not requiring salvation. The common belief is that they are descended from apes and baboons.

The Homestead and Immorality

The homesteads are small and unpretentious, and nearly always dirty in the extreme, as are the clothes and persons of the people themselves. Washing is perfunctory and generally the merest pretense. Of course water is frequently scarce, and this fact affords some excuse for what has now become a general habit and condition. As to the morals of the Dutch farmer facts speak stronger than words. In his relations with his own race his code is as strict as can be desired, and in

that respect the home life is entirely moral. But no law, spiritual or human, controls him in regard to the negro women with whom he has been surrounded for centuries. And the result is a brutalization of his whole nature, a loss of all refinement in manners and the absence of any real respect for the sex. The Griquas, who have numbered thousands and constituted large and distinct communities in South Africa, and are still being added to, are the offspring of Boer and Hottentot unions; while the Cape-Boys are the result of similarly unrecognized relations between Boers and the Kaffir women. This immorality extends to the Boers all through South Africa in their relation with colored dependents, and it is not difficult to comprehend its degrading effect upon men, women and children alike.

Ignorance is universal and pronounced. It is more than a mere lack of education. Such as there is amongst the wealthier portion of the rural population consists in the occasional visit of some travelling schoolmaster—generally a broken-down Englishman, or drunken Hollander who has failed in every other pursuit. Even this measure of instruction is not supported by the poorer farmers. Schools in the Transvaal are very rare, though more frequently found in the Free State. Distances are, of course, considerable, and for this reason alone organized education would be difficult. In late years the well-to-do frequently engage tutors—usually of rather doubtful qualifications—for six months and in order to teach the children to read and write. But of anything more than this they do not dream, and the great majority of the adults can do neither. The Old Testament they are taught until they know it by heart, and do not really require to read it. Of literature, history, astronomy, the sciences, political economy, the nations of the world, nothing is known to the average Boer of the veldt. He believes the earth to be a flat and solid surface around which the sun revolves. A member of the Trans-

Lack of Education

vaal Volksraad is on record as having jeered at the English view of the matter. He declared that the earth couldn't move because he had often for hours at a time watched upon the veldt to see if a certain kopje gave any sign of motion. As to the sun, didn't Joshua bid it stand still, and how could he have done that if it was already stationary and the world went round it? No native Dutchman of South Africa has shown literary ability. Its only poet is Pringle—a Scothman. Its only writer is Mrs. Cornwright-Schreiner—the daughter of a German. Its only historian is Dr. Theal—a Canadian. New ideas are to the Boer a source of dread; improvements are spurned as either impious or unnecessary. Cures for infectious sheep disease or for rinderpest amongst the cattle are opposed as contravening the intentions of Providence. Compulsory education is as heartily and vigorously denounced in Cape Colony, where the most intelligent members of the race are to be found, as is compulsory vaccination.

Primitiveness

Taxation in the republics of to-day is as strongly and sincerely disliked as it was in the days of the Great Trek, or of the little republics in the time of Pretorius. Had the Government of the Transvaal depended upon its ordinary revenues, or upon the taxation of its own people for munitions of war and for the great armament of the present day, it would have long since been overthrown by the Boers themselves. Like the Chinaman, the Dutch farmer reveres the practices and precepts of his equally ignorant father or grandfathers. They did not endure taxation, neither will he. His method of cultivating the soil affords another illustration of this quality. It is that of Syria and Palestine. Corn is still trodden under the foot of the ox, and the little agricultural work carried on is done by native servants. There is, of course, a better class of South African Dutchmen than the Boer of the veldt. But it is limited in number, outside of Cape Colony, and the latter constitutes the really important subject for

THE LAST CARTRIDGE

An incident in the battle of Glencoe.

Victoria R.I.

QUEEN VICTORIA AT BALMORAL, OCTOBER 22, 1899

Writing letters of sympathy to the near relations of the killed and wounded at the battle of Glencoe.

consideration. For some of his qualities the Boer cannot be seriously blamed. Surliness of manner, uncouthness in appearance, aversion to strangers, ignorance of the outer world, religious superstition, are all matters in which he does not stand alone, and which are the natural products of an isolated life. So also is the fact of his being stupid and lazy in ordinary life, and only keen, alert and quick when he stands on the veldt with gun in hand and his horse by his side intent upon the game of sport or the greater game of war. But there is no adequate excuse for his continued hatred of the Englishman, for his tyranny toward inferiors and colored people, for his personal immorality, or for the phenomenal arrogance of his conduct and character. The higher class Boer of the towns in the Free State, and of Pretoria itself, may eliminate some of the more evident barbarisms of his veldt brother, but there remains the same extraordinary ignorance of external conditions, the same monumental conceit, the same absence of truthfulness and honor, the same arrogance and hatred of British power and progress. Added to this is the political corruption arising, in the Transvaal, out of conditions in which poor and ignorant farmers have obtained and held, through designing adventurers from Holland, the entire government and control of a State in which gold is being produced in immense quantities, and lavished, as opportunity offers, for the purchase of privileges or powers not obtainable through the usual channels of popular government.

Love of Liberty

What of the Boer love of freedom? There is no more admirable quality in the world than love of liberty; no greater inspiration to gallant deeds, to high ideals, to noble practices. But there are different kinds of liberty. The Iroquois of North American history stalked through his noble forests in all the pride of physical power and the freedom to torture and slaughter his red

enemy or white foe whenever and wherever he could. He loved liberty in the sense of doing what he liked. The Dublin assassins of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the Chicago bomb-throwers, the lovers of lynch-law in Southern States, the anarchists of Paris or St. Petersburg, all have feelings of the fiercest nature in favor of freedom. License, however, is not true liberty, nor is the love of independence amongst the Boers a regard for freedom in the ordinary sense of that much-abused word. Of course, there is much that is admirable in the feeling, as there is in any sentiment or aspiration for which men will fight and die—as there was in the freebooting instincts of the old-time Scottish clans; as there was in the loyal passion of the Scottish Highlanders for "Bonnie Prince Charlie;" as there was in the prolonged and desperate struggle of the Southern States for a dying cause; as there is even in the Filipino desire for a sort of wild freedom. In the case of the Boer, however, it is simply an instinctive desire for solitude and for the free practice of certain inbred tendencies, such as hunting, slave-holding and ranching. It can hardly be said to be connected with questions of government or constitution. No Government at all would suit the Boer if it were practicable, and his record shows that an oligarchy is no less agreeable to him than was the one-time division of 15,000 settlers into four republics. He knows little of the struggles of his reputed ancestors in Holland for freedom of the higher kind, and for that equality of religious and racial rights which he is now the first to spurn, and to even fight in order to prevent others from obtaining in parts of South Africa.

Change of Policy

So long as the Boer love for independence was simply a fond regard for isolation, which inflicted no serious injury upon other white people around him, the British Empire and its citizens had no right to interfere or to do more than laugh at its crudities

and, perhaps, denounce its cruelties to inferior races. But, when the so-called passion for independence became an aggressive passion for territorial acquisition, and the love for license to do as he liked with his own colored population was lost sight of in a widely manifested desire to acquire control over outside native tribes, the issue became an Imperial one, and raids upon Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Zululand, Mashonaland and Tongaland marked the direct pathway to present developments. This policy of extension, however, required statecraft, a quality somewhat lacking amongst the rude legislators of Pretoria or Bloemfontein. It also needed money, the supply of which, before the discovery of gold, was sadly deficient. President Brand, of the Free State, was a statesman, but, in the ordinary sense of the word, was never a Boer, and would have nothing to do with the more aggressive ambitions of the Transvaal rulers. President Kruger had plenty of native ability, and from the time of his taking hold of affairs in the Transvaal dates its growth in strength and influence. He is, however, of German extraction, although one of the boys who participated in the original Great Trek. Dr. F. W. Reitz, who ultimately became so strong a personality in the Government of both republics, was also of German origin. So with Hofmeyr of Cape Colony. President Steyn, of the Free State, is the son of a Dutchman, but one who was a resident of Bloemfontein and not a Boer in the popular sense of the term. Dr. W. J. Leyds, the cleverest manipulator and schemer of South African history, is a Hollander, as was Dr. E. J. P. Jorrissen, one of the Dutch negotiators of the Convention of 1881.

Government of Dutch Adventurers

These facts illustrate an interesting phase of the situation. It was not from the ranks of the Boers that men came who were capable of making the Transvaal an arsenal of military power, a close corporation of clever financial government, the head of the great Afri-

kander movement of the past decade, a force of organized strength for the destruction of British rule in South Africa, and a diplomatic factor at the capitals of Europe. The Boers were, and are, simply the instruments of clever adventurers from Holland. The "Hollanders" first came to the front in South Africa during the early days of the Free State. They controlled its incipient constitution for some years, and helped, incidentally, to check and then kill the agitation for reincorporation in the Empire. They caused President Brand some trouble during the preliminary period of his administration, but then gradually settled down into the quiet and comfortable occupancy of such offices as required more education than the average Boer possessed. These they still hold to a considerable extent. After Brand's death their governing influeuce became greater; they joined and organized the Afrikander Bund in the State, and then stood shoulder to shoulder with President Reitz and his successor, Steyn, until the development of events brought them into closer relationship with fellow-Hollanders in the Transvaal under the common leadership of Kruger and the clever manipulation of Reitz and Leyds.

Anti-English Influence

In the Republic beyond the Vaal they first came into prominence under the administration of President Burgers, who, after his visit to Europe in the early seventies, brought some individual Hollanders back with him. But the bankrupt State did not possess sufficient attractiveness to draw very many adventurers from anywhere during the immediately succeeding years; and it was not until the discovery of gold, in 1884, and the prospect of the country becoming wealthy arose, that clever and adventurous natives of Holland began to think seriously of entering into the heritage they have since acquired. They did come, however, and in time acquired control of the chief offices in the State outside of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency; of the educational system, such as it was; of the railways and

taxes and customs. It was not hard for them to see that the more isolated they could keep the Boer of the veldt the better it would be for their permanent success, and that the more they could estrange the Transvaal from Great Britain and the British Colonial system of South Africa the easier it would be to preserve the Republic and its riches for their own use and control. From these considerations it was natural and easy to take advantage of President Kruger's anti-British ambitions, of the machinery of the Afrikander Bund at the Cape, and of the money of the Uitlanders, in order to build up a great movement against British power in combination with the Free State; and to transform the republic of emigrant farmers into a strong, though small, military power. Plenty of foreigners and foreign help—especially German—was available, and out of that prominent Boer characteristic of hatred of England and the other one of pride in his own fighting records and belief in his own invincibility in war, were built up the military structure of the year 1899.

War a Big Game Hunt

To the fighting qualities of the Boer many tributes have been and more will be paid in the future. It is essentially a product of his environment. The student of British wars with the Kaffirs and of the interminable succession of struggles fought by the Boer with Hottentots and Bushmen in early Colonial days; with the Kosas on the frontiers of Cape Colony and the Zulus in Natal; with the Matabeles in the pioneer days of the republics, and with the Basutos during more than a decade in the history of the Free State; with the Bapedis of the Transvaal and the Bechuanas of the northern and western borders; with the Baramapulana of the Limpopo River and the Swazis of the southeastern border; will understand how much of native guile and savagery there is in the Boer method of warfare, and why it is so difficult for troops trained in other kinds of fighting to meet it when combined with European science in ar

mament and trained skill in the management of great guns. Added to the quality of native cunning in warfare is an alertness of movement derived from long and hereditary skill in hunting wild animals and living constantly on horseback; as well as in fighting continuously a wily and ambush-making native foe. As with the Kaffir himself, laziness disappears when the game of the Boer is on the horizon, and it matters not whether the quarry be animal or human, the hunter and fighter becomes at once a creature of the veldt; a very part and parcel of the country around him. He knows every foot of South African soil. In the words of Pringle, referring to the emigrant farmer of earlier years:

> "Afar in the desert I love to ride,
> With the silent Bush-boy alone by my side:
> Away—away—in the wilderness vast,
> Where the White Man's foot hath never passed,
> And the quivered Koranna or Bechuan
> Hath rarely crossed with his roving clan:
> A region of emptiness, howling and drear,
> Which man hath abandoned from famine and fear."

Those days are passed; but the instinct remains, the knowledge has become hereditary, and, through the love of hunting which still continues in the breast of the Boer, it is to-day a practical and potent force. To the average Dutch farmer maps are therefore unnecessary, and the Drakensberg is as familiar in its every detail of mountain and kopje and rainless river as are the rooms of his own home on the rolling plains of the Transvaal or the Orange Free State. Hence it is that the general peculiarities of his complex character combine to make him a soldier and enemy whom it is no easy task to subdue—even for the legions of Britain and her allied Empire.

CHAPTER X.

The Annexation of the Transvaal.

IN the years immediately following 1872 the disorganization and public weakness of the Transvaal Boers became dangerous to themselves and inimical to the peace of all South Africa. The emigrant farmers had for two decades been living in a chronic state of war with the ever-increasing number of natives around them and, while successful in their raids upon individual Bantu kraals, were entirely unsuccessful in the subjection of the tribes as a whole. They would not submit to taxation, what little paper money they possessed had in 1870 depreciated to a quarter of its face value, and the few business transactions indulged in were carried out on lines of barter not dissimilar to the aboriginal customs around them. No public improvements were made and no administrative system existed further than a nominal Presidency which was helpless in the face of the surrounding disorganization. The accession of Mr. Burghers to the position, in 1872, did not remedy matters and the repulse of the Boers from the stronghold of Sekukuni on their north-eastern border, in 1876, precipitated a situation which resulted in the British annexation of the Republic.

Dangers Without, Difficulties Within

So much of the subsequent discussion regarding this policy turns upon the then existing internal situation of the Transvaal that a couple of authoritative quotations may be given here. Mr. James Bryce, who has since made himself unpopular in England by his opposition to the War of 1899, states in his *Impressions*

of South Africa that: "The weakness and disorders of the Republic had become a danger not only to the British subjects who had begun to settle in it but also to the neighbouring British territories and especially Natal." Dr. George M. Theal, a recognized authority upon South African affairs, despite a pronounced tendency to sympathize with the Dutch, refers in the *Story of the Nations'* Series, to the troubles with Sekukuni and then proceeds; "But the country was quite unable to bear the strain. The ordinary charges of government and the interest on the public debt could not be met, much less an additional burden. And so the whole administrative machinery broke down. The Republic was really in a pitiable state, without money or an army, with rebellion triumphant and a general election approaching that was feared might be attended with civil war."

Authoritative Quotations

National bankruptcy and the danger arising from 300,000 threatening natives surrounding, within the Transvaal, some 30,000 people of Dutch descent were also added to by the possibility of external attack from the Zulus. There can be no doubt of the reality of this peril although the events which followed led the Dutch to minimize its extent. Cetywayo, in 1876, had a large army of trained and physically powerful warriors numbering at least 30,000 men. He had immense reserves of savage population, in the event of war, both in the Transvaal and Natal, and all were bound together by a bond of hatred against the Boer—the only tie recognized by native tribes. He had his men in threatening positions upon the frontier from time to time and had announced that his *Impis* must have an opportunity of wetting their spears in the blood of an enemy. But at this point the Zulu chieftain touched British interests. If he attacked the Boers and was successful it meant a future

A Great Peril

onslaught with increased power upon Natal, and, in any case, might easily involve the hundreds of thousands of related tribes in the Colony. For the safety of the scattered British settlements it was therefore necessary to protect the now almost helpless Boer. Of course, the commandos of the latter would have put up a good fight against the invading hordes and the enmity of surrounding natives, but, wthout provisions, without ammunition, without fortifications, and without money (the Transvaal Treasury was so empty in 1876 that it could not pay for the transportation of some ammunition from Durban to Pretoria) the result must have been extremely disastrous.

It was at this junction that the Federation policy of Lord Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary in the Beaconsfield Government, combined with the apparent local necessities of the case to cause the intervention of the Imperial authorities. Lord Beaconsfield was an Imperialist of the strongest type, imaginative yet practical, initiative in policy and also courageous in execution. His Government had bought the Suez Canal shares in order to ensure the trade route of the Empire to India, and had made the Queen an eastern Empress and the Prince of Wales the centre of Oriental hospitality and magnificence, in order to appeal to the sentiment of those vast regions and teeming populations. Lord Carnarvon had, in 1867, as Colonial Secretary, presided over the Confederation of British America, and his present great ambition was to help in creating a federated South Africa. But it was too late so far as South Africa was concerned; too early so far as Imperialistic sentiment at home was concerned. When Sir Bartle Frere reached Cape Town he found that the Transvaal had just been annexed, and that one great apparent difficulty had been removed from his path. At the same time, however, he found the Orange Free State opposed to federation though ready for a customs union; and two years later the

The Federation Policy of Lord Carnarvon

malcontents in the Transvaal, roused and encouraged by Mr. Gladstone's public sentiments as Leader of the Liberal Opposition and in defence of the Boer right to independence, were in rebellion and able to influence their racial allies at Cape Town in the vetoing of the Commissioner's general policy of federation. Such was the story in a brief summary.

The details are both interesting and important. In 1876 the Boer attack on Sekukuni—a not very strong Kaffir chief upon the Transvaal border—had, as already stated, been repulsed, and the High Commissioner of the moment in South Africa, Sir Henry Barkly, wrote to Lord Carnarvon, under date of October 30th, describing the ensuing situation of the Transvaal at some length, and concluded with the following expressive words:

"In short, the whole state of things borders very closely upon anarchy; and, although in other parts of the Republic lawlessness and inhumanity are less rampantly exhibited, the machinery of administration is everywhere all but paralyzed, and the Republic seems about to fall to pieces through its own weakness. In that event the Boers in each district would either have to make their own terms with the adjacent Kaffir tribes or trek onwards into the wilderness, as is their wont, whilst the position of the large number of British subjects scattered about on farms, or resident in the towns, or at the gold fields, might fairly claim the humane consideration of Her Majesty's Government even if there were not other reasons to save so fine a country from so miserable a fate."

Threatened Anarchy

There was more, however, to be thought of than the mere paralysis of the functions of Government, bad as it was. Ther as now, the Transvaal was the Turkey of South Africa in its treatment of other races as well as in a Mahommedan-like superciliousness of religious view. Writing a few months after the above despatch from the High Commissioner, Lord Carnarvon—January 25, 1877—in referring to the Boer method of warfare on the native tribes as par-

ticularly illustrated in the Sekukuni struggle, declared that: "Her Majesty's Government, after having given full consideration to all the information attainable on the subject, and with every desire to view matters in the most favorable light, deeply regret that they are forced to come to the conclusion that the barbarities alleged to have been committed, though denied by the Transvaal Government, have, in fact, occurred."

Meanwhile, on October 5, 1876, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who, during forty years of life and administration in South-eastern Africa had won the general respect of Englishmen, Boers and natives, received a Royal Commission to inquire into the Transvaal disturbances and to exercise power and jurisdiction in the matter subject to the will and welfare of the people. He arrived at Pretoria on January 22d, after a slow progress through the country and accompanied only by a small personal staff and 25 Natal Mounted Police. He had, during this period, in different parts of the Transvaal and to various portions of the people, explained his policy of annexation and the necessity of doing something for the preservation of personal property as well as real liberty. Everywhere he had been well received, and, for a month after his Proclamation annexing the Republic to the Empire had been issued on April 12th, he remained at Pretoria without the support of a single soldier of the Queen. The general position of the country was well explained in a despatch to Lord Carnarvon dated at Pretoria on March 6th. The white population was made up, at the outside estimate, of 8,000 men capable of bearing arms, and of these more than 6,000 were farmers scattered in isolated homesteads over a surface equal to that of the British Isles. It was patent, he declared, to every observer that:

Sir T. Shepstone's Arrival in Pretoria.

'The Government was powerless to control either its white citizens or its native subjects, and that it was incapable of enforcing

its laws or collecting its taxes; that the Treasury was empty; that the salaries of officials had been and are for months in arrears; and that sums payable for the ordinary and necessary expenses of Government cannot be had; that payment for such services as postal contracts were long and hopelessly overdue; that the white inhabitants had become split into factions; that the large native population within the boundaries of the State ignore its authority and its laws, and that the powerful ruling king, Cetywayo, is anxious to seize upon the first opportunity of attacking a country the conduct of whose warriors at Sekukuni's mountain has convinced him that it can be easily conquered by his clamoring regiments."

Boer Government's Weakness

President Burgers himself recognized the situation, and a month before the annexation was consummated told the assembled Volksraad that "matters are as bad as they ever can be; they cannot be worse." Practically, he supported the policy of Sir T. Shepstone, and shortly afterwards retired on a pension to live at Cape Town. The Hollanders, who stood to lose heavily by the supremacy of British ideas and intelligence in the country, did their utmost to arouse the fanaticism of the farmers by printed manifestoes and memorials of the most inflammatory character, but without much success. In the end the only practical opposition made was the appointment by the expiring Executive Council, on the day before the Proclamation, of a delegation to England composed of Mr. Paul Kruger, Vice-President, and Dr. E. J. P. Jorrissen, Attorney-General. These gentlemen went to London and were well received personally, and a similar result followed from a second deputation headed by Mr. Kruger in 1878. One evil, however, came from these visits. Instead of the astute Paul Kruger being impressed by the power of Great Britain, or conciliated by the courtesy of political leaders, he seems to have been interested chiefly in the study of party tactics and of the disintegrating influence of politics when carried into the field of Colonial

Kruger's Visit to London

government and foreign affairs. Coupled with the knowledge thus gained of a Radical faction which was already denouncing Lord Carnarvon's Confederation scheme, and of the anti-expansion views of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. John Morley and Sir William Harcourt, was a keen appreciation of the strength of the Home Rule issue then evolving such incipient power in the field of partisan battle. It was not hard for Mr. Kruger to discern, or hope for, the coming fall of the Beaconsfield Government; the growing power of a Radical element which would parallel the case of the Transvaal with that of Ireland; and a future in which some strong movement in the now quiet and peace-environed Boer country would result in a reversal of British policy.

But the annexation was now a fact. In England it was received with comparative indifference by the Tories and with a sort of passive hostility by the Liberals. No one seemed to know very much of the real state of affairs, and when, in the autumn of 1879, Mr. Gladstone practically urged the independence of the Boers as a portion of Liberal policy, his party opponents did not themselves realize the greatness of the issue involved or the inevitable consequences of playing with Empire questions as with measures for the building of a local bridge or the amending of some local law. In South Africa the English element rejoiced greatly at the annexation, and never dreamt of its reversal.

Dr. Moffat's Joy Over Annexation

The Rev. Dr. Robert Moffat, writing privately on July 27, 1877, with all his long accumulated experience in the South African missionary field,* declared that: "I have no words to express the pleasure the annexation of the Transvaal Territory has afforded me. It is one of the most important measures our Government could have adopted as regards the Republic as well as the aborigines. I have no hesitation in pronouncing the step one fraught with incalculable benefit to

* Letter to Alexander McArthur, M. P., published in the *English Independent* of August 16, 1877.

both parties, *i. e.*, the settlers and the native tribes. A residence of more than half a century beyond the Colonial boundary is quite sufficient to authorize me to write with confidence that Lord Carnarvon's action will be the commencement of an era of blessing to South Africa." Such was the general view of the English element at the Cape, and such would have been the expressed view of Dutchmen like President Brand of the Free State if they could have ventured to explain their own sentiments. But Lord Carnarvon proposed, and Mr. Kruger's astute perception, combined with Hollander scheming and the fickleness of British party policy, disposed.

Slowly but surely Kruger played upon Boer ignorance and local prejudices, intense aversion to taxation and dislike of the English. Slowly and steadily he worked upon the racial sentiment of the Dutch at the Cape, until, in 1880, they largely signed an address to Mr. Gladstone asking his support for the "liberties" of their kinsmen. Eventually, he defeated, by indirect means, Sir Bartle Frere's policy of federating Cape Colony, Natal, Griqualand West and the Transvaal when it came before the Cape Legislature in June, 1880. Carefully, but with certainty, he built upon the shifting sands of England's Colonial policy that later structure of personal supremacy so well described by Kipling:

Dutch Appeal to Gladstone

> "Cruel in the shadow, crafty in the sun,
> Far beyond his border shall his teaching run.
> Sloven, sullen, savage, secret, uncontrolled,
> Laying on a new land evil of the old."

For a couple of years, however, matters went on without open rebellion. The administration of Sir T. Shepstone was, upon the whole, a wise one. The former officials were largely retained, provision was made for a dual official language, the finances were got into fairly good shape, and the natives were conciliated. Sir Bartle

Frere, looking on from Cape Town, wished to establish complete responsible government, and had his policy been carried out, it is possible that the war might have been averted, and certain that the growing influence of Kruger would have been checked. Two Dutch deputations had gone to London, and the restoration of independence had been refused them by both the Beaconsfield Government and the succeeding one of Mr. Gladstone. High officials of all kinds—Frere, Wolseley, Shepstone and Lanyon—had declared that it was an absolute impossibility, and, certainly, no overt attempts were made to obtain it while British troops were present in South Africa in large numbers engaged in crushing the Zulu enemy or the lesser power of the Sekukuni.

Unofficially, however, the Boer idea of independence received substantial encouragement from England. Before coming into power Mr. Gladstone, in his famous Midlothian speeches, proclaimed that "if those acquisitions were as valuable as they are worthless, I would repudiate them because they are obtained by means dishonorable to the character of the country." When he came into office he practically repudiated his own statements; but they had meanwhile done the mischief which so often accompanies demagogic or thoughtless oratory when uttered by highly-placed public men. In 1880 Colonel Sir Owen Lanyon became Administrator of the Transvaal in place of Sir T. Shepstone, who was paying a visit to England. He has been described as an "orthodox military man, somewhat pompous and a trifle haughty to inferiors," and, in reality, was the worst possible personage to be placed at the head of affairs in a country now seething with discontent and ripe for insurrection.

Encouragement from England

One of the real and immediate causes of the war of 1880–81 was the question of taxation—not in any constitutional sense, as it might have been in an English community, but in the personal ob-

jection of the Boer to paying taxes of any kind to any person or any Government. The proceedings of the Volksraad from 1868 to 1877 teem with references to the difficulty of obtaining payment of the most ordinary and necessary taxes until, in March of the latter year, and just before the annexation was consummated, that body declared that the greater amount of the taxes had not been paid, that the Government of the country could not be carried on, and that the Government be authorized "to collect all outstanding taxes by summary process." There was, however, no personal objection to the drawing of money from the Government to any obtainable limit. Sir Owen Lanyon stated, as an illustration of this fact, and in a despatch to Lord Kimberley on December 5, 1880, that "Mr. Kruger's case exemplifies this (the avoidance of paying taxes on the ground of conscientious scruples against the Government), for he continued to draw salary as a member of the Executive Council for a period of eight and a half months after the annexation. In fact, he would doubtless be drawing it now, for notwithstanding his term of office expired on the 4th of November, 1877, he applied for and received pay up to the close of the year." Whatever the immediate cause of the rebellion, however, there can be no doubt of many of the collateral issues. Love of independence was one, and the careful manipulation of this sentiment by Mr. Kruger was perhaps as important a factor as any other. Hardly less so, in his hands and in those of clever Hollander intriguers, were the party utterances of English leaders. The men of the veldt knew nothing of England or English life, and how should they comprehend the complex character of partisan statements and eloquent platform vagaries? Hence it was that they were only too willing to believe that a show of force and the shock of a sudden revolt would break the back of the Gladstone

Taxation the Cause of War in 1880–81

Government's new-found objection to a recognition of their complete independence.

The war came with apparent suddenness to the unprepared authorities—lack of preparation being, however, a not uncommon condition of South African history. Yet there was really ample warning. At a great mass meeting in December, 1879, the strongest possible sentiment had been expressed in favor of independence. Mr. M. W. Pretorius, a former President, had been arrested for sedition, and several others were in prison for the same reason. Passive resistance had everywhere become the order of the day, and a proclamation against seditious meetings was necessarily issued. Later on, Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had been recently appointed High Commissioner for South-eastern Africa, wrote to the Colonial Office (October 29, 1880) regarding the "continuance of grave discontent," and added: "I am informed on all sides that it is the intention of the Boers to fight for independence. There is no doubt, I think, that the people are incited to discontent and rebellion by ambitious agitators, . . . and that the main body of the Dutch population is disaffected to our rule." Nothing of importance was done, however. Of course, Sir Garnet Wolseley did all he could in the careful disposition of his small force; but at home there was only wavering and uncertainty. The fact is, that the Gladstone Government was afraid to give way and did not want to hold on. They cared nothing for the Transvaal, but were face to face with repeated official pledges regarding its retention, as well as with their own unofficial advocacy of its abandonment. So they waited, and events drifted into the inevitable rebellion. The first overt action was the forcible resistance of a farmer, named Bezuidenhout, who had been served with a notice and then with an attachment for the sum of £27 5*s*., unpaid taxes.

Sudden Coming of the War

Then a great public meeting was announced for January 8, 1881, but was held instead on December 15th at Paardekraal.

Armed Boers Take Possession of Town

Armed Boers came in thousands, and, on the succeeding day, took possession of the Town of Heidelberg, declared their independence, and established a republican government, with Paul Kruger as President, Piet Joubert as Commandant-General, E. J. P. Jorrissen as Attorney-General, and a man named Bok as Acting State Secretary. Four days later a portion of the 94th Regiment, consisting of some 250 men, were surprised and shot down to the number of 120. Owing to the clever *ruse* of the Boers in announcing their mass-meeting for nearly a month ahead of its real date, the breaking out of active rebellion had not been expected for some weeks.

The British force was so small in the Transvaal that the Boers had it all their own way. The tiny garrisons were shut up and closely besieged, and the rebels advanced into Natal and occupied a favorable position in the mountains at a place called Laing's Nek. It was attacked on January 27th by Major-General Sir George Colley, commanding the troops in the Colony, with about a thousand men. He was driven back with heavy losses, owing partly to a lack of artillery and partly, on his own admission, to attempting a flank movement with inadequate means. Another unsuccessful fight took place at Ingogo, and then, on February 26th, he occupied Majuba Hill, and on the succeeding day met his second and famous defeat. Death buries mistakes, but there is no doubt that, once more, over-confidence had led a British officer into disaster. The results were more serious than those which usually follow such passing incidents.

The Gladstone Government did not want the Transvaal; did not like the preceding situation of suspended sedition; did not understand or care for the necessity and vital import of the country

to a future united South Africa; did not desire to fight the Boers in any way, shape or form; did not know anything practical regarding the nature of Dutch politics and racial cohesion in South Africa, except to have vague fears of a general war; did not understand how greatly peace in such regions depends upon *prestige* or at how low an ebb British military reputation in South Africa already was. To them these little defeats were an excuse and a means to an end. Telegram followed telegram, after Majuba Hill, urging Sir Evelyn Wood—who had succeeded to the military command*—to obtain a meeting with the Boer leaders for the discussion of terms of peace. On March 5th, Sir Evelyn Wood telegraphed to Lord Kimberley, Colonial Secretary, that: "In discussing settlement of country, my constant endeavors shall be to carry out the spirit of your orders; but, considering the disasters we have sustained, I think that the happiest result will be that, after accelerating successful action which *I hope to fight in about fourteen days*, the Boers should disperse without any guarantee, and then many, now undoubtedly coerced, will readily settle down." But the Government was not willing to wait even fourteen days, and Mr. Gladstone had already stated in the House of Commons that he hoped to come to terms with the Boers. Accordingly, on March 12th, Lord Kimberley telegraphed Wood as follows:

Attitude of Gladstone's Government

"Inform Boer leaders that if Boers will undertake to desist from armed opposition and disperse to their homes we are prepared to name the following as Commissioners: Sir H. Robinson (High Commissioner), Chief Justice de Villiers (of Cape Colony) and yourself. President Brand would be asked to be present at proceedings as representing friendly State. Commission would be authorized to consider following points: Complete self-government under British suzerainty with British Resident and provisions for protection of

Proposition for Peace

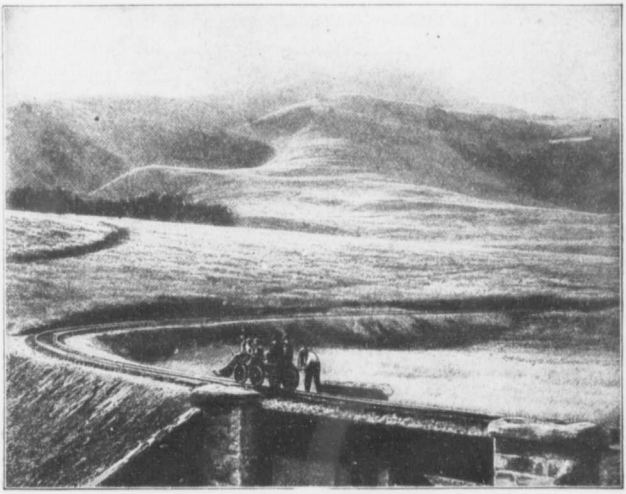
* Sir Garnet Wolseley had returned to England some months before the outbreak of the war in order to take up the Quartermaster-Generalship of the Forces.

native interests and as to frontier affairs. Control over relations with foreign Powers to be reserved."

Four days later the meeting took place under the shadow of Laing's Nek, and President Kruger accepted the terms of Lord Kimberley's telegram. On March 21st, the armistice having meanwhile been prolonged and President Brand not having turned up, a new meeting of President Kruger, Sir E. Wood and others was held and a draft treaty drawn up. Schedule 2d stated that: "We, Kruger, Pretorius and Joubert, declare our readiness to accept the suzerainty of the reigning Sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland according to the explanation given by Sir E. Wood." Schedule 3d declared that: "I, Sir Evelyn Wood, acknowledge the right of the Transvaal people to complete self-government, subject to the Suzerain rights." Everywhere throughout these negotiations the phrase "self-government" is used as contradistinguished from "independence." Not even the Boer leaders then suggested the latter as a possible policy. They were willing to accept the supremacy of the Queen, the British control of their foreign policy, the management of their relations with the natives and even the control of their border policy. But whatever they did ask for they received. The Lydenberg District, for instance, was distinctly debatable ground, with a mainly British and white population, and covering the region once ruled by Sekukuni and subdued by British troops on behalf of the Boers. This region the latter now demanded, though not very strenuously, and on March 31st Lord Kimberley telegraphed to the Royal Commissioners, in the concluding words of a somewhat fatuous discussion of the question, that: "Her Majesty's Government are averse, on general grounds of policy, to the extension of British territory in South Africa." Of course Lydenberg was ultimately given up and the Boer position further strengthened and consolidated. On

Self-Government, but not Independence

THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING, PRETORIA, TRANSVAAL



A VIEW OF MAJUBA HILL FROM THE RAILWAY

PRESIDENT KRUGER WORSHIPPING IN CHURCH

June 13th the Royal Commission—Robinson, Wood and De Villiers—met the new Boer Government at Pretoria, and on August 3d the Convention of 1881 was signed and made public.

The document carefully guarded the Queen's supremacy, and declared in its important preamble that: "Her Majesty's Commissioners for the settlement of the Transvaal Territory, duly appointed as such by a Commission passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet bearing date April 5, 1881, do hereby undertake and guarantee on behalf of Her Majesty that, from and after the 8th day of August, 1881, complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, will be accorded to the inhabitants of the Transvaal Territory." Then follow the Articles of the Convention giving terms and conditions, reservations and limitations. Control was preserved over the natives; a British Resident was to be appointed at Pretoria; the right to move British troops through the State was acceded; "the control of the external relations of the said State, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with foreign Powers," was given to Britain; no slavery or "apprenticeship partaking of slavery" was to be tolerated; complete freedom of religion was promised; boundaries were defined and the independence of the Swazis "fully recognized." Finally, Article 26 declared that "All persons other than natives conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel or reside in any part of the Transvaal State; they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops and premises; they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; they will not be subject in respect to their persons or property, or in respect to their commerce or industry to any taxes, whether general

Suzerainty of the Queen

Rights Guaranteed Residents

or local, other than those which are, or may be, imposed upon Transvaal citizens." This Article, reaffirmed in the same words by the ensuing Convention of 1884, and taken in conjunction with the guarantee of self-government to all the inhabitants of the Transvaal—not to the Boers alone—constitutes the charter of right to the Uitlander of a later day. Another point must also be considered in the same connection. Prior to the signing of the Convention a discussion * took place as to the existing rights of aliens or British subjects in the new State and in the following terms:

"Question 239. Sir H. Robinson. Before annexation had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal? were they on the same footing as citizens?

"240. Mr. Kruger. They were on the same footing as the burghers; there was not the slightest difference, in accordance with the Sand River Convention.

"241. Sir H. Robinson. I presume you will not object to that continuing?

What the Rights of Uitlanders were

"242. Mr. Kruger. No, there will be equal protection for everybody.

"243. Sir E. Wood. And equal privileges?

"244. Mr. Kruger. We make no difference as far as burgher rights are concerned. There may perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country.

"245. There are no disabilities with regard to trade, are there?

"246. Mr. Kruger. No.

"1037. Dr. Jorissen. At No. 244 the question was: 'Is there any distinction in regard to the privileges or rights of Englishmen in the Transvaal?' and Mr. Kruger answered, 'No, there is no difference;' and then he added, 'There may be some slight difference in the case of a young person just coming into the country.' I wish to say that that might give rise to a wrong impression. What Mr. Kruger intended to convey was this: according to our law a newcomer has not his burgher rights immediately. The words young person do not refer to age, but to the time of residence in the Republic. According to our Grondwet (Constitution) you have to reside a year in the country.

* See British Government *Blue Book* c. 3219, pp. 24 and 53.

"1038. Sir H. de Villiers. Is the oath of allegiance required from a person, not being born in the Transvaal, coming to reside there, who claims burgher rights?

"1039. Dr. Jorissen. In the law relating to the franchise there is a stipulation for the oath of allegiance to be taken to the State.

"1040. Then it is not every burgher who has a vote; it is only the burghers who have taken the oath of allegiance that have a vote?

"1041. Dr. Jorissen. Yes, the last revision of that law was made in 1876."

It is therefore plain that when the re-cession of the Transvaal took place complete equality of races existed and was pledged to continue; while a fair system of franchise was in force which required only a year's residence and the usual oath of allegiance—similar to that always used in the Orange Free State, and not like the one afterwards created which compelled a repudiation in set terms of allegiance to the Queen. The very term "self-government" naturally involved freedom of franchise under similar conditions for both Boer and Briton, and not even Kruger himself then claimed otherwise; whilst the British Government and the Commissioners took it as a matter of course that Englishmen would be kept upon the same level in the Transvaal as they always had been and as were the Dutch in Cape Colony and Natal.

Complete Equality of Races

However, results were still a matter of the future, and in the meantime the Convention, as signed by S. J. P. Kruger, M. W. Pretorius and P. J. Joubert, was ratified, on October 20th, by the Volksraad, though under protest from Joubert and others, and with the remarkable statement from Lord Kimberly that "no proposals for its modification could be entertained until it was ratified." This statement, coupled with the hostility secretly raised in the Volksraad by Kruger, and openly expressed as representative of public opinion, paved the way for a reconsideration of its terms along ultimate lines

which should limit the Queen's Government to a supervision of the Transvaal's foreign affairs instead of their direction and control; which should abrogate the clause permitting interference with internal legislation, or with the policy pursued towards native tribes; and should strip the Resident of any authority other than that of a Minister or Consul. The aim was to get rid of British suzerainty by degrees, and Kruger, from his study of British political parties, believed he could eventually succeed.

Effort to Get Rid of British Surerainty

Bold preliminary steps were taken. In open disregard of the Convention, a law was passed in 1882 providing that a newcomer must reside five years in the country, become duly registered and pay a sum of $125 before obtaining the privilege of naturalization. In 1884 President Kruger again visited London, accompanied by two other Delegates—Messrs. S. J. du Toit and N. J. Smit, and a clever Hollander lawyer named Van Blockland. Mr. Gladstone was still Premier, and Lord Derby, the weakest and most vacillating of modern British Ministers, was Colonial Secretary. As the hero of a retirement which had practically killed the Government of Lord Beaconsfield and of a New Guinea fiasco which had merited and received the execration of Australians, he was eminently fitted to become an instrument for trouble in South Africa under the shrewd manipulation of Kruger.

The new Convention was duly negotiated, and all reference to the suzerainty omitted. Practically every power retained by the British Government in 1881 was now given up. As a "matter of convenience" the authority of the British Resident was wiped off the slate, and the right of the British Sovereign to move troops through the State in time of war with bordering natives was abrogated. The right to conduct diplomatic negotiations was also freely given up, and the only shred

British Power Relinquished

of authority visibly maintained was the power to veto treaties publicly entered into.

Fortunately the declaration of suzerainty was not abrogated in set terms, and, of course, until that was done the British authority under which the first Convention was signed and sealed and the second Convention created remained the same. Moreover, the terms of the preamble to the second agreement simply stated that "the following *Articles* of the new Convention . . . shall be *substituted for the Articles* embodied in the Convention of August 3, 1881," so that there was no direct substitution of authority. However, the new arrangement, through not definitely reasserting the suzerainty, gave President Kruger the opening he desired for some future period when he might claim that there was no longer any such authority; and in making possible this technical and vague claim the indifferent Lord Derby laid one of the foundation stones of great future trouble. The Transvaal State now became the South African Republic, and its Delegates negotiated treaties in Berlin, Paris and Lisbon. Gold soon began to be produced in great quantities, the revenues swelled into millions of pounds sterling, salaries of officials grew apace, President Kruger became one of the wealthy men of the world, alien settlers were treated like native inferiors, the oppressed Uitlander came into prominence, and presently the British Empire found itself face to face with an organized, compact, wealthy and powerful enemy.

Loophole in the New Arrangement

CHAPTER XI.

Natal and the Zulu Wars.

DURING these varied ups and downs of racial life and rivalry the progress of Natal had not been very great. Like Zululand, to the east, it lies on the sea-slope of a mountainous range and is undulating in surface with an alternation of hills and valleys. The latter have numerous and permanent streams, grass is plentiful, and in the coast region there is abundance of wood. It is much more favoured by nature than Cape Colony and, as a whole, its soil may be described as rich, its appearance as charming and its climate as temperate. Yet, at the end of the century, Natal has not more than 50,000 white residents within its bounds, although before the War of 1899 commenced it was making new and vigorous progress. Durban has become a beautiful, well managed and growing town of 30,000 people—half natives and coolies from India—while Pietermaritzburg is a small but pleasant capital with a cultivated society and agreeable natural surroundings. The population of the Colony includes nearly half a million Zulus, who are increasing in number by leaps and bounds; 50,000 immigrants from India of the coolie and artisan type, with an intermixture of Mohammedan traders from Bombay or Zanzibar who conduct a prosperous retail business with the natives; and about the same number of whites, of whom some nine or ten thousand are Dutch.

Population, Climate, Resources, etc.

The progress latterly visible in Natal dates from the close of the Zulu war of 1879. Prior to that time the discovery of the

Kimberley diamond fields had drawn away many of its more active spirits and, afterwards, the shadow of Cetywayo for some time loomed large upon the eastern border. After that cloud was dispelled the Transvaal War took place, and in 1886 the phenomenal growth of the Witwatersrand gold mines again drew away from the English population. As a whole, however, the people of the Colony have been very comfortable in their circumstances, and the bulk of the white settlers, outside of the villages, occupy large and prosperous cattle farms in which little of the soil is cultivated, and where the work is largely performed by coloured labourers. Sugar and tea plantations are, however, growing in numbers of late years. Politically, the Colony was governed directly from London during the years immediately following its British occupation in 1842 and latterly its Governor has had a curiously complicated position in relation to the Colonial Office and the High Commissioner for South Africa who dwells at Cape Town and acts as Governor of Cape Colony. In 1893, with some hesitation and natural doubtfulness, the 15,000 adult white males of Natal were given self-government with almost complete control over hundreds of thousands of natives. There is now a Cabinet of five members, a House of Assembly and Legislative Council—the former elected for four years and the latter appointed by the Governor for ten years. It is greatly to the credit of these new institutions and the electorate generally that no trouble has occurred with the surrounding Zulus; that the law is easily enforced and thoroughly respected; and that the loyalty of the tribes has been pronounced and sincere.

Progress of Natal

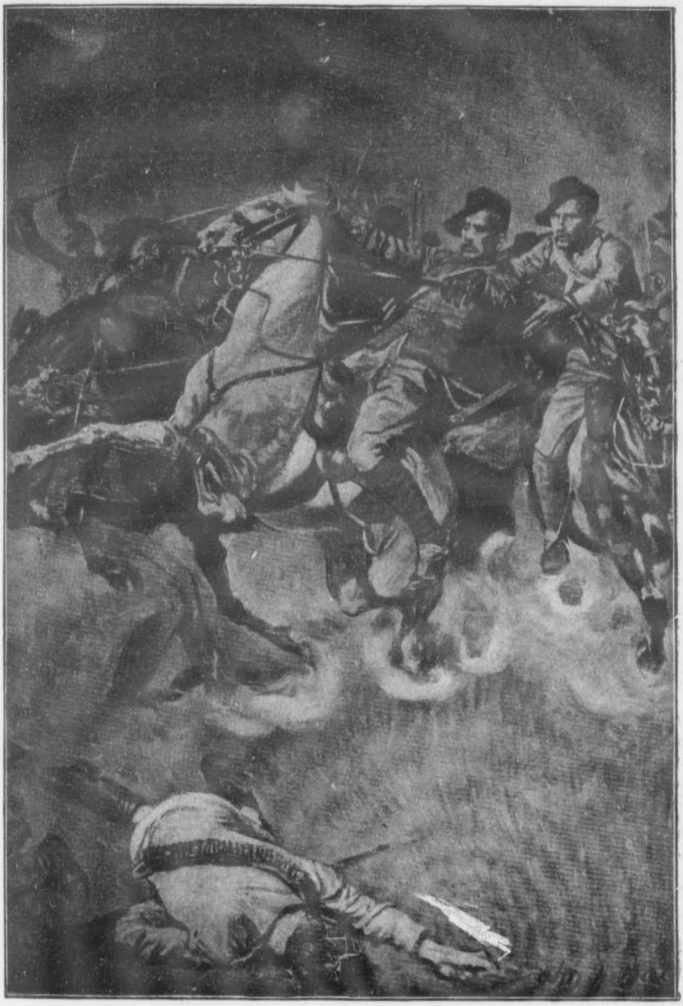
Self-Government given to the Whites

But in 1876 this latter condition had hardly begun to develop, the natives were still a source of fear and natural suspicion, the

Zulu *impis* of Cetywayo were darkly threatening, and the country was held back from settlement and progress by the encircling shadow of savage life. In the year 1877 Sir Bartle Frere, as Cape Governor and High Commissioner, had received a genial and not uncommon welcome to South Africa by a Kaffir war on the eastern frontier where two Kosa chiefs, Sandilli and Kreli, had revolted. Owing to the prompt action and wise measures taken the area of disturbance was limited and Cape Colony saved from those horrors of savage border warfare to which it had been so accustomed in the past. Satisfied with the result, Sir Bartle Frere turned to the northeast and found himself face to face with the menacing Zulu question and with the growth of a native power which had been practically encouraged by British policy to develop itself along the frontier of Natal.

Cetywayo; his Power and Character

Since the struggle with his brother in 1856, and the slaughter of the latter with about one-fourth of the Zulus of that time, Cetywayo had been the real ruler of his nation. In 1872, upon the death of Panda, he succeeded also to the nominal government and was approved by the British authorities. In appearance the great Zulu chief was, in these earlier years, handsome and dignified, besides being possessed of undoubted mental gifts. He was, however, pitiless and cruel in the extreme, as hard of heart as a piece of steel, and as regardless of human life as a lion or tiger in its native fastnesses. In organizing power he had the genius of Tshaka, and he brought out all that was best and all that was worst in the Zulu race—the most intelligent, fearless and active of South African Kaffirs, or Bantu. As time went on and Cetywayo drilled and exercised and trained his *impis*, it became evident that unpleasant results must follow and that, hemmed in as they were by the Transvaal, Natal and the sea, there were only two possible outlets for the fiery spirits of the grow-



THE DEATH OF COLONEL CHISHOLME AT ELANDSLAAGTE

As the daring officer fell from his horse at the head of his men, he shouted, "*Splendid, Lads!*

GENERAL SIR REDVERS BULLER ON HORSEBACK.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. HUNTER, K.C.B.
Chief of Sir George White's Staff

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. SHERSTON
Killed in Battle of Glencoe

ing Zulu force. Cetywayo would have found it hard to control them had he desired to do so. Like all native armies, and especially with such disciplined and ambitious soldiers as he now had, they were more than anxious to test their power, to "wash their spears" in blood and to taste of the fierce pleasures of war. In this connection Sir Bartle Frere wrote with vigor in a dispatch of January, 1879, justifying his instructions to Lord Chelmsford to advance into Zululand:

"Whether his (Cetywayo's) young men were trained into celibate gladiators as parts of a most efficient military machine, or allowed to become peaceable cattle herds; whether his young women were to be allowed to marry the young men, or to be assegaied by hundreds for disobeying the king's orders to marry effete veterans, might possibly be Zulu questions of political economy with which the British Government were not concerned to meddle; but they were part of the great recruiting system of a military organization which enabled the King to form, out of his comparatively small population, an army, at the very lowest estimate, of 25,000 perfectly trained and perfectly obedient soldiers, able to march three times as fast as we could, to dispense with commissariat of every kind and transport of every kind, and to fall upon this or any part of the neighboring colony (Natal) in such numbers and with such determination that nothing but a fortified post could resist them; making no prisoners and sparing neither age nor sex."

War Clouds Gathering

Demonstrations of aggressiveness were frequent. About the time when Sir Bartle Frere arrived at Cape Town a powerful Zulu force had, in the most menacing manner, paraded along the Natal frontier, and, in response to protests, was described as merely a hunting party. British officials, who had been sent into Zululand from time to time as envoys, were treated in the most contemptuous manner by the Zulu Idunas. On one occasion (in 1876) two native women were captured on Natal soil and carried back to punishment, which, in this case, meant death. Proofs were not wanting of Zulu attempts to create

disturbance amongst other Bantu tribes in distant parts of the country, and, on December 10, 1878, Sir Bartle Frere wrote to the Colonial Secretary that: "Whenever there has been disturbance and resistance to the authority of the Government between the Limpopo and the westernmost limits of Kaffir population, there we have found unmistakable evidence of a common purpose and a general understanding." The first embodiment of this fact was the Kaffir war already mentioned. Sandilli, leading the Gaika tribe, and Kreli the Galekas, had revolted in August, 1877, and only prompt military measures had saved the neighboring colonists from much suffering. As it was the tribes were not entirely subjugated until eight months after their first hostile action. The general effect, of course, was to still further encourage Cetywayo and his warrors in their aggressive ambitions.

The Zulu's and the Boers

An additional factor to this end was the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. By placing their most hated enemy, the Boer, under British control it transferred the expression of that hatred to the new Government and the English people. A part of the general restlessness of the natives in the year of the annexation had been expressed in the war between Sekukuni, a Kaffir chief to the northeast, and the Boer Republic. The chief in question was a tool of Cetywayo's, and there is little doubt was egged on by him to hostilities which the latter intended as preliminary to a general attack upon the Transvaal; in which he was further encouraged by the defeat of the Boers and the retirement of President Burgers from his invasion of Sekukuni's territory. But the British annexation temporarily averted the attack and the whole burden of Zulu hostility was practically assumed by the British; as well as the subsequent brunt of Zulu attack. The situation, therefore, was not a pleasant one for Sir Bartle Frere any more than it was for the colonists of Natal, or for the Boers of the

Transvaal prior to their annexation. It had been anticipated by Sir George Grey, a quarter of a century before, when he had urged that the growth of the Zulu power be checked by the establishment of a protectorate, or watched by the placing of a permanent Resident at its capital. But his advice was disregarded, and, in 1876, when Sir Henry Bulwer, Governor of Natal, protested against some Zulu act of force upon the frontier, Cetywayo was able to reply with a temerity born of the possession of a splendidly developed fighting machine of many thousand men: "I do kill; but do not consider yet I have done anything in the way of killing. Why do the white men start at nothing? I have not yet begun. I have yet to kill. It is the custom of our nation, and I shall not depart from it." In a dispatch to the Colonial Office on December 2, 1878, Sir Bartle Frere declared plainly that, as a result of these and other more practical manifestations, "no one can really sleep in peace and security within a day's run of the Zulu border, save by sufferance of the Zulu Chief."

Zulu Declaration

In the end the war really came as a result of the Transvaal annexation, and, in the main, because of the bitter feeling between the Boers and the Zulus. During the month of September, 1878, Sir Bartle Frere, as High Commissioner for South Africa, visited Natal, and examined some territory in dispute between the Transvaal (then a British dependency) and Zululand. Finally he gave his decision as arbitrator in favor of the Zulu claim; but with a view to the general well-being of South Africa attached certain requirements to the announced Award. These included the disbandment of his army by Cetywayo, the reception of a British Resident at his capital of Ulundi, the surrender of certain persons guilty of an offence upon Natal territory, and the giving of specific guarantees for the better government of his people. The proposal obviously involved the establishment of a protectorate over Zulu territory, and

the only possible alternative to its refusal was war. Knowing the ambitions of Cetywayo and his army, as Sir Bartle Frere did, he could hardly have expected the acceptance of these propositions or have supposed that there could be any other result than immediate hostilities. As a matter of fact no reply was received, and on January 10, 1879, Lieutenant-General Lord Chelmsford, who had commanded in the Kaffir War of the preceding year, crossed the Lower Tugela with a force which was small, but generally deemed sufficient, and marched into Zululand toward a place called Isandlhwana, where camp was formed for a few days. Colonel Pearson, with a flying column of 2,000 white troops and a similar number of blacks, marched on toward Ulundi, and got as far as Etshowe, after beating back a Zulu army of about his own number. A third column under Colonel Evelyn Wood marched from another direction toward the same objective point, reached a post called Kambula, and remained there for some time after duly fortifying it and defeating a persistent attack from a large Zulu army. Incidentally, one of his patrols was surprised by the enemy, and ninety-six of the party killed, including Colonel Weatherley and his son.

Advance into Zululand

Meanwhile Lord Chelmsford had moved the main body of his forces to the capture of a large kraal near Isandlhwana, leaving about a thousand British, Colonial and native troops to guard the camp. Despite the warnings of some Dutch farmers, no attempt had been made at protecting the place by trench, or embankment, or even by the traditional and easy laager of wagons. Danger was hardly dreamed of until, on January 22d, the horns of a Zulu army of twenty thousand men were found to be closing around the devoted troops. There was practically nothing to do but to die, and this the soldiers did with their faces to the foe, fighting as long as their ammunition lasted and killing over a thousand Zulus. A few irregular

mounted troops escaped, as did the bulk of the natives; but seven hundred British regulars and over a hundred Colonial troops were slaughtered by an enemy who gave no quarter and from whom none was asked or expected. Not far away from this camp, on the Natal frontier and guarding the line of communication, was a small depot for provisions and hospital work under the charge of Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead with 130 soldiers. In the afternoon of the fateful day at Isandlhwana this little post of Rorke's Drift was attacked by a picked Zulu army of four thousand men, and for eleven hours was defended so desperately, behind hastily improvised fortifications of biscuit boxes and grain bags, that the enemy retired after leaving over 300 men dead on the field. The little garrison was saved, and, more important still, Natal was saved from a sweeping and devastating raid of savage warriors. Lord Chelmsford at once fell back upon his base of supplies in the Colony, and the other columns at Etshowe and Kambula, respectively, proceeded, as already stated, to fortify themselves and await events. Further movements were slow in arrangement and reinforcements slow in coming, but, finally, Lord Chelmsford advanced again into Zululand with 4,000 British and Colonial troops and a thousand natives, and on July 4th, after relieving Etshowe and beating back the enemy at Gungunhlovu, reached Ulundi, where he defeated a Zulu army of 20,000 men.

A Large Force Slaughtered

Meantime Sir Garnet Wolseley had been sent out to supersede Lord Chelmsford and to administer the regions affected by the war. He arrived on the scene very soon after this decisive conflict, and was able to report to the War Office that Zululand was practically at peace again. A few months later Colonel Baker Creed Russell went to the further rescue of the Boers in their seemingly hopeless struggle with the Bapedis, and, on November 28th, stormed and captured Sekukuni's stronghold. One of the melancholy inci-

dents of a most unpleasant "little war" was the death of the Prince Imperial of France. The Zulus must have lost ten thousand men, all told, and their power was absolutely shattered. Cetywayo, after remaining in concealment for a time, was eventually captured and sent to live in guarded comfort near Cape Town. A little later he was allowed to visit England, where he was well received, and proved himself a dignified savage, and in 1883 was re-established in Zululand after the practical failure of Sir Garnet Wolseley's attempt to govern that region through thirteen semi-independent chiefs. Civil war followed, Cetywayo died, his sons kept up the internal conflict, the Transvaal annexed what is now called the District of Vryheid, and in 1887 what remained of the country was proclaimed British territory. Thus, and finally, was settled a question which threatened the very existence of the thirty thousand white people of Natal—surrounded within their own territory by three hundred thousand Zulus and faced upon their border by a strong Zulu nation and its army of 25,000 to 40,000 men.

Death of Prince Imperial

Sir Bartle Frere was vigorously denounced for the war, for the disaster at Isandlhwana, and for everything connected with the matter. Yet it seems to the impartial judgment of later days that he only did what was wise in a most difficult and dangerous situation. There appears to be no doubt that Cetywayo was simply awaiting his chance to over-run the Transvaal and Natal. In writing to the Colonial Office, on March 1, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere pointed out the necessity of taking immediate action, and the difficulty, or worse, of waiting two months—in days prior to cable communication—for exact authority to move in the matter of compelling redress, and added: "The Zulus had violated British territory, slain persons under English protection, and had repeatedly refused the redress we demanded. Could a final demand for redress on this account be post-

poned? It seems to me clearly not, with any safety to Natal and its inhabitants." In another despatch to the Colonial Office, on January 13, 1880, the High Commissioner replied to some attacks from Mr. Gladstone by declaring that "in the judgment of all military authorities, both before the war and since, it was absolutely impossible for Lord Chelmsford's force, acting on the defensive *within* the Natal boundary, to prevent a Zulu *impi* from entering Natal and repeating the same indiscriminate slaughter of all ages and sexes which they boast of having effected in Dingaan's other massacres of forty years ago." He defended Lord Chelmsford, and incidentally stated that the disaster at Isandlhwana was due to disregard of orders. South Africa was for a time, however, the grave of Sir Bartle Frere's reputation, both in this connection and that of the Transvaal, and his recall followed a few months after the writing of the above despatch. But historical retrospect is wiser than political opinion, and time has now revived the fame of a great man and a wise statesman, and declared that there was practical truth and justice in the farewell address presented to him by the people of Albany in the Colony of the Cape:

Redress Necessary

"We have watched with the most anxious interest your career during that eventful period when the affairs of the neighboring Colony of Natal were administered by you; we perfectly understand that at that crisis the deep-laid plans and cruel purposes of the savage and bloodthirsty king of the Zulus were just reaching their full development, and that his inevitable and long-expected encounter with the British power could no longer be averted; it was, no doubt, fortunate for that colony, and for the honor of the British name, that you were on the spot ready to sacrifice every personal consideration, and to undertake one of the heaviest and most tremendous responsibilities ever undertaken by a servant of the Crown. Your excellent plans, your steady determination, your unflagging perseverance, led to the downfall of a barbarous tyrant, the break-up of a most formidable and unwarrantable military power, and the estab-

lishment of peaceful relations, which, properly managed, might have ensured the lasting peace and prosperity which you have systematically desired to secure for South Africa."

With the ending of this war and the temporary settlement of the Transvaal troubles there came to Natal a period of progress in both constitutional and material matters. The natives of the Province had always been well treated by the Imperial authorities, and there were none of the complexities of dual control so noticeable at the Cape; while the small number of Dutch settlers who remained after the "forties" were not important enough to create racial friction, or to seriously antagonize the surrounding Zulus. The many privileges and immunities of the latter, and the possession of large tracts of land given and secured to them by the Colonial Office, seem to have made them a fairly satisfied people and to have prevented any organized effort at any time to join hands with their kin under Panda or Cetywayo. The experience of Englishmen with the Maori, the Red Indian, or the Kaffirs to the west of Natal, have not been repeated in that little Colony, and the small population of whites has lived in comparative security, though not without frequent fear, amidst the ever-increasing numbers of a savage race. Something of this has been due to the wise administration of the Colonial Governors and to their reasonable immunity from the influences which controlled the Cape and dragged the Colonial Office first one way and then the other. The local whites were also too few to claim constitutional government, to assert a right to control the natives, or to do more than occasionally protest against incidents such as the Transvaal slave-raids upon Kaffir tribes or hostility towards its general system of "apprenticeship."

Order in Natal and the Transvaal

In 1845 the first Lieutenant-Governor, under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Cape Colony, had been appointed in the person of

Mr. Martin West. He was succeeded, in 1850, by Mr. Benjamin Pine, and, in 1856, by Mr. John Scott, who brought with him a Royal charter constituting the Colony, separating it from the Cape, and giving it an appointive Council. In 1866 an Assembly was created, with the same limitations as to responsible government which characterized all the Colonial Assemblies of that time. Mr. John Maclean, C. B., was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. R. W. Keate became the first Governor of Natal in 1867. His successors were as follows, and their names mark several important incidents in South African history:

1872, Sir Anthony Musgrave, K. C. M. G.
1873, Sir Benjamin Pine, K. C. M. G.
1875, Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, B. C.
1875, Sir Henry E. Bulwer, K. C. M. G.
1880, General Sir Garnet Wolseley, G. C. B.
1880, Major-General Sir G. Pomeroy Colley.
1881, Brig.-General Sir H. Evelyn Wood.
1881, Lieut.-Colonel C. B. H. Mitchell, C. M. G.
1882, Sir Henry E. Bulwer, K. C. M. G.
1885, Sir Charles B. H. Mitchell, K. C. M. G.
1886, Sir Arthur E. Havelock, K. C. M. G.
1889, Sir Charles Mitchell, K. C. M. G.
1893, Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson, G. C. M. G.

Under the régime of Sir Benjamin Pine occurred one of those native wars which illustrate at once the precarious tenure of peace with savage tribes and the danger of a Governor falling between the two stools of a weak white population demanding protection against the serried masses of native races and a Colonial Office controlled, to some extent, by missionary and religious influences with sympathies wider than their statecraft or knowledge. Langalibalèle, Chief of

An Uprising Threatened

the Hlubis in Natal—a tribe which was great and powerful in the days preceding Tshaka—had gradually strengthened his people in numbers and in training until he thought himself able to defy the Natal Government, and to send his young men into neighboring communities to purchase guns and ammunition in defiance of the regulations of the Colony. Messages were in vain sent from Pietermaritzburg demanding an account of the matter and his presence at the capital. Finally, a small party of volunteers was sent to compel his obedience, and met with the usual preliminary repulse. Then upon a thread seemed to hang the peace of South Africa. Langalibalĕle was known to be held in high respect by Kaffir tribes from the Caledon to the Fish River, and it was afterwards proved that he really had tried to effect a general rising. Prompt measures were taken, however, by all the Governments—even those of the Republics offering aid—and the Chief was surrounded by a large force of Natal and Cape Mounted Police, captured, tried by a special Court and sentenced to imprisonment for life. Meantime the influence of Bishop Colenso and the Aborigines Protection Society had made the Colonial Office doubtful of the justice of these steps. The Governor was recalled, sentences were commuted, and compensation was given from the Imperial Treasury to a tribe which had suffered through expressing sympathy with the rebels.

Gen. Wolseley Arrives in State

The coming of Sir Garnet Wolseley, in 1875, amid much glitter of state and ceremony, marked the attempt of Lord Carnarvon to promote the federation of the Colonies; and the despatch of the same distinguished soldier, in 1880, was an effort to gather up the threads of military organization after the reverses and successes of the Zulu War. The death of Sir George Pomeroy Colley at Majuba Hill and the accession of Sir Evelyn Wood, with instructions to make peace with the Transvaal, are land-

marks in the annals of the whole region; while the coming of Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson in 1893, with extended powers as Governor of Natal and Zululand, marks the grant of complete responsible government to this miniature Colonial India, twenty years after it had been given to Cape Colony, and nearly fifty years after Canada had received it. Under this constitution there is now a Legislative Council of eleven members, nominated by the Governor-in-Council and appointed for ten years, and a Legislative Assembly of thirty-seven members, elected by popular constituencies—mainly white—for four years. The Ministry holds office by the same Parliamentary tenure as do all British Governments under free institutions, and, since 1893, the Prime Ministers have been Sir John Robinson, K. C. M. G., who held office until 1897; the Right Hon. Harry Escombe, P. C., who succeeded him and participated in the Queen's Diamond Jubilee; Sir Henry Binns, K. C. M. G., who died in 1899; and the present occupant of the position, Lieut.-Colonel Albert Henry Hime, C. M. G. The franchise of the Colony is liberal, and every European who is a British subject and possesses real property worth $250, occupies such property at an annual rental of not less than $50, or is in receipt of an income of $480 and upwards, can vote. He must, however, have resided in the Colony for three years. Natives are entitled to vote under the same conditions after seven years' voluntary exemption from the action of the special native laws and the tribal system.

Government of Natal

One of the curious conditions of Natal, and which entitles the Colony to consideration as a sort of miniature India, has been elsewhere casually referred to. It was thought, at first, that in a country which combined tropical vegetation with a healthful climate and with a great reserve force of natives for local labor, immense development of production might be possible. Coffee, sugar, arrowroot,

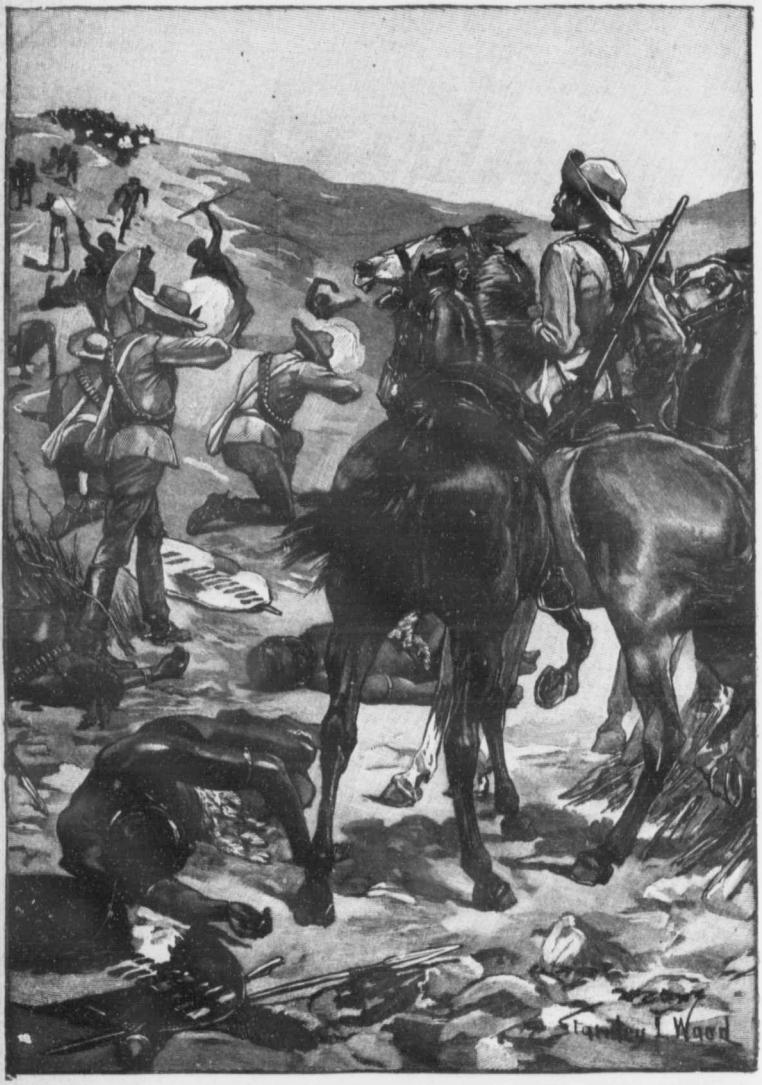
cotton and tea were all found to thrive in its fruitful soil. But European workers did not come in any number, and it was soon found that the natives would not work with the least bit of persistence or dependence. In this difficult situation planters and capitalists turned to the Eastern Empire, and coolies were engaged under contract for a term of years. And, when their term was up, these hired immigrants, as a rule, showed no desire to return, and settled down for good in a land which seemed to their minds greatly superior to the one they had left. Naturally, too, Indian traders followed, and, in time, a small but steady stream of immigrants flowed in from India, and through their cheap mode of living soon captured the bulk of retailing trade in the country, while also doing most of the cheaper labor. Of this class of settlers, now nearly equal in numbers to the white population, there were 17,000 in 1879, 41,000 in 1891 and 53,000 in 1898. They do not, through taxes, add greatly to the revenues of the country, or in any sense to its military strength, but they do add appreciably to its productive and industrial capabilities.

Resources of Natal

In this latter connection there were, in 1892, over four million dollars invested in the sugar industry, including 36 factories, with an output of 15,000 tons and employing 6,000 coolies. But, although great possibilities exist in this and other industrial directions, serious development had only just commenced when the present war broke out, and the central resource of the Colony was still sheep and cattle raising, together with a fair amount of straight agricultural work such as the cultivation of maize, oats, barley, potatoes and vegetables of various kinds. Fruit, such as pineapples, oranges, lemons, bananas, peaches, etc., were, of course, grown to any extent desired. That the general progress of production was fair is seen from the fact that the Natalian exports rose from $6,200,000 in 1893 to $8,100,000 in 1897. Other conditions were good. The imports, chiefly from Great Britain, ad-

FIRST SERIOUS BOER-BRITISH BATTLE, MAJUBA HILL, 1881

In which the Boers defeated the English and gained internal independence.



BATTLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE ZULUS, SOUTH AFRICA, 1879

vanced during the same period from $11,000,000 to $29,900,000, and the revenue from five millions to eleven millions. Durban became the port for a large transit trade to the interior States. The population as a whole grew from 361,000 in 1867 to 543,900 in 1891, and 829,000 in 1898—four hundred thousand of this increase being amongst the natives. Educational progress was excellent. In 1892 the regular attendance at Government and inspected schools was 6,000, while 2,200 attended private schools, and only some 200 children were reported as receiving no education. There were 74 schools for natives, with a total attendance of 4,050, and 24 schools for Indian children, with an attendance of 1,402. In 1897 there were 7,685 in regular attendance at Government and inspected schools, and 1,600 at the private schools. There were 159 native schools with an attendance of 8,542, and 30 Indian schools with 1,961 pupils.

Upon the whole, the historic life of Natal since the days of Dutch and native turmoil has not, with the exception of the eventful period of 1876–81, been a stormy one. The Dutch are too much in the minority to cause much trouble, and a fair measure of good feeling seems to have prevailed locally. The whole white population are fairly well agreed upon franchise questions as the free British principle works out in the practical exclusion of the ignorant and tribal savage. They are at one upon tariff matters, and the present system is for revenue only and is very low—the ordinary *ad valorum* rate being five per cent. Politics have not been as bitter as in Cape Colony, owing to a practical, though not always expressed, recognition of the fact that good reasons existed for not giving complete control over an immense black population, involving in its results at times the whole Imperial policy and system in South Africa, into the hands of thirty, forty, or fifty thousand white men, women and children, all told. The wise handling of the native problem, the conciliation of the

England's Wise and Generous Policy

Kaffir and the careful local laws, did, however, make this finally possible, and the Government of the Colony since 1893 has been all that could be reasonably desired. There is some rivalry with Cape Colony, owing to the latter's annexation of Griqualand East and Pondoland which Natal had hoped to acquire, and also, in some measure, to the railway competition of the richer and stronger Colony. But Natal has been allowed to absorb Zululand and Tongaland on its eastern border, and to thus reach up to Portuguese territory. The people have also led an easy and tranquil life, and are as a rule comfortably off. Now, of course, this is all changed, and the little Colony is the scene of an Empire-making strife, while its fruitful soil, or beautiful valleys and picturesque hills, resound with the march of armed men and echo with the roar of artillery. A tardy measure of healthful progress has thus been suddenly and summarily arrested; but in the end it is probable that good will come of evil and the natural riches of a splendid region be more generally recognized and developed.

CHAPTER XII.

A Review of the South African Question.

THE South African War of 1899 grew out of racial conditions and national considerations far apart from, and long precedent to, the growth of Kimberley and Johannesburg or the discovery of diamonds and gold. It arose, primarily, from racial tendencies which had grown more and more opposed to each other as the climate and conditions of South Africa accentuated their peculiarities. History and tradition had early driven into the Boer's heart an intense intolerance of religious thought to which the isolation of the veldt added an almost incomprehensible ignorance. A wider survey of the world and a fuller grasp of the essentials of liberty had, meanwhile, developed in the Englishman's mind* a love for free religious thought and practice to which his belief in schools and his affection for literature and the press added strength and character. The Dutchman was nomadic in life, pastoral in pursuit, lazy and sluggish in disposition. The Englishman was at times restless in seeking wealth or pleasure, but upon the whole he liked to settle down in a permanent home and with surroundings which he could make his own in ever-increasing comfort and usefulness. He drew the line at no single occupation and made, as the case might be, a good farmer, or artisan, or labourer, or merchant. And he was usually of active mind as well as body.

Religious Intolerance of the Boers

* I use the word Englishman here in a general sense, and inclusive of the Scotchman and Irishman.

The Dutchman in South Africa wanted liberty to do as he liked and to live as he chose, but he did not wish to accord that liberty to inferior races, or to attempt the training of them in its use and application. The Englishman, on the other hand, loved liberty in a broad way, and wanted nothing better than to see it applied to others as freely and fully as to himself. The one race looked upon the negro as only fitted to be a human chattel and as not being even a possible subject for improvement, education or elevation. The other, in all parts of the world as well as in the Dark Continent, believed in the humanity of the coloured man, whether black, or red, or brown, and looked upon him as fitted for civilization, for Christianity and for freedom. He considered him as material for good government and for fair play. Both views, however, have been carried to an extreme in South Africa and upon either side evil resulted. The Boer treated the native from the standpoint of an intolerant and ignorant slave-owner. The Colonial Office tried to treat him solely from the standpoint of the sympathizing and often prejudiced missionary. Hence, in part, the Great Trek; hence some of the Kaffir raids and consequent sufferings of the early settlers; hence an addition to the growing racial antagonism.

Two Opposite Views of Liberty

The principles of government believed in and practiced by the Dutch and British in South Africa have been and are diametrically opposed. The one took territory from the natives wherever and whenever he could and used it without scruple, and without return in the form of just government, for his own purposes. The latter, time and again, avoided the acquisition of territory; experienced war after war which might have been averted by the prompt expression of authority and strength; gave up

Two Opposing Views of Government

regions to native chiefs which had afterwards to be conquered by force of arms; tried every phase of policy in the form of alliances, protectorates and "buffer" states in order to avoid increased responsibilities; gave up the Orange Free State to an independent existence under circumstances of almost incredible insistence; annexed the Transvaal with indifference, and gave it up without serious thought; in later days allowed German East Africa to be established, and at one time practically declined the acquisition of Delagoa Bay; permitted the Boers of the Transvaal to annex part of Zululand and to take almost the whole of Swaziland at the expense, even, of possible injustice to the natives. And all this from an honest though mistaken desire to avoid unnecessary expansion of authority or extension of territory. In those departments of Government which are apart from questions of acquiring or ruling dependent states there was the same antagonism. Equality being an unknown principle to the Boer, it was, perhaps, natural that he should endeavor to make his own language and laws and institutions the pivot of administration in any country under his control; that he should regard with suspicion and fear any attempt to raise the status of surrounding natives; and should reject with contempt, in the Transvaal at least, later efforts on the part of civilized aliens to obtain equality of political rights. The Dutchman in South Africa knew, in earlier days as well as at the present time, absolutely nothing of democracy in the British sense of the word. Republicanism, in the sense of Government by the majority, he does not even now understand—unless the majority be Dutch. To dream of convincing, or trying to convince others by argument and discussion that some particular policy is better than another has always been far from his point of view. He has been too long accustomed to using the shot-gun or whip upon inferior races to deem such a policy either desirable or possible.

Boer Ideas of Democracy

The region these two races were destined to dominate was, and is, a splendid one. It had an infinite variety of resource and tropical production and temperate growth. Within the million and a half square miles of South African territory were room and verge for a vastly greater white population than has yet touched its shores; while every racial peculiarity or pursuit could find a place in its towns and farms and mines and upon its rolling veldt. To the lover of quiet village life and retirement nothing could be more pleasant than parts of Natal and Cape Colony, and of the two Republics. To the keen business man, eager for gain and intent upon quick returns, the rapid and wealth-producing progress of the great mining towns gave all that could be desired. To the adventurous spirit, willing to suffer hardships and endure labor in its severest form for a possibly glittering return, the diamond and gold fields offered untold opportunities. To the hunter and tourist and traveller the myriad wild animals of the interior gave a pleasure only second to that felt by the Kaffir and the Boer when hunting the lion to his lair or the elephant in its native jungle. To the man fond of country life the vast plains, stretching in varied degrees of value and elevation from Cape Town to the Zambesi, afforded room for pastoral occupation and the raising of cattle and sheep upon a veritable thousand hills. To the seeker after new industries, ostrich farming, mohair, the feather industry and diamond mining have from time to time proved the greatest attraction. To the farmer or planter parts of the region were eminently fitted for the raising of wheat and other cereals, and the cultivation of tobacco, cotton, sugar and rice. To the restless and wandering Boer, South Africa seems to have given for a time everything that his spirit desired—isolation, land, wild animals to hunt, independence of control, freedom from the trammels of education and taxation and civilization. To the quieter Dutchman of

Varied Opportunities for Settlers

Cape Colony has been given every element of British liberty and privilege of British equality; as well as land in plenty, and for thirty years, at least, the pledge of internal peace.

According, also, to the lastest figures* the material progress and recent position of all these countries has been good. Cape Colony, in 1897–98, had a revenue of $36,940,000, an expenditure of $34,250,000 and an indebtedness of $136,400,000; a tonnage of British vessels, entered and cleared, amounting to 12,137,000, together with 2,835 miles of railway and 6,609 miles of telegraph; exports of $108,300,000, and imports of $90,000,000; and 132,000 scholars in its schools. Natal and Zululand, combined, had a revenue of $11,065,000, an expenditure of $8,120,000 and an indebtedness of $38,720,000; a tonnage of British vessels, entering and clearing, of 2,132,000, together with 487 miles of railway and 960 of telegraph; exports of $8,100,000 and imports of $30,000,000; and 19,222 scholars in its schools. The exports of Basutoland, under purely native control, had grown to $650,000 and its imports to half a million. The length of railway in the Bechuanaland Protectorate was 586 miles and in Rhodesia 1,086 miles; while the telegraph lines of the former region covered 1,856 miles. The South African Republic, or Transvaal, had a revenue of $22,400,000, an expenditure of $21,970,000 and an indebtedness of $13,350,000; announced imports of $107,575,000 and no declared exports; railways of 774 miles in total length and telegraph lines of 2,000 miles; and scholars numbering 11,552. The Orange Free State had a revenue of $2,010,000, an expenditure of $1,905,000 and an indebtedness of $200,000; imports of $6,155,000 —chiefly from Cape Colony—and exports of $8,970,000, which were divided principally between Cape Colony and the Transvaal; 366 miles of railway, 1,762 miles of telegraph and 7,390 scholars in its

Statistics and Finances of South Africa

* *British Empire Series.* Vol. II. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. London, 1899

schools. The following table* gives an easily comprehended view of South Africa as divided amongst its Kaffir, Dutch and English communities in respect to mode of government and measure of British responsibility:

		MODE OF GOVERNMENT.
Three British Colonies	Cape Colony, Natal,	Responsible Government.
	Bechuanaland,	Crown Colony.
Two Republics	South African Republic or Transvaal, Free State.	Full internal freedom within terms of Conventions of 1852–54 and 1881–84.
Native Territories	Basutoland, Zululand, Tongaland,	Officers under High Commissioner.
	Transkei, Tembuland, Griqualand, Pondoland,	Officers under Cape Government.
Territories of the Chartered Company	. . .	Administrator who represents the Directors and Secretary of State jointly.

Yet, with all the varied advantages and evidences of substantial progress and prosperity given above, the present war has broken out in a result which could not have been different had the whites of South Africa been dwelling amidst limited areas, restricted resources, few liberties and a crowded population of competitive classes. Some of the reasons for this situation have been pointed out, and they include natural racial differences; a quality which Lord Wolseley described in a speech at the Author's Club on November 6, 1899, when he declared that "of all the ignorant people in the world that I have ever been brought into contact with I will back the Boers of

* *South Africa.* By W. Basil Worsfold, M. A. London, 1895.

South Africa as the most ignorant;" the inherent desire of the Dutch population for native slave labor and intense aversion to principles of racial equality; mistakes of administration and more important errors of judgment in territorial matters made by the British Colonial Office; a Dutch pride of race born from isolation, ignorance and prejudice and developed by various influences into an aggressive passion for national expansion and a vigorous determination to ultimately overwhelm the hated Englishman, as well as the despised Kaffir, and to thus dominate South Africa. Of the elements entering into this last and perhaps most important evolution the Afrikander Bund has been the chief. The formation of this organization really marks an epoch in South African history, and has proved, in the end, to be one of the most effective and potent forces in the creation of the present situation. Nominally, it was organized in 1881 amongst the Dutch farmers of Cape Colony for the purpose of promoting agricultural improvement and co-operation and for the increase of their influence in public business and government. In 1883 it swallowed up the Farmer's Protective Association—also a Dutch organization. Practically, it was a product of the feeling of racial pride, which developed in the heart and mind of every Boer in South Africa as a result of Majuba Hill and the surrender of 1881. The openly asserted influence of their Transvaal brethern, and of this triumph, had prevailed with the Cape Boers to such an extent that the latter were able to compel the rejection of Lord Carnarvon's federation scheme although they did not at the time possess a large vote in the Cape Legislature or a single member in the Government. The same influence created a desire for racial organization, and the result was the Afrikander Bund.

Afrikander Bund

Its chief individual and local promoter was Mr. Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, a man whose record is one of a loyalty to the British

Crown which seems, in some peculiar fashion, to have equalled his loyalty to his race. In the beginning of the Bund, and during its earlier years, he could easily harmonize the two principles. How he could do so at a later period is one of the puzzles of history and of personal character. Incidentally, it may be said that Mr. Hofmeyr attended the Colonial Conference of 1887, in London, and contributed to its proceedings the then novel proposition that each part of the Empire should levy a certain duty upon foreign products—above that imposed upon goods produced in and exported to British dominions—and that the proceeds should be devoted to the maintenance and improvement of the Imperial Navy. He also attended the Colonial Conference at Ottawa in 1894, and had, consequently, received all the knowledge of Imperial development and power which travel and experience and association with the rulers of its various countries could afford. He has, since 1881, always declined office at the Cape, and it is, therefore, apparent that the solution of the personal problem must, in his case, be left to the future—with, perhaps, the further intimation that he is looked upon with great suspicion by local loyalists, and is considered to be the owner, or controlling influence, of *Our Land*, the chief anti-British organ in Cape Colony.

An Imperium in Imperio

From the first the Bund was regarded with suspicion by not only English politicians in the Colony, but by a few of the more sober and statesmanlike leaders amongst the Dutch. They were, however, won over, as time passed, except the President of the Orange Free State. Sir John Brand—he had accepted knighthood from the Queen as an evidence of his British sympathies—absolutely refused to have anything to do with it. "I entertain," said he, "grave doubts as to whether the path the Afrikander Bund has adopted is calculated to lead to that union and fraternization which is so indispensable for the bright future of South Africa. According to my conception the

institution of the Bund appears to be desirous of exalting itself above the established Government and forming an *imperium in imperio*." But, wise and far-seeing as were these views, the Free State President could not hold back his own people from sharing in the movement. Mr. F. W. Reitz, then a Judge at Bloemfontein, afterwards President in succession to Sir John Brand, and, finally, State Secretary of the Transvaal under President Kruger, joined enthusiastically in its organization, and soon had many branches in the Free State itself. Of this period in the history of the Bund, Mr. Theodore Schreiner, son of a German missionary, brother of the Cape Premier and of Olive Schreiner—the bitter anti-British writer—has described an interesting incident in the *Cape Times*. He says that in 1882 Mr. Reitz earnestly endeavored to persuade him to join the organization, and that the conversation which took place upon his final refusal was so striking as to indelibly convince him that in the mind of Reitz and of other Dutch leaders it constituted, even then, a distinct and matured plot for the driving of British authority out of South Africa. "During the seventeen years that have elapsed," says Mr. Schreiner, "I have watched the propaganda for the overthrow of British power in South Africa being ceaselessly spread by every possible means—the press, the pulpit, the platform, the schools, the colleges, the Legislature—until it has culminated in the present war, of which Mr. Reitz and his co-workers are the origin and the cause. Believe me, sir, the day on which F. W. Reitz sat down to pen his Ultimatum to Great Britain was the proudest and happiest moment of his life, and one which has, for long years, been looked forward to by him with eager longing and expectation."

Mr. Reitz and the Present War

Branches of the Bund, within a few years, were established all over Cape Colony and the Free State, and, by 1888, the slow-moving mind of the Cape Dutch had grasped the racial idea thus presented

with sufficient popular strength to warrant the holding of a large and general Congress. In his opening address the President spoke of a "United South Africa under the British flag;" but at the meeting held on March 4, 1889, at Middleburg, while much was said about the future Afrikander union, references to Britain and the flag were conveniently omitted. The platform, as finally and formally enunciated at this gathering, included the following paragraphs:

"1. The Afrikander National Party acknowledge the guidance of Providence in the affairs of both lands and peoples.

2. They include, under the guidance of Providence, the formation of a *pure nationality* and the preparation of our people for the establishment of a United South Africa.

3. To this they consider belong—

a. The establishment of a firm union between all the different European nationalities in South Africa.

b. The promotion of South Africa's *independence*."

There was also a clause of gratuitous impertinence towards the Imperial country—through whose grant of absolute self-government in 1872 the Bund was now beginning to aim, with practical effort, at the racial control of the Colony—in the declaration that "outside interference with the domestic concerns of South Africa shall be opposed." Under the general principles of the platform these "domestic concerns" meant, of course, the relation of the different States toward each other, and the growing rivalry of Dutch and English in matters of Colonial Government, as well as the old-time question of native control and the newer one of territorial extension on the part of Cape Colony. So long as President Brand lived and ruled at Bloemfontein there remained, however, some check upon the Bund as well as upon President Kruger. If he had opposed the Bund actively, as he certainly did in a passive and deprecatory sense, the result might have been a serious hindrance to its progress. Brand's policy was

Dutch and English not Harmonious

to, indirectly and quietly, keep the Cape Colony and the Free State in harmonious and gradually closer co-operation instead of promoting that closer union of the two republics which was one of the ideals of the Bund leaders. He refused to accept Kruger's proposal of isolating their countries from the British possessions, and thus promoting the policy which, without doubt, had, since 1881, been shaping itself in the latter's mind. But, in 1888, Sir John Brand died, and was succeeded by F. W. Reitz. The influence of the new régime became at once visible in the platform above quoted, and in the whole succeeding policy of the Free State. It now assumed a more and more intimate alliance with the Transvaal, and frequently, during these years, the question of a union of the two countries was discussed. In 1896 Reitz resigned and accepted the State Secretaryship of the Transvaal—a position analogous in personal power, though not in the matter of responsibility to the people, with that of a Colonial Premier. Mr. M. T. Steyn became President of the Free State and the triumvirate of Kruger, Steyn and Reitz formed, with Mr. W. P. Schreiner and Mr. J. W. Sauer, in the Cape Parliament and Afrikander Bund, a very strong Dutch combination. Just where Mr. Hofmeyr stood it is hard to say now, but the probabilities are that, he was pretty well acquainted with the plots and schemes of these leaders.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes to the Front

Meanwhile Mr. Cecil Rhodes had come to the front in mining, in speculation, in wealth, in financial organization, in politics, and in a great policy of Empire expansion. He had studied South Africa from the Cape to the Zambesi as few or no Englishmen have ever been able to do. He understood its Governments, its peoples and its racial complexities with the innate thoroughness of genius or of a woman's intuition. To him the looming menace of the Afrikander Bund was as clear as it had been to President Brand, and, from the time when he entered

the Cape Parliament in 1880 and became Premier in 1890 until his retirement from the latter post in 1895, his whole heart and ambition was devoted to preventing Dutch expansion and to checkmating the new Dutch organization with its clever manipulators at Pretoria, Bloemfontein and Cape Town. To this end he founded the famous British South Africa Company, and, by acquiring control over the vast areas of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, effectually checked Dutch expansion to the north of the Transvaal. With this in view he urged upon British statesmen the annexation of Bechuanaland, a huge strip of country to the west of the same Republic; and supported with his influence the annexation of Zululand on the south-east coast, into which many Boers had trekked and for the possession of which they had an intense ambition as opening the way to the sea. His reasons seldom appeared on the surface, and some of them were not fully comprehended in South Africa itself until long after their accomplishment. But there is no doubt that as Mr. Rhodes' power at the Cape became felt, as the great interests of the Chartered Company grew more manifest in their importance to the Empire, and as the wealth and ability of its Chairman became a factor in London as well as in the Colony, so also his influence at the Colonial Office was enhanced.

Rhodes' Policy of Conciliation

At the same time he developed this line of action for many years in conjunction with a policy of public conciliation toward the Dutch everywhere. If, eventually, a system of kindly co-operation could be evolved and the principles of the Afrikander Bund rendered comparatively harmless by the winning over of its strongest men at the Cape to his side, and to the continuous expansion of British power in the common interest of a United South Africa, so much the better. If he failed in this he did not, however, propose that the Empire should some day find itself face to face with the problem of a thin line of

English settlement—mixed with Dutch—along the sea-coast, in rivalry or conflict with a united Afrikander nation holding all the keys of the interior to the north and stretching from the Delagoa region on the east to the German possessions on the west. Hence his continuous acquisition of territory, and hence the present position of the two republics—surrounded by British soil except for the small strip of Portuguese possessions to the east of the Transvaal. Hence, also, his hope that as British power grew in South Africa the Bund would eventually see the futility of its effort to make the whole country a Dutch republic, and would meet his policy of conciliation at least half way. Between 1890 and 1895, when the Jameson Raid and his resignation of the Premiership took place, Mr. Rhodes' speeches teemed with expressions of friendliness toward the Dutch, of appreciation of their rights in South Africa, of sympathy with all legitimate aspirations, of appeals for co-operation. In his Ministry, from time to time, he managed to include leaders of the roll such as W. P. Schreiner, J. W. Sauer, T. N. G. Te Water, and so prominent a Boer supporter of later days as J. X. Merriman. But it seems to have become gradually apparent to his mind that conciliation was practically useless; that the influence and power of the Afrikander movement was daily growing stronger; that Kruger had become too great a force with the Dutch of the Cape for him to be checkmated by friendly demonstrations or appeals; and that the oppression of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal was a growing evidence of Boer unity and arrogance just as the increasing electoral strength of the Cape Boers was a proof of their developing power. And, above all, he was aware that while this web of inter-state Dutch conspiracy was building up the Afrikander Bund into a great anti-British force, England was profoundly ignorant of the whole matter and was resting in the belief, expressed by passing travellers and presented by

England's Ignorance of the Situation

the usual number of superficial political theorists, that the Dutch and English of South Africa were not only dwelling together in amity, but were developing increased sympathy, and that the Uitlander trouble, of which vague reports were beginning to reach the British public, was more or less the creation of a transition period of development and would soon settle itself.

To meet the dulled vision of the British people, to settle the Transvaal issue without war between the Republic and the Empire, to play with President Kruger at his own game and overthrow him by an internal rebellion, Rhodes approved the general idea of the Jameson Raid and of external assistance to the people of Johannesburg. The policy was carried out rashly and prematurely by his deputy, the Uitlanders were not ready and did not redeem their promises, it failed and he had to retire from office. But one important result was achieved. The eyes of the British public were in some measure opened to the seriousness of the situation in South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain and the members of the Imperial Ministry no doubt knew something already of the general position from private advices—if in no other way—and it was for this reason that they stood by Mr. Rhodes when the Raid came before a Parliamentary Committee for investigation. They had not, of course, known of the Raid itself or supported its aggressive action. The code of honor, personal and political, is too high amongst British statesmen to permit of anyone but a sensational journalist or an unusually violent partisan accepting such a supposition for a moment. But they did understand the motive and were not prepared to punish the self-confessed originator, although obliged to allow the legal punishment of the active participators. Mr. Rhodes could not defend himself, and Mr. Chamberlain could not publicly support him in connection with the matter, without avowing their belief in the disloyalty of a portion of the population of Cape Colony and their knowledge of a

secret conspiracy shared in by the chiefs of two nominally friendly republics. The former would have involved the making of unwise charges which, in the nature of things, could hardly have been proved, and if proved would have done more harm than good; the latter would have meant a war which it might still be possible to avert.

Mr. Hofmeyr, the nominal leader of the Bund in Cape Colony, might at almost any time during recent years have become Premier and, through his reputation for moderate views, might, perhaps, have done good service to the cause of compromise and conciliation. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether he could have succeeded in this respect when Mr. Rhodes, between 1890 and 1895, failed. The latter did everything that man could do to hold the racial elements together and checkmate the Kruger influence, and it seems probable that Hofmeyr could not in the end have resisted the power of Pretoria over the Afrikanders any more effectively than did Mr. W. P. Schreiner in the two years preceding the outbreak of war. His Ministry would have been a Bund Government just as that of Schreiner is to-day; his principal co-workers would have been instruments of Kruger in much the same degree as members of the Schreiner Cabinet have been; and his participation in the general Afrikander movement, or conspiracy, or whatever it may be called, would have been more dangerous than that of Mr. Schreiner because his loyalty has always been asserted, and would have been used, consciously or unconsciously as a cloak for the action of his colleagues and friends. In 1898, however, Mr. Schreiner took office; the Bund was triumphant at the polls in Cape Colony and in Parliament; and had a weak Government or vacillating Colonial Secretary been in power in London, Mr. Kruger's day would have indeed come. He undoubtedly built upon this latter possibility and upon his personal experiences of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Kimberley and Lord Derby. To demand, even in the

Efforts at Conciliation not Successful

days of Transvaal weakness, had been to receive, and now, with the Uitlander population under the heels of an ironclad law and of enactments allowing them less liberty than was given the Kaffir; with great guns guarding Pretoria and commanding Johannesburg—coupled with the consciousness of other and more extensive military preparations; with the policy of the Imperial Government hampered by the rash aggressiveness of the Jameson Raid; with the Orange Free State in close defensive and offensive alliance and its President a mere tool in his own hands; with clever advisers and unscrupulous helpers such as Reitz and Leyds; with the certainty of European sympathy, the expectation of American support and the hope of active interposition on the part of France, or Russia, or Germany; with the Cape Colonial Government in tacit sympathy with his aims and in occasional active support of his policy; with the assurance of an extensive support from the Boers of the Colony itself; it is not surprising that President Kruger entered the lists at the Bloemfontein Conference with great confidence, and ultimately faced the might of Britain with assurance that the weakness of a British Ministry, the power of a European combination, the interposition of the United States, or some other providential aid, would secure the abrogation of that British suzerainty which was the bane of his life and the chief apparent element in preventing the supremacy in South Africa of the Dutch race in general and the Transvaal Republic in particular.

Kruger's Auspicious Opportunity

But he knew not Mr. Chamberlain or the changed conditions of British thought. He did not realize that the days of indifference to the Colonies had passed away, and that the Colonial Office had become one of the greatest posts in the British Government and had been deliberately selected by one of the most ambitious and able of modern statesmen as a suitable field for achievement and labor. He had no idea that the retention and extension of British territory

was no longer a party question, and that the days of Granville at the Foreign Office had as completely passed away as had those of Derby at the Colonial Office. His very knowledge of British political life and its see-saw system was turned into a source of error through the rapid developments of an epoch-making decade. It must have been a shock to him to find that an insult to the Imperial Government in the form of his ultimatum was looked upon as an insult to a dozen other British Governments throughout the world, and that the invasion of the soil of Natal and Cape Colony was regarded as an assault upon the interests of Canada and Australia as well as of Great Britain. The days of weakness had indeed departed, and despite all the conciliatory slowness and caution of Mr. Chamberlain during weary months of controversy the iron hand was concealed beneath the glove of velvet and there was nowhere a thought of surrendering that right of suzerainty which preserved and ensured British supremacy in South Africa. The inevitable war has now come—the struggle which the Gladstone Government shrank from in days when the Boer Power was weak, and which Sir George Grey spoke of in its wider sense when he declared, in 1858, after the abandonment of the Orange River State, that "many questions might arise, in which it might be very doubtful which of the two Governments the great mass of the Dutch population (in Cape Colony) would obey."

Chamberlain's Strong Policy

Its more immediate cause has not been the chief reason, though, of course, the more prominent and pronounced. The position of the Uitlander was bad enough, and the facts which have been drilled into the public mind and explained in the dispatches of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Alfred Milner are sufficiently explicit. Since 1895 the hundred thousand aliens—chiefly British subjects—established in Johannesburg and at the mines have been subjected to every restriction of liberty which is conceivably possible. None of the rights

of self-government pledged in the Conventions of 1881 and 1884 have been given them or rendered possible in any succeeding period worthy of consideration. The press had been gagged and public discussion prevented; the Courts had been made subservient to the Boer Volksraad and the money raised in taxes applied upon armaments directed against Great Britain and the Uitlander. No attention had been paid to industrial development or financial security and the drink traffic amongst the natives had been openly encouraged. No protection had been given to individual Englishmen and their families by the Boer Police and education had become a matter of Dutch language and Dutch methods. Roman Catholics were excluded from even the faintest chance of obtaining the franchise and monopolies were publicly sold to Hollander favorites and adventurers. Heavier and heavier burdens of taxes have been laid upon the Uitlanders—poll tax, railway tax, road tax, miner's claims, digger's license, prospector's license. An enactment made in 1894, in addition to the five years' residence required of adult aliens, declared that the children of such, though born in the Transvaal, must wait fourteen years after making claim for the right to vote. The respectable, educated Hindoo merchants had been classed with and treated with the same contempt as the indentured coolies. These things were surely cause enough for Mr. Chamberlain's intervention, and more than cause for his sustained effort to obtain equal rights for British men.

Uitlander's Many Grievances

Nominally, therefore, the failure to modify these grievances and abuses of the Uitlander was the cause of the condition out of which war came. Practically, the cause was in the distant past, in the character of the Boer, the development of his peculiar history, the British mistakes of 1836, 1852 and 1877, the aggressive Dutch pride of recent years, the historical hatred of the English, the growth of military resources in the Transvaal the evolution of the Afrikander Bund, the deter-

mination to create a Dutch South Africa. The means for success, even to the most utterly ignorant and intensely vain Dutchman, were not apparent until the gold mines of the Witwatersrand paved the way and the revenues of the little State rose in the following ratio from $889,000 in 1885—the year preceding the discoveries—to nearly $25,000,000 in the year 1897:

Causes of the War

1886	$1,902,165	1892	$6,279,145
1887	3,342,175	1893	8,513,420
1888	4,422,200	1894	11,238,640
1889	7,887,225	1895	17,699,775
1890	6,145,300	1896	22,660,970
1891	4,835,955	1897	24,432,495

For an assumed Boer population of little more than 200,000, the expenditure of this large sum would have been difficult under ordinary and honest conditions of government. Nothing, practically, was expended upon the Uitlanders, from whom the revenue came, and nothing upon the 800,000 Kaffirs in the country. Nothing was spent upon the development of natural resources, and but little upon the extension of railways, etc. Of this $120,000,000, in round numbers, it might be fair to allow $3,000,000 per annum for ordinary purposes of administration and development during the twelve years, or one million per annum more than had been spent by the Free State in any year of the same period. It would then be reasonably safe to assume that the remaining $84,000,000, and the acquired indebtedness of $13,000,000, have been spent upon fortifications, armament, subsidies to foreign papers and politicians and salaries to Hollander adventurers. It is in this connection a curious fact that the imports to the Transvaal in 1898 were over a hundred millions in value, with no

Misappropriation of Taxes

recorded exports—except gold, of which the production in 1897 was over $85,000,000. These imports must have consisted very largely of ammunition and military supplies, as the Boers are not a people who use extraneous products or luxuries. Of course, the Uitlanders were responsible for a portion; but the great bulk must have been made up of articles very different from the usual commodities of peaceful commerce. Such was the state of affairs, in a brief summary, which led up to the diplomatic crash between Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger, to the negotiations conducted by Sir Alfred Milner and the two Presidents, and to the invasion of the British Colonies on the eleventh of October, 1899.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Colonies and the War.

ONE of the most striking and perhaps important historical features of the South African crisis of 1899 was the sentiment of sympathy expressed by other parts of the Empire and the co-operation offered, or given, by the Colonies in the ensuing conflict. The number of men who actually participated from Canada, or Australia, or New Zealand was not great. But the possibilities of aid shown by the enthusiasm in despatching the Contingents, the keen interest taken in the origin and nature of the war, the sudden recognition of Colonial responsibilities for the defence of the Empire, and the fresh and vivid appreciation of the vast Imperial burdens of Great Britain, were exceedingly and vitally important. Some three thousand men went from Canada and over five thousand from the Australian Colonies and New Zealand. Ceylon contributed Contingents and troops were offered by the Malay States, Lagos, Hong Kong, the West Indies and the leading Princes of India. When it was found that colored forces could not well be accepted the various native Governments of India proffered money, armament and horses; while Lumsden's Horse was raised and equipped amongst the white population.

Sentiment in the Colonies

The history of the sudden movement which resulted in the sending of these Contingents from the Colonies is most interesting. To participate in the defence of the Empire was not, it is true, an absolutely new thing. In 1885 New South Wales had sent some troops from Sydney to share in the Soudan campaign for the

relief of Gordon and they had duly received their baptism of hardship and disappointment. They left Australian shores amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and under the initiative of Mr. W. Bede Dalley, an eloquent Irishman who was then Acting-Premier of New South Wales; and they were received in a similar manner on their return. At the same time there had been carping criticism of the action taken, a certain amount of political discontent amongst the Radical element in the Colony had existed, and in some measure a reaction took place after the war was all over. There were not wanting bitter opponents of Imperial unity to prophecy that it was the last force which would ever leave Sydney to fight the battles of Britain. But there were other Colonies in Australasia besides New South Wales and, even there, the little wail of the pessimist was soon neutralized. Dalley died shortly afterwards, though he had lived long enough to receive the blue-ribbon of political honour—a place in the Imperial Privy Council; and to be given after his death a commemorative tablet in St. Paul's Cathedral and a lasting place in British history. At this time, also, Canada sent a small force of *voyageurs* or boatmen, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel F. C. Denison, to help Wolseley's troops in their difficult expedition up the Nile. But it was neither a Government action nor one which the public had thought much about, and it consequently wielded little influence, although the Canadians did their duty well and received the warm approbation of Lord Wolseley.

Australians and Canadians in the Soudan

Of course, the country had fought for the Crown in days of war with the United States, and in 1812-14 nearly every able-bodied man in the British Provinces had stood beside the scattered line of British regulars in defence of their hearths and homes. They were doing then what 10,000 Cape Colonists and 5000 of the men of Natal are doing in the present war. But it was, of course, a

struggle upon Canadian soil just as the little rebellions of 1837 in Upper and Lower Canada, the Red River troubles of 1870, the Saskatchewan rebellion of 1886, or the Fenian Raids of 1866, had been. So far as Canada was concerned, therefore, no real precedent existed for the Imperialist demonstrations of 1899. Large numbers of Indian troops—chiefly Sikhs and Ghoorkas—had, it is true, been brought to Malta in 1878 by Lord Beaconsfield and Europe in this way electrified by a revelation of unexpected British military resources; while similar Contingents had been used against Arabi in Egypt and during the expedition up the Nile. In a naval sense too, the Australian Colonies had led the way in contributing to the Imperial defence system of the seas by paying for the maintenance of a British fleet on the Australasian station from 1887 onwards. But this exhausts all possible comparisons, or partial precedents, and to those who know the Canadian sentiment of a few years since regarding Imperial armaments and the assumption of increased defensive responsibilities the present situation seems very striking.

Canadians in the Wars With the United States

I had something to do with the movement for Imperial Federation which commenced in the Dominion in 1885, and, with many others, shared in the missionary work done during succeeding years. It is without hesitation, therefore, that I assert the greatest of the early obstacles, experienced by the advocates of closer union with Great Britain, to have been the fear of compulsory participation in wars of all kinds and in all parts of the world with which, perhaps, Canadian interests might have little connection and Canadian feeling no particular sympathy. The change of sentiment since then has been very great. It had already been shown in other ways by such official action as the granting of a tariff preference to the

Change of Sentiment in the Dominion Since 1885

Mother-Country, in 1898, of twenty-five per cent. The war with the Boers, it should be also remembered, was a Colonial war in which British subjects had been attacked as they had for years been insulted and menaced and in which the general supremacy of the Crown in an important part of the Empire was threatened. Moreover, the liberties and equality of position asked for by the Uitlanders in the Transvaal were of a kind which Great Britain and Canada had a century since given to the French population of British America with the greatest eventual success. The diplomatic contest was, therefore, watched with continuous interest in Canada, and local talk of volunteering for the front was only checked by a mistaken feeling that if war came it would be but a small and insignificant struggle.

But amongst military men there was a strong undercurrent of desire to raise some kind of volunteer force for active service.

The Premier and Parliament

In this connection Lieutenant-Colonel S. Hughes, M. P., was particularly enthusiastic. He introduced the subject in Parliament, on July 12th, while negotiations were still pending between President Kruger and Mr. Chamberlain. The result was that, despite the fact of Queensland having already offered troops and his own expression of opinion that five thousand men would readily volunteer in Canada, it was thought best not to take any immediate action, and the Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, expressed the hope and belief that in view of the absolute justice of the Uitlanders' claims, recognition would eventually be given them and war averted. On July 31st more definite action was taken, and the following Resolution moved in the House of Commons by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and seconded by the Hon. G. E. Foster in the absence, but with the approval of, Sir Charles Tupper as Leader of the Opposition, was carried unanimously:

"That this House has viewed with regret the complications which have arisen in the Transvaal Republic, of which Her Majesty is Suzerain, from the refusal to accord to Her Majesty's subjects now settled in that region an adequate participation in its Government.

"That this House has learned with still greater regret that the condition of things there existing has resulted in intolerable oppression and has produced great and dangerous excitement among several classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Her South African possessions.

"That this House, representing a people which has largely succeeded, by the adoption of the principle of conceding equal political rights to every portion of the population, in harmonizing estrangements and in producing general content with the existing system of government, desires to express its sympathy with the efforts of Her Majesty's Imperial authorities to obtain for the subjects of Her Majesty who have taken up their abode in the Transvaal such measure of justice and political recognition as may be found necessary to secure them in the full possession of equal rights and liberties."

Popular Enthusiasm

The members, after passing the motion, sprang to their feet and sang "God Save the Queen" amid a scene of striking enthusiasm which was duplicated a little later in the Senate. Following this expression of feeling Colonel Hughes endeavored, upon his own responsibility, to raise a regiment for foreign service and in doing so naturally came into collision with the head of the Militia—Major-General E. T. H. Hutton. The result of this enthusiastic rashness was, of course, failure in the attempt though at the same time, he was able to afford a distinct indication of the general feeling in favour of something being done should war break out. Leading papers took up the subject and favoured the sending of a force in case of necessity and, on October 2d, a few days before the war began, a large and representative meeting of Militia officers was held in Toronto and the following Resolution passed with unanimity and enthusiasm on motion of Lieutenant-Colonels George T. Denison and James Mason: "That the members of the Canadian Military Institute, feeling that it is a clear and definite duty

for all British possessions to show their willingness to contribute in the common defence in case of need, express the hope that, in view of impending hostilities in South Africa, the Government of Canada will promptly offer a contingent of Canadian Militia to assist in supporting the interests of our Empire in that country." On the following day the Prime Minister was interviewed at Ottawa, and expressed the opinion that it would be unconstitutional for the Militia, or a portion of it, to be sent out of Canada without the permission of Parliament, and that it would take some weeks to call that body together. Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared* that "there is no doubt as to the attitude of the Government on all questions that mean menace to British interests, but in this present case our limitations are very clearly defined. And so it is that we have not offered a Canadian Contingent to the Home authorities." Meantime, however, the matter had been under consideration, all the independent offers to serve from individuals or regiments had been duly forwarded to the Colonial Office, and each had received the stereotyped reply that while negotiations were in progress no further troops were required.

Forces Sent with Great Enthusiasm

Public sentiment soon proved too strong for what might have been in other circumstances a legitimate constitutional delay. On September 27th Sir Charles Tupper, in a speech at Halifax, offered the Government the fullest support of the Conservative Opposition in the sending of a Contingent, and on October 6th telegraphed the Premier to the same effect. The British Empire League in Canada passed a Resolution declaring that the time had come when all parts of the Queen's dominions should share in the defence of British interests, and the St. John *Telegraph*—a strong Liberal paper—declared on September 30th that "Canada should not only send a force to the Transvaal, but should maintain it in the field." The Montreal *Star* sought

* Toronto *Globe*, October 4, 1899.

and received telegrams from the Mayor of nearly every town in the Dominion endorsing the proposal to dispatch military assistance to fellow-subjects in South Africa. Mr. J. W. Johnston, Mayor of Belleville, represented the general tone of these multitudinous messages in the words: "It is felt that the Dominion, being a partner in the Empire, should bear Imperial responsibilities as well as share in Imperial honors and protection." The Toronto *Globe*—the leading Ontario Liberal paper—also supported the proposal, and soon the country from Halifax to Vancouver was stirred as it had not been since the North-west Rebellion of 1885—perhaps as it has never been in the sense of covering the entire Dominion.

There was, inevitably, some opposition, and it was largely voiced by the Hon. J. Israel Tarte, Minister of Public Works in the Dominion Government. It was not a note of disloyalty; it was simply the expression of a lack of enthusiasm and the magnifying of constitutional dangers or difficulties. No one in Canada expected the French Canadians, amongst whom Mr. Tarte was a party leader, to look upon the matter with just the same warmth of feeling as actuated English Canadians; and very few believed that the absence of this enthusiasm indicated any sentiment of disloyalty to the Crown or to the country. The people of Quebec had not yet been educated up to the point of participation in British wars and Imperial defence; they were, as a matter of fact, in much the same position that the people of Ontario had been in ten or fifteen years before. The influences making for closer Empire unity could never in their case include a racial link or evolve from a common language and literature. The most and best that could be expected was a passive and not distinctly unfriendly acquiescence in the new and important departure from precedent and practice which was evidenced by the announcement, on October 12th, that a Canadian Contingent had been accepted by

The Opposition Which Occurred

the Imperial Government and was to be dispatched to South Africa. There was no active opposition to the proposal except from a section of the French-Canadian press edited by Frenchmen from Paris, and from a Member of Parliament who resigned his seat as a protest and was afterwards re-elected by acclamation—both parties deeming it wisest to treat the matter as of no importance. Mr. Tarte eventually fell into line with his colleagues, but with the public announcement that he did not approve the principle of sending troops abroad without Parliamentary sanction; that he had obtained the Government's approval to an official statement that this action was not to be considered as a precedent; and that he thought the only way to adequately meet similar situations in future was by definite and permanent arrangement with the Imperial authorities and representation in Imperial Councils. Upon the subject as a whole his attitude was certainly logical and loyal, but in effect it was untimely, unpopular and unnecessary. And the continued utterances of his paper—*La Patrie* of Montreal—were of a nature calculated to irritate loyal sentiment and arouse serious misapprehension amongst French Canadians.

However, the feeling of the country generally was too fervent to permit of this obstacle having anything more than an ephemeral and passing influence. And any opposition which might exist amongst French Canadians assumed an essentially passive character. Toward the end of October an already announced pledge from an anonymous friend of Sir Charles Tupper's to insure the life of each member of the Contingent to the extent of $1,000, was redeemed, and on October 24th the following message was received through the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "Her Majesty the Queen desires to thank the people of her Dominion of Canada for their striking manifestation of loyalty and patriotism in their voluntary offer to send troops to co-operate with Her Majesty's Imperial

forces in maintaining her position and the rights of British subjects in South Africa. She wishes the troops Godspeed and a safe return." The first Contingent of one thousand men steamed down the St. Lawrence from Quebec on October 30th, after farewell banquets to the officers and an ovation from immense crowds in the gaily decorated streets of the "Ancient Capital." For weeks before this date little divisions of 50, or 100, or 125 men had been leaving their respective local centres amidst excitement such as Canada had never witnessed before. St. John and Halifax, on the Atlantic coast, were met by Victoria and Vancouver, on the shores of the Pacific, in a wild outburst of patriotic enthusiasm. Toronto and Winnipeg responded for the centre of the Dominion, and at the Quebec "send-off" there were delegations and individual representatives from all parts of the country. Every village which contributed a soldier to the Contingent also added to the wave of popular feeling by marking his departure as an event of serious import, while Patriotic Funds of every kind were started and well maintained throughout the country. It was, indeed, a manifestation of the military and Imperial spirit such as Canadians had never dreamed of seeing, and for many months the words upon every lip were those of the popular air, "Soldiers of the Queen." To quote the Hon. F. W. Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence, at the Quebec Banquet on October 29th: "This was a people's movement, not that of any Government or party; it emanated from the whole people of Canada, and it is being endorsed by them as shown by the words and deeds of the people at all points where the troops started from." The Earl of Minto, as Governor-General, in bidding official farewell to the troops on the succeeding day, expressed the same idea, and added, in words of serious importance when coming from the Queen's Representative and bearing indi-

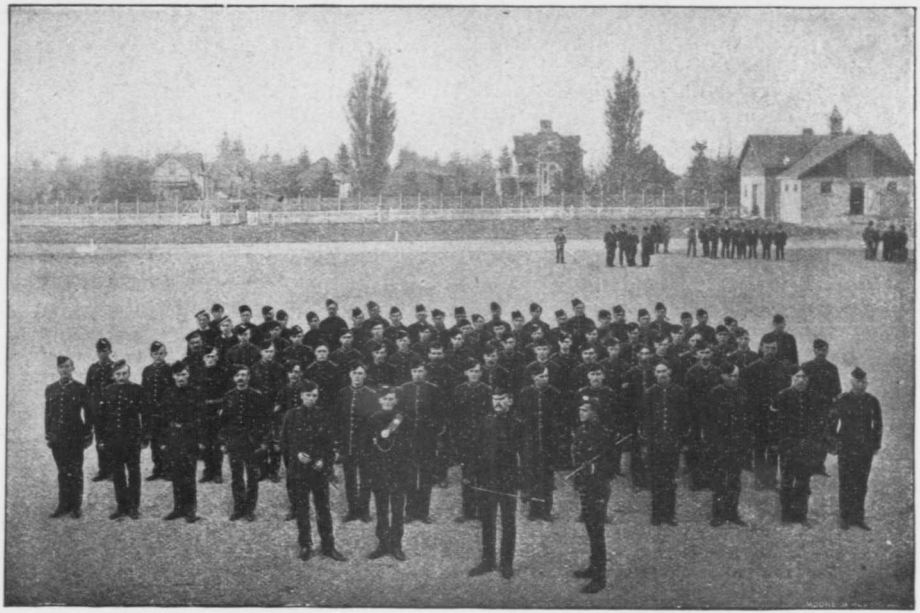
A Message from the Queen

rectly upon the much-discussed question of alleged Government hesitancy in making the first offer of military aid, that:

"The people of Canada had shown that they had no inclination to discuss the quibbles of Colonial responsibility. They had unmistakably asked that their loyal offers be made known, and rejoiced in their gracious acceptance. In so doing surely they had opened a new chapter in the history of our Empire. They freely made their military gift to the Imperial cause to share the privations and dangers and glories of the Imperial army. They had insisted on giving vent to an expression of sentimental Imperial unity, which might perhaps hereafter prove more binding than any written Imperial constitution."

An Act of Loyalty

The principal officers of the Contingent were its Commander, Lieut.-Colonel W. D. Otter, who had seen active service in the North-west Rebellion, Lieut.-Colonel Lawrence Buchan, Lieut.-Colonel O. C. C. Pelletier, Major J. C. MacDougall and Major S. J. A. Denison, afterwards appointed to Lord Roberts' Staff. The troopship *Sardinian* arrived at Cape Town on the the 29th of November, and the Canadians were given a splendid reception—Sir Alfred Milner cabling Lord Minto that: "The people here showed in unmistakable manner their appreciation of the sympathy and help of Canada in their hour of trial." The Regiment was at once sent up to De Aar, and later on to Belmont, the scene of Lord Methuen's gallant fight. From here a portion of the Canadian troops took part in a successful raid upon Sunnyside, a place some distance away, where there was an encampment of Boers. A number of the enemy were captured, but the incident was chiefly memorable as the first time in history, as well as in the war itself, when Canadians and Australians have fought side by side with British regular troops. Meanwhile public feeling in Canada seemed to favor the sending of further aid, and its feasibility was more than shown by the thousands who had volunteered for the first Contingent over



THE LONDON CONTINGENT OF THE CANADIAN TRANSVAAL REGIMENT
MAJOR D. STEWART ON THE LEFT

GROUP OF OFFICERS CANADIAN TRANSVAAL CONTINGENT. PLATE I

and above those selected. But it was not until some of the earlier reverses of the war took place that the offer of a second Contingent was pressed upon the Home Government. On November 8th, however, it was declined for the moment, and a week later Mr. Chamberlain wrote the following expressive words to the Governor-General:

Canadians, Australians and British Comrades

"The great enthusiasm and the general eagerness to take an active part in the military expedition which has unfortunately been found necessary for the maintenance of British rights and interests in South Africa have afforded much gratification to Her Majesty's Government and the people of this country. The desire exhibited to share in the risks and burdens of empire has been welcomed not only as a proof of the staunch loyalty of the Dominion and of its sympathy with the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government in South Africa, but also as an expression of that growing feeling of the unity and solidarity of the Empire which has marked the relations of the Mother Country with the Colonies during recent years."

On December 18th events in South Africa and the pressure of loyal proffers of aid from Australia and elsewhere induced the Imperial Government to change its mind, the Second Contingent was accepted, and once again the call to arms resounded throughout Canada. The first Regiment had been composed of infantry, the second was made up of artillery and cavalry. Eventually, it was decided to send 1,220 men, together with horses, guns and complete equipment, and they duly left for the Cape in detachments toward the end of January and in the beginning of February. A third force of 400 mounted men was recruited in the latter month and sent to the seat of war fully equipped and with all expenses paid through the personal and patriotic generosity of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the Canadian High Commissioner in London. In addition to "Strathcona's Horse" another independent force of 125 men was offered in

Additional Contingents Sent

similar fashion by the British Columbia Provincial Government and duly accepted at London and Ottawa, while a movement was commenced to proffer an organized Dominion Brigade of 10,000 men, if required. Little wonder, when such a popular spirit was shown, and when the anxiety to enlist and the influence used to obtain a chance of going to the front were greater than men show to obtain positions of permanent financial value, that Lord Roberts, shortly after his appointment to South Africa, should have cabled his expression of belief that: "The action of Canada will always be a glorious page in the history of the sons of the Empire. I look for great things from the men she has sent and is sending to the front." Meantime even the slightest opposition to the policy of aiding the Empire had died out —in fact, its assertion would have been dangerous, or at least unpleasant, and when Parliament met early in February the Government announced its intention of asking a vote of two million dollars for expenses in the despatch of the Contingents and for the payment after their return, or to their heirs, of an addition to the ordinary wage of the British soldier. This brief description of Canada's action during an eventful period may be concluded by a quotation from the speech of the Hon. G. W. Ross, Prime Minister of Ontario, at a banquet given in Toronto on December 21st to Mr. J. G. H. Bergeron, P. M., of Montreal—a French-Canadian who also expressed in fervent terms what he believed to be the loyalty of his people to the British Crown. Mr. Ross declared in emphatic and eloquent language that:

"It is not for us to say that one or two Contingents should be sent to the Transvaal, but to say to Great Britain that all our money and all our men are at the disposal of the British Empire. It is not for us to balance questions of Parliamentary procedure when Britain's interests are at stake, but to respond to the call that has been sent throughout the whole Empire and to show that in this western bul-

wark of the Empire there are men as ready to stand by her as were her men at Waterloo. It is not for us to be pessimists, but to have undying faith in British power and steadily to maintain the integrity of her Empire. He hoped that the present strife might soon pass, and that at its close Canadians will feel that they have done their duty to the flag that has protected them and under whose paternal Government they have prospered in the past. Their motto should be 'Canada and the Empire, one and inseparable, now and forever.'"

"Canada and the Empire"

Throughout Australasia, from the commencement of the crisis, there was great interest taken in the question. The press and the public discussed its phases with ever-increasing sympathy for the British cause and the liberties of the Uitlanders. There has always been in recent years much good feeling between these Colonies—partly from the development of trade, partly from Australian admiration of Cecil Rhodes, partly from the common ties of life in a tropical or semi-tropical climate, partly from the keen and mutual interest felt in Gordon during his last lonely campaign in the deserts of Northern Africa, partly from such incidents as the proffer by the Rhodes' Ministry of financial aid to the Australian Governments during the banking crises of 1893. The relation in sentiment and practice has, in fact, been much closer than that between Canada and the Cape, although the desire to help in time of need could hardly be greater. During the earlier period of the controversy public meetings were held to discuss its details in the various capitals of Australia and New Zealand, and resolutions passed somewhat in the terms of the following motion, proposed by Sir Henry Wrixon, M. L. C., seconded by the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and accepted with enthusiasm by a great gathering in the Melbourne Town Hall, on May 16, 1899:

"Twenty-one thousand British subjects in the Transvaal having petitioned the Queen through the High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, to extend her protection to them, to cause an inquiry to be held into their grievances, to secure the reform of abuses, and to obtain substantial guarantees from the Transvaal Government and recognition of the petitioners' rights, this meeting desires to record its sympathy with their fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal, and hopes that Her Majesty may be pleased to grant the prayer of her subjects."

Australia's Sympathy

With the progress of events this feeling of sympathy grew stronger, and culminated in a wave of military and loyal enthusiasm such as few had thought possible and none had considered probable. In July the Governments began to consider the subject of active participation in what seemed to be an impending struggle, and troops were offered to the Imperial authorities in the following order: Queensland on July 11th, Victoria on July 12th, New South Wales on July 21st, New Zealand on September 28th, Western Australia on October 5th, Tasmania on October 9th, South Australia on October 13th. The first offers were declined, for the time being, on the ground that it was hoped war would be averted and that, meanwhile, it was not desirable to assume an openly hostile attitude. The Legislature which first moved actively in the direction of organization was that of New Zealand, and the speeches of its leaders on September 28th indicate the general view taken by the people themselves. The Premier, the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, declared that "the Colony shared the privileges of the Empire, and ought to share its responsibilities." The Leader of the Opposition, the Hon. W. R. Russell, supported the action of the Government strongly, and declared that "the Colony was loyal at heart to the Imperial idea. It was not merely the sending of a few men, for the power of England was more than enough to cope with the trouble. He hoped the British flag would float over South Africa, and that another empire like India would be formed in that part of the world.

The present proposal would do more to consolidate the Empire than any speeches of politicians." Meanwhile an agitation commenced in Australia proper for a federal, or united, contingent, and culminated on September 28th in a meeting of the Military Commandants of the various Colonies at Melbourne. Victoria was represented by Major-General Sir Charles Holled-Smith, K. C. M. G., C. B.; New South Wales, by Major-General G. A. French, C. M. G.; Queensland, by Major-General H. Gunter; Western Australia, by Colonel G. H. Chippendall; Tasmania, by Colonel W. V. Legge; South Australia, by Colonel J. Stuart. A plan was carefully evolved and submitted to the respective Governments, but was frustrated at the last moment by the hesitancy of the recently formed Ministry in New South Wales. Mr. W. J. Lyne had not long since defeated the Right Hon. G. H. Reid in the Legislature, and did not seem to know his own mind upon this new subject; or else he was seriously afraid of a possibly hostile Labor vote. At any rate, he refused to move in the matter until Parliament met again, and gave reasons not dissimilar to those adduced in Canada by Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the brief delay which afterwards occurred at Ottawa. On October 5th it was announced that the Queensland offer of troops, made some three months before, had been accepted, and that the voluntary proffer of service by some seventy-five Mounted Rifles from New South Wales, who happened to have been drilling at Aldershot, had also been considered favorably by the War Office. On October 10th this latter body marched through the streets of London on its way to the front with bands playing and banners fluttering to the breeze, and amid a reception which the city seldom accords to events of less importance than a state visit of the Queen or the departure of an army. It was not the little line of mounted men in the characteristic uniform of the Australasian trooper that caused a manifestation of almost unprece-

A Meeting of the Colonies of Australia

dented popular enthusiasm from the densely crowded streets of the metropolis; it was the fact that this tiny force represented a living loyalty in the breasts of Colonists in great countries all around the globe. Naturally such a "send-off" had its effect in Australia, and a week later the Melbourne *Argus* was able to say with patriotic enthusiasm regarding the universal desire to aid the Mother Country that:

Australia's Appreciation of England's Protection

"The event shows to the world that the Empire, as a whole, will stand and fall together. Nothing appears to have impressed our critics more than the ease with which 10,000 men could be withdrawn from India and landed at the scene of action, and the Canadian and Australian demonstrations indicate also that there are still larger reserves (though not so complete) to draw upon. And we in Australia know that the feeling is reciprocal. We realize that, while we are ready to make real sacrifices for Great Britain if she requires them, the Mother Country would exhaust her last man and her last shilling to guard our Austral shores from insult or injury. Saturday week will be one of the memorable days in the history of the Empire. It will imply that British victories in future will not be merely insular, but that the Colonies, by sharing the perils, will earn a right to share also the triumphs of the flag."

As in Canada, every little town and village and country centre contributed its quota of enthusiasm and recruits, from end to end of the island-continent, throughout little Tasmania and in beautiful New Zealand. The latter Colony was the first to get its troops away, and on October 21st they sailed from Wellington amid scenes of wild enthusiasm and in the presence of 25,000 people. The Governor, the Earl of Ranfurly, briefly addressed the Contingent, and, during the Premier's speech, when he asked the significant question: "Shall our kindred in the Transvaal be free?" there was a tremendous shout of "yes" from thousands of throats. A few days later the Governor received a cable from the Colonial Secretary expressing

the gratification of Her Majesty's Government at home and the appreciation of the people generally. The Queensland troops left on October 28th under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Ricardo, and Brisbane, for the time being, was the home of immense masses of people and the scene of banquets, speeches and unlimited enthusiasm. From Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Perth the various other Contingents sailed about the same time and amid scenes such as the pen finds it hard to describe in cold type. It was literally a wave of patriotism in which the Governors and Premiers—Lord Brassey and Sir George Turner, of Victoria, Earl Beauchamp and the Hon. W. J. Lyne, of New South Wales, Lord Tennyson and the Right Hon. C. C. Kingston, of South Australia, Sir Gerard Smith and Sir John Forrest, of Western Australia—simply represented in their speeches the feeling of the people, and were supported in doing so by Opposition Leaders and by every important element in their respective Colonies; even the Labor organizations having fallen into line where, in some cases, they had been antagonistic. The Sydney *Daily Telegraph* declared, in this connection that "the remarkable demonstrations in the two great cities of Australia (Melbourne and Sydney) on Saturday must have convinced the most callous soul of the deep-seated hold which the idea of Empire has upon the people. . . . In offering troops to Great Britain for service in South Africa the underlying feeling is that we are part of the Empire whose supremacy in one part of the globe is threatened." Lord Brassey, in addressing the Victorian and Tasmanian Contingents on October 28th at Melbourne, clearly and eloquently voiced the same sentiment:

Various Contingents Leave for Africa

"It was not through apprehension for the peace and security of Australia, nor through the influence of Governors, or Ministers, or a few men in positions of power, of wealth and responsibility. It was under the irresistible impulse of popular feeling that the resolve

was taken to offer Her Majesty the services of her citizen soldiers dwelling beneath the Southern Cross. On the shores of South Africa you will wheel into line with the Canadian Contingent. All this marks an epoch, I would rather say a turning-point, in British history. It speaks of the firm resolve of the people of the Empire on which the sun never sets to stand together, and in the hour of stress and strain to rally round the old flag. It is a noble and wise resolve. It makes us from this time forward absolutely secure against foreign aggression."

The Empire a Unit

The total force thus despatched numbered 1480 officers and men, and included 386 from New South Wales, 258 from Queensland, 250 from Victoria, 213 from New Zealand, 104 from South Australia and 80 from Tasmania, besides the troop of Lancers from Aldershot. In connection with the latter body, which, of course, was the first of the external Colonial volunteers to arrive at Cape Town, the *Cape Times* of November 3d declared that they "come to us as a symbol of something greater and deeper and more durable than any display of military power or of patriotic ardor. Their presence represents in concrete form the Imperial idea, never before expressed with such forcefulness and vigor." As in Canada, Patriotic Funds were everywhere started, and before long hundreds of thousands of dollars were subscribed for the aid of sick and wounded or of possible widows and orphans. Incidents of striking generosity were many. Mr. R. L. Tooth, of New South Wales, subscribed $50,000; a South Australian gentleman gave $5,000 for the purchase of horses; a Victorian officer gave $5,000 for the equipment of new troops; a citizen of Sydney gave $15,000 toward sending out a force of Bush-riders, and another contributed $25,000 for the same purpose. By the middle of January, 1900, the various Patriotic Funds had assumed large proportions—that of Sydney, N. S. W., being $115,000; Brisbane and Queensland, $80,000; New Zealand, $300,000; Melbourne, $50,000. Meantime the first reverses of the war had occurred in South

Africa, and the feelings of the people been greatly and deeply stirred by the news. Second Contingents were at once offered by all the Colonies, and upon this occasion the effort to combine them as one federal body was successful.

The general sentiment was well expressed by a motion of the Queensland Legislative Assembly, on December 20th, which was proposed by the Premier and seconded by the Leader of the Labor party. It expressed the pride of the Colony in the splendid gallantry of the British troops in South Africa, authorized the Government to co-operate with the other Colonies in despatching an additional Australian force, and was carried unanimously amidst great cheering. At first it was proposed that a thousand men should go from the combined Colonies; then it was found that each Colony was anxious to send more than was thus provided for; and eventually 1,700 men were despatched by the middle of January, of whom New South Wales alone contributed seven hundred. But this was not all. Continued preparations were made for the despatch of more troops. On January 11th the Premier of Queensland telegraphed to Mr. Lyne, at Sydney, suggesting that the second Contingent should be increased so as to ultimately form a body of 5,000 men. To this the New South Wales Premier agreed, but pointed out at the same time that his Colony was already increasing its contribution to 840 men, besides 500 Bush-riders who were being sent by private subscription, and that many more were being drilled for service. Mr. McLean, of Victoria, replied to a similar telegram that: "I do not think that the number of our Contingent should be limited. We will send men as rapidly as they are trained and equipped." In saying farewell to the second New Zealand Contingent of 242 officers and men, on Jauuary 20th, the Premier of that Colony declared that another would follow, and that "if occasion arose every man who

Large Funds Raised in the Colonies

could bear arms in the Colony would volunteer; as in helping the Empire in South Africa they were securing New Zealand and upholding the Queen, the country and the constitution." By the middle of February 1,000 Bush-riders were also trained and equipped and almost ready to embark as a special Contingent from Queensland, Victoria, South Australia and New South Wales.

And so these revelations of patriotic feeling and Imperial unity have gone on in increasing volume from day to day. To theorists like Mr. Goldwin Smith, political economists like Mr. James Bryce, or philosophical politicians such as Mr. John Morley, such demonstrations of loyalty are incomprehensible. To the man who really understands the history of the Empire and the evolution of its system, who reaches down into the hearts of the people and comprehends the undercurrents of sentiment, it is not so difficult to grasp the reasons. Speaking of Australasia more particularly, Dr. W. H. Fitchett, the well-known editor of the *Australasian Review of Reviews*, recently summed up a part of the situation very concisely: "Why," he said, "have the Colonies stood by the side of England? For Jingoism? Don't you believe the men who tell you that. Our people are too hard-headed and too businesslike to be carried away by mere Jingoism. They come because they know that the Transvaal question is a Colonial question, a question that intimately concerns all of them. To-day these little settlements of white men, planted down on the coastline of great continents, are able to remain secure, notwithstanding the earth-hunger of every great Power, because the might of the Empire is behind them." This, in part, is the reason. But there is more at the back of it than the mere principle of self-interest. A liberty common to all the Colonies has been threatened, a new-grown pride in the Empire was struck at, a feeling of manly aversion to further depend-

Cause for Demonstrations of Loyalty

ence was touched, an inherent but sometimes dormant love for the Mother Land was aroused.

Nor have these manifestations of affectionate allegiance to the Crown and the flag been limited to Australia and New Zealand and Canada. Back on the 17th of July the Malay States volunteered a body of troops; on the succeeding day the Lagos Settlements did the same; on the 21st of September Hong-Kong joined in the proffer of help; later on Ceylon offered a Contingent, and toward the end of January 130 officers and men, completely armed and equipped, sailed from there for the Cape. As already stated, however, it was not deemed well to use colored soldiers, so that the loyalty of the first-named Colonies was not utilized. Englishmen in India were keen to go to the front, and from every rank of life and labor came the offer to serve. Finally, in January, a mounted corps was accepted with Colonel Lumsden in command. Not only did men in large numbers volunteer, but money in immense sums was proffered. As native troops could not be accepted, the native rulers, Princes and great merchants did the next best thing. They all offered cavalry horses, money or guns. The Nizam of Haidarabad, on December 28th, at a Viceregal banquet in Calcutta, told Lord Curzon that "his purse, his army and his own sword were ever ready to defend Her Majesty's Empire." The Maharajah of Gwalior asked to be allowed to serve on Lord Roberts' staff, and offered to send troops, horses and transport to South Africa. The Maharajahs of Mysore and Jodpore joined in the latter part of his request. The Maharajah of Kuch Behar wrote a stirring letter to the Calcutta *Englishman* proposing the enrollment of the Indian Princes and their sons in a sort of "Empire army," and, at the same time, he contributed 350 guineas to the Indian Patriotic Fund which, on January 14th, amounted to

Other Colonies Eager to Assist

$100,000. Amongst other contributors the Maharajah of Tagore had given 5,000 rupees.

Natal Forces

Meanwhile what of the South African Colonies? Seldom in history has there been such a spontaneous response to the call to arms as in Natal and Cape Colony; never has there been a more fervent belief in the righteousness of their cause than amongst the first and greatest sufferers from the inevitable agonies of war. The fleeing Uitlanders, almost to a man, volunteered; and by the middle of January little Natal, with its English population of about 40,000, had the following list of troops in active service:

Natal Naval Volunteers	150
Natal Carbineers	465
Natal Mounted Rifles	200
Border Mounted Rifles	270
Umvoti Mounted Rifles	130
Natal Field Battery	120
Natal Royal Rifles	145
Durban Light Infantry	400
Medical Staff	7
Veterinary	3
Natal Mounted Police (Europeans)	649
Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry	500
Bethune's Mounted Infantry	500
Imperial Light Infantry	1,000
Imperial Light Horse	500
Colonial Scouts	500
Ambulance Bearers (1st Section)	1,000
Ambulance Bearers (2d Section)	600
Total	7,139

Cape Colony, with its larger population, had, however, greater local dangers to face from possible rebels, and men were anxious to organize for local defence as well as for service at the front. But at the same date as the above figures are given for Natal the

mother Colony had ten thousand men at the disposal of the General commanding the forces. They included the Kaffrarian Rifles, with 600 men; the Queenstown Rifles, 200 men; the Port Elizabeth Guards, 520 men; the Grahamstown Rifles, 310 men; the Cape Town Volunteers, 3,000 men; the Kimberley Volunteers, 200 men; and the Protectorate Regiment, 800 men. Of Mounted Infantry there were the Cape Mounted Rifles, 800 men; Brabant's Horse, 800 men; Cape Police, 600 men; Kaffrarian Mounted Infantry, 100 men; Frontier Mounted Rifles, 200 men; Diamond Fields' Horse, 400 men; Mafeking Mounted Infantry, 500 men; South African Light Horse, 800 men; Grahamstown Horse, 120 men; Rimington's Scouts, 350 men.

Cape Colony Forces

Such was the remarkable military development, in a Colonial sense, which has arisen out of the Transvaal trouble of 1899 and the ensuing war. Its result is in the womb of the future, but there can be little doubt as to the important effect which the evidences of loyalty and unity thus produced must have, not only upon the constitution of the Empire, but upon its *prestige* and practical power. The day, indeed, is not far distant when the Colonies will have their full share in the Councils as well as in the defence of British dominion. The voice of Canada in the control of matters affecting the British West Indies and Newfoundland and Alaska, or other American interests touching the Empire, will be then as fully understood by foreign nations to be a great and permanent factor as will be that of Australasia in matters connected with the Indian Empire, the New Caledonia question, or the islands of the Pacific generally. A new and greater power in the world's history is, in fact, being born amid the throes of South African warfare, and the incoming century must witness developments in this connection even more marvellous than those of the one which is passing.

Future of the Colonies

PART II.

OF VOL. I

TROUBLE BETWEEN THE BOERS AND GREAT BRITAIN

INCLUDING THE WAR OF 1899-1900 UP TO

ENTRY OF LORD ROBERTS AND HIS ARMY INTO BLOEMFONTEIN

ON MARCH 13, 1900

BY

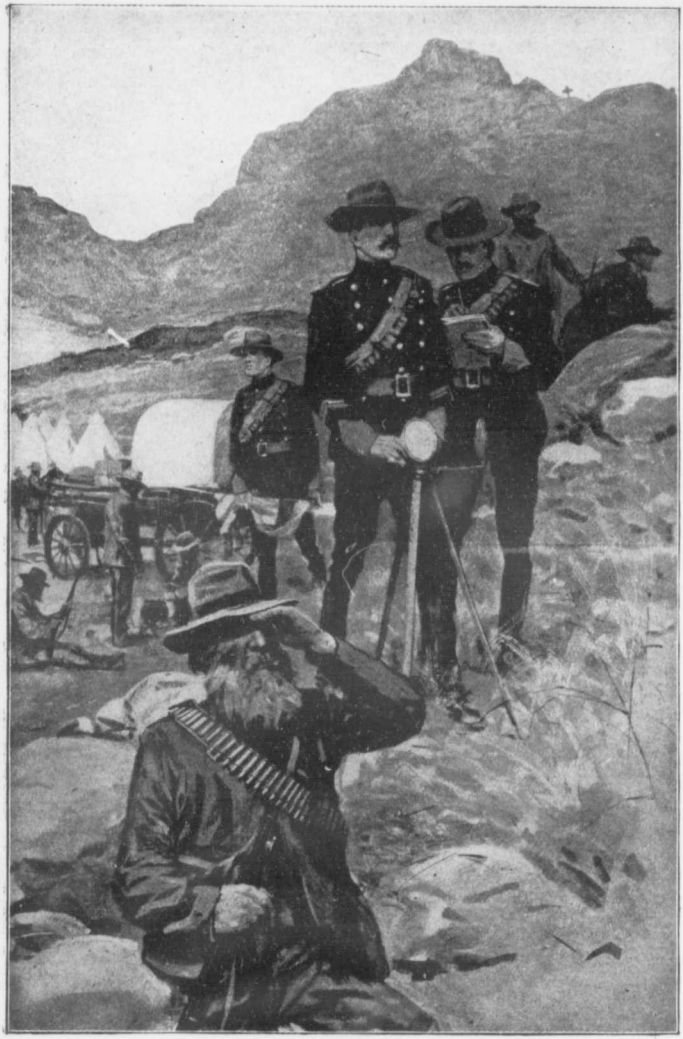
MURAT HALSTEAD

GENERAL SIR REDVERS BULLER, C.B.

(From Photo, Charles Knight, Aldershot)

MAJOR GEN'L SIR W. S. SYMONDS

(From Photo, Cowell, Simla)



BOERS HELIOGRAPHING ON THE NATAL FRONTIER

INTRODUCTION

THE origin of the war breaking out in the later months of the last year of the nineteenth century between the Boers and the British may be traced to the famous defeat of the latter at Majuba Hill in 1881, the influence of which was intensified by the failure of the Jameson Raid, that had a good cause, but was irresponsible and disorderly. The Boers were entirely persuaded by these incidental successes of their army that they could always get the better of those they called intruders into their own country, which they had made a long journey to find and shed a great deal of blood of the natives to conquer. Their preference in the two pilgrimages away from the Cape country was to become herdsmen, raising cattle, shooting game, farming in a rude way, and enjoying the right to which they attached great importance to hold property in man. The first chief objection they had to the English, who superseded the Dutch at the Cape, was that they had prejudices against human servitude, and the slaveholders were sensitive as to interference with their high privileges and thought themselves greatly aggrieved that their scriptural institution was disapproved. It is true the Boers established a civilization immensely superior to barbarism of the natives, but they indulged all the passions of slaveholders, and were but little advanced in civilization. Something akin to semi-barbarism seemed the normal condition of Africa for countless centuries, and the light dawned gradually in South Africa from the occupancy of territory by the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English

The Origin of the Recent War

successively, and it may be fairly said that broad daylight came with the English, who in the lower regions of the Dark Continent were the stronger and the more persevering antagonists of barbarous peoples and made the greatest advancements to civilization. It was the nerveless policy of dealing with South Africans following the British defeat at Majuba Hill that produced in the Boers comtempt for English military capacity and the personal courage of English speaking people, and led them to enter upon the policy of restriction of English speaking immigrants that appeared in great numbers after the discoveries of diamond mines and gold mines, assuming indeed that new comers had no rights, civil or military, as citizens or squatters, that the Boers were bound to respect. So distinct was the impression the Boers made of their exclusive policy to govern the immense territory upon which they had settled for the purpose of raising cattle and ruling the natives, that the circulars sent abroad in the United States by the enemies of England to form public opinion favorable to the presumption of the Boers, presented the specific complaint urged on behalf of the Transvaal people and government that the British would not cease to be subjects of their "Empire," and must not be allowed a share in local government, because in the gold country they were three times as numerous as the Boers themselves. It seems reasonable to say the English had as good a right to improve upon the Transvaal methods of aiding the good works of progressive humanity beyond the Boer limitations as the Boers had to take grazing land and game and forests from the original savages. The Boers made war upon the savagry and therefore upon the natives and were intolerant in the extreme in their exactions. There were between the original African tribes and their earliest invaders many wars and constant rumors of wars, and bloodshed frequently and profusely. When the diamond and gold

Boers' Policy Against Immigrants

mines that interested the whole world were discovered, it was as righteous to work them as it was for the Boers to open farms where there had been only hunting grounds. The great cause of South African advancement demanded British organization then just as it had required Boer enterprise in the beginning.

The Centre of the Diamond Mine Country

It should be well understood for the location of influential events that the city of Kimberley is the center of the diamond mine country. The Boers do not seem to have had the spirit of adventure, the breadth of understanding and the executive faculty to interest themselves largely in the development of the unparalleled riches found under their feet. They parted with the farms containing gold in such quantity that they are believed to be the Ophir Land of Solomon, of which the Bible contains a specific and most interesting account, and they, disgusted with the discovery of this wealth, that they had the shrewdness to see threatened their supremacy, were resentful toward the immigrants—the gold and diamond seekers that poured into the Transvaal impetuously, as the Americans crossed the deserts and the mountains to possess California fifty years before.

Characteristics of the Boers

The Boers are people whose hardihood, bravery, manliness, high spirit, marksmanship with the rifle, attachment to the soil, and content as farmers, fortified with solemn appreciation of religious duty, compel respect, but they are at fault in their attitude of determined obstruction of progress in the Dark Continent that is chiefly committed to the English. They interfere not merely with the people who have found and worked the most productive mines of diamonds and gold ever known, they have held those who have done in Africa what the Americans did in their acquisitiveness in Mexico in contempt, and in the name of a "free republic" have been apostles

of class and personal tyranny and ruthless in regard to the rights of those who have enriched their country and the world with their adventurous industry—with their organization of prospecting, engineering machinery, chemistry, transportation and mastery of the elements and forces that have in great and good works in Europe and America crowded a millennium into the nineteenth century.

It is easy to assert that as people cannot eat precious stones and metals, the things that are most beautiful and costly are less useful than corn and potatoes, and yet the human race for several thousand years has attached importance to the sands and rocks that have yielded diamonds in Golconda and Brazil and gold in California and Australia; and it is a record and tradition that the gold of California gave the nations of the earth "Californian good times," a phrase that was historical and an inspiration, and significant of the prosperity of the people of the generation that had its enjoyment. The diamond cannot be converted into food save by exchange, for the dust of the ground stone is rather imperishable than palatable and nourishing, but it is "a thing of beauty" that is "a joy forever;" and even if the prejudices of the Boers were inflamed against the most beautiful and enduring forms of value, that should not commend them as heroes of civilization; and it does not prove their Republicanism to refuse the rights of self-government to a people certainly among the most enlightened on the earth because they are in the majority in the great and flourishing communities, where they founded splendid cities, opened railroads and established a commerce additional to the world's wealth of more than one hundred millions of dollars a year. Whatever may be said to the contrary, these achievements should command the respect of all nations and peoples.

The English speaking inhabitants of the gold and diamond country of Africa are treated as hostiles by the Boers who were the

first settlers and slaughtered the natives, and the English are held out of favor because they are so numerous and prosperous, and, it may be added, so superior in their intelligence and elevated in their purposes and resolute in their determinations, that the Boers must keep them disarmed and deny them the ballot and all consideration in local affairs. The English offense is that they have made the country flourish, have built cities in deserts, spanned rivers and penetrated mountains with roads of steel. These improvements may be bad for the peculiar civilization and hardy endowments of the Boers, but do not seem to vindicate the belligerent rancher in his ferocious antagonism to those who are leading in their day and generation those affairs that are working out the betterment of the race of man. There are boundaries that must be removed for the broad benefits of the general welfare of mankind that the forces of the age may overcome the most stubborn resistance to the triumphant processes by which civilization spreads abroad and acquires stability.

Antagonism to English Rule

It is the semi-barbarous theory that gold and diamond hunters are offenders against liberty, that it is the holy duty of the Boers as cattle drivers and stalkers of game, to reduce intrusive English speaking people to a subordination down to the level of the native tribes, so that they may not become masters over the aristocracy of the African cowboys. What better title is there anywhere for self-government than a people in the majority? This is most obvious where racial questions arise, and there is more and more declared the rights of men under the sanction and rule of the majority to govern themselves. A higher civilization, greater property and educational qualifications and the output of "wealth beyond the dreams of avarice," are incidental to and co-operate with majority government in South Africa. But all this on behalf of Boerdom is denied.

The English have possessed a great quantity of land in Africa, and they are justified by the establishment of comparative peace under stable form of government, by the increase of prosperity of the people, irrespective of race or previous condition of servitude or of shades of color. The ancient despotism at the Cape which was a prohibition of progress, for it was the tyranny of an absolute monopoly, has been swept away; and there has been growth in human liberty as well as augmentation of wealth and comfort, and there is white light on the dismal shores of the Dark Continent.

English Government in South Africa

It has been the English policy to form a federation of colonies pressing by steady and encouraged advancement of the sovereign rights of intelligent people, forming states in South Africa. The objection to this first urged is that the British have insisted upon the flag of the Empire over the movement. That flag has not prevented the wonderful growth of Australia, for that world newly risen from the seas has become of imperial proportions. Under that flag in this new world are more remarkable experiments undertaken, testing the theories of municipal socialism and industrial unity than in any other part of the globe. Under the same flag the population of India has doubled. The inference is that it would not blast the bloom of Africa.

The racial complications on South Africa demand for the greatest good of the people at large (and we include in that phrase the greatest number of people) that the best form the rule of the land can take is that of British supremacy—this positively for an indefinite period of transition. It has been the British policy to set apart for natives a vast tract of good land, and that would seem to be better and more human than to devote them to extermination, unless they themselves insist upon exterminating others. In Natal over 500 miles of railroads have been constructed. These roads

connect with harbors at Cape Town and Durban. The improvement of the country has turned out to the advantage of the military operations of the British. Good roads are a great help to a people, but, it must be admitted, they do favor the rapid movement of masses of armed men in these days as they did in those of the Romans.

Consider the simple statistics of the productions of the territory contested between the British and the Boers. The yield of the diamond mines in 1897 was valued at $21,676,776, and the gold of the White Water range region in 1899, if the output continued as in September, was closely estimated at $76,647,375, putting that territory at the head of the gold producing regions of the world. With order, security for industry and its varied fruits, fair play for men of all races, the gold yield by the Transvaal would speedily equal one hundred millions annually. It is the result of an investigation by the use of the drills and the chemistry of experts that there is a certainty in the soil of an amount of gold equal to 3,500 millions of dollars, and probably a great deal more; and this addition to the metal that is the world's standard of value in the greater commercial and military transactions would, according to the logic of all examples in history, be a guarantee of good times for those identified with all the productive industries in the shops and on the farms. The yield of diamonds will be equal to the demands of trade, whatever it is. The store of them in the soil about Kimberley seems to be inexhaustible. It is these tremendous endowments of nature in the heart of South Africa that caused the immigration there, and has aroused the cupidity and excited the ambition of the Boers, causing them to array themselves against the growth of communities whose importance has been increasing so fast as to threaten the rule of the caste that has held the Transvaal with an iron hand.

A Few Telling Statistics

The very plea of the Boers that the English speaking people are too numerous to trust with the right of suffrage and too rich to be allowed a share of self-government, and that the discovery and developments of mines of gold and diamonds, the most concentrated and attractive forms of the wealth of Nature, is unworthy not only of deference but of consideration. It is opposed to the spirit and substance of the surprising realizations of the century that have made it the most memorable epoch in the history of man in the appropriation of the resources of the earth he inherits. Never until now has mankind had the labor and capital, the courage, the machinery, the intelligence, or the tools provided by marvelous inventions—the conquering capacity to give the gigantic continent of Africa—nearly 12,000,000 square miles—into the hands of the people who need room for industry, thus making an addition to the good land available for the lucrative employment of countless millions through the coming ages.

A Plea Unworthy of Consideration

There is one people, and one only on earth, that has the ability and the purpose, the will and the force, the experience and the energy to make this gift to mankind, and that power is the British Empire. Whatever the resources or the ambition or the faculties of other great nations, none with the exception of Great Britain is so situated as to make it possible to do this. British influence and territory, from the Cape of Good Hope to the mouth of the Nile, are interrupted by a space less than 600 miles, and 480 miles of that are navigable water! The British have thousands of miles of railroad there now, and the work to pierce Africa with lines of steel, on the lines of longitude, is under way. Less than the cost of the war caused by the obstruction of English enterprise in Africa by the boorishness of the Boers would have completed a safe and magnificent highway

A Magnificent Project

from Cape Town to Alexandria. After all, war will not stop, but will promote that project. The study of the war history will so advertise the marvels of Africa that the money will be found to build the road and its branches from the Mediterranean to the South Sea, and that speedily; and this will be recorded as one of the mightiest works of man—one that profoundly interests all nations and all races.

England cannot afford to give up Egypt or South Africa, and, of course, will not do it, for there she fights for India, and for every form and feature of her imperialism. The world could not afford to have her give up Africa. If she was weak enough to be willing to do it, that weakness would mark her decline and declare her fall. The British Empire is the chosen instrument of Providence that rough-hews the ends of the earth, and that includes the conquest of Africa, for the sake of mankind. That Empire is the only one that has the enabling equipment to do the work, and the advancement will be the achievement of one of the proudest and most beneficent of all victories of men for man.

England cannot Give up Africa

A great deal of the journalism of the world is wickedly and wretchedly wrong and extremely misleading in its treatment of this superb and lofty theme. The Boers have been cruelly deceived by interludes of feebleness displayed in the goverment of England, permitting a halting interference with the perpetuation of the policy that has made the British Empire what it is. It was this unfaithfulness that sacrificed Gordon at Khartoum. It is the same sort of moral malady, a choice of that which is inadequate, that would have surrendered the Philippines to an impostor and prevented the expansion of American commerce in Asia.

The Boers are men of strength and generously sustained with many virtues, but they have had the misfortune to be trained in

narrow ways and are forced by deplorable circumstances of environment to fight for a cause without hope, for it is one that is against the courses of the stars and the irresistible currents of the forward movements of our generation—against the mastery of the world by man for man's own sake. This awful war is the bitter fruit of a want of candor among the nations and the races that have enlightenment, and of theincapacity of the obstructionists in South Africa to resist the blandishments of the crude vanity and the criminality of the tyranny that is based upon the ignorance whose violent presumption sheds the blood of heroes, but may not change the majestic progress of the twentieth century, in which all the living nations and vital people, the Boers and the British, shall participate—for it is duty and destiny.

Opinions of the Canadians

The substantial unanimity of the Colonial people in the support of the British Empire in asserting the rights of British civilization in South Africa as imperative, is an impressive circumstance and shows the solidity of the people of English speech—when the intense advocacy of the independent nationality of Ireland is eliminated —in support of the African policy of the British government. In the Dominion the contention between the party of the Administration and that of the Opposition is whether the one or the other has been the more zealous and practical friends of the Empire. There is not as much diversity of opinion and heat of political friction in British Africa over the continuance of the colonial system, supplemented by conquest, if needful, in the African crisis of the Empire, as there is in the United States in applying to the Philippine Archipelago, the great principles of the fathers that the Republic shall grow continuously as the generations come and go. The people of the United States, however, can better afford to refrain from accepting the goods the gods have provided for them in

Asiatic waters and for the expansion and cultivation of our commerce with Asia and the increase of our puissance on the Pacific—than England can to be balked, beaten and discredited in Africa, which is the land of the great hereafter of Europeans, next to Europe itself.

The people of the United States can put aside their sublime opportunity of gaining at a stroke advantages on the greater ocean of the globe, that any other people would consider it irrational and suicidal to abandon, and yet go on, though it would be a collapse of ambition for Americans to acquiesce in conservative stagnation instead of moving on ever westward. They have possessions on and in the Pacific, including the states of California, Oregon and Washington, the territory of Alaska and the Aleutian, Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, greater than any other people. Why should they be bounded in enterprise in the way all the stars have led, any more than eastward whence comes the light of day? England can no more consent to give up Africa than yield India, Egypt, Malta, Gibraltar, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Isle of Wight. Indeed the greater growth of England's hereafter is in Africa, or the end of her greatness and the grave of her glory is there.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

CHAPTER I.

The Battle of Majuba Hill.

THE Earl of Rosebery, under date of October 11, 1899, wrote that he could speak "without touching politics, for a situation had been created beyond party polemics, and it was needless to discuss how we could best have attained our simple and reasonable object of rescuing our fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal from intolerable conditions of subjection and injustice, and of securing equal rights for the white races in South Africa, for an ultimatum has been addressed to Great Britain by the South African Republic which is in itself a declaration of war."

Lord Rosebery's Reflections

Lord Rosebery continued that the people would close their ranks and relegate party controversy to a more convenient season, and there was in addition this to say: "Without attempting to judge the policy which concluded a peace after the reverse at Majuba Hill, I am bound to state my profound conviction that there is no conceivable Government in this country which could repeat it."

In a speech at Bath, unveiling the mural tablets to the Earl of Chatham and William Pitt, Mr. Gladstone's brilliant lieutenant and successor said of the Boer ultimatum, it was such as, he thought, the proudest empire in the world would have hesitated about sending. But since the commencement of the war the Boers had engaged in the strange policy of issuing decrees of annexation of British territory, which were, apparently, desirable additions to the Republic of the Transvaal.

There had been a great misunderstanding about the Majuba Hill transaction. It was a mere skirmish, and concurrently with that there was an attempt on the part of the then Government to settle peaceably the issue in the Transvaal. Now, whatever they might think of the result of that attempt, the thing in itself was a sublime experiment. Mr. Gladstone, with his overpowering conviction of the might and power of England, thought that she could do things which other nations could not do, and, therefore, endeavored to treat with the Boers after the reverse which took place. We knew how Mr. Gladstone's magnanimity was rewarded. He (Lord Rosebery) felt a deep misgiving at the time in respect to this course of policy, and his fears had been realized in the result. The Boers had regarded that magnanimity as a proof of weakness, and they rewarded Mr. Gladstone's magnanimity with a deliberate and constant encroachment on the terms of the settlement. Then there came the discovery of gold. If they might judge from all that they had read, the income secured by the discovery of gold produced great corruption in the Transvaal. The bill of salaries—public salaries in the Transvaal—amounted, on a calculation, to about £40 a head of the population, and it could not but be considered that that was a liberal allowance for the working of so simple a republican Government. The Jameson raid was not merely a deplorable incident from a diplomatic point of view, but it was also the symptom of a deplorable state of things. They might be quite certain that no English gentleman would have engaged in what might be called a filibustering raid had it not been for the strong cry of distress that proceeded from within the Transvaal.

Lord Rosebery's Speech at Bath

But it was unfortunate from many points of view. In the first place, it gave the Transvaal Government very much the best of the argument. They had then a great grievance to complain of, and

we in those circumstances could not urge those grievances of which our subjects had to complain. In the meantime, almost all the taxation of the country was drawn from our fellow-countrymen—the very people who were not subjects of the Transvaal. Our fellow-subjects combined in vain for the most elementary form of education. They were losing face, so to speak, in the eyes of the natives and of the world at large. And the most important element of all was beginning to attract attention—which was that with the money derived from the gold the Transvaal Government was gradually piling up a great military power, armed to the teeth. That was a standing menace to to our dominion. If it had continued we should have had to consider whether we who rule so many nations were to become a subject nation in our turn in South Africa; and had we become a subject nation, or remained even in the position in which we were, it was scarcely possible to doubt that we should have lost South Africa itself.

The Sting of Majuba Hill

Nothing has happened showing more distinctly than Lord Rosebery's utterance, the sting that has rankled in England of the unfortunate campaign that closed in the surrender at Majuba Hill; and the history of that event, with the influential circumstances before and after, has been obscured rather than cleared by the strenuous spirit of controversy on both sides. Every point is contested except the defeat of the British. The Boers claim that 120 of their riflemen assailed the British soldiers and made prisoners of them, though they were 600 strong. The British version is that they were caught in an untenable position and overwhelming forces, outnumbering them four to one, were their assailants. There is bitter feeling in the British Army on the relative responsibilities of disaster, and the reinforcements sent from England, arriving at Cape Town soon after the battle were in a desperate state of dissatis-

faction with the peacemaking that followed, and felt themselves not only aggrieved but insulted. A despatch from Bombay about the embarkation to take part in the present Boer and British war of the Gordon Highlanders, contained the following: "The stern, grim Highlanders were curiously quiet. Every Englishman who saw them knew the reason. The Gordons are one of the finest regiments in the army. They have a splendid fighting record. But in the last Boer war a strong detachment of the Second Battery broke and turned on the bloody hill of Majuba. It was an inexplicable occurrence, for the men were bronzed veterans who had just fought their way through Afghanistan and made the famous march with Lord Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar. The regiment has brooded over the stain for nineteen years. No man has ever dared to mention Majuba before a Gordon Highlander. Everyone who saw them embark this morning knew what their rigid faces portended. Their chance had come. This time there would be no mistake. Highlanders have long memories and the 'Gay Gordons' are in the mood to allow themselves to be hewn to pieces rather than take a single step backward before the Boers or any other foe."

The Gordon Highlanders at Majuba Hill

John Boyd of Galt, who was of the Gordon Highlanders Regiment for 21 years, regards this as a "foul aspersion." He says of his old regiment:

"Its reputation can dispense with both personality and egotism. Its deeds speak for themselves, and at Majuba Hill the bonnie Gordons upheld their honor and glory. I was there, and I know that I speak truth. As distinctly as if the events took place yesterday, I remember all that occurred on that awful night, when 121 Gordon Highlanders braved thousands of enemies in ambush. I am not exaggerating. Hundreds of Boers were concealed on the

hill, while 2000 lay hidden across the nek, and pitted against such overwhelming odds were 100 Highlanders, and barely 300 other troops.

"And the writer of that London dispatch says that we 'broke and turned'; that, in short, we retreated. Let me tell you that of the 121 Gordons, 60 were killed or wounded, and 27 were taken prisoners. And these men who fought against fate, yet who —I solemnly declare—stood their ground to the last, are accused of showing the white feather. Dead men tell no tales, nor can they defend themselves from such calumnies. But how, I ask, could they play the craven when one-half were stark and stiff, dying, as they had lived, for their country? And of the handful who escaped the Boers and their bullets all were on the hill when morning broke. I was one, with a wounded comrade at my side.

An Eyewitness About Majuba Hill

"I am not in the habit of talking of what I have or have not done, nor do I proclaim from the housetops the Gordons' enviable past. But I was with them at Majuba Hill; in spirit I am with them now; and the man who says that the Ninety-second ever disgraced its colors or its Queen, does the regiment a grievous wrong, and himself a greater one."

The claims of Great Britain to sovereignty in the Orange Free State were withdrawn in 1854, and this seemed to give additional force to the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, and that, it must be admitted, was in a sense a mistake, because it was done under the impression that the Boers really desired it. That was evidently an error when the time came for the fulfillment of the policy, but what amount of demagogy occurred in the meantime to change the sentiments of the ruling class of the Transvaal is a matter of doubt; and there are other difficulties that do not necessarily enter into the consideration of the subject.

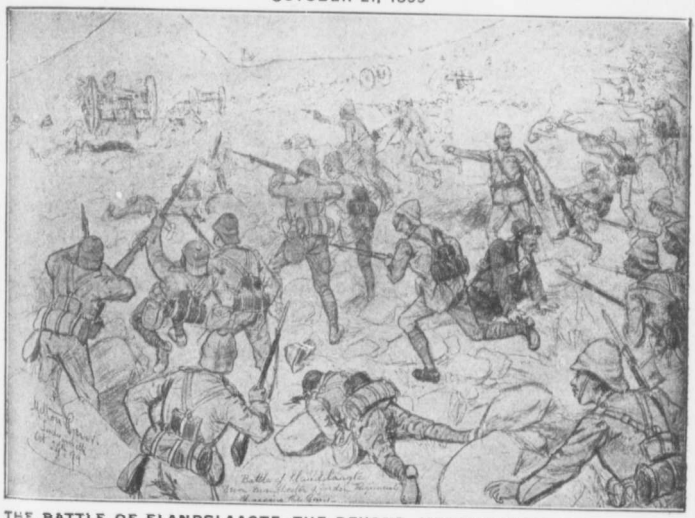
The proclamation of President Steyn of the Orange Free State entering unreservedly into an alliance, defensive and offensive, with the Transvaal Boers, states with vehemence the principles contended for and the attitude assumed in antagonism with the British during the present conflict. President Steyn said that the Orange Free State was bound "with the sister republic not only by ties of blood, of sympathy and of common interests, but also by formal treaty, which has been necessitated by circumstances. This treaty demands of us that we assist her if she should be unjustly attacked, which we unfortunately for a long time have had too much reason to expect;" and President Steyn added:

Proclamation of President Steyn

"Our own unfortunate experiences in the past have also made it sufficiently clear to us that we cannot rely on the most solemn promises and agreements of Great Britain when she has at her helm a Government prepared to trample on treaties, to look for feigned pretext for every violation of good faith by her committed. This is proved among other things by the unjust and unlawful British intervention after we had overcome an armed and barbarous black tribe on our eastern frontier, as also by the forcible appropriation of the dominion over part of our territory where the discovery of diamonds had caused the desire for this appropriation, although contrary to existing treaties. The desire and intention to trample on our rights as an independent and sovereign nation, notwithstanding a solemn convention existing between this State and Great Britain, have also been more than once and are now again shown by the present Government by giving expressions in public documents to an unfounded claim of paramountcy over the whole of South Africa, and therefore also over this State."

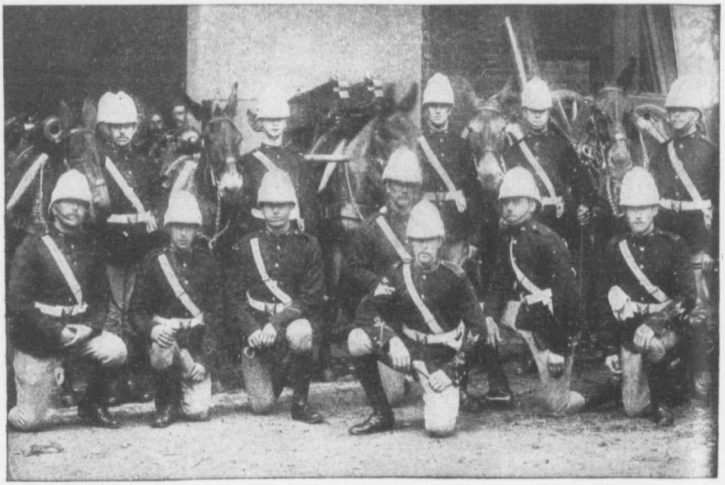
What the Proclamation Charges

ADVANCE OF THE GORDONS AGAINST THE BOERS AT ELANDSLAAGTE, OCTOBER 21, 1899



THE BATTLE OF ELANDSLAAGTE—THE DEVONS, MANCHESTERS AND GORDONS CHARGING BOER GUNS

A COLUMN OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE MARCHING TO MAFEKING



THE ILL-FATED TENTH MULE BATTERY CAPTURED BY THE BOERS

(From Photo by H. Johnstone)

The Orange proclamation charges that it is the discovery of gold mines in the country that causes the claims made upon the Repulic, and adds:

"The consequence of these claims would be, moreover, that the greater part of the power will be placed in the hands of those who, foreigners by birth, enjoy the privilege of depriving the country of its chief treasure while they have never shown any loyalty to a foreign government. Besides, the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of these claims would be that the independence of the country as a self-governing, independent sovereign rebublic would be irreparably lost."

This statement does not seem to be made in the fullness of candor. The Transvaal people are not capable of working gold mines by the modern methods. They are essentially the masters of cattle ranches and of farming in an extensive and rather rude way. Their country is much like Western Kansas, New Mexico and Colorado in some respects; and the interest they have taken in the gold mines has been not to get the gold by digging for it. They have neither capital nor labor to put into the mining operations, but they have insisted upon their pre-eminence in authority and profited through the taxation of the gold product and of the accumulations of property by the British, and held the immigrants to the gold region to be intrusive and a disagreeable and troublesome people who must be subordinated, because they were adequate in the business of mining, the methods of which have become exceedingly complicated. Unquestionably the Boers have got more gold than they would have acquired if they had worked the mines for themselves. The Newcastle *Chronicle*, one of the most important provincial papers of England, because it is assuredly representative of the public opinion of the country, says

Boers not Capable of Modern Mining

plainly in reply to the proclamations of the Boers and of the President of the Orange State:

"We are fighting to prevent men of British blood from being treated as 'helots' on British territory by a sordid oligarchy which British arms saved from extinction and British generosity endowed with autonomy.

"We are at war for the purpose of preventing our brethren in South Africa from being taxed without representation; from being placed under the control of courts whose judges take their orders from a corrupt Executive; from being refused the right to carry arms while their oppressors flourish theirs with insolent brutality; from being compelled to contribute to schools in which English is treated as a foreign tongue; in short, from being denied the elementary rights of self-government in territory undoubtedly British.

Newcastle "Chronicle" on the War

"We ask no privilege for ourselves that we would not give to the Boers, but we will not submit to be ostracized and domineered over in our own dominions.

"We cherish no revengeful feelings.

"The British flag is the herald of mercy as well as might.

"But we will have justice for our countrymen and control of our own Empire, come what may."

The language of President Steyn as to gold mines is: "The British Government, now that gold mines of immense value have been discovered in the country, make claims on the republic, the consequences of which, if allowed, will be that those who or whose forefathers have saved the country from barbarism and have won it for civilization with their blood and tears, will lose their control over the interests of the country to which they were justly entitled according to divine and human laws."

The British resent as the greatest injustice the accusation that they are fighting expressly for the diamond and gold mines, that, indeed, are already the property of the English speaking people who discovered and developed them. As the claim of proprietorship is made by President Steyn, it amounts to the announcement of the confiscation of this property if the Almighty, whom they call upon so familiarly, gives them the victory they solicit in their prayers. If we must go back to the beginning, the aborigines have the first right to the precious stones and metals, if the rights of discovery, investment and labor are to be absolutely disregarded. There is an unyielding spirit on both sides, and war has been in the air and unavoidable ever since that English aberration which the Earl of Roseberry called the "sublime experiment of Mr. Gladstone in magnanimity" after the Majuba Hill defeat of the British. There is no question that the fight must be fought out. The issues are racial and radical.

The First Right to the Transvaal Gold

The war that ended in the magnanimous policy after the defeat at Majuba Hill began with the Boer's resistance to taxation. They are as determined not to be taxed by others without representation as they are to tax others and refuse representation, because they have the power to do it or make war. Having subjugated and in a great measure enslaved the natives, it seems to be the temper and the passion of their lives to treat the English as inferiors and forbid them to exercise local authority, or assert that they have rights beyond those of paying for being on the ground.

The first of the war, when the English assumed to have annexed the Transvaal, was caused by the seizure of a Boer wagon. A great wagon and a string of oxen are to the Boer almost sacred objects, and his sense of propriety of an immense structure on wheels drawn by ten long-horned oxen, propelled with a whip, the

handle as long as a fishing pole, is something extraordinary. The Boers rose at once and took the wagon from the Sheriff, resisting what the Uitlanders have been resenting. They had suspected trouble was ahead and prepared for it, collecting ammunition and storing it in their wagons. A portion of the Ninety-fourth British Regulars was stationed at Leydenburg, north and east of Pretoria, and ordered to go to that city, The Boers came to the warlike resolution to oppose the march of the British, and ordered them to halt, with the placid purpose of discussing an accommodation, but the commander of the detachment of the Ninety-fourth had his orders and proceeded. A fight ensued, and the British, after suffering severe losses, were surrounded and surrendered. This was the Broukhorst Spruit affair.

The Broukhorst Spruit Affair

Mr. Gladstone was at the time too deeply interested in Irish affairs to give much attention to those in Africa, and Sir George Colley, who had been appointed High Commander over the Transvaal and Natal, took charge of the leading responsibilities. Sir George had visited Pretoria in 1875, and thought public opinion favorable to British rule over the Transvaal. When he heard of the Boers fighting for their wagons to be free, he collected available troops and led them into the difficult country encountered in advancing from Natal to the Transvaal. The Boer forces upon Natal territory commanded the pass across Laing's Nek. In January, 1881, Sir George attacked the pass and fought on the precise plan followed by the British officers in the present war. First he used the artillery, shelling the Burghers, followed it up by an infantry attack straight in front, while the mounted men made flank diversions. The Boers stood shelling as well then as recently, met the assaults in front with a deadly fire, and soon stood

The Laing's Nek

off the mounted men, endeavoring to turn the flanks. The Boers were very successful in picking off the gunners of Sir George's artillery, and his attacks proved failures all around.

The Burghers thought the British would have to surrender, but they managed by great exertions to recross the Ingogo River and returned to their camp at Mount Prospect. Both sides were of the judgment after the conflict that serious business was on hand, and there was an informal and perhaps an involuntary suspension of hostilities, with a great deal of talk about making peace. Sir Evelyn Wood was on his way to take command, and Sir George Colley concluding not to wait for him, made a rush for the summit of Majuba on the night of February 26th, 1881, and, dragging artillery, reached the table-land at the top, after excessive exertion. The plateau contains about four acres, curiously surrounded by a confusion of rocks, and in the center is a considerable depression. It seemed that the capture of the mountain was a decisive success, as the British forces had turned the position of their enemy. The Boers were greatly surprised, their camp was overlooked by the English. One doesn't always have an advantage over an enemy when he gets into a high place, and it happened that the ground was well suited to the peculiar tactics of the Boers. Instead of retreating, there was a call for volunteers to attack the British, and the matchless riflemen of the Transvaal were ardent and energetic in undertaking the seemingly desperate but really rather simple task before them. They took shelter hehind the rocks, and, by rushes and dodges reached the fringe of stones that were like a framing beam around the plateau of four acres at the top with the depression in it, and then it appeared the British were entrapped in their position that they had sought, believing that it was one that commanded the situation. The fringe of rocks became a ring

Majuba Hill

of fire. Sir George was killed and his troops defeated as decidedly as Braddock's regulars were by the French and Indians near Pittsburg.

The camp of Sir George at Mount Prospect is distinguished now for the cypress trees that surround his grave. After his fall there was no intelligent resistance by his forces. They were simply shot down by the Boers from their ambuscade in the tumbled rocks, until the slaughter was terminated by a surrender.*

This called Mr. Gladstone's attention to the conditions in South Africa, and it was his understanding that the majesty of England was so great that she could afford to do anything that he thought was right. The President of the Orange Free State became useful as a mediator, and terms of settlement, to which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Kruger, then Vice President of the Transvaal, with some minor disagreements omitted, were signed on the 24th of March, subject to ratification by the Transvaal Volksraad; and Sir Frederick Roberts, with reinforcements, met peace men at Cape Town. Mr. Kruger, Pretorius and Joubert had a good deal of trouble to carry the terms of settlement in the Boers' represen-

Terms of Settlement

* The British force at Majuba Hill numbered 554, of whom three companies, 180 rifles, were of the 92nd Highlanders, two companies, 170 rifles, of the 58th Regulars, two companies, 140 rifles, of the 60th, and 64 rifles of the Naval Brigade. The men carried 70 rounds of ammunition, three days rations, great coats and blankets. General Colley made this move hastily, and if he had perfected any plan in connection with it, it was never known except that when he found the top of the hill was greatly exposed to the fire of the Boers, and that they had the advantage of position, he repeatedly said to the men that he only wanted them to hold it "for three days." He said to one of the officers that he meant to return to the camp at Mount Prospect. The idea upon which he acted seemed to be that his position on top of Majuba Hill gave him command of the pass through which he desired to make his way, and he meant to return to the camp and conduct in person the movement which he believed to be feasible when he called upon the detachment he accompanied up the hill to make the desperate effort to get there. The plateau he had fancied was a place of security and command, was larger than he expected. It was nearly a mile in circumference, and as soon as the Boer riflemen took their positions to attack the British it was shown to be utterly untenable and the fight from first to last was a masacre of the British. The story that artillery was taken up the mountain is a mistake; 200 men were detached to keep open communication with Camp Prospect, leavin 354 to make the fearful climb and place themselves in a helpless situation exposed to the Boer marksmen in possession of piles of rocks from which they could pick off their enemies. The heart of the position was searched by a rifle fire from a ridge at the northwest angle. There was time after reaching the top of the hill to have used the rocks to throw up a barricade and shelter some of the men, but it was the order of Sir George Colley, the Commander, that the troops should rest, and they were resting when the fire and slaughter began. Major Wright says that when the first shot was discharged by the British, it was ordered by General Colley; the Boers galloped back to their camp with the news. Immediateiy all the camps were like wasps' nests disturbed, and it really was an imposing sight to see, that Sunday morning, all turn out, fires lighted for breakfast, and then a morning hymn sung; after which all the wagons were inspanned, and the Boers turned out for battle. A storming party of about 200 men immediately rode under the second ridge. By crossing round under the naval brigade's position they could do it without being seen. There they left their horses, and climbed up right under the hill, where we could not see them without going to the very edge of the hill, and exposing ourselves entirely to the fire from the two ridges. In this position we remained till about twelve noon, the Boers climbing towards us step by step, and I may almost say unsuspected

tative Assembly, for they had conceived ideas of sovereignty, and their successes appeared to warrant them in extensive assertions of themselves. They were very pressing for further concessions from Mr, Gladstone, and had a list of points of their dissatisfaction with the protocol that had been signed. The leading objection they made was the reference of foreign affairs to British supervision; Mr. Gladstone, however, insisted upon that. It was the Boers' idea the British should have nothing to do with the Transvaal, that there was to be no interference in any form with the legislation of the country, whether it was about foreign or domestic affairs. The negotiations were terminated by a continuation of the truce, and the gold discoveries and increasing importance of the Uitlanders caused a succession of difficulties and exasperations, culminating at last in the Jameson Raid, and, after an intermission of disquietude, the war that is on.

When the death of Sir George Colley, the High Commissioner in Southeastern Africa, occurred on Majuba Hill, it developed upon Sir Evelyn Wood to become Governor of Natal, and his Chief of Staff was Sir Redvers Buller. It was a very distasteful task that Sir Evelyn Wood and Sir Redvers Buller had, to talk peace in the shadow of British defeat, but they did their duty in that respect.

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by any but Hamilton and myself, who could see them. Twice I went to the General and told him we couldn't hold our position with so few men if any serious attack were made. All he said was, 'Hold the place three days.'"

The Commander of the Boers, General Schmidt, told Major Douglas and Captain Cunyngham that he "had 2000 rifles in the attack." The regimental records of the Gordon Highlanders contain this:

"About one P. M.," says Wright, "we saw some heads appearing over the top. The 92nd rushed forward in a body and drove them for the moment back—we lost about fifty killed and wounded. Then, strange to say, the word to 'cease fire' came distinctly to where Hay and I were, and immediately after, 'retire.' We all ran back to the ridge in the middle of the hill, which allowed the Boers to gain the hill. Then came the murder! In the meantime more Boers came up, round where the navy men were, and began to fire into the hospital, and so took us in rear. Hamilton and I both went to the General and asked to be allowed to charge."

"Wait," he said, "send a volley or two first; I will give the order!"

"Hamilton then said to me, 'Let's call on the 92nd, and charge on our own account. Are you ready, Harry?'"

"I answered, 'Yes,' drew my sword and laid it beside me."

"Macgregor (I think it was he) came up then and said, 'We've got to die now.'

"Just then I heard the General say, 'Retire in as orderly a manner as you can,' when they all jumped up and ran to the rear. Hay and I and two men of ours remained where we were, all using rifles and firing our best.

"Macdonald still held his position and would not budge, neither would we. About a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes after the retirement, no firing had been going on from the rest of our troops, which neither Hay nor I could understand, as we thought by 'retiring' it was meant to hold the brow on the east side, where the 58th were posted.

"We were now being sorely pressed, hiding our bodies behind stones, and for another five minutes the unequal combat went on. Then Hay said, 'The battle 's over; we can't fight a multitude; let's try and get away.'

"So off we four started in the direction which the others had previously taken, under a most awful volley from the Boers on the navy side and the ridge where we had been latterly firing at the enemy only twenty yards distant. Both

In the course of the adjustments Sir Redvers and Mr. Kruger, President of the Transvaal, met personally, but the negotiations were fruitless until President Rand, of the Orange Free State, exerted his mediating capacity and won great reputation as a peacemaker.

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the men were killed. Hay was shot in the leg and arm, and I was hit in the foot and turned head over heels. I had to crawl on my stomach a yard or two back to get my rifle, and so lost Hay, who got under cover somewhere."

General Colley was killed soon after giving the order to fire, by a bullet that struck just over his right eye and 'made an enormous hole at the back of his head.' The Highland account is that the General was waving a white handkerchief when shot down. It is presumed he had despaired of success or of withdrawing the men, and was anxious to save them by surrender. His movement had been so venturesome and so awkwardly handled that when the General fell there was a great deal needing explanation of the strategy of the operation and no one living knew anything about it. It has been thought that General Colley, already beaten twice by the Boers, was dazed upon realizing that his expedition was a murderous failure; and it is believed that while endeavoring to take care of the men, he exposed himself purposely to secure death."

Of the Highlanders in the fight (two companies) 33 were killed and 63 wounded. Colonel Napier says:

"Although stationed some miles from Majuba Hill, I was able, with the aid of a telescope, to see some portions of the engagement, and I afterwards made a careful study of the ground and positions occupied. The disaster was the result of a series of inexcusable blunders in the art and practice of war. In the first place, there was nothing to gain and everything to lose by premature action. There was no question of the enemy being reinforced, taking the offensive, or even shifting their position; while, on the other hand, General Colley's strength might have been doubled within twenty-four hours' notice by moving up troops from Newcastle. In fact, General Wood had himself gone down to Newcastle to bring up other regiments, and it was during his absence that the Majuba disaster occurred. Moreover, it was almost universally known in camp that General Wood had desired that no offensive movement was to be undertaken by his second in command till his return. General Colley staked his all in occupying a position the extent and nature of which were unknown to him, while its distance from Laing's Nek deprived it of any value, it being out of rifle range of the Boer lines. The General had neglected to provide himself with mule guns, which might have been used from Majuba heights with good effect as a covering fire to an infantry attack from below. As it was, General Colley, after a hard and exhausting night march, found himself in an untenable position, with a handful of men, composed of detachments of four distinct corps. He had actually lost his supports and separated himself from his reserve ammunition. When day came no systematic steps were taken either to hold the hill or effect a retreat, although he had four or five hours of daylight before an attack commenced."

CHAPTER II.

The President of the South African Republic.

STEPHANUS Johannes Paulus Kruger, President of the Transvaal—the other side of the Vaal River, is the name of the country—was born in the Cape Colony, October 10th, 1825. It is the commendation of the naturalist Mr. Distant, that Mr. Kruger has a "very large amount of natural wisdom," which is the softer way of saying that he is not an educated man, but one of the statesmen of Nature. He is, on the authority already quoted, "undistinguished in appearance," but has "a prodigious memory;" and "a weakness in resisting flattery and adulation which is not good for him," because, as his will is so pronounced and his authority so absolute, he is perpetually surrounded by the representatives of the rascalities in a strange variety of 'concessions." The flattering description of this historical personage is that he is "very pious and self-reliant, which is provocative of bigotry and hot temper," and he is also "a rough diplomat of no mean rank."

Birth, Education Etc.

In Fitzpatrick's "The Transvaal from Within" we find this strongly drawn picture of Mr. Kruger:

"To an English nobleman, who in the course of an interview remarked, 'My father was a Minister of England, and twice Viceroy of Ireland,' the old Dutchman answered, 'And my father was a shepherd!' It was not pride rebuking pride; it was the ever-present fact which would not have been worth mentioning but

for the suggestion of the antithesis. He, too, was a shepherd, and is—a peasant. It may be that he knows what would be right and good for his people, and it may not; but it is sure that he realizes that to educate would be to emancipate, to broaden their views would be to break down the defences of their prejudices, to let in the new leaven would be to spoil the old bread, to give unto all men the rights of men would be to swamp forever the party which is to him greater than the State. When one thinks on the one-century history of this people, much is seen that accounts for their extraordinary love of isolation, and their ingrained and passionate aversion to control; much, too, that draws to them a world of sympathy. And when one realizes the old Dopper President hemmed in once more by the hurrying tide of civilization, from which his people have fled for generations—trying to fight both Fate and Nature—standing up to stem a tide as resistless as the eternal sea—one sees the pathos of the picture. But this is as another generation may see it. To-day we are too close—so close that the meaner details, the blots and flaws, are all most plainly visible; the corruption, the insincerity, the injustice, the barbarity—all the unlovely touches that will by and by be forgotten, sponged away by the gentle hand of Time, when only the picturesque will remain."

A Story Picture of President Kruger

In 1836 a company of trekkers about 300 strong, the second that crossed the Orange River, was under the command of Hendrick Potgeiter and attacked by native warriors, twenty-five trekkers were killed, but the main body were warned and forming a laager of wagons with barricades of thorn bushes. They were able to beat off the assailants. Paul Kruger, a boy of ten years, was one of the defenders.

Paul Kruger at ten Years

Henry M. Stanley, M. P., the famous African explorer, writing at Pretoria in November, 1897, gives a graphic sketch of President Kruger, "fully dressed in the usual black suit and little old-fashioned top hat, smoking on the veranda of his house." This was the first glimpse Mr. Stanley had of the great ruler upon whom he was calling, and the historical correspondent was shown into the spacious saloon, finding opposite to him "a large and coarse oil painting" of Kruger. Stanley says in his striking and unreserved way:

"The history of the painting I do not know, but as it is permitted to be hung so prominently in the reception room, it is to be presumed that the President and his friends regard it as a faithful likeness, and are consequently proud of it. This small fact proved to be the A B C of my study of the man of destiny of South Africa. It was clear that neither Kruger nor his friends knew anything of art, for the picture was an exaggerated reproduction of every defect in the President's homely features, the low, narrow, unintellectual brow, over small eyes, and heavy, massive expanse of face beneath. The man himself was almost beautiful in comparison with the monster on the canvas, and I really could not help pitying him for his innocent admiration of a thing that ought to be cast into the fire. But presently the President spoke—a mouthful of strange guttural sounds—in a voice that was like a loud gurgle, and as the great jaws and cheeks and mouth heaved and opened, I stole a glance at the picture, and it did not seem to me then as if the painter had libeled the man. At any rate, the explosive dialect so expanded the cheeks and widened the mouth that I perceived some resemblance to the brutal picture."

Not a Bad Likeness of President Kruger

Mr. Stanley made his call, according to information about the habits of the great natural statesman, very early, but the President

of the South African Republic had already prepared himself for the day by reading a chapter of the Bible, and when he remarked to his visitor, "What I have said shall be done," Stanley naively remarks he discovered in the manner of the words, "When I learned how he had been engaged, I knew he had been infected with the style of the Pentateuch," adding, "He has fully arrived at that stage of life that made Mr. Gladstone so impossible in the Cabinet. There is abundance of life and vitality in the President, but he is so choleric that he is unable to brook opposition. Any expression suggesting him to be mistaken in his views or policy arouses his temper, the thunderous gurgle is emitted, the right arm swings powerfully about, while the eyes become considerably buried under the upper eyelids. I suppose from the photograph of him now on sale at Pretoria, which represents his eyes looking upward, he fancies this to be his impressive gaze. He receives a stranger with the air of a pedagogue about to impress a new pupil, and methodically starts to inculcate the principles of true statesmanship; but soon heats himself with the dissertation, and breaks out in the strong masterful style which his friends say is such a picturesque feature in his character, and his critics call the 'humbug pose'; If by the latter is meant the repetition of stale platitudes, and the reiteration of promises which will never be carried out, I fear I must agree with the critics."

His Appearance and Manners

Mr. Stanley continues: "In appearance he is only a sullen, brutal-looking concierge, dressed in old-fashioned, ill-made black clothes. He appears to know absolutely nothing outside of burgherdom; he has neither manners nor taste; his only literature seems to be limited to the Bible; he has no intrinsic excellence of character that should appeal to the admiration of the public; but what he does know, he knows well. He knows the simplicity of his rude

and bearded brethren of the veldt; he can play upon their fears and their creed, with perfect effect, and it is in the nature of his ill-conditioned personality to say 'no.' All the rest has fallen to him because he is so stubborn, so unyielding, and others so vacillating and so pitifully weak.

"I do not suppose there are any people in the world so well represented by a single prominent man as the Boers of South Africa are by Mr. Kruger. He is pre-eminently the Boer of Boers in character, in intellect, and in disposition, and that is one reason why he has such absolute control over his people. His obstinacy—and no man with a face like his could be otherwise—his people call strength. Age and its infirmities have intensified it. His reserve—born of self-pride, consciousness of force—limited ambitions, and self-reliance, they call a diplomatic gift. His disposition, morose from birth, isolation fostered by contact with his kind, is unyielding and selfish, and has been hardened by contempt of the verbose weaklings who have measured themselves against him."

The Boer of Boers

Mr. Howard C. Hillegas is a singularly specific writer, and in his instructive volume, "Oom Paul's People," is careful to say, and it is a point worth making, that the President is "less than five feet seven inches in height, body large and fat, legs thin and short, eyebrows bushy, white and projecting half an inch. * * * When he smiles the big fat circles above his cheeks are pushed upward, and shut his small gray eyes from view. When pleased the President generally laughs hilariously, and then his eyes remain closed for the greater part of a minute. Mr. Kruger's nose and mouth are the chief features of his face. Both are more extensive than his large face demands, but they are such marvels in their own peculiar way as to be distinguishing marks. The bridge of the nose grows wide as it goes outward from the point between the

eyes, and before it reaches the tip it has a gentle upheaval. Then it spreads out on either side, and covers fully two inches of area above his upper lip. It is not attractive, but in that it follows the general condition of his facial landscape.

"The mouth is wide and ungainly. The constant use of a heavy pipe has caused a deep depression on the left side of his lower lip, and gives the whole mouth the appearance of being unbalanced. His chin is large and prominent, and his ears correspond relatively in size and symmetry with his face. When in repose his features are not pleasant to look upon, but when lighted up by a smile they become rather attractive, and generally cause his laughter to be contagious among his hearers.

"The thin line of beard which runs from ear to ear combines with the hair on his head in forming what is not unlike a white halo around the President's face. The lines in the man's face are deep, irregular, and very numerous."

His Daily Life and Family

It is said this great man takes particular care of his health which is an affair of international importance. He rises at half-past five and drinks several cups of "intensely black coffee," and smokes several "full pipes of very strong tobacco," reads the Bible for half an hour, and goes to work.

Mrs. Kruger is the President's second wife, the niece of his first wife. The first wife had one child, who is dead, and the second wife is the mother of sixteen children, nine of whom are dead. Two sons are living, one acting as the President's private secretary, the other one in a responsible government position, and the President has a son-in-law, Captain Elopp, described as several times a millionaire, living in a $250,000 house.

In his proclamation after the Jameson Raid, President Kruger said: "I am inexpressibly thankful to God that the despicable and

treacherous incursion into my country has been prevented, and the independence of the republic saved, through the courage and bravery of my burghers."

The famous telegram from the Emperor of Germany to Oom Paul is highly prized by the President. It is considered a priceless treasure, and runs as follows:

"Received January 3rd, 1896.

"From William I. R., Berlin.

"To President Kruger, Pretoria.

"I tender you my sincere congratulations that, without appealing to the help of friendly powers, you and your people have been successful in opposing with your own forces the armed bands that have broken into your country to disturb the peace, in restoring order, and in maintaining the independence of your country against attacks from without. "WILLIAM I. R."

President Kruger's Grand Passion

President Kruger's grand passion is hatred of the British, and he holds them in such distrust and contempt that he refuses to see the accredited correspondents of the principal London newspapers, but will see an American newspaper man, emphasizing the reason why by the statement that "they do not lie" about him and that the English do, and he desires Americans to hear the inside of things from himself. The first thing he asked the author of "Oom Paul's People," himself an American newspaper correspondent, whose valuable letters were published by Appleton & Company, was, "Have you any English blood in your veins?" This was delivered in the Boerish dialect, and the correspondent had been told the President always opened a conversation by inquiring as to the health of the person introduced, and this time he got the answer back that the English blood was abundant and good. This was considered a portentous joke, and struck Oom Paul as extraordinarily funny.

The story of the expression of his delight is useful in its disclosure of character. Then the correspondent was informed the old statesman was in a better humor than he had been seen for some time and that anything could be got out of him. An extremely interesting conversation followed.

The majority of the people of the United States have accepted the newspaper celebration of President Kruger as a wonder in courage, diplomacy, integrity, piety, and all that makes up excellent manhood. The record of his duplicity, cunning, evasiveness and crooked selfishness is practically excluded from those journals, and even headlines that approximate to the truth are confined to a few papers that care for international commentary. It is supposed that our local market for intelligence desires a constant flavor of Boerdom.

The collection of historical matter—"The Transvaal from Within"—is in terms and tone very persuasive that it has unusual merit as truthful—giving from the records fair summaries of both sides of disputed questions, whether they are commercial, political, racial or personal. The author is Mr. J. P. Fitzpatrick, the publisher Mr. William Heineman, London, and the work is brought well up to date. It opens with a note that shows a spirit of consideration for all that is admirable; and it is the desire of the author of this book that it should apply thoroughly. We quote:

Fair Summaries of Both Sides

"It has been found impossible to avoid in this book more or less pointed reference to certain nationalities in certain connections; for instance, such expressions as 'the Boers,' 'the Cape Dutch,' 'the Hollanders,' 'the Germans,' are used. The writer desires to say once and for all that unless the contrary is obviously and deliberately indicated, the distinctions between nationalities are ntended in the political sense only and not in the racial sense, and

A HUMANE AND DARING DEED

Lieutenant L. R. Pomeroy, when retiring to shelter at the battle of Ladysmith, November 3, 1899, saw a wounded and dismounted trooper needing help, and regardless of bullets and shells flying around, assisted his comrade to mount behind him and carried him to safety. Such are the deeds that win the *Victoria Cross*.

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BATTLE OF LADYSMITH—TERRIBLE DASH OF HORSE ARTILLERY RUSHING TO TAKE UP A NEW POSITION

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if by mischance there should be found something in these pages which seems offensive, he begs the more indulgent interpretation on the ground of a very earnest desire to remove and not to accentuate race distinctions."

The first chapter of the inside history opens with this searching paragraph:

"When, before resorting to extreme measures to obtain what the Uitlanders deemed to be their bare rights, the final appeal or declatration was made on Boxing Day, 1895, in the form of the manifesto published by the Chairman of the National Union, President Kruger, after an attentive consideration of the document as translated to him, remarked: 'Their rights. Yes, they'll get them—over my dead body!' Volumes of explanation could not better illustrate the Boer attitude and policy towards the English-speaking immigrants."

President Burgess, the predecessor of Kruger,is described in this work as leaving the Transvaal "brokenhearted by the cruelty and mean intrigue, the dissensions among and disloyalty of the people." He left a statement denouncing Kruger for his intrigues to secure the presidency for himself, and charges and proves Kruger to have been a leader in breaking promises and betraying where he had promised support. When the Transvaal was annexed after President Burgess' pathetic retirement before the rising tyrant, Kruger calmly took office under the British government, and resigned the dignity and emolument only when refused increased remuneration for which he repeatedly applied. The English authority during this time was undermined by rumors incessantly circulated among the sentimentalists of English statesmen, and having some foundation that the Transvaal would be given up. This was preparing the way for trouble, and the weakness displayed in England was met by what

A Few Facts of History

amounted to a conspiracy in the Transvaal. Kruger's point was an artful though crude demagogy of violence against taxation.

It was about taxes that the first English war was finally started, and the Majuba Hill incident was preliminary to a complacent accommodation, glossed in England as magnanimity and exalted expression of the overwhelming power of Great Britain, but perfectly understood in the Transvaal to mean that the British Empire was whipped and could be kicked about at the pleasure of the powerful President.

It was during the war leading down to this inglorious surrender and false peace, that many murders were committed by Boer assassins, who used white flags and Red Crosses to lure victims. A few incidents of this treachery are thus specified:

Outrages Perpetrated by Boers

"There was the murder of Green in Lydenburg, who was called to the Boer camp, where he went unarmed and in good faith, only to have his brains blown out by the Boer with whom he was conversing; there was the public flogging of another Englishman by the notorious Abel Erasmus because he was an Englishman and had British sympathies; and there were the various white flag incidents. At Ingogo the Boers raised the white flag, and when in response to this General Colley ordered the hoisting of a similar flag to indicate that it was seen, a perfect hail of lead was poured on the position where the General stood; and it was obvious that the hoisting of the flag was merely a ruse to ascertain where the General and his staff were. There was the ambulance affair on Majuba, when the Boers came upon an unarmed party bearing the wounded with the Red Cross flying over them, and after asking who they were and getting a reply, fired a volley into the group, killing Surgeon-Major Cornish."

These are facts of history, and the Boers have played the same savage game in all their wars with the English. The policy of Kruger has from the first been engineered to exclude immigrants, to repel all foreigners especially held in abhorrence by the Transvaal government, and constantly denied civil rights associated with civilization.

After a naturalized subject "shall have been qualified to sit in the Second Volksraad for ten years (one of the conditions for which is that he must be thirty years of age), he may obtain the full burgher rights or political privileges, provided the majority of burghers in his ward will signify in writing their desire that he should obtain them, and provided the President and Executive shall see no objection to granting the same! It is thus clear that, assuming the Field-cornet's records to be honestly and properly compiled, and to be available for reference (which they are not), the immigrant, after fourteen years' probation during which he shall have given up his own country and have been politically emasculated, and having attained the age of at least forty years, would have the privilege of obtaining burgher rights should he be willing, and able to induce the majority of a hostile clique to petition in writing on his behalf, and should he then escape the veto of the President and Executive.

The Copingstone to Mr. Kruger's Chinese Wall

This was the coping-stone to Mr. Kruger's Chinese wall. The Uitlanders and their children were disfranchised forever, and as far as legislation could make it sure, the country was preserved by entail to the families of the "Voortrekkers." The measure was only carried because of the strenuous support given by the President both within the Raad and at those private meetings which practically decide the important business of the country."

The great statesman Kruger, when asked just to "open the door a little" to outsiders, began an address in a village near Johannesburg by saying, "Burghers, friends, thieves, murderers, newcomers and others." The particular propriety of this was that for a long time Kruger could not be persuaded to visit Johannesburg. He hated the flourishing, stirring and steadily increasing city, and mistrusted the people, because he knew that his methods could not for a great while be submitted to by an enlightened community. He relaxed his vigilant attitude of hostility at last so far as to become the guest of the people of the city, and when he was civilly treated, and the fact that the Johannesburgers had been handsome in entertainment, he reviled them as "a set of lick-spittles."

The style of the wise man's treatment of the natives appears in this:

The Wise Man's Treatment of the Natives

The "April" case was one in which an unfortunate native named April, having worked for a number of years for a farmer on promise of certain payment in cattle, and having completed his term, applied for payment and a permit to travel through the district. On some trivial pretext this was refused him, his cattle were seized, and himself and his wives and children forcibly retained in the service of the Boer. He appealed in the nearest official, Field-cornet Prinsloo, who acted in a particularly barbarous and unjustifiable manner, so that the Chief Justice before whom the case was heard (when April, having enlisted the sympathy of some white people, was enabled to make an appeal), characterized Prinsloo's conduct as brutal in the extreme and a flagrant abuse of power perpetrated with the aim of establishing slavery. Judgment was given against Prinsloo with all costs. Within a few days of this decision being arrived at, the President, addressing a meeting of

burghers, publicly announced that the Government had reimbursed Prinsloo, adding, "Notwithstanding the judgment of the High Court, we consider Prinsloo to have been right."

President Kruger has had provided for him a reputation that is astonishingly misleading. His part in public affairs has been one of vehement and vindictive self-assertion, participation in intrigue for office and for salaries—the constant intrusion of his personality in the rudest and most selfish ways into everything that concerns the state, disregarding the law, and with complete indifference to the rights of all persons except those who recognize him as their master. Abstaining himself from intoxicating drinks, he has long sustained a liquor ring in dispensing horrible drinks at scandalous profit. Given to self-praise for lofty purity in matters of state, he maintained a dynamite ring that cut off a large revenue, seemingly for no better reason than that his friends —his sycophant friends—were of it, and he has stooped to studied interference between employers and employed, that he might break up reasonable relations, believing himself in a position to profit by agitations; and in this insidious proceeding he has used secret service funds in the organization of hostilities for the embarrassment of employers, not because they had wronged the laboring man, but for the reason that they were not on their knees to him.

A Misleading Reputation

All this the world has accepted as manifestations of virtue, domestic kindliness and the religious sensibilities that are always in the public eye, that the multitude may gaze upon the goodness of the great and good man. The sincerity of his character as a professor of piety is not doubtful, but he carries into that, as into everything else, an ostentatious egotism, that among some nations and peoples is regarded as unbecoming a Christian statesman. It is fair to say of him that the one thing in which he seems to have

profound convictions in addition to his self-esteem and hatred of English-speaking people, is in his devotion to the doctrines of the Old Testament. He does not seem to have made the acquaintance of the New Testament.

He has sought to keep apart the merchants and the miners, fearing their united power might interfere with his characteristic proceedings. He has lost no opportunity to promote belligerency among white laborers, and utterly and always ignores the rights as men of the natives. When intriguing with organized labor he has shown all the surface indications of partnership in carrying on, as the inside historian Fitzpatrick says, "an anticapitalist campaign with the Government press," and also "fostering the liquor industry with its thousands of reputable hangers on"; and more than all, he has without hesitation or variation flagrantly indulged racial prejudices and incited racial hatreds in South Africa, the most deplorable and dangerous possible use of power, and he has found constant consolation and been greatly sustained in his public pursuits by the hatred of the Whites against the Black and Brown people. But his favorite investment and educational enterprise is in arousing the animosities of the Boers against the Britisb, that they may be at the same altitude with his own.

Racial Prejudices, Racial Hatreds

It is to the rough violence of President Kruger, his disregard of the laws, studied demoralization of his own courts, that he has repeatedly, recklessly overruled with sheer brute force—his heedless refusal to aid in the prosperous development of his own country, his gross and violent opposition to progress of all kinds—to the extension and protection of legitimate industries ,and steadfast cares for those that are illegitimate, and sinister participation in corrupting schemes, surrounded and inspired by the noisy congratulations of his habitual flatterers—all this afflicting him with the elephantiasis

of conceit. It is to that and his effusion of arrogance to which we trace with certain steps the remote sources and the rampant rushing of the war, that is so destructive and wanton. There is no good in it, unless it involves the downfall of the Kruger tyranny, an example of individual caprice of a type of ruthless misgovernment, not surpassed in the self-indulgence of those who rule the barbarous tribes of Africa or sit on the gaudy thrones of Asia.

So much accusation must for full effect be illustrated hy specifications. In 1897 the Burghers, the ruling class behind President Kruger, had heavy losses from the ravages of Rinderpest and there followed a great work of benevolence in the shape of purchases by the Government of a multitude of mules, to take the place of the oxen that had perished; and there was associated with this, provision made in "mealies," the corn of the country, to save the alleged starving. Under a form of favoritism by a Government that was the personal property of Mr. Kruger, anything could be done under the pretense of saving the rulers of the land said to be suffering by pestilence and famine. Government officials were greatly interested in the contracts for the salvation of the people. The historian Fitzpatrick says: "The notorious Mr. Barend Vorster, who had bribed Volksraad members with gold watches, money and spiders, in order to secure the Selati Railway concession, and who although denounced as a thief in the Volksraad itself, declined to take action to clear himself and was defended by the President, again played a prominent part. This gentleman and his partners contracted with the Government to supply donkeys at a certain figure apiece, the Government taking all risk of loss from the date of purchase. The donkeys were purchased in Ireland and South America at one-sixth of the contract price. The contractors alleged that they had not sufficient means of their own and received an advance equal to three-quarters of

Illustrating Specifications

the total amount payable to them; that is to say, for every £100 which they had to expend they received £450 as an unsecured, advance against their profits."

Investigation of this scandal was hushed up, but the money payable under the contracts was all exacted and all lost. There is nothing to show that the people got any good of it. The shippers of mules persuaded the majestical President that the health of those animals demanded the ventilation of the upper decks, and that the vessels might not be topheavy there must be double cargoes, mules for the bereaved Boers on top, and food for the famine-stricken, none of whom were in actual want, carried in the hold as ballast. Here was a double stroke of the ingenuity of contractors, and the profit was swollen accordingly.

The benevolent President was a fierce defender of the money makers by this transaction. There are a few figures that indicate the scientific political economy by which the formidable President wins the affections of the populace and guards his free state from harm. His particular friends are in office, of course, and they have fixed salaries to a great extent. It shows the progress made by the Government, that the amount of those salaries was twenty-four times as great in 1899 as in 1886, having risen from £51,831, 3s. 7d. to £1,121,394, 5s. This is the revenue that goes to the promotion and perpetuation of free and independent Krugerism.

Free and Independent Krugerism

The law forbids the sale of liquor to the natives, and yet they are to an astonishing degree habitually drunk on the Rand, and the cost of labor in the great mines is largely increased by the disabilities of men a great part of the time under the influence of liquor, and the men themselves perish at a shocking rate. We quote again the historian Fitzpatrick: "The fault rests with a corrupt and incompetent administration. That administration is in the hands of the

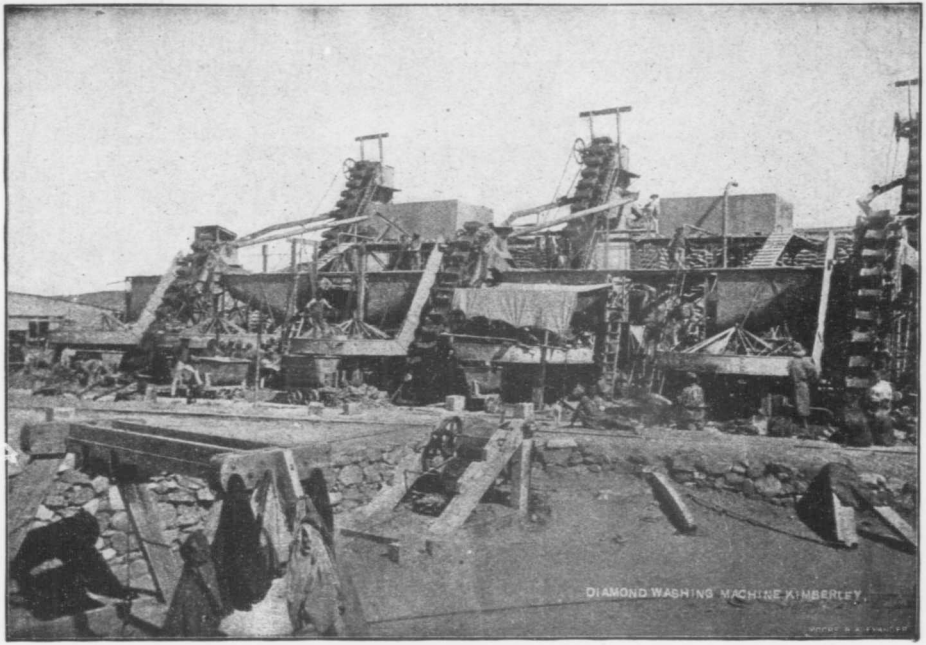
President's relations and personal following. The remedy urged by the State Secretary, State Attorney, some members of the Executive, the general public, and the united petition of all the ministers of religion in the country, is to entrust the administration to the State Attorney's department and to maintain the existing law. In the face of this, President Kruger has fought hard to have the total prohibition law abolished and has successfully maintained his nepotism—to apply no worse construction. In replying to a deputation of liquor dealers he denounced the existing law as an 'immoral' one, because by restricting the sale of liquor it deprived a number of honest people of their livelihood—and President Kruger is an abstainer!

President Kruger's Nepotism

"The effect of this liquor trade is indescribable; the loss in money, although enormous, is a minor consideration compared with the crimes committed and the accidents in the mines traceable to it; and the effect upon the native character is simply appalling."

This is a shocking indictment, and the history in it has been hidden under a boisterous sentimentalism, to the effect that the eccentricitities of monstrous vulgarity should be accepted as the graces of supernaturalism of true natural greatness.

SCENE IN MARKET SQUARE, KIMBERLEY, THE CITY OF DIAMONDS



THE RICHEST DIAMOND MINES OF THE WORLD, KIMBERLEY, SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER III.

The Boers and British Gold and Diamonds.

SOLOMON obtained his supplies of gold, it is believed, from the Transvaal. There is something more in this than imagination and conjecture. There are two excellent harbors on the South African coast that confronts the Indian Ocean, and in Solomon's great days he was a "sea power" there and his ships were on the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, so that his connection with African gold mining is not at all improbable. The Transvaal mines are neither remote nor inaccessible from the best ports on the coast of Eastern Africa. Solomon obtained the "gold of Ophir," and it was by making "a navy of ships in Ezion-Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and fetched from thence gold * * * and brought it to King Solomon." The visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon in his glory is testimony of the familiar splendor of his fame in Africa.

Solomon's Ophir

The Leydenburg gold fields were first made definite and certain in the public eye by the writings of a German explorer, Herr Carl Mauch, which attracted adventurers from California, New Zealand and Australia. In February, 1875, the official reports in Pretoria stated that notice was given to the Landrost of Leydenburg of the discovery of alluvial gold between thirty and forty

miles eastward of that town, which is situated 5,825 feet above the sea. In 1873 the Postmaster-General at Pretoria received a letter from the Landdrost of Leydenburg and with it two ounces and a half of gold. This had been found on a farm thirty miles from Leydenburg. Other gold discoveries were soon made and among them nuggets in the walls of mud houses. A letter was published in the "Transvaal Advocate" giving interesting incidents of gold finding. We quote as follows:

How the Gold was discovered

"In the bed of a spruit running through the farm (Hendricksdale) alluvial gold was found in sufficient quantity to justify the opinion that it was present in paying quantities, and this opinion was confirmed from day to day by the following facts:

"1st. Messrs. McLachlan, Palmer and Valentine, with two Kaffirs, and without proper appliances, found in fourteen days the first sample of two ounces, among which is a nugget the size of a half sovereign, somewhat longer, but more flattened.

2nd. Mr. Valentine with two Kaffirs found and sent to the cashier of the Standard Bank of Natal a second sample of above two ounces, in which was a nugget as large as a middle sized bean.

"One of the farms distinguished by gold, that of Erasmus and Mullers, was at this time hired for thirty years at £200 per annum.

"Among these hills are caves, in one of which one might travel underground for hours, and here, in olden times, the natives sheltered themselves and cattle in many an inter-tribal war. Skulls and bones of men and cattle are found, and tradition, whether justly or not, brands the occupiers as cannibals. Near some of the southern sources of the Um Saabi, or Sabea, is the Spitz Kop, 100 feet high, under which the first gold in the district was found, and the

Reports About Early Gold Finds

gold district was in early times supposed to be about fifty miles long by eight broad, and six or eight farms were known to have gold upon them. The gold was found about three feet below the surface, the upper layer being red clay; then large gravel quartz in fragments, limestone and a cindery fused substance, like slag from a smelting furnace, but softer; below this is a soft black soil, which when put in the box reminds one of a mixture of tar and oil, and with this a soft white clay is found. The quartz when pounded proved also to have gold in it, and so did the cylinder layer, and the stones of which the cattle kraal was built contained gold. The best finds were usually under or between the large boulders.

"The latest testimony I can give is that I saw thirty-one ounces of gold a day or two ago brought from McMc and Pilgrim's Rest, and that one of my friends not long ago sent 145 ounces home. But to me the most interesting specimen was a half ounce obtained from the country to the southeast of Matabeleland, probably about half way between Hartley Hill and the ruins of Mazimboeye Zimboae—or Zimbabye—of Herr Mauch, in which direction I have reason to believe that alluvial fields as rich as and more extensive than those of Leydenburg await the coming of the explorer who shall unite to skill in prospecting patience, perseverance and tact in dealing with the various native tribes, whose friendship must be cultivated and assistance gained before the richest of all the districts of Southeastern Africa shall be ready to surrender its treasures to the enterprise and industry of Europe."

The Most Interesting Specimen

United States Consul Macrum writes from Pretoria to the State Department in regard to the gold production in South Africa in 1897 and 1898:

"The Rand has at last reached and surpassed the marvelous output of 400,000 ounces of gold as the production for a single

month of twenty-eight working days. Every twenty-four hours, then, witness the recovery of 14,250 ounces of gold, worth rather over £50,000 ($243,325). The Rand total comprises only the output of mines along a stretch of some thirty miles of country. With this statement for the month of October, the gold winnings of the whole Republic for the ten months of 1898 amount to 3,700,908 ounces. At this rate the total for the whole of 1898 would be over four and a half millions.

The value of the October 423,000 ounces is £1,500,000 ($7,299,750), which may be compared with £11,653,725 ($56,162,743), the value for all in 1897, and £12,208,411 ($59,412,232), the value of the gold production of the United States in the same year. Although the combined mines of Colorado, California, Dakota, Montana, Nevada, and Alaska put out more gold last year than did the South African Republic, it is not likely that the Transvaal will take second place this year. Deep levels continue on the upgrade, as their production in October was 106,426 ounces—the first time that the hundred thousand has been exceeded. The average price of the September production was £3 16s. ($18.42) per ounce."

Gold Production of South Africa in 1897 and 1898

The yearly aggregate for eleven years was :

	Ounces.		Ounces.
1888	208,122	1894	2,024,162
1889	369,577	1895	2,277,685
1890	494,819	1896	2,279,827
1891	729,238	1897	3,034,678
1892	1,210,869	1898	3,700,908
1893	1,478,477		

The price of gold is a few cents less than $18.50 per ounce. The figures $18.42 often occur. Consul Macrum sent from Pretoria December 31, 1898, a report of the gold production of the South African Republic—the Transvaal—saying :

"It must be remembered that this has been a remarkably dull year, so far as ordinary business is concerned, and the mining companies, it is freely said, are not working up to their full capacity; but, nevertheless, the production and profit have been greater this year than ever before. When the differences that are said to exist between the Government and capital have been removed or adjusted, the Transvaal, it is predicted, will see a most wonderful boom.'

But it must be taken into account that the Boer has a soul above booms.

Mr. O. P. Austin, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department of the United States, gives an admirable, impartial and clear statement of the matters of first importance in the Transvaal. A few official, indisputable figures and simple facts put the question of the right and wrong of the bloody war in South Africa in the right way and yield the correct answer unmistakably. He says:

A Clear and Impartial Statement.

"The laws of the State are enacted by a Parliament of two chambers, the first or higher chamber enacting a large share of the laws independent of the lower house, which only originates measures relating to certain subjects of administration, and which cannot become laws without the approval of the upper house. Members of the first chamber are elected from and by the first-class burghers, who comprise only the male whites resident in the Republic before May, 1876, or who took an active part in the war of independence in 1881 or subsequent wars, and the children of such persons over the age of sixteen. This condition would deprive persons natives of other countries of becoming "first-class burghers," and thus obtaining the privilege of participating in the election of the President or the house which enacts the most important

of the laws and has a veto power upon all measures originating in the lower house. The second-class burghers may become members of and participate in the election of the second chamber, the second-class comprising the naturalized male alien population and their children over the age of sixteen. Naturalization may, according to the Statesman's Year Book, 1899, "be obtained after two years' residence and registration on the books of the field cornet, oath of allegiance and payment of £2, and naturalized burghers may by special resolution of the first or higher chamber become first-class burghers twelve years after naturalization."

Boss and Caste Government

This is the rarest combination known of Boss and Caste Government. It is an unrestrained despotism designed to perpetuate itself by favor and force, regardless of everybody not of the ruling race and condition, and the Englishman who would give up his rights in the Transvaal as a British subject for the privilege of ultimate participation in the government, even of his own town, if that town contained ten Englishmen to the people of all other nationalities, would have to be "a man without a country" for seven years. It was at this point that Mr. President Kruger stood fast, peremptorily refusing the reduction of the period of probation even two years—leaving it five, and yet the probability is a very large number of the naturalized citizens of the United States who would regard such a restriction in this country as a bitter and remorseless discrimination against the foreign born, are sympathizing with the unrelenting attitude of the Boers upon this subject. Apply to this condition of things in the Transvaal the facts and figures following:

The area of the Republic is 119,139 square miles; the white population, according to the State Almanack for 1898, is 345,397, and the native population, 748,759. The seat of government is

Pretoria, with a white population of 10,000. The largest town is Johannesburg, the mining center of Witwatersrand gold fields, having a population within a radius of three miles, according to the census of 1896, of 102,078 persons, of which number 50,907 were whites, 952 Malays, 4,807 Coolies and Chinese, 42,533 Kaffirs, and 2,879 of mixed race. One-third of the population of the Republic is estimated to be engaged in agriculture, the lands of the Republic generally, outside the mining districts, being extremely productive, and the demand for farm products in the mining regions very great, even in excess of the local products at the present time."

Facts and Figures

It does not in the least soothe the Boers that they have a good market for their farm products, for which they are indebted almost exclusively to English enterprise in great feats of engineering, in the application of the most modern methods of mining, and to immense investments, in the cheapening of transportation, and extending the capacities and facilities of the poor as well as the rich, for swift and easy communication with neighbors.

The chief care, concern and anxiety of the Boer is that a government of the people must not by any chance be established in Transvaal. It is the elementary principle of the Boer disposition and government, that there are no real "people" except Boers, who place the Hottentot, the Englishman, the Zulu and the Kaffir, the American, the German and the Frenchman on the same level. He will have none of them except in the capacity of subordinates, and when it suits his humor, servants of the established class that dominates. The native population is double that of the number of whites, but that does not concern the Boer. His Republicanism takes no account of people with darker skins than his own. In the most important part of the Transvaal, the Boers themselves are in

Boer Prejudice and Intolerance

a pronounced minority, if we take into account only the white folks. The Boer capital, Pretoria, has a white population of 10,000; the white population of Johannesburg is 50,907; and the great political task and vindictive occupation of the Boers of Pretoria, the political capital of the alleged free country, is that the select few of the 10,000 whites in that town shall rule it and Johannesburg also at their pleasure, and according to the obstinate caprices of their will. There were 50,000 whites in Johannesburg, and the argument the Boer advocates have advanced in America is that the whites of that city, five times as numerous as those of Pretoria, must not be allowed even the shadow of the right of suffrage, because they would outvote the chosen people who have taken the course of government upon themselves in the political capital. It is this insistence upon an atrocious inequality that is the elementary cause of the war. Such an oppression becomes an intolerable condition, and there is no cure for it but the sword. Of course, it has been a characteristic of this situation that it is associated with a systematic tyranny at once insulting and extortionate. The Boer policy is moderately described as that of the "dog in the manger." The 50,000 white people of Johannesburg, are disfranchised, first, because they under the rule of the majority would be at least their own rulers and exercising an important influence in the government of Johannesburg, would impair the authority and destroy the prestige of the oligarchy at Pretoria. We do not urge the fact that this majority at Johannesburg are also the creators and possors of the greater wealth of the Transvaal. Property has the right of recognition as the result of investment and industry, but it is not necessary that to protect itself it must have political advantages out of proportion to the number of the electors who are the property holders. So the argument for the enfranchisement

The "Dog in the Manger"

in a reasonable time of the Uitlanders of Johannesburg rests primarily and safely upon the proposition that they could cast a majority vote, and we do not need to call in the merits of the property qualification or the question whether the natives have by possibility any rational right to consideration because about sixty years ago they were crowded out of their hunting grounds by the Boers, seeking a country where they could own labor and assert mastery over all others, instead of being second in importance as a people to the English of lands further South.

The Johannesburghers are not merely disfranchised; they are, by a vengeful and grasping minority, excluded from the right to protect themselves in persons and property. It is a great fault in them that they did not arm themselves and march to Pretoria to receive and reinforce the Jameson raiders as deliverers. They are justly punished for this sin of omission. The statistician of the United States Treasury Department says: The gold mines are now the most productive in the world, and have already turned out gold to the value of more than $300,000,000, and, according to the estimate of experts, have still $3,500,000,000 'in sight.' The commerce of the South African Republic, while naturally great because of the large number of people employed by the mining industries, cannot be as accurately stated as that of states or divisions whose imports are all received through a given port or ports. Foreign goods for the South African Republic reach it through several ports—Cape Colony, Natal, Lourenco Marquez, and in smaller quantities from other ports on the coast. The total imports of 1897 are estimated at £21,515,000, of which £17,012,000 were from Great Britain, £2,747,000 from the United States, £1,054,226 from Germany, and the remainder from Belgium, Holland and France."

The Commerce of the Transvaal

All this does not help the Boer as a politician. He is devoted to the rule of the minority and the exercise of his will in commanding others, native and foreign, black and white, and trampling them into the place he has assigned them. This he calls liberty, and for that sort of liberty he has a portentous passion that he is absolutely sure is sanctified.

Mr. Howard C. Hillegas, in his book "Oom Paul's People," D. Appleton & Co., holds the Boers to be a nation, and his pages are full of highly colored partiality for their cause. The diamond mines, he says, "have yielded more than four hundred million dollars worth of diamonds since the Free State conceded them to England for less than half a million dollars."

He does not condescend to consider the proposition that if the cession had not been made, the find of diamonds would not have occurred, or if it had, and the Boers undertaken to work the mines, their success would have been small in comparison with the remarkable results produced by the Uitlanders.

Mr. Hillegas in his story of the gold mines sheds light upon the character of the people of the Orange State as well as the Transvaal. He says:

"In 1854, a Dutchman named John Marais, who had a short time before returned from the Australian gold fields, prospected in the Transvaal, and found many evidences of gold. The Boers fearing, that their land would be overrun with gold seekers, paid £500 to Marais and sent him home after extracting a promise that he would not reveal his secret to any one.

"It was not untfl 1884 that England heard of the presence of gold in South Africa. A man named Fred Stuben, who had spent several years in the country, spread such marvellous reports of the underground wealth of the Transvaal, that only a short time elapsed before hundreds of prospectors and miners left England

for South Africa. When the first prospectors discovered auriferous veins of wonderful quality on a farm called Sterkfontein, the gold boom had its birth. It required the lapse of only a short time for the news to reach Europe, America and Australia, and immediately thereafter that vast and widely scattered army of men and women which constantly awaits the announcement of new discoveries of gold was set in motion toward the Randt.

"The Indian, Russian, American and Australian gold fields were deserted, and the steamships and sailing vessels to South Africa were overladen with men and women of all degrees and nationalities. The journey to the Randt was expensive, dangerous and comfortless, but before a year had passed almost 20,000 persons had crossed the deserts and the plains and had settled on claims purchased from the Boers. In December, 1885, the first stamp mill was erected for the purpose of crushing the gneiss rock in which the gold lay hidden. This enterprise marks the real beginning of the gold fields of the Randt, which now yield one-third of the world's total product of the precious metal. The advent of thousands of foreigners was a boon to the Boers, who owned the large farms on which the auriferous veins were located. Options on farms that were of little value a short time before were sold at incredible figures, and the prices paid for small claims would have purchased farms of thousands of acres two years before. * * *

The First Stamp Mill

"Owing to the Boer's lack of training and consequent inability to share in the development of the gold fields, the new industry remained almost entirely in the hands of the newcomers, the Uitlanders, and two totally different communities were created in the Republic. The Uitlanders, who, in 1890, numbered about 100,000, lived almost exclusively in Johannesburg, and the suburbs along the Randt. The Boers, having disposed of their farms and lands

on the Randt, were obliged to occupy the other parts of the Republic, where they could follow their pastoral and other pursuits."

Elsa Goodwin Green, a lady who volunteered as a nurse and served in the hospital at Pretoria, where forty of Jameson's wounded raiders were cared for, writes of "Raiders and Rebels in South Africa," and says of the gold question:

"In the year 1885 gold was found in the reefs underlying the Witwatersrand (Whitewater's strand). Miners, prospectors and capitalists soon gathered together—drawn by the magnet gold—and a fine town, Johannesburg, sprang rapidly into existence. The progress of this town with its rich reefs—gold-bearing—excited a large amount of curiosity, felt by the world in general.

"With the rapid development of the mining industry and the influx of strangers, a certain amount of friction sprang up between the two races—viz., the Boers and the ever-increasing Uitlander population. A repressive legislation was persevered in, to prevent the still growing majority of newcomers from predominating or participating in affairs of the Repulican States.

"This rush of men with capital to the Randt meant undreamt of prosperity to the Boers, who found a ready market for horses, cattle and farm produce. Railways and telegraphic communication further developed the land.

"Though the foreigner and his money were welcome to the Boer, yet he was persistently denied a voice in the government of the community—a vote even in matters most concerning himself—indeed all rights as a citizen. Heavy duties were imposed on the articles most necessary to the development of the mining industry. Monopolies were often unjustly obtained by those having interest with the Government. Concessions were granted only after large consideration to a Government not wholly free from a taint of bribery."

South Africa is not only a land of gold. It is even more famous for its diamonds; and the richest mines in the whole world for these precious stones are located in that country. Some of the most fabulous stories have been told by travelers of their experiences in the early mining days of South Africa, and such books as "King Solomon's Mines," and others have served to awaken a lively interest and induce adventurous spirits to go to that land.

The use the Boers had for diamonds when they took their wagons and oxen and moved north from Cape Colony 700 miles, to find a country where they could subjugate the natives and live in a Paradise of Great Game, was to amuse their children with the pretty stones,—certain glittering pebbles that sparkled as the young Boers, without the least comprehension of the prodigality of Nature, rolled on the grass and sand. If it had not been for the revelations of the riches of Africa by travelers from foreign lands, the Boer boys would still have had a monopoly of diamonds for toys, and but a dim consciousness of their bucolic magnificence. Boers are very queer people. Their idea of a next-door neighbor is that he must keep his hut and wagon at least three miles away. A closer approach makes a crowd; the air and the soil become impure, and the Boer is stifled in the midst of his own splendors. He is the most conservative citizen in the world. He estimates his own inherent, individual imperialism so extravagantly, that the rights of men without big wagons with tents on them and long strings of oxen with long horns, fade into speculative insignificance. The Boers did not believe in diamonds—for they are not decorators of their persons—until they found others making money by mining them, and even then they only took a feeble interest in the work and were willing to rent a few square miles of each of their farms to those who were, with

Diamonds for Toys

labor and capital, seeking the beautiful crystals. The Boer talent, according to the testimony of their lives, was in the multiplication of cattle, the shooting of wild beasts good to eat, occasional encounters with lions, and hunting parties that pursued the hippopotamus in the marshy lakes. As a matter of military science, they were educated in making forts out of their big wagons to repel the black warriors opposed to invasion by the drivers of horned cattle and dwellers in houses on wheels.

President Kruger is a power, because he is representative of his people. He is a great chief for the reason that a big savage becomes a leader and the headman of a tribe on account of his superior strength. In his youth he was the swiftest and longest winded runner and the champion rifleman in his part of the country, and it is the favorite tradition of his admirers that once when a youth he was pursued by a lion, and the brute incontinently ran away when the man of destiny turned upon him and looked him in the eye. His attitude towards gold is a distinction in which those who celebrate his virtues take special pride. It is well known that his capital city, Pretoria, is built on a gold mine, and a few years ago there was a revolutionary proposition made in Mr. Kruger's alleged parliament—even that of opening the neighboring land to prospectors seeking gold! The powerful President crushed out the insidious proposal.

President Kruger

"The Transvaal and the Boers," an interesting volume by William Garrett Fisher, says of the pre-eminence of Mr. Kruger in the official decision settling this matter that the great and good man said, with the wisdom inherited from generations of ancestors who had studied the encyclopedias of Nature:

"Stop and think what you are doing before you open fresh gold fields. Look at Johannesburg, what a nuisance and expense

it has been to us! We have enough gold and gold seekers in this country already; for all you know there may be a second Rand at your very feet."

These momentous words in the aid of higher destinies were addressed to the Volksraad, and there was no more countenancing the idea of digging for gold.

In 1854 there was a find of the obnoxious yellow metal in the Boer country, but it was hushed up on the great principle announced with such simple sublimity by the grand old President when the horrors of prosperity broke in upon the contentment of his people and caused the "nuisance" at Johannesburg, where fifty thousand white men rushed in and gave the Boers more trouble to make them "servants of servants" according to the curse of Cain than millions of blacks had done, whose lives were ordered upon even more primitive and economical lines than presented by the secondary rulers of the golden lands.

Gold Found in 1854

However, it cannot be denied that from the standpoint of the Boers, the British are not to be tolerated when they assume that they have "certain inalienable rights," for they make themselves an abomination, obstreperous in the preliminaries of their educational reduction to the condition of the serfs of semi-barbarians. The objection undoubtedly is good against the British that they are fond of lands where gold is found, and they obstinately support the yellow metal as the standard of value, notwithstanding that they are by their ubiquitous commerce and enduring egotism forcing the yellow metal as the true standard upon the great nations of the earth.

Diamonds do not play the great part in the forces that form governments and shape the destinies of peoples in South Africa or elsewhere, that gold does. While the precious stone is useful in the

arts, excellent as a tool, and adorns beauty with the beautiful in the highest degree, it does not find its way diffusively into the service of the people generally. Diamonds are not a popular production They are for a class and not for the mass. The four hundred million dollars worth of glittering stones picked up and dug up in South Africa within a few years, have not affected the measure of value. The finding of gold in such quantities as to over-pass largely and pemanently the consumption of it, affects the money standard by which is valued all that the fields and shops produce; that is, all that comes of perseverance in toil that is productive.

Mines of diamonds attract labor for immediate returns—only as they can be sold for gold or silver, which have functions that make up power in purchasing food and raiment and in construction, the carrying out of enterprise that causes the activities both of capital and labor, putting the two in harmonious relations. Diamonds in Africa have aided commerce, increased exportation and importation, indirectly helping the people at large, but they have not competed with gold in the political potentialities. They are found, when their stories are written, to be rather romantic than historical. Their is a fascination in the relation of the finding of South African diamond mines equal to the charms of fiction. One would have thought the old Dutch settlers should have had special qualifications for seeking and securing and appreciating diamonds as one of the gifts that are gracious, for the African stones have to find the world at large by way of Belgium and Holland, and are not ready to be known to fame until they have been cut in Amsterdam.

Diamonds of not so great importance as Gold

In Boyle's delightful history "To the Cape for Diamonds," he says of the diamond fields:

"Old Dutch residents of Cape Town appear to have been quite astir upon the matter on several occasions; but as years passed on, the ancient rumor died away. Men had to search back for memories long buried when Governor Woodhouse set the Colony agog by exhibiting the "Hopetown" diamond in 1867. That Bushmen, Corannas and other tribes of low condition used the gem mechanically from immemorial time seems to be quite ascertained. They still remember how their fathers made periodical visits to the rivers of West Griqualand, seeking diamonds to bore their "weighting stones." The rediscovery, however, took place in 1867. At that date a shrewd trader named Niekirk, passing through a country forty miles or so west of Hopetown, saw the children of a Boer called Jacobs playing with pebbles, picked up along the banks of the neighboring Orange. Struck with the appearance of one among their playthings, Niekirk told Vrouw Jacobs that it reminded him of the white shining stones mentioned in the Bible. As he uttered the words, an ostrich-hunter named O'Reilly chanced to pass the doorway of the house. He overheard, entered, and was also impressed. Vague ideas of a diamond—which none of the three had ever seen—passed through their minds. They tried the pebble upon glass, scratching the sash all over, as I have seen it at this day. A bargain was struck. O'Reilly took the stone for sale, and each of the parties present was to share. At Capetown, upon the verdict of Dr. Atherstone, Sir P. E. Woodhouse gave £500 for it. The news spread fast. At the moment of this discovery, there was something exceeding a panic in the colony, Wool, its staple product was at a hopelessly low quotation. A murrain was thinning the sheep. Never had merchants known such a time of anxiety, and no hope was visible. The story of the trader, corroborated by actual inspection of his treasure thus excited more active stir than

Boyle's Statement

it would have made at any other time. People began to study every foot of the ground. Then other stones turned up, the most of them bought from natives, in whose hands they had lain for many years, perhaps centuries. In 1868 several were picked up along the banks of the Vaal about Pniel, and then the rush began. But as yet it was mere surface seeking.

"Star of South Africa"

Early next year a Hottentot shepherd named Swartzboy, brought to Mr. Gers' store, at the Hook, a gem of eighty-three and a half carats, the "Star of South Africa," wide famed. In Mr. Gers' absence, his shopman did not like to risk the £200 worth of goods demanded. Swartzboy passed on to the farm of that same Niekirk above mentioned. Here he demanded £400 which Niekirk ultimately paid, receiving £12,000 from Messrs. Lilienfeld the same day. The diamond was passed to Cape Town, and all the colony rose. But not for twelve months more did "digging" begin. On January 7, 1870, Captain Rolleston and his party washed out their first diamond at Pniel, on the lands claimed by the Berlin Mission. Within three months, there were five thousand people digging there.

The Earliest Discoveries

South African diamond fields henceforth were established; but of such "pockets" as Dutoitspan and New Rush none yet had any inkling. The fields were established as a fact in the colony, but none yet at home. Mr. Harry Emmanuel sent out a professed expert, Mr. Gregory, to report upon them, and his foolish haste in discrediting their wealth caused serious loss to English merchants. The diggers only laughed, and showed each other their glittering prizes. Mr. Coster, of Amsterdam, came out, and he also went back incredulous. But the diggings grew and grew. The necessity of some system of government amongst the crowd became apparent. The Orange Free State claimed jurisdiction over the larger space,

and the Transvaal Republic exercised rights over the remainder. Practically there was no government at all.

The earliest report, in writing of discovery, is a letter addressed by Mr. Parker to Mr. Webb. However it be, Mr. Parker was not long in acquiring very great influences. All the camp yielded authority to him, and passed the title of President which he affected. He met the chief of the South African Republic upon such easy terms of equality that the latter hastily fled to realms where his supremacy was uncontested.

In December, 1870, the dry diggings first were heard of. Hitherto the search for diamonds had been only carried on by river banks, and the gems discovered there had been washed down in ancient floods from some kopje, or dry mine now perhaps worn away. In two years of such digging in a score of places, the yield had not been greater than 300,000 pounds, as Mr. Webb computed. This is indeed an astonishing figure, all circumstances considered, but the time draws near when the same amount will be returned as the monthly average in Custom House reports at Cape Town. In December then, it was whispered that the children of Dutoit, a Boer living at Dorsfontein—so well known by the name of Dutoitspan—were in the habit of picking up diamonds on their father's farm. To those who believed the rumor, it was evident that diamond digging was henceforth to enter on a novel phase. The gem would be sought in the bed where nature created it. But few believed—not till the end of January did the crowd put faith. About that time the farm was "rushed," an expressive word, though sinister to the ears of a landed proprietor nowadays. It signifies that diggers swarmed to the spot in such throngs as to render merely foolish any resistance a proprietor might meditate. But the simple Boer who owned Dutoitspan never dreamed of such a thing. He

The First Dry Diggings

only sat in, staring, amazed at the endless train of carts and wagons and foot travelers that filed past him.

Diamonds in South Africa are found in a limy, chalky grit, bound together in smaller or larger lumps, from the measure of a foot ball to that of a pea. The grit is very dry and of considerable hardness, so that a heap of it looks like shingle on the sorting board. I do not understand that the diamond is found under those conditions anywhere else. It is discovered in a limy stratum at the Brazils, I find, but rarely, and always waterworn. The river beds are the treasure houses there. In India, for the most part, it seems to have been the same case; though at one large field, five days' journey from Golconda, the diamonds were hooked out from crevices of the rock. "In the neighborhood of the mines," says Tavernier, "the earth is sandy, covered with rocks and thickets; something like the environs of Fontainebleau. In these rocks there are many veins, sometimes half a finger wide, and sometimes double of this. The miners have short iron instruments, hooked at the end, which they thrust into the veins, and so drag out the sand or earth collected there. This earth they load into convenient vessels, and therein are the diamonds found. No one reading this description can doubt that the jewels were lodged in the crevices by water power."

Conditions Under Which Diamonds are Found

The Vaal and the Orange Rivers, the Mod and the Riet, all contain diamonds, waterworn for the most part. Hundreds or thousands of years have these lain grinding mid the pebbles, brought, I should take it, from some diamond kopjes, washed away and vanished which stood beside the stream. There is not the mark of water on a single stone at the dry diggings.

The foremost quality of the Cape diamond which attracts attention is its freedom from the coat or skin which wraps the stone

CHAPTER IV

The Cause of War.

THE English Blue Books treat the controversy that resulted in the war officially, impartially and exhaustively. The full dispatches are given, and all that the Boers had to say is fairly presented with unquestionable authenticity. What President Kruger stated in his conferences with Sir Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner in South Africa, is given in his own language, as faithfully put down as the dispatches of Mr. Chamberlain or those of the High Commissioner Milner. The British Blue Book is made a perfect History for both sides and bears the closest scrutiny of a hostile opposition in parliament as accurate.

June 14, 1899, High Commissioner Sir Alfred Milner wrote from "Government House, Cape Town" to Colonial Secretary Chamberlain a report of his conferences with President Kruger at Bloemfontein. On the way to meet the President of the South African Republic, the British High Commissioner was the guest of President Steyn, of the Orange Free State. The conference with President Kruger was interpreted and reported with the greatest care. It is not given verbatim in all instances, because there was a great deal of repetition, but there is nothing important omitted, and the actual words of both gentlemen were officially reported and printed. The importance of these conferences was perfectly understood, and the official record has not been and will not be questioned. It was upon these conferences that the issue of peace

Conference With President Kruger

and war hinged. The President stated at the first meeting that he preferred the British High Commissioner should speak first, and the Commissioner, writing Mr. Chamberlain, said that in his personal opinion, "The cause of many points of difference, and the most serious, was the policy pursued by the South African Republic towards the Uitlanders, among whom many thousands are British subjects. The bitter feelings thus engendered in the Republic, the tension in South Africa, and the sympathy throughout the Empire with the Uitlanders, led to an irritated state of opinion on both sides which rendered it more difficult for the two Governments to settle differences amicably. It was my strong conviction that if the South African Republic would, before things get worse, voluntarily change its policy towards the Uitlanders, and take steps calculated to satisfy the reasonable section of them, who after all are the great majority, not only would the independence of the Republic be strengthened, but there would be such a better state of feeling all round that it would become far easier to settle outstanding questions between the two Governments.

The Cause of Many Points of Difference

"The President, in coming to the Conference, had made a reservation as to the independence of the Republic. I could not see that it was in any way impairing that independence for Her Majesty's Government to support the cause of the Uitlanders so far as it was reasonable. A vast number were British subjects, and in similar circumstances we should in any part of the world, even in a country not under conventional obligations to Her Majesty's Government, be bound to make representations, and to point out that the intense discontent of our fellow-subjects stood in the way of the friendly relations which we desired to exist between the two Governments."

The President's Objection to the Franchise

The President objected to granting the franchise which he was assured by His Excellency, the Commissioner, was the main point, because he said if it was done "to any large number of aliens," the result would be "immediately the outvoting of the old burghers." The High Commissioner went so far as to say that it "would not be reasonable to do that," and he endeavored to explain the matter to the President, saying: "At present the Uitlanders had no effective voice whatever in the legislation, the existing form of oaths was offensive and unnecessary, and by taking it a British subject at once lost his nationality, and yet had to wait twelve years, or, under the President's latest proposals, seven years, before he could become a full citizen of the Republic. It was perfectly possible to leave the old burghers in such a position that they could not be swamped, and yet to give the numerous foreign population—to whom, after all, the Republic owed its present position—some share in the work of government, so that they could give the Government the benefit of their knowledge and experience. In this way the time would come when, by their gradual co-operation, instead of being divided into separate communities they would all be burghers of one State."

By Gradual Co-operation all Would be Burghers

The President indicated "a strong dislike of every proposition of the kind," and proceeded to assail a petition that had been sent from Johannesburg to the British Government praying for a redress of grievances, and alleged to have been signed by 25,000 people. This petition was like a red rag to the Boer bull all through the conferences. The British High Commissioner, when the President had expressed his feeling about the petition, informed him that that document did not change anything. The character of the petition was not especially to be considered, but he (His

Excellency the Commissioner) based his statements "on a careful study of the conditions."

At the second meeting the President talked about the strengthening of the British garrison at the Cape, and referred to other military preparations of the English, of which mention had been made in the newspapers. The Commissioner denied the accuracy of the press in that particular; and then the President returned to the petition from Johannesburg to Her Majesty the Queen, and said the English proposition to "enlarge the franchise of the strangers" would do away with the independence of the Republic, and he added, "would be worse than annexation." His Excellency, the Commissioner, remarks that the President was "reluctant to come to close quarters" on the franchise proposition, but at last asked for a proposal of that which would be satisfactory to the Uitlanders and the English Commissioners, who said: "I proposed that the full franchise should be given to every foreigner who—

Qualifications for Citizenship

(*a*) "Had been resident for five years in the Republic.

(*b*) "Declared his intention to reside permanently.

(*c*) "Took an oath to obey the laws, undertake all obligations of citizenship, and defend the independence of the country.

"The franchise to be confined to persons of good character possessing a certain amount of property or income."

Finally it was proposed that a small number of new constituencies should be created. That which was vital in the plan of peace, Sir Alfred said, "was the simplification of the oath and the immediate admission to full burghership on taking it. Knowing as I do the feeling of the Uitlander population, and especially of the best of them, in these points, I felt and feel that any scheme not containing these concessions would be absolutely useless. The most influential and respectable sections of the Uitlander community

feel strongly the indignity and injustice of asking them to denationalize themselves for anything less than full burghership—which in the South African Republic carries with it, *de ipso facto*, the right to vote for the First Volks Raad and the President. They will not accept citizenship of the Republic on any other terms." And Sir Alfred continues: "The President at once objected very strongly to my proposal, saying that it would immediately make the Uitlanders a majority of enfranchised burghers, who by the constitution formed the sovereign voice, and so controlled all legislation."

The President was evidently alarmed by the idea that a majority of the Europeans might, under the proposition urged by the British Commissioner, become the rulers of the land, and he stuck to his objection after it was explained that the new burghers who would appear, if the franchise arrangements were made, could have only a minority of seats in the first Volks Raad, and therefore they could not control the State. In fact, the President was not in favor of allowing the Uitlanders any political power whatever without a long intermission after the abandonment by the Uitlanders of their rights as British subjects. The proposition of Sir Alfred was absolutely fair, reasonable and moderate. Its acceptance would have prevented war. There was time given by the Commissioner to the President for full consultation and consideration—that is there was no effort to rush him. Sir Alfred says in his communication to the Colonial Secretary Chamberlain, that he felt here he "had reached the crucial point," and he alleges that the Boer President endeavored to make the matter one of bargaining, wanted to talk away from the real issue, and desired to speak of what he called "grievances," wandering far from the main matter, which was in its simplicity whether the great community of

Milner's proposition Absolutely Fair

Johannesburg and the surroundings in the gold mines, constituting a very large majority of the Europeans and white men in the Transvaal, should have any representation at all in the Volks Raad.

President Kruger at the fourth meeting of the conference presented what he styled a "Complete Reform Bill," full, as Sir Alfred says, of "elaborate restrictions." Subsequently Sir Alfred drew up a paper showing what those restrictions were, and that this reform bill consisted of traps and catches, and was a careful, studied evasion, expressive of a fixed resolution to make no concessions whatever to the majority of the white population of the country. Sir Alfred says: "I pointed out that His Honor's proposal differed absolutely from mine, in that it did not provide for an immediate, or even an early, enfranchisement of people who might have been in the Republic for many years, and it made no provision for an increase in the number of seats in the Volks Raad. I, therefore, in view of the improbability of our arriving at a settlement on this basis, suggested that the President should consider whether there was any other way, apart from the franchise, of giving the Uitlanders some powers of local self-government, such as were suggested by Mr. Chamberlain in February, 1896. The President, however, was, if possible, more opposed to this than to my previous proposal. He maintained that the municipality of Johannesburg had already as great powers as could properly be entrusted to it, and said it was no use speaking about self-government, as his people would be absolutely against it."

Self-Government desired by all

Sir Alfred further stated, as to President Kruger's plan: "Under the plan no man not already naturalized, even if he had been in the country for thirteen or fourteen years, would get a vote for the First Volks Raad in less than two and a half years from the passing of the new law. No considerable number of people

would obtain the vote in less than five years, even if they got naturalized; but the majority would not naturalize because the scheme retained the unfortunate principle, first introduced in 1890, by which a man must abandon his old citizenship for a number of years before getting full burgher rights."

President Kruger added to his proposition a scheme for a few new seats. Of this Sir Alfred remarks: "I have an open mind as to the number of new seats for the Gold Fields, and for that reason did not attempt to lay down any definite number of my own proposal. I think three is decidedly too low. Under this proposal the enfranchised newcomers might, not immediately, but after the lapse of several years, obtain five seats in the First Volks Raad. Add, perhaps, two for other constituencies, in which they would in time become the majority, and they would be seven out of thirty-one. By that time they would be a vast majority of the inhabitants, and would contribute, as they indeed already do, almost the whole revenue. Under these circumstances less than one-fourth of the representation seems a scanty allowance. But the great point is, that even this limited degree of representation is still a long way off. My aim was to obtain some representation for them immediately. In my view, the First Volks Raad has already been too long out of touch with the new population, with whose most vital interests it is constantly dealing, and not dealing wisely. Every year that this state of things continues increases the tension and the danger. I do not assert that the mistakes made are due to ill-will. I believe they are due to want of knowledge. If representatives of the new population could make their voices heard, if they could come in contact with the representatives of the old burghers on an equal footing in the First Raad, they would,

Lapse of Citizenship

Immediate Representation Wanted

without being a majority or anything like it, yet exercise an appreciable influence on legislation and administration."

There is no question of the entire reasonableness and truth of this. In his talk with President Kruger Sir Alfred said of the Uitlanders: "A vast number of them are British subjects. If we had an equal number of British subjects and equally large interests in any part of the world, even in a country which is not under any conventional obligations to Her Majesty's Government, we should be bound to make representations to the Government in the interests of Her Majesty's subjects, and to point out that the intense discontent of those subjects stood in the way of the cordial relations which we desire to exist between us. I know that the citizens of the South African Republic are intensely jealous of British interference in their internal affairs. What I want to impress upon the President is that if the Government of the South African Republic of its own accord, from its own sense of policy and justice, would afford a more liberal treatment to the Uitlander population this would not increase British interference, but enormously diminish it. If the Uitlanders were in a position to help themselves they would not always be appealing to us under the convention."

Justice Would Have Prevented Intervention

When the conference was about to close President Kruger said: "Our enfranchised burghers are probaby about 30,000, and the newcomers may be from 60,000 to 70,000, and if we give them the franchise to-morrow we may as well give up the Republic. I hope you will clearly see that I shall not get it through with my people."

Further along, when President Kruger insisted upon it that the too numerous newcomers would end the Republic, Sir Alfred asked what the President meant by "outvoting in the Volks Raad," and the President answered: "I mean this; that if they are all

enfranchised then they would at once form the majority of the whole population, and the majority of the enfranchised burgher, according to our law, must be listened to by the Volks Raad ; since in a republic we cannot leave the sovereign voice out of account. Then if they once get the vote, and the majority come to the Volks Raad saying that the members of the Raad should be in proportion to the number of electors, the Volks Raad would be all up with them."

Sir Alfred and President Kruger in course of conversation had an outing on "the Irish question," the President saying: "I say that by taking the oath of naturalization, whereby they become entitled to elect members for the Second Raad, they become lawful burghers, and at that moment they get more than they get in their own country. In their own country they cannot, within such a short period, choose ministers, magistrates, or similar officials; but they do this with me, and are they not to be regarded as full burghers because they cannot yet elect certain officials? The only difference is that they cannot yet exercise the full franchise. In England, for instance, the Irish also have not their own administration."

Ireland and The Transvaal

His Excellency.—"Yes, they have."

President.—"When?"

His Excellency.—"The Irish have always sent a full number of representatives to the Imperial Parliament, even in excess of what was due to them on a basis of population. If we were to apply the Irish principle to the South African Republic the Rand would send about fifty members to the First Volks Raad."

The conference came to nothing. President Kruger asserting to the last substantially, that if the English-speaking people whom he styled the "strangers" and the "newcomers," got any political

rights at once, no matter how restricted, it would put his "blood-bought country into the hands of strangers."

Mr. Conyngham Greene, Her Majesty's agent at Pretoria, wrote to the State Secretary of the South African Republic June 26, 1899, that Sir Alfred Milner "desires me to say that, as he pointed out to the President at Bloemfontein, he considers that the question of finding a remedy for the grievances of the Uitlanders is the burning question of the moment, and that this has to be disposed of before other matters can be discussed. The adoption by the Government of the South African Republic of measures calculated to lead to an improvement in the position of the Uitlanders would so improve the general situation that outstanding differences between the two Governments could be considered in a calmer atmosphere, and would be more capable of adjustment. Under these circumstances, it might be possible to devise a scheme for referring at least a certain number of differences to arbitration. But as the Government of the South African Republic has not seen its way to meet Her Majesty's Government on the question of primary importance, the High Commissioner can see no use in approaching the delicate and complicated subject of arbitration at the present time. Over and above this, His Excellency does not consider the scheme now proposed to be a practicable one. To make no mention of other objections, the constitution of the suggested Arbitration Court, which would leave every decision virtually in the hands of a President, who, it is provided, shall not be a subject of either of the arbitration parties, does not conform to the fundamental principle which, as Sir Alfred Milner more than once stated at Bloemfontein, Her Majesty's Government would regard as a *conditio sine qua non* to the acceptance of any scheme of arbitration."

Grievances of the Uitlanders a Burning Question

A COMMANDO OF BOERS CHARGING COLONEL BADEN-POWELL'S FORCES AT MAFEKING

A COMMANDO OF BOERS CHARGING COLONEL BADEN-POWELL'S FORCES AT MAFEKING

SOME OF THE SECOND GORDON HIGHLANDERS
ENJOYING A ROUGH AND READY CLEAN UP

BOER SCOUTING PARTY

Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, writing July 27, 1899, to Sir Alfred Milner, says:

"Besides the ordinary obligations of a civilized Power to protect its subjects in a foreign country against injustice, and the special duty arising in this case from the position of Her Majesty as the Paramount Power in South Africa, there falls also on Her Majesty's Government the exceptional responsibility arising out of the Conventions which regulate the relations between the Government of the South African Republic and that of Her Majesty. These Conventions were granted by Her Majesty of her own grace, and they were granted in the full expectation that, according to the categorical assurances conveyed by the Boer leaders to the Royal Commissioners in the negotiations preliminary to the Convention of 1881, equality of treatment would be strictly maintained among the white inhabitants of the Transvaal.

What Mr. Chamberlain Wrote

"It may be well to remind you what those assurances were, as detailed in the Blue Book of May, 1882. At the Conference of the 10th of May, 1881, at Newcastle, there were present: Sir Hercules Robinson (President), Sir Evelyn Wood, Sir J. H. De Villiers, Her Majesty's Commissioners; and, as Representatives of the Boers, Mr. Kruger, Mr. P. J. Joubert, Dr. Jorissen, Mr. J. S. Joubert, Mr. DeVilliers and Mr. Buskes.

"The following report of what took place shows the nature of the assurances given on this occassion:

"239. (President).—'Before annexation, had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal; were they on the same footing as citizens of the Transvaal?'

"240. (Mr. Kruger).—'They were on the same footing as the burghers; there was not the slightest difference in accordance with the Sand River Convention.'

"241. (President).—'I presume you will not object to that continuing?'

"242. (Mr. Kruger).—'No; there will be equal protection for everybody.'

"243. (Sir E. Wood).—'And equal privileges?'

"244. (Mr. Kruger).—'We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned. There may perhaps be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country.'

"At the Conference of the 26th of May, 1881, at Newcastle, there were present: Sir Hercules Robinson (President), Sir E. Wood, Sir J. H. DeVilliers, Her Majesty's Commissioners; and, as Representatives of the Boers, Mr. Kruger, Mr. J. S. Joubert, Dr. Jorissen, Mr. Pretorius, Mr. Buskes and Mr. DeVilliers.

"At this meeting the subject of the assurances was again alluded to as thus reported:

"1037. (Dr. Jorissen).—'At No. 244 the question was, 'Is there any distinction in regard to the privileges or rights of Englishmen in the Transvaal?' and Mr. Kruger answered, 'No, there is no difference;' and then he added, 'there may be some slight difference in the case of a young person just coming into the country.' I wish to say that that might give rise to a wrong impression. What Mr. Kruger intended to convey was this: 'according to our law a newcomer has not his burgher rights immediately.' The words 'young person' do not refer to age, but to the time of his residence in the Republic. According to our old 'Grondwet' (Constitution), you had to reside a year in the country.'

"In spite of these positive assurances, all the laws which have caused the grievances under which the Uitlanders labor, and all the restrictions as to franchise and individual liberty under which

they suffer, have been brought into existence subsequently to the conventions of Pretoria or London. Not only has the letter of the convention of 1884 been repeatedly broken, but the whole spirit of that convention has been disregarded by this complete reversal of the conditions of equality between the white inhabitants of the Transvaal which subsisted, and which, relying on the assurances of the Boer leaders, Her Majesty believed would continue to subsist, when she granted to it internal independence in the preamble of the convention of 1881, and when she consented to substitute the articles of the convention of 188 for those of the previous convention.

The Whole Spirit of the Convention disregarded

"The responsibility of Her Majesty's Government for the treatment of the alien inhabitants of the Transvaal is further increased by the fact that it was at the request of Her Majesty's High Commissioner that the people of Johannesburg, who in December, 1895, had taken up arms against the Government of the South African Republic to recover those equal rights and privileges of which they had been unwarrantably deprived, permitted themselves to be disarmed in January, 1896. The High Commissioner's request was made after the issue by President Kruger of a proclamation in which he stated: 'And I further make known that the Government is still always ready to consider properly all grievances which are laid before it in a proper manner, and to lay them before the Legislature of the country without delay to be dealt with.' Unfortunately, the assurances conveyed in this proclamation have been no better observed than the assurances of 1881. Not only have no adequate or genuine reforms been introduced up to the present time, but the conditions and the general atmosphere in which the Uitlanders have to live have become more difficult and

A Statement by Kruger

irksome to free and civilized men. Fresh legislation has been passed in a repressive and reactionary direction, and the administration of justice itself has been made subservient to the control of the Executive Government."

Every word of this is amply supported.

August 1st Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed Sir Alfred Milner: "I now authorize you to invite President Kruger to appoint delegates to discuss with our question whether reforms, which the Volks Raad has passed, will give immediate and substantial representation of Uitlanders, and if not, what additions and alterations will be necessary in order to secure this result. If invitation is accepted our delegates would not be precluded from raising any point calculated to improve measure; and you will instruct them to press for early report, which on the points mentioned ought not to be difficult."

Orders from Mr. Chamberlain

Also: "My telegram of the 31st July. We must confine proposed joint inquiry, in the manner suggested in that telegram, to question of political representation of Uitlanders. You should, however, let President Kruger know through Greene that you will be ready, at the conclusion of inquiry, to discuss with him, not only the report of the inquiry, and the franchise question, but other matters as well, including arbitration without introduction of foreign element."

This petition was signed by 6,336 "loyal colonists of Natal, July 10, 1899: "Your Majesty's petitioners, being British subjects resident in the Colony of Natal, wish to express their sympathy with those thousands of their fellow-subjects in the Transvaal Republic, whose petition Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to receive.

"That men of British origin, engaged in industry of vital concern to the prosperity of all South Africa, should labor on sufferance under unjust laws partially administered; that they should contribute nearly the whole revenue of the State and have no voice in its disposal; that, while themselves rigorously designed, they should have to watch the fruits of their labor being applied to swell the military strength of the class which holds their liberties and even their lives at its disposal; this is a position repugnant to our sentiments.

"Moreover, it is a source of unrest, insecurity, and injury to business throughout Your Majesty's South African possessions.

"In all these possessions the rule is absolutely equal rights for the Dutch-speaking and English-speaking population; in the Transvaal Republic alone are the latter denied not only equal rights, but political rights altogether. **Petition From Natal**

"From this contrast springs an intense race-feeling, which tends increasingly to divide and embitter all South Africa."

Mr. Baynes, of the Natal Parliament, is reported in the Natal *Times*, July 20, 1899: "He had said before, and he would say again, that keenly as he and all true Englishmen felt the defeat of those gallant British soldiers fighting at the command of their country in the war ending at Majuba, the Dutch then had right on their side and it was nothing but right that right should prevail. As a result of that battle he had hoped that the British blood there shed together with the magnanimous act of the British Government, as exemplified in and by the deed of retrocession, would have sufficed to have washed away all the bitterness of the past, and evoked forgiveness for all wrongs suffered, and that the two dominant races in South Africa would thereafter live together in peace and happiness, and in the process of time by inter-marriage, by mutual esteem. and by the uniting influence of the principle of

self-preservation, become one people, ennobled by the struggles and sufferings of the past, each the better for the influence of the other, forming a people and country that would become the admiration and envy of the world. Any immediate prospect of such a consummation had been hopelessly deferred and blighted by the action of the Transvaal Government in refusing the continuance of the principle of equal rights to all Europeans alike within their borders. It was because he feared that the continued refusal of those rights must sooner or later bring about a war too fearful to contemplate, a war that might, and probably would, overthrow the independence of the Transvaal Republic, that he urged upon that Assembly to unanimously adopt the motion under consideration, in the hope that such an expression of opinion made by that Assembly might receive favorable consideration by His Honor the President, the Volks Raad and the burghers of the Transvaal. Equal rights and privileges would give the only sure foundation on which the Republic of the Transvaal could be established, and the only foundation on which the independence of the country could continue. Let these privileges be denied to Europeans now, and perpetual race hatred and strife, anarchy or tyranny, or war, too dreadful to contemplate, must result. With the same purpose of endeavoring to avert such a calamity, he moved the resolution standing in his name."

Views of Mr. Baynes

The motion was one of sympathy with and approval of the action of the British Government in endeavoring to secure equal rights and privileges for all Europeans in South Africa. The resolution was carried without a single dissentient.

The House of Commons of Canada, July 31, 1899, adopted the following:

"1. Resolved, That this House has viewed with regret the complications which have arisen in the Transvaal Republic, of

which Her Majesty is Suzerain, from the refusal to accord to Her Majesty's subjects now settled in that region any adequate participation in its government.

"2. Resolved, That this House has learned with still greater regret, that the condition of things there existing has resulted in intolerable oppression, and has produced great and dangerous excitement among several classes of Her Majesty's subjects in Her South African possessions.

"3. Resolved, That this House, representing a people which has largely succeeded, by the adoption of the principle of conceding equal political rights to every portion of the population, in harmonizing estrangement, and in producing general content with the existing system of government, desires to express its sympathy with the effort of Her Majesty's Imperial authorities to obtain for the subjects of Her Majesty who have taken up their abode in the Transvaal such measure of justice and political recognition as may be found necessary to secure them in the full possession of equal rights and liberties."

Resolutions of the House of Commons of Canada

The Boer organ, *The Rand Post*, December 28, 1898, had an article on "The Rebellion," which was very abusive of the petitioners, whose paper sent to the British Government, so greatly irritated President Kruger, who described it as "the lying and libelous petition"; and we quote:

"The hand on the rudder! It is more than time! Now once for all, an end must be put to such exhibitions as that of Saturday's, by reason of which the English Government will contend is not capable of exercising authority, not in a position to insure the safety of personal property. In the interests of the country such little upheavals must be vigorously suppressed. From henceforward public gatherings of a semi-political chracter in Johannesburg

must be absolutely forbidden and prevented, because here (in Johannesburg) such gatherings lead to confusion and disorder. The 400 or 500 policemen are sufficient to exercise authority, and especially to prevent such open-air gatherings, and to prevent further flag waving by English ladies taking place before the door of the English Consulate. Mounted police can and must disperse such gatherings, and, if necessary, there must be some shooting done. Nobody should find that in any respect very terrible. In other countries that happens now and then, and the public well know beforehand that taking part in such gatherings is forbidden, and that force can be used for dispersing such gatherings. Those who then take part in them do so at their own risk. The Government must not proceed further under a Commandant who is hooted by the burghers, but appoint a Commandant who will have the esteem of the burghers. Commandants of neighboring districts should also be in complete readiness with their burghers. Immediately anything happens, the Government must take vigorous action. The Government must show that it is master of this town, and not unsuccessful men of business, and cowardly political wire-pullers, who shelter themselves behind the guns of Her British Majesty, not the men who in their quality of British subjects, and under cover of lying petitions bring to light their hatred of the Boer. To this Johannesburg Rebellion an end must be put once and for all. The well-meaning portion of the population, a very considerable part, wishes nothing else. Let us shoot down a pair of these wire-pullers, and thereby spare ourselves a formal war."

A Characteristic Article

This is expressive of the venomous intensity of the press of the Boers. In the same article there are very broad hints to President Kruger that he had been going too far in the conciliation of the British. There are in the Blue Books many instances of personal

outrage, violence, insult, oppression and murder, with a view to the intimidation of the "strangers," the "newcomers," those who were crowding themselves into "the blood-bought land" from mere sordid motives of course in gathering gold and diamonds, and being more numerous than the Boers, and having more money and fixed property, were even not content with the simple office of the payment of taxes and submission to the Boers as an inferior caste. In order to emphasize this spirit of exclusion of those who were actually representing the progress of civilization, and doing vastly more than the Boers ever did to improve the country and make it prosperous in all the ways of advanced civilization, a fort was erected and so located as to bring the business centre of the Uitlanders directly under the guns of the Boers, who not satisfied with the menace of personal outrages and the denial of public rights, had to have a fort from which they could fire into the city, in which their policemen were constantly guilty of extrarodinary brutalities. There is a whole history of these outrages that would make good reading for sentimentalists.

A Whole History of Outrages

The policy of the Boer President and people in the negotiations that had so unhappy a termination was, throughout, marked with all the worst characteristics of the Boer race. The President of the South African Republic had promised in London, where he appeared as the head of a commission when the British attempted the alleged sublime policy of magnanimity in refraining from pushing the war, after the miserable slaughters and skirmishes culminating in the Majuba Hill insanity and massacre—that the Government of the "Republic" would be most considerate in protecting the rights of the British subjects in the Transvaal. Doubtless it was the remembrance of his responsibilities thus undertaken that aroused the violent spirit in the Boer Dictator when he met the

British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, in the Blœmfontein conferences—so that he vehemently denounced the true petitioners of Johannesburg as falsifiers in appealing to the British Government for belated protection. It was the pleasure of President Kruger, who had himself in London promised his protection, that those who told the plain truth as to the oppression of the European people were "libelous liars." The Dictator, whose official title was that of President, and who undertook to be the representative of the implacable, domineering spirit of the Boer minority in the Transvaal, in his personal declarations disregarded all civilized amenities, and grossly insisted upon the humiliation of England in the very matter of which she has been most justly proud and won the highest regard of all enlightened peoples, and that is, of seeing at whatever cost that British subjects shall be respected everywhere in their personal rights.

England's Determined Protection of Her Subjects

Mr. Chamberlain was well within the line of established truth when he said, if the English Government had no rights in the Transvaal other than those arising from the duty of demanding plain justice from an independent government, be it republican or monarchy, the treatment of the Uitlanders at the hands of the Boers required remonstrance and demanded consideration. Of course, the logic of this statement was that if there was not a remedy for the great and bitter wrong inflicted upon one of the most important communities in the world, and far the most important in Africa, the British Empire would have to interfere. The claims of England that British subjects should be respected in personal rights have been many times vindicated, and the fact that the whole world knows the high principle and firm policy of the British in the determined protection of its subjects is one of the glories of the Empire. The President of the South African

Republic flinched from his own word of honor and responsibility given in London, and rudely asserted that the majority of Europeans in the Transvaal had no rights he was bound to respect. He did not use precisely that form of speech, but it was that substantially, and the meaning of it was that the English-speaking population that had sought the Transvaal because there were there the greatest gold discoveries ever made were to be treated by the Boers as exactly on a level with "niggers." It was the President's persistent assumption and unconcealed purpose that the minority of the people of the Transvaal he controlled must be supreme over two majorities,—one the natives who had precedence of the Dutch in possession of the country, and the other the newcomers who were there on the business of civilized mankind—the Boers being a semi-barbarous minority between the two—holding with a small fraction of the population a half-way fortification from which to order and command. President Kruger wandered constantly in his conferences from the discussion of the franchise, showing an imperious temper and an inordinate and reckless, domineering propensity.

A Reasonable and Just Proposal

The proposal made by the Brirish Commissioner for a settlement of difficulties was plain, reasonable in all respects, singularly careful of all the just susceptibilities of the Boer Government. It consented to the maintenance of the dominance of the minority, except in requiring respect for personal and public rights accorded to individuals in all civilized governments,—and in the declaration of the strict rights of British subjects consent was given to the theory of the utter independence of the Boers. There was a careful limitation here, so that even the vanity of the semi-barbarians, who asserted that they were and must be always the exclusive rulers, was not to be suddenly and in a hostile sense disturbed.

There was much conceded merely to save the excessive and savage self-esteem of the Boers, who, however, positively refused justice and demanded without mitigation exercise of a despotism so unwarranted and wicked as to be intolerable to civilization. The Boer statements, soliciting sympathy, circulated in the United States have dwelt upon the assertion that the British subjects, who meant to reside permanently in the Transvaal, refused to become citizens of the South African Republic on any conditions. This way of putting the case was misleading, and purposely so. The British subjects did not agree to renounce their character as subjects, until assured they could be citizens of the South African Republic so far, and *that the large majority of the Europeans, the white men in the Transvaal, might have a small minority of representation in the Volks Raad, and this upon the belief that if a very few members of that body who knew the truth of the conditions were able to speak it in public and officially, there would be a mitigation of the remorseless tyranny under which the Uitlanders had been suffering.*

Boers Positively Refuse Justice

The Boer President refused to think of this, on the precise and often expressed ground that the Uitlanders were a large majority of the people, and there could be no safeguards for the Boer Government if these outsiders and strangers were permitted to have any political rights whatever. The President held indomitably that the "newcomers" and "strangers" should not occupy and possess the country to any degree by force of numbers or merit of industry and property. They were in the "blood-bought land"—that is truthfully applied, especially the native blood, and British blood had been shed copiously, and the land was bloody enough in that sense; but the condition of English-speaking people and all white immigrants in the gold fields, the richest in

the world, and the diamond fields, also the richest ever known—the whole output amounting to more than one hundred millions of dollars a year—should be abject submission to an extortionate, tyrannous and brutal caste that respected no human rights and revelled in selfishness, sordidness and personal and racial insolence. The initial point at which President Kruger stood through these negotiations, in which he had ample and honorable opportunities to make peace, was that the great communities of English-speaking people were composed of strangers and aliens who must be inferiors. This amounted to a presumption, officially and peremptorily and continuously asserted, that the Boers must, though a minority, and *because they were a minority*, be consecrated by "blood" a ruling caste, a caste whose authority it was impious to dispute, and that they must have confided to them exclusively and forever commanding powers held sacred over the natives they had enslaved; and the English-speaking people they taxed, assessed and restricted, insulted and humiliated with ostentation at their sovereign, savage pleasure. It is a mild and gentle form of expression to say that the behavior of the Boers has been that of a barbarous tribe, and that their conduct has had a nearer correspondence with Zulu savagery than with Christian civilization, and totally lacks the kindliness of the Hottentot. The Boers forced the war with England in the spirit of haughty, tribal, class, racial, contemptuous hostility, and would have it so throughout the Conferences.

Mr. Kruger's Views on the Question

After the Conferences between the British Commissioner and Governor of South Africa, Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger, the peace-making efforts lacked acute interest, but were perseveringly continued. The latest concession of the Boers was that if the "people"—and by the "people" were meant the burghers of the

Transvaal—approved, and the Government would try to get them to do so, a "retrospective five years' franchise" would be granted, and the amount of it was that of two-thirds of the white men of the Transvaal were to have one-fourth of the representation in the Volks Raad, but by no possibility, it was a little later explained, could the English language be permitted in that august body—the barbarous jargon of the Boers being the official language and the only tongue to be spoken. The President of the Orange State, as the gravity of the situation increased played a raucous second fiddle to President Kruger, and busied himself against the English, constantly professing friendliness to excess, working upon the line of securing the acceptance of an impossible complacency by the majority of white men in the Transvaal, in reference to the policy of their own subordination. That sort of submission is not according to the inheritance of the blood or the antecedent history of the English-speaking race, and the Uitlanders were not effusive with satisfaction even at the last Boer effort to make peace by offering a fractional representation in a body while they must listen to an unknown tongue and not be permitted to speak in the "Republican" parliament the language of the majority of the tolerably white men dwelling in the territory of the Republic.

The English Language not Permitted

The utility of the hysteria of the President of the Orange State was in the warning his frequent and voluminous impracticable suggestions gave, that peace could only be preserved by another case of sublime magnanimity like that of Mr. Gladstone, whose Christian benevolence had given the Boers confidence in their own invincibility and also in the timidity of the British, who were supposed to be most happy when dealing in generosities toward enemies in arms and victorious over the generous. Suddenly the peace-maker, President of the Orange State, snatched the British

gold in transit, arrested or expelled British subjects by countenancing and justifying a panic that led them to take flight from his peaceable State, at the same time commandeering the burghers in force, assuming that this was done in a purely pacific way; and on the fourth of October this man of peace wrote to Sir Alfred Milner that he must urge the "urgent necessity of intimating to me without further delay whether Your Excellency sees your way clear to give effect to these my views and wishes."

The President of the Orange Free State as Peace Maker

It will be remarked that there is found in the Orange President's literature the same sort of note that Aguinaldo was in the habit of putting in his proclamations expressions of his intense passion for pacification when he was plotting the burning of Manila and the massacre of the American army. President Steyn had just stated that the South African Republic would not "make or entertain proposals or suggestions unless not only the troops menacing their State were withdrawn further from their borders, but an assurance given" that all increase of British troops in South Africa would be stopped and those on the water not landed "or as far removed as can be from the scene of possible hostilities;" and then if the Orange State President was to do anything more for peace he must now—this was the evening of October 5th—"if this preliminary but absolutely essential matter can be regulated between this and to-morrow." This shows that the professional presidential pacificator had received due notice of the purpose of the Boers to rush a declaration of war.

CHAPTER V

The Boer Declaration of War and the Gathering of the Armies.

WHEN the Republic of South Africa and the Orange Free State, after a conspiracy of the two Presidents, rushed their armies into what they believed a campaign of conquests, the surprise of the Boers and their allies that they gained so few and small advantages after elaborate preparations and careful openings of their opportunities in striking first, was as great as that of the British, that they, indifferently provided and hastily thrust into hot places, could not march headlong in solid columns, storming fortifications, to easy victories.

Both sides Surprised

The Boer ultimatum, ordering the British to flee, for waiting on the frontiers would be regarded a "declaration of war on the part of Her Majesty's Government," and that within forty-eight hours, was promulgated on the 9th of October. The material part is in the following words, as per Assotiated Press report :

THE TRANSVAAL'S ULTIMATUM,

which is signed by F. W. Reitz, State Secretary, is as follows :

"Her Majesty's unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of this republic, in conflict of the London convention of 1884, by the extraordinary strengthening of her troops in the neighborhood of the borders of this republic, has caused an intolerable condition of things to arise, to which this Government feels itself obliged, in the interest not only of this republic, but also of all South Africa, to make an end as soon as possible, and this Government feels itself called upon and obliged to press

THE LAST LETTER HOME

An incident at Ladysmith. Red Cross Nurse writing a message of love from a dying soldier.

THE GUARDS TERRIFIC CHARGE—BATTLE OF BELMONT

earnestly and with emphasis for an immediate termination of this state of things and to request Her Majesty's Government to give assurances upon the following four demands:

"First—That all points of mutual difference be regulated by friendly recourse to arbitration or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government and Her Majesty's Government.

"Second—That all troops on the borders of this republic shall be instantly withdrawn.

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

"Fourth—That Her Majesty's troops which are now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa."

To these demands is appended the definition of time limit for a reply:

"This Government presses for an immediate and affirmative answer to these four questions, and earnestly requests Her Majesty's Government to return an answer before or upon Wednesday October 11, 1899, not later than 5 o'clock P. M.

It desires further to add that in the unexpected event of an answer unsatisfactory being received by it within the interval, it will, with great regret, be compelled to regard the action of Her Majesty's Government as a formal declaration of war, and will not hold itself responsible for the consequences thereof, and that in the event of any further movement of troops occurring within the above mentioned time, in a nearer direction to our borders, this Government will be compelled to regard that also as a formal declaration of war. I have the honor to be, respectfully yours,

F. W. REITZ,
State Secretary."

To the above, Great Britain replied that the demands were such as could not be discussed, and instructed the, British agent to apply for his passport, which he did.

On the following day, October 11th, the proclamation of war was formally issued at Pretoria, the Boer capital, and the Orange Free State openly took its place as an ally of the South African Republic, appointing General Petrus Jocobus Joubert Commandant-

General of its forces. Both the Transvaal and Free State Boers promptly invaded Natal and took strong positions.

The object was to overrun South Africa, raising the Dutch in revolt, and driving all foes seaward, before the slender British garrisons could be reinforced from England. Thus the war began with surprises on both sides, for the outposts of the English met the onslaught of the Boer columns whose movements were extraordinarily rapid as they were nearly all mounted men, with a hearty appetite for coming to blows. The flood of Boer riflemen on horseback well supplied with artillery, largely living on the country that was to have swept the British into the towns by the sea to meet their incoming transports, was soon arrested. The centers of the cyclones of war were quickly defined.

Centers of combat quickly Defined

The British were astonished to meet in the Boer armies evidences of well studied campaigning, thorough armament and generalship in the leaders, and in finding that what was understood to be irregular forces in thin lines of skirmishers were masses of an army of 50,000 men. The British were still more thoroughly surprised on finding themselves hard pressed, than the Boers were that the momentum of the advance of the sweeping successes of which they had such broad expectations, had been suddenly stayed.

If there had been no political considerations with respect to people of whose tendencies there were doubts to control the action of the British at the beginning of the war their military position would have been much bettered by yielding more ground in Natal, abandoning the positions that the Boers were abundantly able to surround and that were certain to need relief in a few weeks, a condition that would force the British armies to hasten advances on dangerous lines. The scenes of the first chapter of the war had been located by the establishment of arsenals and encampments

that must be strenuously defended, if not destroyed, with losses irreparable for many days. The gravest consideration in the first weeks of the war were as to the choice between the better military and political positions. Naturally there was something of both given weight in the selections made. Rather than abandon additional Natal territory the British accepted the conditions in the midst of which they have repeatedly suffered severely, and their columns have been driven to accept the contingencies of extra hazardous operations and relief expeditions driven under the strain of perilous emergency. The British, as well as the Boers and Orange State armies underestimated the work they cut out for themselves. The mutual wonder has been that there was such hot work on both sides.

Important Decisions to Be made

During the first weeks of the war the British were busy in securing transports and getting troops and supplies for the voyage of a month, and the news of the passing days was of the scenes of parting at the ports whence the regiments ordered to join the African army of the British, sailed; and next was the announcement of the arrivals of the famous organizations at the ports to which they had been ordered,—speculations as to the time required to put in motion the several columns for the relief of the besieged garrisons, and the meantime the gallantry of the beleagured British and their style of defending themselves with dashing sorties deeply moved the public, and gave edge and points to attention. The encounters at this time were decidedly educational. The combatants were taught to respect each other. Innumerable war incidents gave zest to the reading of the current literature in which the journals paraded the names of the troop ships, the number of men with rifles, the names of the officers, speculations as to the days and hours the vessels would require to reach the seat of war, the places

Early Days of the War

where the troops could be put ashore to the greatest advantage, the roads they must follow to the front.

This was a period of confidence on the part of the British, mitigated only by occasional furtive suggestions of misgiving. It was almost universally held throughout the British Empire that the divisions on the way would be equal to the demands upon them. The arrival of Sir Redvers Buller to take supreme command was to be a signal for the display of imperial power—the auspicious beginning of the speedy end. It was reasonable that spectators not jealous of the British, and inclined to some form of hatefulness towards them, should accept the information and conclusions of the intelligence of the people of the dominant British Island. The general judgment of the world outside the British Empire—excepting the specialists in detailed knowledge who had made close studies of the shifting situation with growing apprehension of its seriousness, political as well as military—was that the war was to be charged to the account of the land greed of Englishmen, and their persecution of the religious and Republican Boers instead of to the fact that the Transvaal Republicans made up one barbary state, and the alleged Orange Free State another, in a lesser degree wanting in civility, and that these allies were resolute and aggressive in their determination to enslave both the original occupants of the soil and those who had within a few years developed its exceedingly great riches, and the worth to the world of the astounding revelation of the most precious stones and metals.

Public Opinion

When we form the intimate acquaintance of the facts we find the friction between the strangely mixed races of the Transvaal was not caused by British expansionists, or occasioned by British aggression, but by the stolid abominable ambition of the Boer race—the same for whom Great Britain had broken the Zulu

power in a war that was most expensive in blood and money. The trouble in Africa did not grow from the anxiety of the British for extensions of territory or of privileges. The Boers held all others to be according to the Gospel their inferiors, and the protestation of the British Government that there should be for the sake of peace a very moderate reform amounting to the insertion of an admixture of justice, according to all testimony denied disdainfully, in the administration of the laws, customs and habits of the caste of burghers.

The world so far as it has admitted daylight to aid the inspection of South African affairs has parted with two illusions: First, that the English made the war, second, that they were ready for it, and menaced the liberties of South African peoples when they landed two regiments of regular troops at Durban. It is demonstrated the Boers were the war makers and ready for war, holding the British in contempt for peaceableness under the buffetings to which they had submitted, and for their reluctance to take up arms to defend themselves. It was the Boers who declared war and were first in the field. They had a fixed policy for asserting themselves with increasing energy and ferocity, and they opened the grim game of war in logical accordance with their proceedings ever since England was so magnanimous after Majuba Hill. Their astonishment as to the misapprehensions manifest in the course of warfare thus far, is as great as that of the English at their miscalculations that would seem humorous if they were not most grave.

Two Popular Illusions.

CHAPTER VI

The First Bloodshed

THE first battle of the war was fought October 20th, eleven days after the ultimatum of the South African Republic. General White was at Ladysmith, where there was a large accumulation of stores, and General Symons at Dundee and Glencoe Junction. A Boer force under Lucas Meyers were in position on Talana Hill. General Symons attacked them. He was mortally wounded, 10 officers and 33 men killed and 200 wounded, but the Hill was carried, and though there has been much disputation as to the possession of the ground immediately after the conflict, and the comparative lists of casualties, British pride in the courage of their troops was justified, and the Boers realized they were confronted by soldiers who would not be satisfied for a day to act strictly on the defensive. The outlying position of General Symons was perhaps not worth the sacrifice of so many men to storm a hill that could not be held at the utmost more than a few days. It was necessary for the British to retire from the field of their dearly bought victory, and General Symons died in the hands of his enemies, while the wounded soldiers who could not be removed were captured. It is creditable to the Boers that they treated the dying General and the mangled men, with respect and kindness.

The First Battle of the War

On the 21st of October, the day after the fight at Glencoe—Symon's fight—General French, second in command at Ladysmith, defeated the Boers, many from the Orange State, at

Elandslaagte, a few miles north of Ladysmith. The losses were heavy, and a retreat from Glencoe, which was soon found to be inevitable, was made comparatively easy. The English forces that fought at Glencoe and Elandslaagte, united October 26th with the garrison at Ladysmith, and a week later were surrounded by a largely superior force under General Joubert, the better known of the Boer officers, whose movements were slowed down by the hard fighting he had found it necessary to do. It was the unity of the detachments that gained, in severe encounters, the first successes of the British, that justified the bloodshed where Generals Symons and French were conspicuously heroic. The garrison of Ladysmith was strengthened by the naval brigade that got in during the sortie of the 30th of October, and manned the guns of long range transported by railroad from the British cruiser "The Powerful," which was at Durban. Lieutenant Edgerton, of that cruiser, at first handled the guns, and wounded by a shell died after a few days.

Battle of Elandslaagte

The hard work the Boers had to do in the first days of their appearance before completing the investment of Ladysmith, obstructed their plan of campaign, which was to beat back the British at all points in Natal and lock them up in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. The storm centers in the latest days of October, after three weeks of war, were Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking; and the mobile masses of the Boers were held in check as the transports loaded with soldiers from England drew nigh. But the British were not the men to defend themselves in trenches only. They were too fond of going out to find and develop their enemies, and had to pay dearly repeatedly for the spirit of adventure with which they made themselves acquainted with the country occupied by those who knew it well.

Hard Work on Both Sides

News that was distressing reached England from the seat of war on the last day of October. A squadron of the 18th Hussars was "cut off" and taken prisoners when in pursuit of apparently fugitive Boers. This was near Dundee. There was a sortie from Ladysmith under Colonel Carlton, who was also "cut off" and forced to surrender. He had been sent out in the night to "flank the enemy," a phrase of wide construction, and a broad road leading to destruction, unless one is certain of the location of the flanks and the main body too, of the enemy. On this occasion there was a stampede of mules with "practically the whole of the gun equipment, and the greater part of the small arm ammunition." This affair is known as the disaster of Nicholson's Nek. These 870 officers and men, after fighting nearly an entire day and exhausting ammunition, were surrendered, and their presence in Pretoria attested a great victory by the Boers, and increased Afrikander expectations and enthusiasm. The organizations involved were four and a half companies of the Gloucesters, six companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, and the 10th Mountain Battery. The British successes at Glencoe and Elandslaagte were due to the excellence of the soldiers and the devotion of the officers. The successes of the Boers that speedily followed were results of what the London *Times* calls "the humiliating truth—that in that difficult country of kopjes, our enemy more numerous, better informed and immeasurably more mobile, is able to act more swiftly than our forces in isolated attacks, as he is habitually able to choose better positions to defend."

General Buller Arrives

General Buller arrived at Cape Town on the day of the Dundee disaster October 31st, and his conception of his first duty was the relief of Ladysmith. For that and collateral purposes there were three columns prepared for the advance. About 16,000

men were sent to Durban, where General Cleary soon had two whole divisions. General Gatacre was sent to Queenstown November 18th, to check a Free State incursion threatening Cape Colony, and Lord Methuen with the Guards and a Brigade of the line, and the Highland Brigade, moved on the way direct for Kimberley. It does not take scientific attainment in looking upon a map of the country to understand that the advantages of the position were remarkably with the Boers, and no one had any reason for surprise that all the British relief columns had "serious reverses."

The Strategy of the Boers

An English correspondent, evidently a trained observer, says of the strategy of the Boers: "Their plan has been simplicity itself. Establish a laager in a convenient position, detach a sufficient force to hold and strengthen a kopje, and await a British attack coming from a given direction. If the attack succeeds the detachment falls back on the main laager, and the game is repeated. Such are the tactics of the Boers. Their acquaintance with lyddite shell is said to have induced them to place less confidence in the rocky crests of the kopjes and to resort to trenches on lower ground, but the principle remains the same. So long as the campaign is waged in a country that provides an interminable series of defensible positions which are attacked in the way the Boers most ardently desire, while our troops are tethered to a railway, the game must apparently continue to be in the hands of the enemy."

Sir Redvers Buller found clouds and darkness when he landed at Cape Town a week before his birthday, having made up his own staff irrespective of all suggestion of favoritism, and accepted all the responsibilities. There was before him the two Boer States whose Presidents, and sympathizers in Natal, Cape Town and

throughout Southern Africa, caused by the uncertainties of the British policy for many years, had made hopeful the schemes for the foundation of an Afrikander Nation. This would mean that all South Africa should be subjected to the mastery of the Boers, whose specific and especial policy would be to drive out Englishmen with all their capital, influences and improvements. The meaning of a great Boer nation could not fail to be a confederacy of inferior civilization, and to end the grand work the British have carried on, brightening the Dark Continent from the days of Moffat and Livingstone to those of Stanley and Rhodes. Sir Redvers Buller found the Afrikander movement held in suspense by the Mafeking, Ladysmith and Kimberley defenders, who were fighting fiercely to stand their ground until the relief columns could be gathered, formed, put in motion and strike. On all sides there were embarrassments of the gravest nature for the English.

Difficulties in Mobilizing the Troops

The public at large were occupied considerably in counting the number of soldiers that had sailed from England, computing the speed of the ships and fixing the dates of their arrival at the ports for which they were destined, and the concern was not great as to the mobility of the troops, the confinement of the columns to railroad lines easily interrupted, and the immense impediment in the indispensable stores heaped at the points of debarkation, as in our attack upon the Spaniards in Cuba we were overwhelmed at the point of embarkation. The army with which the British Commander-in-Chief moved in the direction of Ladysmith was about the same size as that under Major-General Shafter that scrambled aboard ship at Tampa and landed at Santiago.

Confronted by Clouds and Darkness

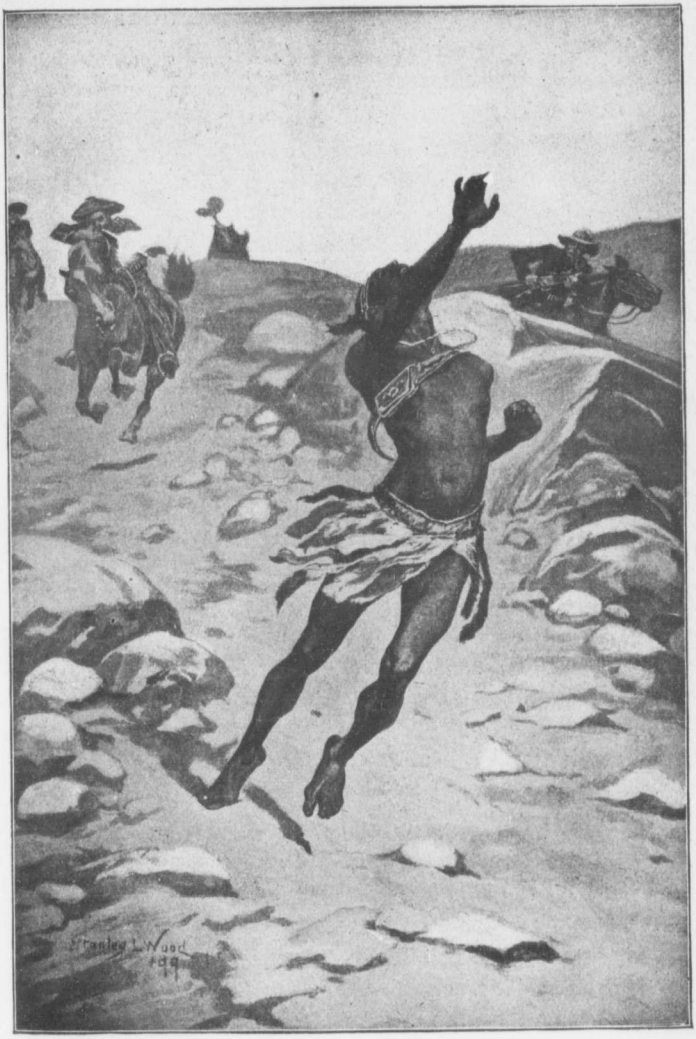
As Sir Redvers Buller marched to attempt the passage of the Tugela River, he had to encounter the discouragements of the

bloody repulses of both columns co-operating with him, and especially the depressing experience of Lord Methuen on the Modder River; and he had also at last to report as the others had done, a "serious reverse."

There is to be remarked a strong family likeness in all the combats unfortunate for the British—the desperate storming of fortified hills, the half blind flank movements, seemingly seeking to get into ambuscades—the columns by companies charging into zones of rifle fire, Mausers in the hands of marksmen; the vain hammering with artillery not all of the latest pattern and longest range—the certain, fatal, frontal advance, because there was no other way, as the ground lay, for the work required to be done; and there were, more than all, rivers booming between rugged banks, rocks serving the Boers for shelter and rests for their rifles, and a perfect exposure of the masses of the British to the searching fire of the expert riflemen.

The Boers Selected Their Time Judiciously

The Boers had selected their time for beginning the war, and judiciously placed it when the open country was green with grass for their ponies, and their forces were wafted about almost as swiftly as the winds,—while the British were fettered to lines of rails readily obstructed, and repeated misfortunes taught the limits of usefulness of armored trains, perils from the mad panic of green drivers with greener mules; the fact slowly learned by old soldiers that the rifles in hand often outranged the artillery, the next to impossible fording of rivers in the face of rifle fire, making the attempts an invitation to slaughter, no matter what the merits of the troops even if the best the world ever saw; and all the while the pressure of the bitter necessity of groping gallantly along the gloomy paths that, as we read in Gray's Elegy, "lead but to the grave," though they shine with glory.



A NATIVE DISPATCH CARRIER OVERTAKEN BY THE BOERS

GENERAL SIR GEORGE WHITE, V.C.
Commander British Forces, Battle of Ladysmith.

GENERAL LORD METHUEN
British Commander, Battle of Modder River.

Commander British Forces, Battle of Ladysmith.

CHAPTER VII

The Magersfontein Battle.

LORD METHUEN moved from the Orange River, November 23d. The objective point of his undertaking was the relief of Kimberley, the city of diamond mines. He had at the start a success that was described in glowing terms. Though the result has appeared in the study of the course of the combat, which gave him so much distinction, and caused an amount of applause that was at least disproportionate to that which was accomplished, was that the British lost 225 men, killed and wounded—a casualty list that would have meant a bloody skirmish in a war of very considerable proportions. The fighting was fierce on both sides, and heavy losses were considered matters of course. Napoleon's observation that one had to break eggs to make an omelette was much quoted as the correct philosophy of warfare.

Heavy Losses on Both Sides

The second stroke by his Lordship, in the course of this campaign, was at Graspan, and the sobering effect of it, though the claim of the British was that they had won a victory, did not pass away upon reading this telegram, dated at Cape Town, December 15th, giving mature information: "A visit to Simons Town hospital confirms the reports of the extraordinary gallantry of the marines at Graspan. They have 92 casualties out of a total of 183 in the fight. Many have three wounds and some four. Sixty per cent. of the officers and sargeants were hit." All the officers of the naval detachment but two were wounded. The correspondents wrote

that they were on the way to Kimberley "fighting invisible foes," but moving on slowly and surely. It was plain that though the foe was invisible, they made themselves felt. The number of Boers in action at Graspan was estimated at 3,000, and by the time the slow movement reached Modder River the force of Boers was believed to be 8,000, showing the mobility of the fighters against the relief of Kimberley. They hastened from place to place and knew how and where to concentrate to be of efficiency in obstructing the British advance. The following week the numbers of the Boers at Magersfontein was believed to be possibly 16,000.

The Hottest Fight of the British Army

The British General described the fight of November 28th as one of the hottest and most trying in the annals of the British Army. He was careful not to claim a decisive victory, and his moderate language was the more impressive for the absence of reassuring assertion overdone. He said: "After desperate hard fighting, lasting ten hours, the men without water or food under a burning sun, made the enemy quit their position." The London *Times* correspondent wrote: "The fire was the hottest recorded, and the results would revolutionize existing theories. It was effective up to 1,600 yards, but the casualties among the troops lying down were trifling, their losses being only thirty, though they were in an exposed position. It was found impossible to bring the ammunition reserve to the firing line," Much in these words is significant, and they should have conveyed a warning as to what revolutionary experience ought to teach; but the commander of the column did not seem to be teachable. He held on to existing theories. If it was impossible to bring the ammunition reserve to the firing line, it was an acknowledgment that no matter what the attacking force might be in front of an enemy armed with long range rifles, the attack must utterly fail upon the consumption of the cartridges the men were able to

carry into action. This, of course, if an established proposition, would limit rigidly the force of an assault.

However, the Boers, on this occasion, withdrew in the night, and the British occupied the whole of the battlefield, and the column was said to be encouraged, and moved on according to the fashionable formula of the special dispatches, "slowly but surely to Kimberley." There was nothing in the advantage gained to awaken enthusiasm, and confidence began to fail. There was an atmosphere of misfortune in which the English armies were moving.

General Gatacre, December 10th, mentioned a "serious reverse" in attack that morning at Stormberg, where he had penetrated resisting the invasion of the north of Cape Colony by Orange State forces. The general had merely been "misled to the enemy's position by guides, and found impracticable ground." Also he had taken the precaution of marching all night to surprise the enemy, and was misguided by spies, so morning broke on him in the presence of the enemy, who were posted on "an unscalable hill." The British Empire owes his Lordship a memorable debt of gratitude because he did not immediately order an impossible charge! The troops that were exhausted in a long night's march to enter a trap at daylight should, according to prevalent tactics, have been rushed upon any hill that was crowned by the enemy, and "unscalable." How could General Gatacre have found out that the hill could not be scaled without attempting it with his men? He varied the strategy by retreating nine miles immediately, and complimented the enemy's gunners for the punishment they gave him, saying, "their guns were remarkably well served, and carried accurately 5,000 yards." This was disagreeable intelligence, but the general is reported to have had the satisfaction of shooting his false guide, and rested from his labors.

General Gatacre's Serious Reverse

He had not the perseverance of Lord Methuen, who was enabled to wire truthfully that he had failed, December 12th, in assaulting the enemy's position at Magersfontein. It was there his Lordship met in full force General Cronje, who had been spending a few days intrenching himself after the fight on the Modder River. There was no effort on the part of the British officers to claim Magersfontein as a victory, though they did insist that the loss of the Boers was something frightful. The Highland Brigade was marched after the fashion of General Gatacre at Stormberg, so as to come right on the enemy just at the time and in the formation that they wanted to see him. It was, of course, during the darkness of early morning, after a very hard night for the men, that they entered the trap. The Boers had been waiting patiently and exercising their mobility in getting together so as to have a force of about 12,000 men. In that which immediately followed, the emergence of the troops from the strain of the march, General Wauchope seemed to believe his orders meant a massacre of his men, and it is the story of the battle whether strictly true or not, that will give it endless fame, that he called to the men not to hold him responsible, as he was obeying Lord Methuen's orders. He died on the field, and his son, near him, was wounded.

Lord Methuen's Failure

The Highlanders composing his brigade were, it is told with a dreadful simplicity, in "formation of quarter column," with no time to deploy, and they could not, by anything known in military maneuvers, have been placed in better form for the enemy. The loss of the brigade was their brave and capable commander Wauchope, with about 700 men killed and wounded, fifty of them officers, seven-tenths of them Highlanders. This was the overture. There came after it a great deal of bombarding by the British of the Boer trenches, and the result

The Losses

was Lord Methuen retired to the Modder River, the retreat having been conducted in the official reports in an "orderly" manner. It will be noted that a considerable number of the Highlanders escaped, and that is accounted for by the fact that they were just a few minutes too early on the ground. They were quicker than expected according to the time table, and "bad light" saved those whose names were not found in the casualty lists. It was said that General Gatacre personally executed the false guides; but the trap for Lord Methuen immediately succeeding the affair at Stormberg was a case bearing such a close resemblance to the Magersfontein incident, where the guides were not accused of wilfully going on, that there rests a suspicion as to the criminality of the error that General Gatacre avenged. The dispatches say in the case of the experience of Lord Methuen, "six miles had to be covered before the Highland Brigade could reach the Boer stronghold. It is not yet clear through what mischance the force which was led by guides came upon the Boer trenches so unexpectedly and so suddenly. Beyond question the Boers were aware of the approach of the British and had prepared to receive them." There were persistent reports that the Boers suffered heavy losses in the combat that opened with the fall of 700 Highlanders. Whatever were the casualties of the Boers, they must have been inflicted by the British Artillery which fired lyddite shells for several hours, and as nothing could be seen to positively show what the effect of the shelling was, there are evident exaggerations in the fancies about it. Reuter's Special Agency telegraphed from Modder River December 12th: "Twelve ambulances started early this morning under a flag of truce to collect the wounded and bury the dead. General Wauchope's body was found near a trench. He had been shot "through the chest and in the thigh." The Boer General Cronje telegraphed

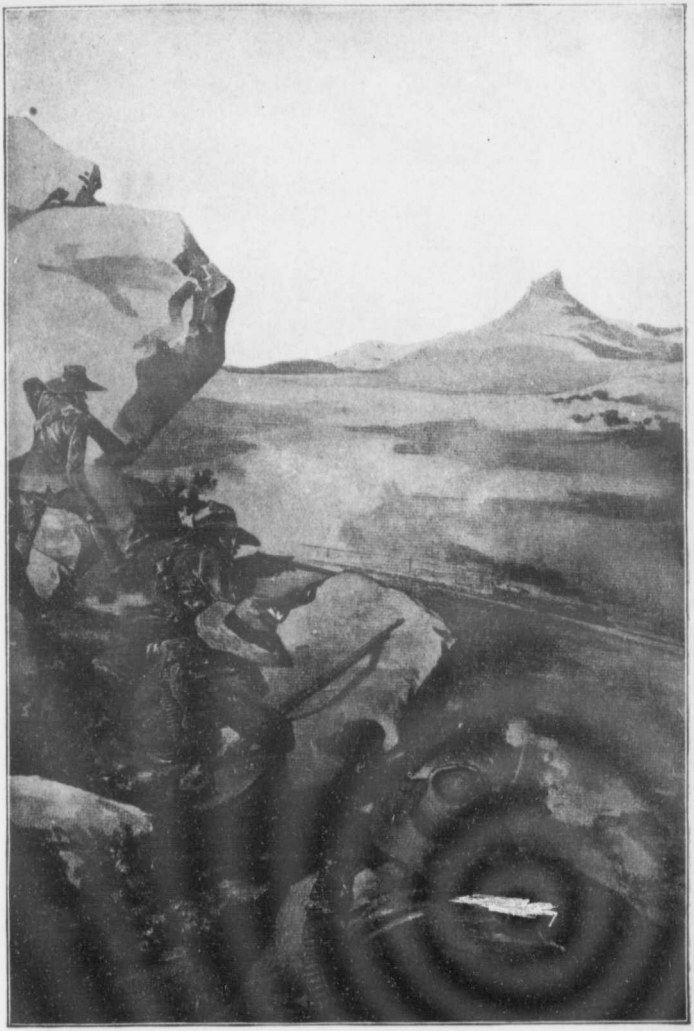
What the Dispatches Say

that he estimated his losses in this engagement at 100 killed and wounded, and the British at 2,000. Rumors in the camp of the British placed the Boer loss at 700 at least. The Queen sent to the widow of General Wauchope a touching message expressing her deep sympathy, and paid a warm tribute to the general's qualities as a soldier and his services to the nation. Her Majesty referred to the fact that with a single exception, that of the Soudan, in every campaign in which he had taken part he had been wounded.

The most hopeful of British military movements in South Africa, for a time, was that of the column of Lord Methuen, which was terminated by the decimation of the Highland Brigade. He was reported as steadily advancing, winning his way with dashing marches without heavy losses. His high qualities were mentioned with emphasis in all the newspapers—his stalwart physique, his cleverness, his kindliness, his courage, his intelligence; there was no praise too effusive for the adulation to which he was subjected. The fact that the Highlanders were put into a trap under his orders changed all this, and he is accused of madness. The orders that he gave on the field are described as those of a maniac; but his misfortune was quite like that which preceded it at Stormberg, and succeeded it at Colenso. Whatever is to be said of the disaster of Magersfontein, it must be recognized as typical and to signify either that the Boers were invincible or the methods of war as conducted by the British just at that period defective to helplessness. Four days later came the repulse of Buller's army, and the malady of disaster was manifest there also; so that it would almost warrant characterizing as a disease, a contagion, or a plague.

Sudden Change of Public Sentiment

The general destruction of the Boers by bombarding and the courage displayed by the British soldiers under trying circumstances,



BOERS FIRING ON GENERAL FRENCH'S TRAIN EN ROUTE TO DURBAN

The excellent marksmanship of the Dutch of South Africa enables them to hit a man at the distance of a mile or more with their accurate aim.

TWO SIDES TO THE QUESTION

Boer or Briton? A heated discussion on the crisis.

could not aid the British Empire to assert complacency, and there was a passing consternation that reflection over the monotony of misfortunes converted to indignation, and then the spirit of the people rose to the occasion. There was a general rally and hardening of resolution.

This sort of thing was, however, wired from the Modder River as late as December 13th: "Our lyddite shells fell always where the enemy was thickest; most awful havoc was inflicted by the Royal Horse Artillery, who under a hot fire of a raid by the Boer firing line are said to have filled the trenches with dead."

Much has been said of the Boers on the Modder River blazing away several times in the night, shelling imaginary foes, and there is evidence that the continued use of the British Artillery, shelling Boer lines, and an apprehension of desperate sorties (because after the various storming parties of the British there was no calculating what they might undertake), did for several nights disturb the nerves of the Boers in their intrenchments, and caused them to open fire and continue to blaze with their Mausers and artillery into darkness until they expended a great amount of ammunition; and the British found considerable relief in the enjoyment of this evidence that they were still held in great respect by their enemies. The official Boer account, telegraphed from Pretoria, was this:

The Official Boer Account

"Despatch riders from the field report that the Boers have taken a large quantity of booty, including 200 Lee-Metford rifles, two cases of cartridges, some quantities of filled bandoliers, and hundreds of bayonets. A large number of British retired from Tweerivieren, in the direction of Belmont. The loss of the British is very great. Heaps of dead are lying on the field. The wounded are attended to temporarily at Bisset's Farm. The Boers lost a

considerable number of horses. The sappers and miners must have suffered severely, as many implements were found on the field. The slaughter on the battlefield yesterday cannot be described otherwise than sad and terrible. It was for us a brilliant victory, and has infused new spirit into our men to enable them to achieve greater deeds."

The Magersfontein battle was of intense interest to the people of Kimberley, and a special service dispatch gives this account of what was seen and heard by the anxious inhabitants of that city:

What the Battle Meant for Kimberley

"This morning the ceaseless roar of cannon and Maxims was heard here from 4.25 till 10.30. Riding out at 5.30 A. M. to a ridge beyond the racecourse, I saw shell after shell burst on the side of a sugar-loaf-shaped kopje standing alone to the left of Spitzkop.

"Great puffs of white smoke rose every now and them, appearing like the spray of breakers on a rocky shore. Presently a captive balloon ascended and descended out of sight. The roar of the guns as heard here was most impressive, and told plainly of a great engagement."

The British casualties at Magersfontein are—official total:

Officers and men killed	82
Wounded	667
Missing	348
	1,097

A Mafeking dispatch, January 3d, states "The Boers, despite repeated warnings, concentrated their fire during the last two days upon the women's laager and hospital. Children have been killed and women mutilated by the bursting of shells.

It was at this time reported in their towns that the Boers used explosive bullets. Surgeon Major Anderson authorized the statements that the wounds inflicted at Gambier fight were altogether different to previous experience in Egypt and in India, and that it was impossible they could have been produced by Martini or Mauser bullets, though, perhaps, they might have been caused by Snider ones, but from a scrutiny of the wounds made while dressing them in hospital here he has no doubt in his own mind that bullets of an explosive character were used by the Boers.

Captain Baden Powell deposed Wessels, chief of the tribe of the Baralongs, who had quarters at Mafeking. Wessels has lately been intractable. He spread false reports among the tribes that the military authorities were endeavoring to make the natives slaves.

CHAPTER VIII

Battle of Colenso—Defeat of General Buller.

SOUTH Africa has several lines of railroads scoring the country with outline improvements, and there are many bridges easily broken, and then the iron lines are lost and the armies dependent upon them are, to employ a phrase common in England to describe immobility without imprisonment, "tied by the leg."

"Tied by the Leg"

South Africa is of enormous extent. It is, for example, 643 miles by railroad from Cape Town to Kimberley, and the country is diversified and divided by mountain ranges and rivers, and yet it is extraordinarily open but rugged, giving sharpshooters with long range rifles concealment and shelter, while the columns of an army on the march can hardly be missed by the eye or the rifle. The Boer wagons with oxen for motors are phenomenally slow, but the Boer on his pony with rifles and a supply of cartridges gallops fifty miles in a few hours, while Europeans with indispensable impediments, have hard work to cover one quarter of the distance in the same time. The war was rushed just in the season for the grass to feed the ponies. While the English statesmen were debating with the Boer President the details of fractional representation based upon restricted constituencies, the Transvaal Government used the money extracted from disarmed and unprotected Englishmen in preparing for war, and it was held that a British subject unwilling to be of a servile class and have the people speaking his language in the great city enslaved to the burghers, was in a sense irrational, a disturber, and

one who would be a usurper, sordidly seeking to plunge the world into war. Our revolutionary fathers fought for representation, or rather against taxation without representation, but the Boers regarded it as an insult that the majority paying nine-tenths of the taxes should claim that it would be no more than fair to have one-sixteenth of the law-making power of the Transvaal Congress and none at all of the executive. The British did not prepare for war, but the Boers accused them of it, as the wolf accused a sheep of muddying the water when it was taking a drink down stream; and when the Boers were ready to fight they went at it and took the British unawares, at the same time charging them with responsibility for the conflict.

American and Boer revolutions Compared

If Sir Redvers Buller comprehended the full extent of the dangers of the duties of his assignment, he made no sign. He might have had apprehensions that a pushing advance would mean, at best, delays for an indefinite period, but it seemed preposterous to sit down on a river with 18,000 men and watch the water glide away with the days and get news, perhaps, of the fall of Ladysmith, the place of the trial of strength of the combatants. He did wait long enough to cause comment in the press of his country to the effect that there was no break in the monotony of his camp beside the Tugela. This was equivalent to the old sarcasm in the American war, during the time that McClellan was making ready to move; "All is quiet on the Potomac." It was not the first appearance of General Buller in South Africa. He was with Sir Evelyn Wood after Majuba, and it was assumed his knowledge of the country would be valuable. The resources of the English Empire were at his command, but he was made to feel the want of time. He was where he could hear the thunder of cannon at Ladysmith day after day,

Buller's Difficult position

but there was a river before him and beyond it the enemy in unknown numbers digging trenches, and they also occupied a position on the British side of the river, as was soon ascertained when the attempt was made in full force to pass it. The Boers were engaged in constructing rifle pits in the shape of the letter S, a double curve that gives occupants facilities for keeping out of raking shell fire, but making drainage difficult in rainy weather, and as the ground to cover was rough and the time to turn the tide that had been running against the British had come, if it was to be done before the fall of the besieged places, the General-in-Chief attempted to force the river and the first line of his report, after stating that he had moved in "full force" in the morning was to regret a "serious reverse."

It was indeed serious. If there had been a chance to flank the position of the enemy, General Buller had not discovered it.

A Possible Preliminary Demonstration

The presumption is he had a force much stronger than the enemy would be in the open field, and one would think a violent cannonade at the bend of the river where there were two fords might have commanded attention in that quarter, and that there were British troops enough to make a demonstration that could be converted into a real attack at another point. In the report there is nothing about a pontoon train to put promptly two or three bridges across the Tugela, and no flanking operation seemed to be possible; but that movement should always be at the command of a superior force. Napoleon crossed the Alps to get behind the Austrians, who were furiously besieging Genoa, drew them out and defeated them. General Sherman flanked the Confederate army out of strong positions from Resaca to Atlanta, and his method was as simple as effective. Having the superior force, thirty per cent., propably more, he occupied the whole front of his antagonist and extended one of

his flanks so as to overlap the line of the enemy; then swung a division or corps like a gate to strike the tip of the Confederate wing and crumple it up. When Joe Johnston, who had a great faculty for the business of war, was pressed by this flanking operation, he fell back to another position. The flanking compelled him to retire or to advance, and it was not his game to challenge a general battle with an army greatly stronger than his command. Rivers were not found an insurmountable obstacle in the American war at any time or place. At Fredericksburg the Americans laid pontoons across the Rappahannock in the face of the fire of Mississippi riflemen admirably posted in the cellars whose ventilating windows served as port-holes overlooking the river and the landing. It is to be said, however, that the fire-arms a generation ago did not have a range of a mile, even of half a mile, but the Confederate rifles were effective the whole breadth of the river. The material difference is that the Mausers of to-day have combined four times the range of our old "Springfields" with magazines of four metal cartridges in a "clip"; and one of the problems of the Boer and British war is as to the change made in and by the improvement of the small arms. It must affect the conditions of combats radically; and all the nations are going to the war shool in South Africa.

New Conditions of Warfare

General Buller's report of the action in which he was discomfited is as noticeable for what it does not contain consecutively as for its communicativeness in some respects. He "moved in full strength," starting at four A. M. The first attack was at the left-hand ford, and a failure. The selection of that point for an assault is a curious one, as it was on ground two-thirds surrounded by a curve of the river, and exposed to fire on the front and both flanks. The general says the work could not be done there, but he does not say how soon he became convinced of that; and there was a

second attack made on what may be best described as the right center. The British succeeded in occupying Colenso Station and the houses near the bridge. How great the expectations of the British general were to force a passage of the second ford, then assailed, we have to conjecture, for no two accounts agree, except—and this is between the lines—that the British army at last lost hope and heart. The plan was first to strike with the left wing, and when that had failed, with the right, supporting right and left with the center. The turn of the day was soon to be determined, and "at that moment" the general truly says—he means the crisis of the affair—he "heard" that two field batteries and also six naval guns, twelve pounders, quick fire, were "out of action," *Hors du combat.* The general adds that Colonel Long, who commanded the artillery, "in his desire to be within effective range, advanced close to the river. It proved to be full of the enemy, who suddenly opened a galling fire at close range."

Plan of the Fight

The general commanding does not appear to have been well informed. He must have been exceedingly ill supplied with intelligence that should have been commonplace, if he didn't expect to find the ground near the river full of the enemy, and there is a peculiarity in announcing the sudden opening of a galling fire at close range that one feels it to be needful to account for. The location of the battery was 800 yards from the bank of the river. This is stated by the correspondent of the *Times,* who adds the action of Colonel Long in advancing his guns was "mistaken but heroic," and this writer imparts definiteness to the situation when he tells that Long took his batteries into action "within 800 yards of the river to the left of the railway, and 1250 yards from his objective—a ridge situated beyond Fort Wylie." It was, therefore, "heroic" to go with

Mistaken but Heroic Advance

artillery within three quarters of a mile of the "objective!" The consequence, the correspondent says, was "the guns were exposed to a perfect inferno of rifle and shell fire; officers, men and horses fell in rapid succession, but, nevertheless, the guns went on, unlimbered and opened a steady fire, causing that of the enemy to abate to an appreciable degree. In this position the batteries remained for an hour and a half."

The specific statements appear to show that the correspondent had a better comprehension of the situation than the general. The correspondent says that the guns were fired upon with rifle and shell fire, but went on and opened a steady fire and remained there an hour and a half. What point of time of this hour and a half General Buller refers to in stating that at this "moment" he heard that the batteries were "out of action," is for investigation. Later on, we ascertain that the general had sent these guns "back." They must, therefore, have been turned from the fruitless attack on the left to help the one that seemed more hopeful on the right, but this couldn't happen in a moment. The artillery fire caused that of the enemy to abate, but at the distance of 1,250 yards from the objective the horses of the batteries were killed and so many of the men fell that the guns could not be served, and more than that, the ammunition could not be replenished.

Attack Fruitless

This is the most striking example given in active service of the efficacy of the modern rifle. It overpowered the well-served artillery rapid-fire twelve-pounders. The exhaustion of the ammunition may be in part attributed to the activity of the batteries in the attack on the left. As the men were disabled, so that the guns could not be served, it was not worth while to forward ammunition, and dispatches state that at the time when the guns ceased firing,

"twenty carts went to the rear with the wounded." This, of course, by grace of the Boers.

A further statement is that the artillery detachment "doubled back," which means retreated without order and into a depression —a donga or ravine—where they "found they were protected from the enemy's fire, but exposed to the burning heat of the sun." General Buller and staff rode in that direction. Two of the staff were hit, and the General himself touched, when heroic efforts were made in which the only son of Lord Roberts fell in the act of rescuing the two guns that were restored to the British army. The presence of the Commander-in-Chief at the scene of the greatest danger is noted, but his resources must have been at the time exhausted. The correspondent we have just quoted covers a considerable lapse of time in these words: "At a late hour in the afternoon, while the men were lying without hope of succor under the rays of the still blazing sun, a strong party of Boers crossed the river. *Firing was stopped, and they surrounded the guns which had been taken to the donga for shelter, and captured the whole of them. This is positive, and appears to be at least as authentic as anything official. There is a great gap in the story of the battle that still is to be credited to the censor. A correspondent's letter, early wired, says the Boers crossed the river, and it would appear at this place, but other accounts say that they were intrenched on the British side of the river a little further to the right so extensively they could not be flanked, and they were so numerous they had been offensive and caused the Commander-in-Chief to refer to them as "oppressing his right flank," which was to threaten his retreat. General Buller and his staff are not referred to further than in their appearance in attempting to save the guns. Whether the British artillery and

Boers Capture the Guns

* They had a bridge behind a hill over the Tugela, bearing on Buller's right.

small arms were of as long range as those of the enemy, is one of the questions that rises up and will not down in this connection. The extent of the disaster to the British is emphasized by the knowledge that the guns captured and carried off by the Boers were not only 800 yards distant from the river, but had been, after the batteries had ceased firing, taken into the ravine which was used for shelter only—at least, that is one of the assertions that are made. Colonel Bullock, who attempted to reinforce the artillery and was driven into the ravine, and forced to surrender, but at the same time the men with him "managed to make good their escape in the confusion."

Why Were the Guns Lost

Another question forces itself upon the student of the situation as it existed at this time: Why could not the guns on the British side of the river, more than a furlong from the bank, be put under the fire of British marksmen and saved? Why were the Boers, who came over and swarmed around them safe, while the British had been crushed on that very spot by an "inferno" fire? The Boers could hardly have been in superior force and position on both sides of the river. Early in the action the British had captured Colenso and the houses near the bridge. That position should have offered advantages for those who could consider the propriety of remaining upon the defensive. General Buller certainly was wise in not sacrificing lives in attempts that he saw would for some cause be vain to bring off the guns; indeed, he should have desisted when beaten on the left. The life of Captain Roberts had been sacrificed in the attempt to recover the guns, but the long-range rifle in the hands of marksmen could have detained them on the ground where they were abandoned. If the position of the enemy was impregnable from the beginning, as is the conclusion in England, the commanding general should have known it and had the courage of his conviction

to accept the defeat on the left as the end of the day's experiment. It was according to his reputation, however, to repeat the effort to force the river with increase of energy. But all depended upon the distance from the river that was to be passed—a battery could be in range of the Boer's position and not stricken with their rifle fire and put out of action. There was no eye that made and applied this measurement. It is another form of the question: At what distance is a self-cocking revolver a better weapon than a magazine rifle?

The key to the intelligence of the further proceedings is that the Boers were strongly posted on the south side of the river and pressing at close quarters the right wing of the British army. General Buller explains his refusal to continue the effort to gain possession of the abandoned artillery and the men sheltered in the ravine of retreat, saying, "Of the eighteen horses thirteen were killed, and, as several of the drivers were wounded, I would not allow another attempt, as it seemed they would be a shell mark." This is definite, but not conclusive. The wounding of several drivers does not seem to have been important enough to change the fortunes of the fight; but the fact that, the general adds, he could not sacrifice life in a gallant attempt to force a passage, "unsupported by artillery," gives the reason, and a good one, for not attempting to "force a passage." The language implies that Buller was at the moment the battery was put out of action attempting to cross at the second ford—the one on the right. Of course, it was not possible to do that without the support of artillery, and it might be very difficult with the support of artillery. The general in one sentence refers to the intense heat, and adds that the conduct of the troops was "excellent," and says, in conclusion, "We abandoned ten guns." Right after saying he would not try to force a passage without artillery he

Buller's Explanation

remarked, "I directed the troops to withdraw, which they did in good order. Throughout the day a considerable force of the enemy was pressing on my right flank, but was kept back by the mounted men under Lord Dundonald." Though they were kept back, they were making themselves very disagreeable on General Buller's side of the river; and this happened, as exactly stated, under "the still blazing sun." One company of riflemen, half a mile away, with plenty of ammunition, if marksmen, could have made the abandoned guns too hot for the Boers to take away. The last line of the official report is, "We have retired to our camp at Chieveley." There was nothing else to do. The day was lost, and full particulars show the Boer position was impregnable. Buller had to make the attacks, and it was good generalship that gave up the assaults with a loss less than eight per cent. of troops engaged.

Conduct of the Men

There is a great deal in General Buller's report that some day will have to be made more intelligible—if not to himself, in justice to the world at large. If the Boer position was impregnable, he ought not to have assaulted it, and he should have known the fact when he ceased fighting on the left. There are many indications that the first attack was more disastrous than has been reported, certainly more so than the official reports represent it, and the second effort, that on the right, according to the facts that have emerged from the turbid dispatches, was a palpable mistake; for the loss of the guns and the retreat five miles to the camp from which the army had moved in the morning, was in consequence of the second failure of the day, and the pressure, which General Buller noticed with grave concern, of the Boers on the right flank of the British. The mystery of that "pressure" is partially cleared through Laffan's Agency in these words: "The cavalry brigade had a very hot engagement. Lord

Fuller Accounts Needed

Dundonal, who was in command, tried to take Lhangwana Hill on our extreme right. He found the hill occupied, by a strong force of Boers." This, of course, was on the British side of the river. A flanking attack was made on the Boers, but their lines

Pressed All Along the Line

"ran along some high ground to the right of the flanking party," and that prevented the capture of the hill. Lord Dundonald had a battery which shelled the Boers "until at mid-day" an order to retire was received. The battle was, therefore, going on on the right flank at the same time that it was taking place at the left hand, and, therefore, when the central movement was made by bringing up the artillery to the point where it was put out of action and the guns were captured, the British had been hard pressed all along the line, for Dundonald—we quote the correspondent—"was unable to carry out the order (given out immediately to retire) for another two hours, because as soon as the men began to move they became a target for the enemy's fire, and it was only under a continuous shell fire that the retirement was eventually effected." Here we have Dundonald, with his battery and his mounted men, attempting to carry the extreme Boer left and getting into the same shape that Colonel Long got the battery, which was to put themselves forward as a target of the Boer rifle fire, so that they could not get away for hours, if at all. The Boers dominated the whole field of battle. At this point, on

Bad Light and No Smoke

the right wing the British losses were not very heavy, and the men were not discouraged, but fell back reluctantly. The failures in other parts of the contested ground could not be remedied there, for, "owing to the bad light, it was impossible to see the Boers, and as they used smokeless powder, firing did not reveal their position." This "bad light" on the right flank comes in as a last and lamentable resort, when there was so much complaint of the intensity of the sunshine

in other parts of the field; and it is a strain to try to understand the strange story that the Boers were obscure at all times and places and the British everywhere conspicuous. The loss of the cavalry brigade was "something more than 100 killed and wounded," but, as a writer on the spot says, this was not "tremendous."

The soldierly character of General Buller is that of a man in full command of his faculties in extra hazardous situations. This has been shown in the Ashantee, Egyptian, Soudan and Indian fighting in which he has participated with great distinction. No other British officer has seen as much war in Africa as General Buller before his recent experience, and as his report of the reverse on the Tugela is read and examined line by line, it is seen the general felt he could afford better to take the blame on himself in full, with the exception of the placing of the batteries, than to make criticisms upon the conduct of any of the officers and men of his command; and he tells that he "heard," did not see, that "the whole of the artillery I had sent back," etc. The guns must have been used in the first attack on the left, and sending "back" was moving to the right. It is not in evidence that the batteries were exceptionally hurt until then, and there are accounts to show that they were not quickly put out of action, and so situated that they could not be helped to ammunition, nearly all the horses killed and the men wounded. The guns were not abandoned until after "continuous heavy firing we ran short of ammunition," and the men were "ordered under cover," but with "absolutely no thought of abandoning the guns, which were in no way disabled." There could be no more expressive admission of defeat.

Defeat Admitted

As the case is critically examined, the magnitude of the British disappointment on the left, in the hook of the river, clearly

amounted to a serious reverse. The general commanded the guns "back," and Colonel Long got with them too close to the river. The circumstances do not indicate that this movement was absolutely aggressive. The judgment of the general that nothing more could be done on the left was correct, but we can hardly appreciate the extreme surprise that he showed when the failure on the left was repeated with on the right; and it strikes one who strives to follow the changes of the engagement that the "pressure" from the Boers on the British right was the factor that determined General Buller to give the order to retreat. The explanation of this is that in the afternoon the situation of the British army was more critical than has been admitted, and yet General Buller had more than 15,000 neither killed, disabled nor captured. It must be true that the defeat added to the series of serious reverses of which it was the culmination, affected the army, so that the general was impressed there might be in the conditions the elements of a far greater disaster, and he took on himself more blame than was his share of the responsibility for the issue. If this is controverted, he must himself have been profoundly affected and awed, if not dazed, by the immense disappointment of the day, during which the three British attacks were successive demonstrations of an impracticable undertaking; and late in the day, the four o'clock march in the morning, the intense heat, the extreme exertion, and the discouraging results of all encounters with the enemy "took it out" of the British army for the day, until it was the belief of the general, whose fame has been that of coming out under desperate circumstances with striking achievments, that there would be more certainly risked than possibly gained in further efforts to save the guns and hold the field, and hence the order to return to camp.

Dazed by Defeat

The call for Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener to save the campaign, the refusal of risks until Lord Roberts arrived, is based upon information that the War Office and the Commander-in-Chief have not shared with the world at large. The defeat of the army of General Buller in attempting to cross the Tugela River for the relief of the strenuously besieged city of Ladysmith was in the positive likeness of the preceding reverses of the British arms on three other lines and, therefore, more startling and disturbing to the people of Great Britain and the Greater Britain, but they met the renewed and increased demands upon them with a gloom that was haughty, and a resolution that did not falter, for they knew it was in the issue to lose or gain an empire. The official figures of British casualties in the Battle of Colenso were, officers killed 5, wounded 36; men killed 145, wounded 751; missing, officers 21; men 332. Total, 1,290—about eight per cent.

Startled and Disturbed but Haughty

The Boer account of the battle dated Colenso, December 15, 1899, said:

"At dawn to-day the long-expected attack by the British was made. Commandant Pretorius, with the artillery, gave the alarm that General Buller's Ladysmith relief column was advancing on the Boer positions close to the Tugela and Colenso, and was in full battle array.

Buller Attacks

"The centre consisted of an immense body of infantry, while the flank was formed by two batteries of artillery. On each side were strong bodies of cavalry supporting the troops.

"The Boer artillery preserved absolute silence and did nothing to disclose their position. Two batteries of British artillery came up within rifle range of our foremost position, and the Boers then opened fire with deadly effect. Our artillery next commenced

operations, and, apparently, absolutely confused the enemy, who were allowed to think the bridge open for them to cross the river.

"The British right flank meanwhile attacked the southernmost position held by the Boers, but our Mauser rifle fire was so tremendous that they rolled back like a spent wave, leaving ridges and ridges of dead and dying humanity behind them.

"Again the British advanced to attack, and again they fell back, swelling the heaps of dead. The cavalry charged up to the river, where the Ermelo commando delivered such a murderous fire that two batteries of cannon had to be abandoned. So tremendous a cannonade has seldom been heard. The veldt for miles round was covered with dead and wounded.

"The result of the engagement was a crushing British defeat. Nine cannon were captured and brougt across the river.

"The official returns of the Boer losses were thirty killed and wounded."

"A Crushing British Defeat."

All this about a combat in which the British losses, the names of the killed, wounded and missing given, assuring accuracy were one per cent. of Buller's men in action were killed. One wonders what words the Boers will have left to use if they do win a great battle. The British account is in some respects less florid than that of the Boers. We quotè the account least picturesque of the correspondents:

"The Dublins and Connaughts advanced magnificently against the almost overwhelming fire, men falling at every step. As they approached the river the enemy's fire seemed to redouble. Every time a company rose to its feet to advance there was a perfect crash of musketry, and the plain all round them became a cloud of dust spurts. It seemed wonderful that any man could survive it. And yet there was nothing to tell where the enemy lay concealed. Not a single head even was visible; nothing but a long line of smoke,

scarcely visible, and the incessant crackling roar. The batteries sent shell after shell wherever they could distinguish the line of the trenches, but they failed to silence the terrible fire. **A British Account** At last our men reached the river, but where there should have been a ford there was seven feet of water. The few who tried to cross it, overcome by the weight of rifle and ammunition, were drowned. The rest lined the bank, and poured in a tremendous fire on the still almost invisible enemy. Then came the general's order to retire."

A letter from General Buller's camp, showing that the British army, on the way presumably to relieve Ladysmith, consisted of twenty-three battalions (23,000 men), says, "It is not to be expected that a single battalion had 600 men in the firing line. Many barely had 400. I am making a generous calculation by allowing 500 men per battalion."

The press states Buller had 30,000 men, including the sick, camp guards, camp duties, lines of communication troops, standing pickets and standing posts, permanent signallers, clerks, orderlies, cooks, bakers, butchers.

Then come the deductions made on the field escorts, flag signallers, orderlies, detached flankers, ammunition bearers, stretcher bearers, fall-outs, and Buller's attacking force was **A Foredoomed Failure** 10,000 infantry, 700 sabers and 48 guns. It requires infantry to take a position, and it is the drill book defined principle that an attack to have a chance of success must be four assailants to one defender. The Boers could put as many in the trenches as the British could send against them, and, therefore, the assault was a foredoomed failure.

CHAPTER IX

The Siege of Ladysmith.

THE siege of Ladysmith began November 2, 1899, the third day after the British disaster at Nicolson's Nek, that is, the affair in which six companies of the Royal Irish Fusiliers marched out with four companies of the Gloucestershire regiment to seize the Nek, seven miles northwest of Ladysmith, and they were caught, the mules stampeded with artillery and ammunition, and the Fusiliers and supports were penned, and there were next day empty camps and the British Empire was shaken. The town of Ladysmith is 169 miles from Durban, 3,285 feet above the level of the sea, and is the chief town of the Klip River division of the Klip River country in Natal; it is on a tongue of land formed by the Klip River. There is a sheltering semi-circle of hills. The position of General White, the British commander, is out of town on the hill tops that overlook Ladysmith. The town hall in this place is of the Doric style, and cost $30,000. It is of blue whinstone and white free-stone. The town is an important railway center, and has shops for railway repairs. The distance from Colenso where Buller was checked is only sixteen miles. Dundee is distant forty-seven and a half miles; Glencoe forty-two miles; Estcort fifty-three miles. When General Symons won the fight at Dundee and was mortally wounded, he ordered that he and other wounded be placed in hospitals and his column marched to Ladysmith. General Symons had won the field, carried a very strong possition brilliantly but

Location of Ladysmith

with heavy loss, and retreated before the rushing reinforcements of the Boers. General Yule set out with the able-bodied troops—four battalions of infantry, three batteries, and a small body of the 13th Hussars. By daybreak they were nine miles away in the hills. At 2 P. M. they had reached Beith, subsequently passing unmolested through the rocky defiles of Waschbank, emerging safely on the third day into the open country. General White, finding a Boer attempt would be made to cut off Yule, sallied forth and drove the Boers from their position on a hill 8,000 feet high. While General White was out fighting, the Naval Brigade, that has done so much to assist the British defence of Ladysmith, arrived. General White reported 3 P. M., October 30th:

Timely Arrival of Naval Brigade

"I sent No. 10 Mountain Battery with Royal Irish Fusiliers and Gloucester Regiment to take up a position on the hills to clear my left flank. The force moved at 11 P. M. last night, and during some night firing the battery mules stampeded with some of the guns, which, however, I hope to recover. The two battalions have not yet returned, but are expected this evening."

First Serious Reverse

This was the first notice of the disaster. At 11.35 P. M., October 30th, General White sent his announcement of the first "serious reverse," in these terms:

"I have to report a disaster to a column sent by me to take a position on hill to guard the left flank of the troops in these operations to-day.

"The Royal Irish Fusiliers, No. 10 Mountain Battery, and the Gloucester Regiment were surrounded in the hills, and, after losing heavily, had to capitulate.

"I formed the plan in carrying out which the disaster occurred, and am alone responsible for the plan.

"No blame whatever attaches to the troops, as the position was untenable."

The excitement and depression in London about this news was representative of that throughout the empire, and it was astonishing in its degree. The Boers hastened to close around Ladysmith and cut off railroad and telegraphic communication, and very soon had connected railway tracks giving themselves free run into Natal and communication with Pretoria. In the gloom of these inauspicious incidents the siege of Ladysmith began, forcing the policy of relief of places in the most difficult country to prevail, and making costly combats certain, and scattered operations, according to ordinary judgment, necessary. It is a question that will long be discussed whether it would have been better to destroy the stores at Ladysmith and withdraw the troops to Colenso, or even further, for concentration and movement with one irresistible column, but this is all speculation. The siege of Ladysmith is a stirring chapter of history forever.

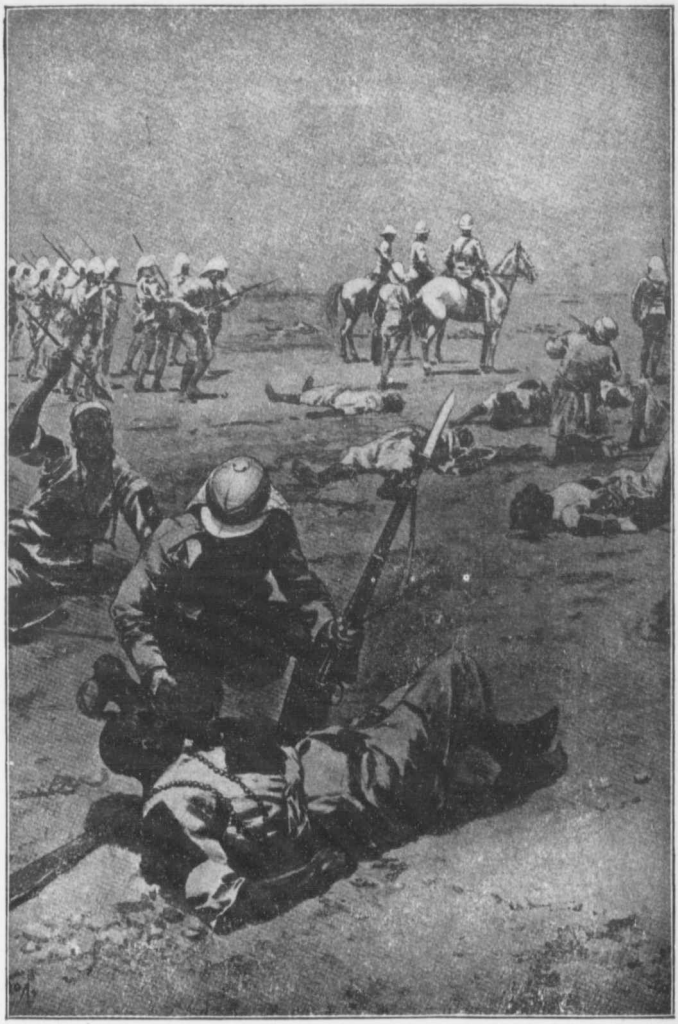
The Excitement in London

Sir George White's official report was forwarded by Sir Redvers Buller from Cape Town, under date of November 9th. Sir George took command of Natal forces October 7th, and he says:

"The information available regarding the positions occupied by the armies of the two Dutch Republics showed the great bulk of the forces of the Orange Free State were massed near the passes of the Drakensberg mountains, west of Ladysmith. The troops of the South African Republic were concentrated at various points west, north, and east of the northern angle of Natal."

Distribution of Forces

October 10th, the Boer war ultimatum was received. Sir George desired to withdraw the troops from Glencoe, but the Governor of Natal said, "Such a step would involve great political



THE TREACHERY OF A WOUNDED DERVISH
An incident in the Soudan War 1898.

THE LAST STAND OF THE KHALIFA'S STANDARD BEARER

A thrilling incident in the late Soudan war. "That one man, alone, was standing alive, holding his flag upright, a storm of lead sweeping past him—his comrades dead around him."

results and possibilities of so serious a nature that I determined to accept the military risk of holding Dundee as the lesser of two evils. I proceeded in person to Ladysmith on October 11th, sending on Lieutenant-General Sir William Penn Symons to take command at Glencoe.

"The Boers crossed the frontier both on the north and west on October 12th, and next day the Transvaal flag was hoisted at Charlestown. My great inferiority in numbers necessarily confined me strategically to the defensive, but tactically my intention was and is to strike vigorously whenever opportunity offers."

Sir George states that it was Sir W. P. Symons' intention to make a direct attack on the enemy's position under cover of a small wood and of some buildings, and continues:

"At 8.50 A. M. the Infantry Brigade were ordered to advance. The ground was open and intersected by nullahs, which, running generally perpendicular to the enemy's position, gave very little cover. At 9 A. M. Sir W. P. Symons ordered up his reserves, and advanced with them through the wood at 9.15 A. M. At 9.30 A. M. the Lieutenant-General was, I regret to report, mortally wounded in the stomach, and the command devolved upon Brigadier-General Yule.

Symons' Death and Victory

"About 11.30 A. M. the enemy's guns were silenced and the artillery moved into a range of 1,400 yards and opened a very rapid fire on the ridge over the heads of our infantry. This temporarily ... ight under the enemy's rifle fire, and enabled our infantry to push on. The ground in places was so steep and difficult that the men had to climb it on hands and knees; but by 1 A. M. the crest was reached, and the enemy, not waiting to come to close quarters, retired."

The loss of a detachment followed, and Sir George says:

"The Boer force engaged in this action is computed at 4,000 men, of whom about 500 were killed or wounded. Three of their guns were left dismounted on Talana Hill, but there was no opportunity of bringing them away."

In his account of the Elandslaagte engagement, Sir George details the fight and closes:

"Our men worked forward in short rushes of about fifty yards. Many of the Boers remained lying down, shooting from behind stones until our men were within twenty or thirty yards of them, and then sometimes ran for it and sometimes stood up and surrendered. These latter individuals were never harmed, although just previous to surrendering they had probably shot down several of our officers and men.

Elandslaagte Engagements

"At length the guns were reached and captured, and the end of the ridge was gained, from which the whole of the enemy's camp, full of tents, horses and men, was fully exposed to view at fixed sight range. A white flag was shown from the centre of the camp, and Colonel Hamilton ordered the 'cease fire' to be sounded. The men obeyed, and some of them moved a short distance down the hill towards the camp. For a few moments there was a complete lull in the action, and then a shot was heard, which was followed by a deadly fire from the small conical copje to the east of the camp, and by a determined charge up hill by some thirty or forty Boers, who effected a lodgment near the crest line within fifteen or twenty paces of our men, who fell back for a moment before the fierce suddenness of this attack. Only for a moment, however, for our fire was at once reopened, and, reinforced by a timely detachment of the 1st Battalion Devonshire Regiment, they charged back, cheering, to the crest line, when the remnant of the Boer force fled in confusion towards the north.

"The 1st Devonshire Regiment charged with fixed bayonets, and the cavalry squadrons went through and through the retreating enemy. Sir George White estimates the Boer losses at over 100 killed, 108 wounded and 188 prisoners."

The close of the General's report is full of significance:

"Reverting to my action at Rietfontein on October 24th, I may mention in general terms that my object was not to drive the enemy out of any positions, but simply to prevent him crossing the Newcastle road from west to east and so falling on General Yule's flank. This object was attained with entire success, the enemy suffering severely from our shrapnel fire, which was very successful in searching the reverse slopes of the hills on which he was posted. Our own loss amounted to one officer and eleven men killed; six officers and ninety-seven men wounded, and two missing. The details of this action, as well as the various plans and returns, which should accompany a despatch, will be forwarded later; but I am anxious that this report should be sent off at once, as it is very doubtful whether any communications by rail with Pietermaritzburg will remain open after to-day."

Closing in of Ladysmith

The story of constructing the fortifications of Ladysmith is very handsomely told in a letter dated November 21st:

"The defences were incomplete, and it was felt that the enemy, if determined, could make an impression upon every section. Probably the civilian population had not realized this, but it was obvious to those concerned in their construction; and if it had not been for the moral effect of the naval guns it is doubtful if the defences would have been finished in time to meet the assault when it was made. The devotion with which the sailors drew and returned the enemy's fire while all other troops were engaged in building breastworks stands unprecedented. The first three days their guns had little or no parapets, and the

Defences of Ladysmith

men had to stand to in the open. The luck of the British service was with them, for, though the ground round the guns was furrowed and plowed in every direction, no appreciable damage was done to any group. With the naval gunners drawing the fire it was possible for the men to work at day on some of the posts. But on others nothing could be done except at night, and the men, as soon as they were relieved from holding the crest lines, were forced to exchange rifle for pick and shovel and to spend the night intrenching. But each twenty-four hours that the Boers delayed the assault saw the safety of Ladysmith increase, until, by November 7th, those responsible for the line of defences were confident that we could hold our own. But after the experience of November 9th, the Boers have made no further attempt to reduce Ladysmith by storm.

There were eleven miles of defences. This early incident of the seige is told:

"Colonel Ian Hamilton and staff, including Lord Ava and Colonel F. Rhodes, escaped a serious burst by a few moments. They were about to have breakfast when a shell from the Peppworth battery entered the plinth of the house and, passing into the cellar, burst under the breakfast table. The force of this explosion drove the floor planks of the room through the ceiling and roof."

A Narrow Escape

The famous war correspondent, G. W. Stevens, who died of fever in Ladysmith during the siege, gave at a dash a diagram and picture of the city that will be memorable for British valor and the tenacity of the Boers, and the proof that the former are as fierce on the offensive as they are firm on the defensive, and Ladysmith will be fixed in history as a spot that was for months the pivot upon which events that effected the destiny of nations turned. This paragraph is an outline drawing of the correspondent whose

reputation was won in adventures of hardihood, personal bravery in going to the fire lines where history is made, and a rare talent for rapid and vivid pencillings by the way:

"If the reader will bear in mind what a horse's hoof inverted looks like, he may get a mental picture of Ladysmith and its surroundings—the heels of the horseshoe pointing eastward, where, five miles off, is the long, flat top of steep Bulwaan, like the huge bar of a gigantic horseshoe magnet. The horse's frog approximately represents a ridge, behind which, and facing Bulwaan, but separated from it by broad stretches of meadow, with the Klip River winding a serpentine course through them, between high banks is Ladysmith town. Between the frog and the horseshoe lie our various camps, mostly in radiating hollows, open either to the east or west, but sheltered from cross fires by rough kopjes of porphyritic boulders that have turned brown on the surface by exposure to sunshine. Bushy tangles of wild, white jasmine spring from among those boulders with denser growth of thriving shrubs, bearing waxen flowers that blaze in brilliant scarlet and orange."

Surroundings of Ladysmith

The Natal Witness has contained striking accounts of the situation in Ladysmith. "The people cut off in the town, having been notified that Joubert would begin the bombardment in a day or two, sought places of safety. The Royal Hotel people flitted to the deep, rocky ravine through which the Port road runs towards the camp. In the bottom of the ravine, with precipitous banks on each side of the high stone viaduct, used once for the conveyance of water to the town, towards the mouth of the ravine, a well-protected little camp was formed, and here the Royal continued to cater for such of its guests as thither went. The Railway Hotel closed. Mr. and Mrs. Chisnall, of the Crown Hotel, did better than the others. They

Preparations for the Siege

kept their hotel open, and, not too much afraid of shells, which never came, continued to do their best for their clients, despite shrinkage of supplies. Along the bottom of the ravine, already referred to, were numerous tents, people—men and women—took up their abode amongst the trees and rocks, and several individuals found holes amongst the rocks on the sides of the ravine into which they could stow a few of their possessions, and crawl into, themselves, when the shells began to whistle overhead.

"In the clay banks of the ravine caves were excavated. Many of these places showed there had been no lack of energy and ingenuity employed in their preparation. Narrow entrances opened into cavities large enough, some of them, for a dozen people to stand upright in at one time, and into these interiors had been brought bedding, seats, food and cooking appliances. Some folks, less energetic or less apprehensive, contented themselves by scooping out the banks so as to have a few feet of covering over their heads. Into one of these scooped-out terraces were set two long garden seats, and on these the father and mother and a big family of little children intended to sit in a row when the shells began, with their backs firm against the earthen wall behind, and their eyes upon the Klip River below. Within a distances of less than half a mile between twenty and thirty such places had been prepared.

Caves Excavated for Families

"Monday, November 7th, the bombardment began. Early in the morning Boer shells were whistling overhead, banging and crashing as they reached the earth, from end to end of the town. There is a glorious uncertainty about Boer shells. Whether their erratic course is due to deliberation or merely the result of poor gunnery, I cannot pretend to decide. But the fact remains that the shells from the Dutch positions fell in the most unexpected places.

"Some fell near the camps by the river, and some caused considerable alarm to the cave-dwellers by alighting near their cool retreats. Others, again, went far over Ladysmith, striking the bare hills, causing a loud report and a cloud of dust, and that was about all. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the shelling was heavy. Shrapnel came from Umbulwan, and the shells bursting over the town; the bullets, iron segments and shot rattled on the housetops at times like hail. From 4 o'clock to 4.20 twenty-two shells came from the Boer guns, but taking the entire day the number of shells would not average one every two minutes."

"Shelling by the enemy's smaller guns started before 8 o'clock (November 22d), but the backyards of houses in the vicinity of Port road west, was the designation of the missiles. "Slim Piet" chimed in after breakfast, with no respect for the Red Cross. After sending a few into the centre of the town, he succeeded in striking the right wing of the Town Hall, which has all along been the office of the town clerk. The bomb—a 94-pounder—entered the roof, crashed through the ceiling, and thence against the back wall of the wing. Here it encountered a well-constructed stone wall about two and a half feet thick. The resistance was tremendous, but a portion of the wall gave way with the explosion, which wrecked the inside of the office, smashed every pane of glass, and threw splinters in every direction. The most remarkable thing about this was that at the moment several soldiers belonging to the Hospital Corps were engaged at breakfast under what was considered the friendly shelter of the wall. When the partition wall gave way they were literally covered with the falling debris, and many received bruises and scratches, but not one was severely wounded.

Town Hall Struck

"A huge cloud of dust rose high above the building, intermingled with the smoke, which issued forth from the windows. About

fifty patients were inside the Town Hall at the time, and these were immediately removed into a large excavation adjacent to the building. A stone weighing about seventy pounds was thrust from the wall a distance of about 100 yards. The "Powerful" men's reply to this bomb of "Slim Piet's was a plugged shell, which had the desired effect of silencing him for a few hours. The other Boer guns kept taking hot shots. One of these from Lombard's Kop struck and exploded on the top of a partially built house, which was being used as the kitchen for the Natal Police Field Force. Trooper Duncanson, who was at work there, was hit on the right side by portions of the shell, and died almost immediately. Then there was a cessation until dusk, when "Long Tom" sent half a dozen shells into Ladysmith very close to the Town Hall. "Night cometh on apace," and soon all was wrapped in darkness. The elements went to war; thunder and lightning, rain, and a half gale prevailing. Heaven's artillery seemed to mock the puny thunders of man's more deadly weapons. The Boers started firing at 10.40 P. M., and our guns, which must have been trimmed and ready, responded with alacrity.

Patients Removed

"To date (25th November), the Boers have on three occasions shelled the town and camp at night. In the quietness of the night the noise of the shelling—the firing of the guns and the bursting of the shells—was awful in its volume and intensity."

Midnight Bombardment

A Ladysmith letter gives a thrilling account of a midnight bombardment: "To be awakened at midnight by a shower of ninety-four pound shells was a painful shock to the opinion we had formed of the good nature of the Boer Commander. Many people would not believe it, and concluded that they were victims of night mare. But steel shells, with a bursting charge of melinite, do not encourage delusions.

"By the time half a dozen had rent the sky with terrific crash the town was awake, and silent figures in undress were flitting like uneasy ghosts about gardens and verandas. This was a new and unpleasant experience, very trying to the nerves. It had taken several days to get accustomed to shell fire between dawn and dusk. At first the flight of a shell turned one's thoughts to the caves in the river bank. But, after a time, when one began to realize how little damage was done, the instinct of Fatè—more common among men of the East than of the West—asserted itself. The light of the sun and the presence of a crowd gave a sense of security. Everybody, unconsciously it may be, puts the question, "Why should a shell hit me rather than another?" In the solitude and shadows of the night this confidence in destiny is a sorry support. Each man thinks himself the sole target of the enemy, and feels that every shell is aimed at the pit of his stomach.

"The night was dark, and a solemn stillness was in the air, when suddenly the hills burst into intense and lurid life. The long black ridges kindled under a bright red flame. Then come the fateful moments. Scorching the deep blue sky, the shell rushes onward in seemingly interminable flight. During the day, amid the stir of life, this invisible, death-laden progress sounds short and sharp, like an arrow from a bow. The suspense is brief. But at night it sweeps along like a meteor from horizon to zenith, and descends in a hissing curve like a white-hot bolt plunging into a fathomless sea. A second later and earth and air and sky are rent with the crash of bursting steel; a tongue of flame leaps upward, and the great amphitheatre of hills seethes with steel bullets and fragments of shell. For several nights the enemy kept up this awe-inspiring cannonade. The only result was to disturb one's slumber, and to drive women, children and a few nervous men to the caves."

An Awe-Inspiring Cannonade

January 6th the Boers made a desperate rush to storm Ladysmith, and the last heliographic message received at 3.15 P. M. by Sir Redvers Buller consisted only of the words, "Attack renewed. Very hard pressed." The sunlight then failed, and only a "camp rumour" that the Boers were defeated at 5 P.M., with a loss of 400 prisoners was forthcoming. At 2 P. M. on Sunday, another message reached Frere Camp with the news that the attack had been "repulsed everywhere with very heavy loss."

Ladysmith Hard Pressed

On the 6th "from 3 to 8 the Boers bombarded Ladysmith more heavily than at any time previously during the siege," the main attack was directed against Cæsar's Camp and Wagon Hill, a partially detached spur of the same feature about three-quarters of a mile west. The total extent of front assaulted was about three miles, and the Boer guns on Bulwana Hill and Lombard's Kop co-operated as soon as there was sufficient light. The attack commenced at 2.45 A. M. The first assault was repulsed before 9 A. M., although fighting was still going on when Sir George White's earliest message was dispatched—"The enemy were in great strength, and pushed their attack with the greatest courage and energy." How severe the struggle was is evident from the satement that "some of our intrenchments on Wagon Hill were three times taken by the enemy and retaken by us." At this point, specially exposed, Colonel Ian Hamilton commanded, and "rendered valuable services." Sir George White further reports that "one point in our position was occupied by the enemy the whole of the day; but at dusk, in a very heavy rainstorm," the Boers were driven out "at the point of the bayonet" by the 1st Devonshire Regiment. "The attack continued until 7.30 P. M."

Attack in Force Repulsed

THE GORDON'S CHARGING THE BOERS, GROBLERS KLOOF

GOOD-BYE, DADDIE

The little son of Piper-Major Lang of the Scots Guards bidding his father farewell

PIETERMARITZBURG, January 11th.

Correct casualty return, Ladysmith, January 6th:

KILLED.	
Officers as reported	13
Rank and file	135
Killed	—148
WOUNDED.	
Officers as reported	28
Rank and file	244
Wounded	—272
Total killed and wounded	420

The Boer version of their attempt to storm Ladysmith, January 6th, is as follows:

"HOOFDLAAGER, LADYSMITH, Jan. 7th.

Boer Version of Storming Ladysmith

"A bold attack was made yesterday morning by the commandoes investing Ladysmith on the British fortifications on the Platrand Ridge. The operations that ensued were most exciting in their character. The storming parties were greeted, on reaching the edge of the rugged plateau, by a tremendous hail of shot and shell from the British artillery. No attempt was made, however, to hold the first line of schanzes, or stone breastworks, at the top of the hill, and these were promptly occupied by the Boer sharpshooters. At the next row, however, an exceedingly stubborn resistance was made, and with good effect, every inch of ground being most stubbornly contested. Conspicuous bravery was displayed on both sides.

"After ten o'clock the British artillery fire slackened perceptibly, but then ensued a most terrific individual contest among the riflemen for the possession of the ridge. At noon a heavy thunderstorm broke over the position, interrupting the battle for two hours. It seemed as though the heavenly batteries were using their best endeavors to create an even more terrific noise than the cannon and

the rifles of the contending armies. Though the Burghers succeeded ultimately in gaining possession of most of the British positions on the western side of the Platrand they were finally obliged to retire from most of the ground they had occupied. The British losses were apparently severe, their ambulances being busy for many hours. The Boer losses were about 100 killed and wounded, the Free State contingents being the heaviest sufferers. Simultaneous attacks were made from the different outposts on all the British positions round Ladysmith.

"Operations are continued to-day on a smaller scale, but it is reported that as a result of one of the forlorn hopes one gun and two ammunition waggons have been captured."

"HOOFDLAAGAR, MODDERSPRUIT, LADYSMITH, Jan 9th,
(via Lourenzo Marques, January 14th).

"Further details of the assault of Cæsar's Camp, on the Platrand, are most thrilling in their character. It is clear that the attack was most determined and the defence equally tenacious.

Thrilling Arm's Length Encounters

The British were most strongly entrenched, and the walls of their redoubts were skillfully loopholed. The combat was so close that the riflles were frequently fired at arm's length between the opposing forces. It was, in fact, a hand to hand encounter in the grey dawn. The men on both sides are reported to have fought like demons, the horror and bewilderment of the scene presenting a picture without parallel in the experience of those who took part in the encounter."

PRETORIA, January 10th.
(via Lourenzo Marques, January 14th).

"An official announcement has just been placarded to the effect that the Federal losses in Saturday's engagement were fifty-four killed (including three Free State and one Transvaal Field-Cornet) and ninety-six wounded.

Lord Duefferin's son, the Earl of Ava, was mortally wounded in the repulse of the Boers, and died January 11th.

The monotony of the siege was varied by several brilliant sorties, in one of which the Boers testified the British did "fine work." On two occasions Boer siege guns were captured and destroyed. A letter dispatched by a Kaffir, dated Ladysmith, Jauary 21st, mentioned that "Buller's guns are eagerly watched shelling the Boer position with lyddite. As each shot strikes, dense volumes of brown smoke arise, the lyddite shells being thus quite distinguishable from ordinary shrapnel shells.

Fortifications Strengthened; Fever Abating

"Six Boer camps are visible between Ladysmith and Potgeiter's Drift, and bodies of the enemy have been observed riding towards the Tugela. They are evidently determined to offer a stubborn resistance to the advance of the relief column. They have given no indication of any intention to remove their guns, but have put new ones up recently and are still continually working at ther fortifications.

"Since the 6th inst. our fortifications on Wagon Hill and Cæsar's Camp have been greatly strengthened, and Ladysmith is now practically impregnable.

"Doubtless owing to the dry weather, fever has abated in the garrison. The number of convalescents returning from Intombi camp exceeds that of the patients sent out.

"Our commissariat has been most ably managed during the siege, and our supplies are lasting splendidly. All the troops have a sufficiency of wholesome food. The heat is terrific, being 107 degrees in the shade at the present moment.

The surroundings of the now forever famous city of Ladysmith have been described as a crescent a horse shoe, and a soup plate with a big piece chipped out. It was named after the Spanish wife of General Sir Harry Smith in 1840. Before the Britain and

Boer War it was a noted railway station on the great line to Pretoria and beyond. The siege lasted within two days of four months. Relief came on the last night in February. The besiegers held on after they knew Lord Roberts was successfully invading the Orange Free State, hoping that he might be repulsed, and they resisted with their accustomed energy the fourth attack by the army under Sir Redvers Buller, whose first advance and reverse was December 15th. His second general advance to force the Boer lines on the Tugela pivoted on Spion Kop, gallantly carried and held for some time, but evacuated January 26th. General Buller's third advance was on February 5th, but his attack was not pressed, for the obstacles were manifestly insurmountable except by a sacrifice too great to be considered.

Insurmountable Obstacles

February 20th, the fourth advance was made and a severe struggle occurred. The Irish troops distinguished themselves, especially, and the Welsh Fusiliers suffered the loss 252 men killed and wounded. General Buller recalled his batallions from the first position assailed, and put them in again in force on his extreme right and carried by storm Pieters Hill. Buller's artillery was very effectively used on this occasion. On the afternoon of February 28th the British commander ascertained that the ridges toward Ladysmith were unoccupied. Lord Dundonald dashed forward with two squadrons and galloped until there was a challenge. "Who goes there?" The reply was, "The Ladysmith relieving army;" and the cavalry had a great welcome from the thin and pale faced men of the garrison, whose cheers of joy were through physical weakness feeble. The Boers had been observed from Ladysmith hastening away in a continuous stream, trekking North.

Success at Last

The crisis of the siege was when General Joubert ordered that the town should be taken before January 10th. The supreme effort

was made at 2 o'clock the morning of the 6th, and directed upon three positions—the one most exposed, the flat topped Hill, Cæsar's camp, crescent shaped, the interior facing the Boers' position—height of crest above the town near 800 feet. The Boers advanced on the two horns of the crescent and gained an advantageous position, which they held for seventeen hours. The fight on both sides was a soldiers battle; and the British success finally was credited correctly to the leadership of the company officers.

A party of sappers, with half a company of Gordon Highlanders, were placing a gun on the critical position, Wagon Hill, and made so much noise the Boers, stealthily approaching, thought for a time their movement was discovered. The British working party added sixty rifles to the defense, and so even was the balance in the combat, the repulse of the assailants was apparently due to the accident of this force having a special service at the point of danger.

An Extraordinary Hard Struggle

The Boer assailing party was 300 strong, led by de Villiers and as they were creeping silently up the hillside, Lieutenant Mathias, of the British Light Horse, going down to visit his post, met them and had the presence of mind to turn back with them, and when a few yards from his own picket he rushed forward and gave the alarm. This was at 2.30 A. M. It was pitch dark and the defenders after a spell of indiscriminate firing were driven back. There ensued a struggle of extraordinary character, the flashing of the rifles giving the only light. Colonel Hamilton, in command of the defenders at the ragged edge, telephoned for re-inforcements. The first to arrive were two companies of Gordon Highlanders. At 4 o'clock four other companies were ordered and in the advance Colonel Dick Conyngham was mortally wounded by a bullet that had traveled over 3,000 yards. The re-inforcements did not get up a moment too soon. At daybreak the Boers were

pushing more men up the water-way by which the first assailants had advanced and their augmented firing line sorely pressed the handful of Light Horsemen who were re-inforced at the most opportune moment by Colonel Edwards. The Boers displayed their deadly marksmanship, and the Colonel, two Majors and four other officers of the Light Horse were hit within a few minutes. Lord Ava, Colonel Hamilton's orderly officer, was in this place mortally wounded. The British infantry fire could not dislodge the Boers. It was scarcely possible to see the assailants and to live.

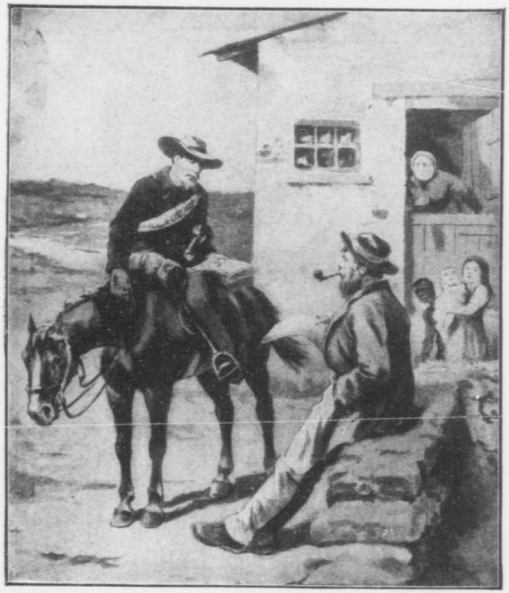
To effect a rush necessitated the passage of sixty yards of open. Major Mackworth, attached to the 60th Rifles, attempted to make the rush. He fell shot through the head. Captain Codrington, 11th Hussars, commanding a squadron of the Light Horse, went forward to find cover for his men. Thirty yards away he fell, and just had strength enough to wave the Light Horse back. Lieutenant Tod, with twelve men, attempted to rush the open. He was shot dead three yards from cover.

Desperate Efforts

A terrible rain storm arose, something extraordinary even for Africa. At its height the indomitable Boers increased their efforts. Colonel Hamilton called for Colonel Park, who led three companies to clear the plateau. They were commanded by Lieutenant Field, leading, Captain Lafone's and Lieutenant Masterson's companies following in order. There were sixty yards of plateau to cross; a hundred Boer magazines waiting to sweep it. Three lines of naked bayonets scintillated against the hillside. Then the Colonel rose to his feet, and the three companies rose with him as one man. With a cheer that foretold success the Devons dashed forward. Colonel Hamilton, who was just below when this sudden attack was delivered, ordered up a dismounted squadron of the 18th Hussars, and the plateau was reoccupied.

TRANSVAAL STATE ARTILLERY IN GUN PRACTICE

ARTILLERY CROSSING A DRIFT NEAR LADYSMITH



DUTCH FARMER RECEIVING ORDERS TO GO TO WAR

GENERAL JOUBERT AT THE SIEGE OF LADYSMITH

A handful of Boers with desperate valor, appeared on the crest line suddenly and unexpectedly. They were commanded by de Villiers, who dashed for the emplacement of gun.

Major Miller-Wallnutt, the only regimental officer there, and a sapper were shot dead at the gun-pit. Fortunately the sappers who, with fixed bayonets, were stationed near the emplacement, stood firm. Lieutenant Digby Jones, who had commanded them with great gallantry since the night attack, led them forward, and shot de Villiers, falling himself a moment later with a rifle bullet through his brain. Lieutenant Denniss, R. E., went on to the crest-line to search for Digby Jones. He likewise was shot dead and fell beside his brother officer.

While the rain storm was raging and the Boers were advancing through the sluicing waters, there were shouts of "retire." Major Rice pushed forward his sappers again. A subaltern rallied the broken Rifles, and the Highlanders faced round. Then they swung back again with levelled bayonets, and the Boers went headlong down the slopes.

Ladysmith saved from assault, the besieged force endured great privations with heroic devotion, suffering from insufficient and in part loathsome rations, a bombardment that was steadily maintained and above all, fevers arising from hideously unsanitary conditions. General Buller's telegram, dated March 2d, and announcing the success of his fourth advance, was in these terms: "I find the defeat of the Boers more complete than I had dared to anticipate." While the casualty lists during his operations assumed very grave proportions, exceeding 20 per cent. of his effective force, nothing but generalship that was at once adventurous as against the enemy and conservative of his army, would have brought triumph without a far greater expenditure of blood.

Great Suffering in the City

CHAPTER X

The Relief of Kimberley — The Turn of the Tide of War Against the Boers.

THE first intelligence from South Africa that plainly promised the success of Lord Roberts was that, after his arrival at the Cape, there was no news of what became of the British troops disembarked there, and the newspapers had to be content with the story of embarkations and the thunderous attrition of Buller on the Tugela. He was crossing and recrossing fords, storming kops and retiring from them, and the sound of the pounding of his guns stimulated the garrison of Ladysmith to hopefulness that the hand of help was nigh. There was no affectation of the solemnities of secrecy and mystery about Roberts. He gave out letters and dispatches occasionally that foretold nothing, and was busy. The transports from England stopped at the Cape instead of Dunbar, and the troops appeared and disappeared. Lord Roberts and Kitchener had maps, and were keeping books.

The Difference in Positions of Roberts and Buller

Sir Redvers Buller found himself committed to attack the invaders of Natal for the relief of Ladysmith and to fight an invisible foe. There has been no account that a British soldier not taken prisoner saw an enemy at the Battle of Colenso. Sir Redvers had no opportunity for maneuvers, the immediate demand upon him was the achievement of the impossible. The Boers were in a fortified enchanted castle, built of mountains, safeguarded by a river, itself an immense intrenchment. The situation of Lord Roberts was

different. He was in command of the British Empire and before him was Africa and he was at liberty to choose the road by which to invade the Boer states. There was but one limitation upon his freedom to exercise his power. That was that he should conduct a White Man's War. The *London Mail* stated the case precisely in these words:

"At the beginning of our campaign we firmly refused to allow men of color to help our arms. Powerful and well-equipped tribes on the border of the Free State clamored for an opportunity to pay off old scores on their hereditary foes, but Sir Godfrey Lagden kept them back. Native Indian rulers begged to be permitted to shed their blood and that of their armies for the Empress; but while gladly recognizing their generous loyalty, England declined their offers. Our splendid Indian soldiers, among the best mountain troops in the world, only waited a signal to do their utmost for us. But England felt that this was a white man's war, to be fought out solely between white men."

A White Man's War

The use of the black man would have raised the black flag, and that was the reason why the Asiatic troops of England were not poured into Africa and the natives of Africa invited to get even with the most cruel of the master races. The weapon of race hate by which the Boers might have been exterminated was not drawn by the British whose preference of alternatives was to shed their own blood.

A railway map of South Africa pointed out to intelligent people plainly the railway line upon which Lord Roberts could advantageously muster his men to strike the enemy in their homes. Some of the bridges were blown up, some of the rails removed, but the surveys remained. The engineers had marked out the eligible pathway. The Modder River, the scene of the early successes and

final fatality of Lord Methuen, reappeared in the war correspondence. A letter from Modder River camp, February 18th, said all the soldiers worked like slaves and the generals of divisions carried out the campaign planned, without faltering or blundering and there was "the utmost secrecy," so that the common people, regimental commanders, and newspaper correspondents did not obtain the slightest inkling of what the immediate future was to bring forth. Even the senior officers, who were assigned the important duty of taking the Sixth Division from Modder River, had but a hazy idea of what they would have to do after the railway had landed their troops at Enslin siding. Consequently, the spies, with which this camp undeniably has been infested, were not only unable to help their paymasters, but, even by the absence of news of our movements, lulled the Boer commanders into fancied security.

The Utmost Secrecy Preserved

The time when General Lord Roberts was ready to move was one of critical conditions. The second attempt to relieve Ladysmith by direct movements had just failed like the first, but with greater losses. The total cost of the second effort counted in men was 1,800. The plan of operations had been carefully concealed, and executed with energy, and as one of the expert writers put it, "there was no undue haste, and the troops were not brought under the enemy's rifle fire in close formation, or forced to attempt the passage of a river, of which the water level was not known, in face of a strongly intrenched position held by an unshaken enemy. Each step was carefully considered, and no unnecessary risk was run."

Each Step Carefully Considered

The fighting quality of the British troops was well illustrated, but the lines of the Boers remained unbroken and unshaken, and the strategic consequences of this failure were more serious than when the first experiment was tried. Still, Ladysmith heliographed

January 27th, "We can hold on here." The initial move of Roberts in force was successful. The invisible and invincible foe in inaccessible trenches did not rise to the occasion. The blow that was struck had not been foreseen and the spot selected fortified by the enemy. There was a changed described as magical. The magic was that of a free hand and a clear head, and the magician a general capable of generalship. All at once the British columns, cavalry, infantry and artillery were "mobile". The horses "got a move on". The wagons did not stall and tangle—the field guns, big and little, trundled along merrily. The long complained of cavalry materialized under General French, going out and seeking the enemy aggressively and rushing him wherever they found him. There was something new about this. Speaking of the brilliant promise of the advance of Roberts, a military correspondent said:

A Remarkable Cavalry Movement

"What is particularly interesting is the presence of General Kelly-Kenny's Division—the Sixth—in this quarter. It was beginning to be understood that General French had brought with him a number of his cavalry from the neighborhood of Colesberg, but the fact that the whole of the Cavalry Division is now under Lord Roberts' control, together with an Infantry Division, the headquarters of which were only a few days ago at Thebus, near Steynsburg, is distinctly surprising and gratifying. The movement must have been carried out with extreme secrecy, and is calculated to greatly disconcert Boer calculations."

The Cavalry Division of General French described as "a magnificent force of regular and irregular horsemen and mounted infantry, whose goal was Kimberley," covered twenty-six miles in twenty-four hours through a fearful heat, and few fell out even when the burning sun was succeeded by terrific tropical rain

accompanied by the continuous and blinding lightning. The road was soon like a morass, but French plodded doggedly on and reached the Modder River at Klip Drift just before midnight. That was business, and Lord Roberts entered Jacobsdal, February 15th. Kimberley was entered February 16th. This telegram was dispatched from that town while French was still invisible.

"At 2 o'clock this afternoon a heliograph message from a range of kopjes to the left of Alexandersfontein announced that General French's column was approaching. The enemy were immediately observed to be fleeing with their guns."

On the day before, the bombardment of Kimberley had been heavy, the Boers firing 100-pound shrapnel shells. Then they fled from their laagers for the first time. February 18th, the country all around the diamond city was cleared of them and Roberts telegraphed: "The engineers have started laying the rails on the line between Kimberley and Modder River. Several herds of cattle have been captured."

Kimberley Relieved

The movement of French was so rapid and had such important consequences that it produced an impression that it was a peaceable procession. This extract of a summary report will correct the misapprehension:

"The New South Wales Ambulance Corps, under Lieutenant Edwards, drawn by Australian horses, kept pace with the column and picked up many wounded. They were complimented by the brigadier as being the first ambulance to cross the Modder River.

"Between the Riet and Modder Rivers the enemy attacked our flanks. Our guns promptly opened from a hillside. While our gunners were driving the Boers back with heavy shell-fire, the column pressed on at full speed. Many horses died on the march from exhaustion.

"When we reached the Modder the enemy were found to be intrenched on the opposite side. The Horse Artillery opened fire with shrapnel and the Boers ran. We captured their tents, guns, oxen, wagons, and large quantities of ammunition. The ammunition was in boxes labelled 'Biscuits, Delagoa Bay'."

In this telegram from Roberts there is a trumpet-note of triumph:

"PAARDE BERG, February 19, 7.05 P. M.
(Thirty miles east of Jacobsdal Camp).

"Railway to Kimberley will be ready to-day.

"Methuen proceeds with reinforcements at once, and a large amount of supplies will be forwarded by rail."

A London cable to Canada said:

"A very distinguished officer said to me last night, 'It is regarded as a suspicious thing to prophecy after an event, but 'Johnny' French was under me years ago in India, and when he was only a chubby lieutenant in the 19th Hussars I saw enough of him to know that there was in him the making of such a cavalry officer as would have delighted the soul of 'Stonewall' Jackson.'"

London fairly rang with praises of General French for days after Kimberley's relief.

Lord Roberts found time as he was gathering his force on the Modder River to transfer the fighting to the Boer States, to address, February 9th, this letter to Presidents Kruger and Steyn:

"In continuation of my telegram of Feb. 5th, I call your Honors' attention to the wanton destruction of property by the Boer forces in Natal. They have not only helped themselves freely to the cattle and property of the farmers without payment, but also have utterly wrecked the contents of many farmhouses. As an instance I would specify Wood's Farm, near Springfield. I would point out how very different has been the conduct of the British

troops. It is reported to me from Modder River that farms within the actual area of the British camp have never been entered, nor have their occupants been molested. The houses and gardens have been left absolutely untouched."

The following from the other side of the world shows the cordial reciprocity of appreciation between Lord Roberts and the most remote colonies:

"SYDNEY, Feb. 8.

"Lord Roberts has sent the following telegram to the Governor of New South Wales:

"I had the great pleasure of personally welcoming the New South Wales battery of field artillery and wish to express to your Excellency my high appreciation of the patriotic spirit which led our fellow-subjects in Australia to send such a useful and workmanlike body of men to assist in the work of restoring peace, order, and freedom in South Africa.'"

The Lieutenant-Governor has replied:

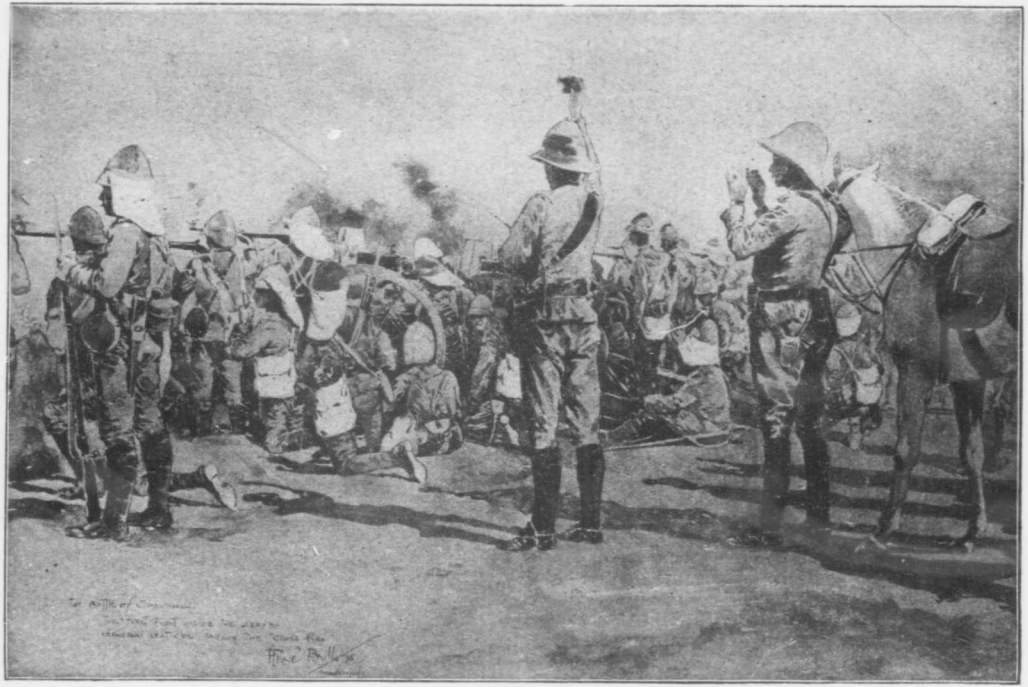
"MELBOURNE, Feb. 8.

"Ministers fully appreciate your telegram, and concur in the earnest hope that peace, order and freedom may shortly be restored in South Africa under the British flag."

Lord Roberts has telegraphed to the Governor of Victoria a similar message to that which he has sent to the Governor of New South Wales.

The Boer States maintained their invasion of the British Colony of Natal for 100 days, and made for themselves a military reputation that has astonished and instructed the armed nations of the earth. We of the United States have less to learn from them than others have, because we are mobile as they are, and their horsemanship and marksmanship with rifles are among our accomplishments. The Americans, also, are as individuals

GENERAL GATACRE ORDERING "CEASE FIRING"



GENERAL GATACRE ORDERING "CEASE FIRING"

BOER TACTICS
Alluring the English to death with a flag of truce.

self-reliant, and that makes men competent to take good care of themselves and keep their heads clear and their hands steady when there is a life and death business to do. Our traditions of Indian warfare have informed our people that among the military arts and qualifications must be ranked the preservation of the lives of soldiers, that they may not by carelessness on their own part or wantonness of superiors be wasted—though the commanding officers must be sure that orders are obeyed, when the reason why is not stated. Our volunteers have in great measure and likeness the same capacities that have distinguished the Boers in the wonderful fight they made against the British. The fact is that as fighting men the Boers closely resemble in many respects the Confederate soldiers who in the great state and sectional conflict in this country, fought with surprising address and displayed such activities—that the infantry under Stonewall Jackson were jocosely, but with justice in the compliment implied, called the "Southern Cavalry." They covered the ground nearly as fast on foot as the Boers have on horseback, and they were men whose rifles were always to be respected. There have been no bloodier wars since the days of Napoleon than that which occurred among the people of the United States when they were construing their Constitution and having a trial of battle over it; and it is a subject of speculation very curious and of interest to people of inquiring minds, what effect upon our war it would have had if at the beginning both sides had been provided with the long range rifles and artillery that are now the necessary equipments of an army. Certainly the combats would have been radically changed, and what might have been the result is left to constructive imagination.

National Qualifications for Fighters

The combination of movements with which Lord Roberts opened his campaign of invasion of the Orange Free State began by massing an army of nearly 50,000 men in a place where it was not

expected, and this happened to be where the enemy were comparatively weak. At the same time, Sir Redvers Buller's army was hammering hard on the Tugela and the thunder of his guns continued to be heard at Ladysmith, from the outer-guarding trenches of which, the explosion of British shells could be seen, announcing that the work of relief, if not progressing, was at least continued. It had long been known by the British officers that the Boers were constantly signalled of the arrival of troops at Durban, and able to correctly guage the army under Buller's command. They were not so well informed promptly of the movements of troops from Cape Town, and had not believed in the speedy and eagerly swift advance of Roberts, whose reputation might have been known to them, of ability to make his men "keen," which was not the state of the troops whose fine edge had been removed by the "reverses" under Methuen, Gatacre and Buller. The first blow Roberts struck furnishes a fine military study on a large scale. Of course, it materially assisted in raising the siege of Ladysmith as well as that of Kimberley. The presence of the main body of the British army in the Orange Free State, the dispersion of the besiegers of Kimberley, and the capture of Cronje's army, made sure that the only hope of the Boers was in a rushing concentration of their forces, and the lines before Buller in Natal weakened at once.

Roberts and Buller in Co-operation

An element in the character of Lord Roberts not generally familiarly known has been developed in his public utterances since he was commanded to save his country in South Africa. Before he sailed he consented to say something for the interviewer, which shows that he is abreast of the methods of talking to the people, and he said he had "entire confidence in the British soldier." He made a few terse remarks on meeting the Highlanders in Africa after they had suffered so severely in action, and said he had been

with them in India and he was glad to see them around him, always wanted to see them when there was hard work to be done. He has repeatedly taken occasion to recognize the high spirit of the Colonial contingents, putting them in places that conveyed a compliment to their courage and effectiveness as soldiers, and he has ministered to their pride in his efficient reports. In announcing the surrender of Cronje, he hoped it was "satisfactory" to Her Majesty's Government, as it was on the anniversary of Majuba Hill. He especially and handsomely acknowledged the obligations of the army in that celebration of the anniversary to the Canadian contingent, "took a day off" to visit Kimberley and address the sickly and half-starved garrison in fitting terms, and dined with Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the strong man who represents British enterprise and ambition in South Africa.

Roberts' Public Utterances

In his correspondence with the Presidents of the Boer States which they opened, Lord Roberts has been courteous in form, but in substance aggressive and incisive. Born at Cawmpore, India, of Irish parents, he has the vivacity of his blood and a talent for saying as well as doing things. There is a statue of him at Calcutta which was decorated with flowers March 1st, and a cable was sent him from Cawmpore, "Your birthplace salutes you."

Sir Redvers Buller was not idle when the decisive movements of Lord Roberts were made, and at last his pounding away battered the Boer fortresses, and the Boer commanders, seeing it was too late to take Ladysmith, retreated even more rapidly than they had advanced. General Buller did not permit them to hold him with a thin line while they were making haste to abandon Natal to defend the Transvaal. The distance between the lines of operation by Roberts and Buller made the concentration of the British and

General Conditions Favoring the English

Boer armies in their new relations and change of scene a matter of time. The mobility of the Boer mounted infantry and their use of inner lines of rails enabled them to get together and prepare for actions of increased seriousness and magnitude of results. The combatants were released from monotonous sieges by the relief of Kimberley and Ladysmith. The Btitish have had such heavy losses and bitter lessons that, while rejoicing over the good fortune of their arms, they have not weakly acted upon the theory that the war was over when Cronje surrendered and they marched deeper into the hostile state.

When the third effort of General Buller to relieve Ladysmith by way of the Tugela River approaches failed, the cleverest of the military specialists, writing for the London *Press*, said, February 10th: "We must now hope that the resources of Ladysmith will last until strong pressure can be brought to bear in another part of the theatre of war, and meanwhile Sir. R. Buller is at least detaining in his front the best force the Boers have placed in the field. Whatever may happen in Natal, the further course of the war will not be materially affected. The terrible initial strategic mistake of abondoning a principal objective for a subsidiary operation still over-weights the campaign; but the time is at hand when its baneful influence will cease to fetter our action. The great issues of the war will not be decided in Natal."

What a Military Specialist Says

That the Boers were sufferers in Natal to an extent much greater than they have reported is shown by a Boer correspondent with the Natal Commandos, dated February 8th, from Lorenzo Marques. He called attention to the necessity of more men and wagons for the prompt removal of the wounded from the battlefield. He states that the present arrangements are

most inadequate. He suggests that volunteers should be invited to form ambulance corps at Johannesburg.

After the battle of Colenso, and before the successful storming of Pieter's Hill, the public attention was excited and fixed with intensity for some days on the fighting about Spion Kop—the key to the Boer position which was assailed by General Buller, January 21st and 23d. The Kop was carried by a night attack which was a very daring and hardy movement, and abandoned only after a long and bloody conflict. The British began to climb the mountain an hour after midnight, and at 3 o'clock were challenged by a Boer sentinel. When this was done, they, as had been ordered to do, threw themselves flat on their faces and the Boer picket not more than fifteen in number and only thirty yards away, emptied their magazines into the darkness and fled for their lives. "One brave man alone remained" and was killed as the British flung themselves into the trench, "with a cheer that was heard by those who were anxiously listening in the camp below."

The Spion Kop Affair

The Boers soon yielded their second line of trenches and the British attempted, having gained this much ground, to prepare themselves for the assault that they knew was coming with the daylight. It was very dark and, though they worked hard to protect themselves, found they had laid out their trenches so that they afforded very little shelter. Indeed they were enfiladed and raked on all sides; and it appeared the Boers had six guns ready for them. Two of them Maxim-Nordenfeldts and four other guns on a ridge, completely concealed from our batteries, but able to command them, as was shown by their dropping shells among them periodically during the day. The Boer riflemen followed their usual tactics. They were scattered all over the hill, lying wherever they found cover, and firing coolly and steadily all the time. "To our men they were

as usual, practically invisible, and they were far too widely scattered for shell fire to have much effect upon them. At 8 their attack began. It was a most vigorous infantry attack, supported by a converging shell fire from three directions. For the first time in this war the Boer artillery was as deadly as their musketry. The Maxim-Nordenfeldts scoured first one side of the hill and then the other, raising great clouds of dust, and shell after shell bursting where our men lay thickest.

"This condition lasted three hours when the Boers advanced closer and closer, without giving our men a chance, and drove them out of their first line of trenches, but did not stay there long; for the second time we drove them back again at the point of the bayonet, and in one of the trenches this happened three times.

A Fierce Struggle

Two British battalions came up as re-inforcements, and all the way up the men were under fire from the top and from sharpshooters in trenches and behind rocks on the flanks, yet they never wavered once. The climb took over two hours, and when they at last reached the summit they surrounded it and went up the last part with a rush and cheer. It was a stirring sight, and to those who watched it seemed that now, at any rate, the hill was ours. The only ominous thing was that not a Boer left the hill, and the ceaseless fire went on without even a break. This was 5.15, and things were not going well with the main attack."

Information had been given the British that there was a supply of water on the Kop, but that was a mistake, and the troops suffered greatly from thirst, and the rifle fire of the Boers never slackened. There was unusual energy and resolution on the part of the British, notwithstanding their disadvantages and losses, to adhere to the position they had gained in the night, and many valorous efforts, all in vain, to clear the Boers out of the way and

overcome their fire, so that at last the various regiments and companies and battalions of the British force engaged, were very much mixed up. They were resolute, but between the darkness and the rough ground and the changes of position there was no little confusion. Six hundred Royal Engineers received orders to go up after nightfall in order to intrench the position, and a part of General Hildyard's Brigade bivouacked under Three Tree Hill, with orders to advance against the main ridge of Taba Myama at dawn. Colonel Thorneycroft, who was in the most critical position, was in ignorance of all this. The condition, in which his force was, has already been described, but besides this his men were suffering considerably from the effects of the day. "The losses had been heavy; his own men had lost 122 out of 194 who had climbed the hill, and the men, who had been under fire all day, although not in the slightest degree demoralized, were yet considerably shaken, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether they would be able to stand another such day's shell fire."

The Kop Retaken by The Boers

Each hour's fighting added evidence that the British could not sustain themselves on the Kop and retirement was judiciously ordered and began at 8.30 P. M., January 24th, and as the leading troops went down they met the sappers coming up. The descent was conducted with the utmost order and dispatch, but it was early morning before the last man was off the hill. With the failure to retain Spion Kop failed General Warren's attempt to cross the Spion Kop Taba Myama range, so, on the 25th, a withdrawal across the Tugela was ordered. It took the heavy transport wagons all day to cross the pontoons, and in the night the troops followed them.

CHAPTER XI

Cronje's Surrender and the Occupation of Blœmfontein.

THE main body of the British army on the Modder soon disposed of the reproach of immobility, and the Boers were disconcerted. They were not prepared for "leaps and bounds" to the front. It has been important in the history of Lord Roberts that his troops became confident and moved with alacrity. Cronje, finding himself getting into the air, confronting Roberts, made a long night march February 15th, and the British swung to the left in hot pursuit, some of the regiments outstripping the supplies; but there was no complaint of fatigue or short rations, or other commonplace troubles, though the rains were heavy and the winds cold. Cronje was driven to the precarious shelter of a river bed, where he formed a laager. Roberts shelled the Boer force and pushed regular approaches to insure victory and save life.

Cronje Hard Pressed

A gallant rush by the Canadians made the Boer position untenable in a strict military sense. There was a fusilade at 3 A. M. on the morning of the 15th, and the most dramatic incident of the eventful day was the appearance of a small white flag moving from the Boer laager to the British lines. It was understood by all who saw it to convey the tidings that Cronje had surrendered. A British officer advanced to meet the flag, and the bearer of it turned back disappearing behind the fortifications. For a few moments the flag-bearer reappeared, and at his side walked—as a correspondent

present describes him—"a little, grizzly, old man." The word passed along the British lines, "That's Cronje." It was Cronje, and he was soon in the presence of Roberts, who invited him to take a seat. The Boer commander, when on his way to the British headquarters, was described as a "heavy shouldered, heavy bearded, heavy-lipped man, clad in farm-like garb, wearing a broad-brimmed felt hat and lumbering along on a little gray pony." He showed no emotion, accepted the situation with fortitude, and said he had had a very uncomfortable time. Between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners marched out of the laager with Mrs. Cronje and her grandson. The prisoners said the onslaught of the Canadians had astonished them. They had been cooped up for ten days and suffered greatly. Cronje was treated with courtesy, and all his personal requests granted. As he desired, his wife, grandson and servants accompanied him. Considering the disparity in forces, he had made a great fight, and to have detained the powerful army of Roberts so long was the best service he could render his cause. The words in which Lord Roberts announced his victory were that Cronje and his force capitulated at daylight, February 27th. The dispatch was dated at Paardeburg, at 7.45 in the morning. Lord Roberts added the capitulation was unconditional, and Cronje was now a prisoner in his camp, and then said, "I hope that Her Majesty's Government will consider that this is very satisfactory, occurring as it does on the anniversary of Majuba."

Cronje Capitulates

A writer for the *Journal* says that Cronje was anxious to attempt to cut his way out of the river bed and seize a hill and oppose the idea of surrender to the last moment, but was overcome by a council of war, and that his theory about it was that, rather than lose men in storming the Boer position, Roberts would grant terms. However, when Cronje consented to a council of

war, he must have known what the result would be. The scene on the inside of the laager is thus described: "The wrecks of wagons, carcasses of horses and cattle are strewn everywhere, not to speak of scores of corpses partially unburied. The Red Cross men who buried the dead and collected the wounded at Magersfontein, Belmont and Graspan declare they have seen nothing so awful as this terrible spectacle.

"A mute story is told by the fearful sight that Cronje had no alternative but to surrender unless he wished to see his camp converted into a wholesale shambles. Hundreds of dead bodies of both men and cattle were washed down through the British main camp when the river was flooded last week. It is impossible therefore to estimate how many actually fell in Cronje's last stand."

The historical scene of surrender is thus described: "A group of horsemen then approached. On General Prettyman's right rode an elderly man clad in a rough, short overcoat, a wide brimmed hat, ordinary tweed trousers and brown shoes. It was the redoubtable Cronje. His face was almost burned black, and his curly beard was tinged with gray.

Cronje and Roberts Meet

"Lord Roberts walked to and fro in front of the cart until the Boer general arrived, when the British commander advanced gravely and kindly saluted the Boer commander. He then motioned General Cronje to a seat in a chair which had been brought for his accommodation, and the two officers conversed through an interpreter.

"Cronje's face was absolutely impassive when he approached Lord Roberts, exhibiting no sign of his inner feelings. Lord Roberts was surrounded by his staff when General Prettyman, addressing the Field Marshal, said:

"'Commandant Cronje, sir.'

MAJOR W. A. WEEKS
Charlottetown, P. E. I., Canada

LIEUTENANT J. C. OLAND
Halifax, Company H

CAPTAIN F. CAVERHILL JONES
St. John's, 3d Regt. Canadian Artillery

CORPORALS H. W. ACKHURST AND
C. HANCOCK, both of Halifax

GROUP OF CANADIAN OFFICERS, TRANSVAAL CONTINGENT. PLATE II

AN ARMORED TRAIN FROM LADYSMITH RECONNOITERING

"The commandant touched his hat in salute, and Lord Roberts saluted in return. The whole group then dismounted, and Lord Roberts stepped forward and shook hands with the Boer commander.

"'You made a gallant defence, sir,' was the first salutation of Lord Roberts to the vanquished Boer leader.

"General Cronje afterward breakfasted with the British officers."

Cronje's army was promptly sent to Cape Town as prisoners of war, accompanied by their gallant leader—"the Lion of South Africa"—whose heroism everywhere commanded respect.

The detailed report of Lord Roberts is as follows:

"PAARDEBERG, 11 o'clock Tuesday Morning.—From information furnished daily to me by the intelligence department it became apparent that General Cronje's force was becoming more depressed and that the discontent of the troops and the discord among the leaders were rapidly increasing. This feeling was doubtless accentuated by the disappointment caused when the Boer re-inforcements which tried to relieve General Cronje were defeated by our troops on Feb. 2.

"I resolved, therefore, to bring pressure to bear upon the enemy. Each night the trenches were pushed forward toward the enemy's laager so as to gradually contract his position, and at the same time we bombarded it heavily with artillery which was yesterday aided by the arrival of four six-inch howitzers which I had ordered up from De Aar. In carrying out these measures a captive balloon gave great assistance by keeping us informed of the dispositions and movements of the enemy.

"At 3 A. M. to-day a most dashing advance was made by the Canadian regiment and some engineers, supported by the First Gordon Highlanders and Second Shropshires, resulting in our gaining a point some 600 yards nearer the enemy and within about eighty yards of his trenches, where our men intrenched themselves and maintained their positions till morning, a gallant deed worthy of our colonial comrades, and which, I am glad to say, was attended by comparatively slight loss.

"This apparently clinched matters, for, at daylight to-day, a letter signed by General Cronje, in which he stated that he surrendered unconditionlly, was brought to our outposts under a flag of truce.

"In my reply I told General Cronje he must present himself at my camp and that his forces must come out of their laager after laying down their arms. By 7 A. M. I received General Cronje and dispatched a telegram to you announcing the fact.

"In the course of conversation he asked for kind treatment at our hands and also that his wife, grandson, private secretary, adjutant and servants might accompany him wherever he might be sent. I reassured him and told him his request would be complied with. I informed him that a general officer would be sent with him to Cape Town to insure his being treated with proper respect en route. He will start this afternoon under charge of Major-General Prettyman, who will hand him over to the general commanding at Cape Town.

"The prisoners, who number about 3,000, will be formed into commandos under our own officers. They will also leave here to-day, reaching Modder River to-morrow, when they will be railed to Cape Town in detachments. ROBERTS."

LONDON, Feb. 28.—The Queen telegraphed General Buller:

"I have heard with the deepest concern the heavy losses sustained by my brave Irish soldiers, and I desire to express my sympathy and admiration of the splendid fighting qualities they have exhibited throughout these trying operations."

In her dispatch to Lord Roberts, following the announcement of the surrender of General Cronje, Her Majesty said:

"Accept for yourself and for all under your command my warmest congratulations on this splendid news."

Lord Roberts replied:

"All under my command are deeply grateful for Your Majesty's most gracious message. Congratulations from their Queen are an honor the soldiers dearly prize."

General Buller has telegraphed his thanks to the Queen for her telegram of "gracious sympathy and encouragement."

OTTAWA, Ont., Feb. 27.—Joseph Chamberlain cables to Lord Minto:

"LONDON, Feb. 27.—Her Majesty the Queen desires you to express to people of the Dominion her admiration of the gallant conduct of her Canadian troops in the late engagement, and her sorrow at loss of so many brave men.

CHAMBERLAIN."

The Governor-General received the following dispatch:

"LONDON, Feb. 27.—I desire to express congratulations on Cronje's surrender effected by gallant Canadian aid. Deep sympathy for Canadian losses. Am proud to have lived among them. LOUISE."

LONDON, Feb. 28.—Lord Roberts has forwarded an additional list of the British casualties during the three days' fighting at Paardeberg, showing twelve killed, eighty-two wounded and four missing, including seven officers and four Canadian privates wounded.

Up to this morning the total number of casualties was 12,834,—of which 2,319 were added during the last forthight. Ten of the eleven Scotch regiments lost about

2,050, and eight of the Irish regiments, 2,000. Of nearly 200 Colonials the Royal Canadians lost 121 and the Victoria mounted contingent, 26. The casualties are classified thus :

Killed, 1,993 ; wounded, 6,838 ; missing, 3,173 ; disease, 830.

The following is quite in the spirit of Lord Roberts' famous report of satisfactory news on Majuba Day.

"At 3 A. M., to-day a most dashing advance was made by the Canadian Regiment and some engineers, supported by the 1st Gordon Highlanders and 2d Shropshires, resulting in our gaining a point some 600 yards nearer to the enemy."

It is officially stated that, if it had not been for peremptory orders to stop, the Canadians would have stormed the Boer laager itself on the morning of the surrender, and it was in evidence that they could have gained their point that caused the anniversary surrender of the Boers.

Kruger Willing to Compromise

The hurried appearance of President Kruger among his troops soon after Cronje's defeat, and his sudden willingness to compromise for the sake of peace, and utterances to that effect at Blœmfontein, causing his congregations to shed tears, make known his understanding that his cause in his opinion verged upon a collapse, but the faith was strong in him that the Lord would deliver him, and the aged President whose diplomacy has been the subject of so much admiration by those who indulge a specialty of disliking the British, was carried away by the thought that as his enemies had vindicated their military power and honor to some extent, they could therefore afford to make peace, and his experience in the war that closed at Majuba suggested that advances on his part might be attributed to a gracious condescension and result in peace making; and as he has been well advised of the general course of the press of Europe and America, he had a certain

justification in feeling that his appeal for pacification would arouse the European nations at least to propose arbitration.

It was on March 6th, that Mr. Kruger started to visit the Free State laager, and a Pretoria dispatch announced that he made the journey "to arrange a compromise between the Transvaalers and the Free Staters." This showed a more serious disturbance of the relations of the allied states than had been made known, but the old President's shrewdness had not failed to warn him that the invasion of the Orange Free State threatened the existence of both the Boer States, and that if there was a chance for peace it would be necessary to be speedy in coming to the decision to make such offers as he might believe himself generous in formalizing with that certain vagueness that has been one of his strong points, enabling him to add sinister interpretations in the final construction of the principles of proposed protocols. He had not been at Blœmfontein many hours before his state of mind caused him to communicate pacific intentions to the British Government, and the understanding of the Premier and the Colonial Secretary was that the Transvaal President was of the opinion his cause was lost if he could not obtain time for negotiation.

Kruger visits Blœmfontein

There was an uprising in London when the Queen drove through the streets to Buckingham Palace, animated by the auspicious news from South Africa, and guided by her intuition that the people would be glad to see her; and the public enthusiasm surpassed all that has been witnessed, including her jubilee receptions. She is described as looking "old and worn, but her face radiant with happiness;" and the spectators shouted "Welcome home!" and followed her with "a mighty roar of cheering in which was an undertone of tenderness and affection." She has followed the course of the war with evident anxiety and intelligence, and

Her Majesty's expressions of appreciation, good cheer and sympathy have been many, and full of womanly charm; and all this has been exercised in such times and ways and places as to demonstrate close relation to political tact. The ties between Her Majesty and her subjects were multiplied and strengthened by the thrilling vicissitudes of the war, while the Empire has had an attraction unknown until the African crisis came for the colonies; and the colonial contingents from Canada, New Zealand and Australia, have become the pioneers and missionaries of British Imperial confederation—a fact of world-wide and deep significance.

The march from the scene of Cronje's defeat at Modder River to Blœmfontein, the capital of the Free State, was interrupted by a number of minor engagements, resulting in considerable loss of life, but no serious halts were made. On Monday, March 12th, General French's cavalry arrived on the outskirts and demanded the surrender of the city, threatening bombardment if refused. Four A. M. Tuesday morning was named as the limit of time allowed for consideration. Meantime General Roberts arrived with the main army. A white flag was hoisted Tuesday morning, and a deputation of the Town Council, with Mayor Kellner, came out to meet Lord Roberts at Spitz Kop, five miles south of the town, making a formal surrender of the place.

From Modder River to Blœmfontein

Lord Roberts made a state entry at noon. He received a tremendous ovation. After visiting the public buildings, he went to the official residence of the President, followed by a cheering crowd, who waved the British flag and sang the British national anthem. They were in a condition of frenzied excitement.

President Steyn had the evening before moved the government of the Free State to Kroonstadt, 125 miles north of Bloemfontein, on the road to Pretoria.

In the afternoon, Lord Roberts led his army triumphantly into the city, established his headquarters at the President's house, where many wounded soldiers were also taken by his command, and at 8 P. M. sent the following dispatch to his Government, which was given out by the War Office the next evening:

"BLŒMFONTEIN, March 13, 1900.

"By the help of God and by the bravery of Her Majesty's soldiers, the troops under my command have taken possession of Blœmfontein.

"The British flag now flies over the Presidency, evacuated last evening by Mr. Steyn, late President of the Orange Free State.

"Mr. Frazer, member of the late Executive Government, the Mayor, the Secretary to the late Government, the Landrost, and other officials met me two miles from the town and presented me with the keys of the public offices.

"The enemy have withdrawn from the neighborhood, and all seems quiet. The inhabitants of Blœmfontein gave the troops a cordial welcome."

The delay in the sending of this message is attributed to the field telegraphs not being connected with Blœmfontein on Tuesday evening.

Wherever Lord Roberts' dispatch was read, his reference to the "late" President Steyn and the "late" executive was immediately fastened upon as highly significant.

Overtures for peace had been made, by Presidents Kruger and Steyn, some days before the occupation of Blœmfontein, but the terms were not such as England would entertain, and the burghers were promptly informed by Lord Salisbury, that his Government would consider no conditions looking to the independence of the South African Republic or the Orange Free State.

This reply caused bitter disappointment to the South African Presidents, and President Kruger cabled the following characteristic message:

"PRETORIA, March 13, 1900.

"The burghers will only cease fighting with death. Our forces are returning in good order to our first line of defense on our own soil. The Natal campaign was longer in our favor than we expected.

"The British will never reach Pretoria. The burghers, Steyn, Joubert and myself, as well as all others, are united. There are no differences. God help us."

Presidents Kruger and Steyn addressed to Lord Salisbury the following proposition:

"BLŒMFONTEIN, March 5th.

"The blood and the tears of thousands who have suffered by this war, and the prospect of all moral and economic ruin, wherewith South Africa is now threatened, make it necessary for both belligerents to ask themselves dispassionately and as in the sight of the triune God for what they are fighting, and whether the aim of each justifies all this appalling misery and devastation.

The War Solely Defensive

"With this object, and in view of the assertions of various British statesmen to the effect that this war was begun and is being carried on with the set purpose of undermining Her Majesty's authority in South Africa, and of setting up an administration over all of South Africa independent of Her Majesty's Government, we consider it our duty to solemnly declare that this war was undertaken solely as a defensive measure to maintain the threatened independence of the South African Republics, and is only continued in order to secure and maintain the incontestable independence of both Republics as sovereign international States, and to obtain the assurance that those of Her Majesty's subjects who have taken part

with us in this war shall suffer no harm whatever in person or property. On these conditions, but on these conditions alone, are we now, as in the past, desirous of seeing peace re-established in South Africa, while if Her Majesty's Government is determined to destroy the independence of the Republics there, is nothing left to us and to our people but to persevere to the end in the course already begun.

"In spite of the overwhelming pre-eminence of the British Empire, we are confident that that God, who lighted the unextinguishable fire of love of freedom in the hearts of ourselves and of our fathers, will not forsake us, and will accomplish His work in us and in our descendants.

"We hesitated to make this declaration earlier to Your Excellency, as we feared that as long as the advantage was always on our side, and as long as our forces held defensive positions far within Her Majesty's colonies, such a declaration might hurt the feelings and honor of the British people.

The Turning Point

"But now that the prestige of the British Empire may be considered to be assured by the capture of one of our forces by Her Majesty's troops, and that we have thereby been forced to evacuate other positions which our forces had occupied, that difficulty is over, and we can no longer hesitate to clearly inform your Goverment and people, in the sight of the whole civilized world, why we are fighting, and on what conditions we are ready to restore peace."

The design of this communication was to influence the great powers to intervene and bring a pressure upon England to consent to make a fruitless sacrifice of blood and treasure, and put aside as irrelevant the British victories. The reply of Lord Salisbury was:

"FOREIGN OFFICE, LONDON, March 11TH.

"I have the honor to acknowledge Your Honors' telegram, dated March 5th, from Blœmfontein, of which the purport is principally to demand that Her Majesty's Government shall recognize the

'incontestable independence' of the South African Republic and Free State 'as sovereign international States,' and to offer on those terms to bring the war to a conclusion.

"In the beginning of October last peace existed between Her Majesty and the two Republics under conventions which were then in existence. A discussion had been proceeding for some months between Her Majesty's Government and the South African Republic, of which the object was to obtain redress for certain very serious grievances under which the British residents in South Africa were suffering. In the course of these negotiations the South African Republic had, to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, made considerable armaments, and the latter had consequently taken steps to provide corresponding reinforcements of the British garrisons at Cape Town and in Natal. No infringement of the rights guaranteed by the conventions had up to that point taken place on the British side.

Who Broke the Peace?

"Suddenly, at two days' notice, the South African Republic, after issuing an insulting ultimatum, declared war upon Her Majesty, and the Orange Free State, with which there had not even been any discussion, took a similar step. Her Majesty's dominions were immediately invaded by the two Republics. Siege was laid to three towns within the British frontier, a large portion of two colonies was overrun with great destruction of property and life, and the Republics claimed to treat the inhabitants of extensive portions of Her Majesty's dominions as if those dominions had been annexed to one or the other of them.

"In anticipation of these operations the South African Republic had been accumulating for many years past military stores on an enormous scale, which, by their character, could only have been intended for use against Great Britain. Your Honors make some observations of a negative character upon the object with which

these preparations were made. I do not think it necessary to discuss the questions you have raised. But the result of these preparations, carried on with great secrecy, has been that the British Empire has been compelled to confront an invasion which has entailed upon the empire a costly war and the loss of thousands of precious lives. This great calamity has been the penalty Great Britain has suffered for having of recent years acquiesced in the existence of the two Republics.

Accumulating Military Stores

"In view of the use to which the two Republics have put the position which was given them, and the calamities their unprovoked attack has inflicted on Her Majesty's dominion, Her Majesty's Goverment can only answer Your Honors' telegram by saying it is not prepared to assent to the independence either of the South African Republic or the Orange Free State."

The plea for peace from the two Presidents was taken seriously by its authors, but there could not have been a reasonable expectation that there would be any business results. If there was a remote chance to open negotiations, the suggestion to the State Department of the United States, through our Consul at Pretoria, appeared the only possibility of an open door. The United States would gladly undertake to facilitate peace negotiations, and the Boer communications to this country were transmitted to the British Government, and our "good offices" were not rebuffed but respectfully declined. The British Premier confined himself to a courteous verbal expression. This was all that any sober-minded person expected. The Government of the United States gave evidence of its kindly spirit, and was treated with civility. The South African questions are too deep for settlement until military operations are conclusive. There was no intervention by a foreign power between

The "Good Offices" of the United States

Germany and France in 1870, or between Turkey and Greece, or the United States and Spain, and there will be no interference in the South African war. Either the Boers or the Britons are to be masters of South Africa.

There were not wanting, even during the period of Boer military successes, signs that the burghers of the two Republics were finding it difficult to serve together. The Orange Free State troops felt that they were having an amount of fighting to do greater than their share of responsibility. The invasion of the State caused at once dissatisfaction and consternation, and the surrender of Cronje caused a panic, but the Boers rallied and skirmished hotly to check Roberts. The Orange men were not united, and Lord Roberts had a popular welcome at Blœmfontein. One of the incitements of the peace proposals of the two Presidents was to arouse the drooping animosities of the Orange men.

Cordially Greeted in Blœmfontein

The foremost of the invaders to enter the Orange Capital were three newspaper correspondents, who were at first thought to be townsfolk, and when found out they were greeted cordially and conducted to a club, where they met Mr. Frazer, of the Executive Council, the Mayor and other officials. These they persuaded to take carriages and go to meet Lord Roberts.

The cavalry were closing up, and the newspaper men introduced the Orange men to the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, meant the town would surrender. Lord Roberts entered—made his entry in state—and was warmly welcomed. Everybody appeared glad to see him, and the function was impressive and influential beyond the military pageantry. The first work of the Army of Occupation was to make the railroads available. Three trains were in motion March 15th, managed by British railroad men found in the ranks. Lord Roberts found much to do of a

political nature, and issued a series of orders and proclamations, establishing military government on a pacific basis. President Steyn is referred to as the "Ex-President," and his part in bringing misfortune upon his country is discussed with reflections upon his policy. He strove to rally the Orange burghers, but they were down-hearted and largely depressed. The Transvaal Government were on firmer ground, and gave their attention to make ready the destruction of the gold mines with the City of Johannesburg, and the defense of Pretoria.

The London correspondent of the Toronto *Globe* telegraphed of the peace proceedings of President Kruger:

"There are many explanations from American sources, but the action of the State Department is not understood here. Englishmen are asking what Americans would have said, not long ago, if the Madrid Government, in the hour of defeat, had proposed peace on the basis of Spanish retention of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and England had offered her services as a mediator."

The Press on Mediation

But the United States Government merely conveyed a message, and the *Standard* (London) said:

"We are grateful to the Americans for their good offices, and we should be delighted to accept their assistance if it were possible. But this quarrel is our own, and we must settle it in our own way. We have no reason to complain of platonic and vicarious affection for intervention so long as every government is quite resolved to leave it to its neighbor to begin."

The *Mail* said:

"Englishmen are sufficiently acquainted with American affairs not to misinterpret the attitude of the Washington Cabinet. President McKinley has behaved to us with scrupulous fairness."

The text of Mr. Balfour's reply in the House to the question about the American mediation was in these terms:

"The United States Charge D'Affaires on March 13th communicated to Lord Salisbury a telegram from Mr. Hay: 'By way of friendly and good office inform the British Minister of Foreign Affairs that to-day he received a telegram from the United States Consul at Pretoria, reporting that the Government of the South African Republic requested the President of the United States to intervene with the view of cessation of hostilities and saying that a similar request has been made to the representatives of the European powers. In communicating this request I am directed by the President of the United States to express the earnest hope that a way will be found to bring about peace and to say that he would be glad in any friendly manner to aid in bringing about the desired result.'"

Official List

OF THE

Canadian Contingents in South Africa

The First Contingent was composed of seven Companies, recruited form the various parts of the Dominion. The formation by Company and District was as follows :

A Company, British Columbia and Manitoba.

B Company, London, Ontario.

C Company, Toronto, Ontario.

D Company, left half, Kingston and vicinity ; right half, Ottawa, Ontario.

E Company, Montreal.

F Company, Quebec.

G Company, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

H Company, Nova Scotia.

Each Company consisted of 125 men, which, with the staff and officers, brought the total force up to 1019. The mobilization of the Contingent took place at Quebec, and on October 30th, 1899, the *Sardinian*, of the Allan Line, bearing Canada's initial quota of fighting men, sailed on her voyage to Cape Town. On the 13th, November the *Sardinian* was reported at Cape Verde Islands, having made a quick and uneventful passage to that point. From Cape Verde the steamer touched at no port till Cape Town was reached on November 29th.

First Contingent.

OFFICERS.

Commanding Officer.

Otter, Lieutenant-Colonel W. D., Canadian Staff, A. D. C., to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Majors

(2nd in command).

Buchan, L. (Lieutant-Colonel Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry).

Pelletier, Q. C. C. (Lieutenant-Colonel Canadian Staff).

"A" Company, British Columbia and Manitoba.

Captain.

Arnold, H. M. (Major 90th Winnipeg Rifles).

Lieutenants.

Blanchard, M. G. (Captain 5th Regiment C. A.)

Hodgins, A. E. (Captain Nelson Rifle Company).

Layborn, S. P. (Lieutenant Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry).

"B" Company, London, Ontario.

Captain.

Stuart, D. (Major 26th Middlesex Light Infantry).

Lieutenants.

Ross, J. M. (Captain 22nd The Oxford Rifles).

Mason, J. C. (Captain 10th Royal Grenadiers).

Temple, R. H. M. (2nd Lieutenant 48th Highlanders).

"C" Company, Toronto.

Captain.

Barker, R. K. (Captain Queen's Own Rifles).

Lieutenants.

Marshall, W. R. (Lieutenant 13th Battalion).

Wilkie, C. S. (Lieutenant 10th Royal Grenadiers).

Lafferty, F. D. (Lieutenant Royal Canadian Artillery).

"D" Company, Ottawa and Kingston.

Captain.

Rogers, S. M. (Major 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles).

Lieutenants.

Lawless, W. T. (Captain Governor-General's Foot Guards).

Stewart, R. G. (Lieutenant 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles).

Caldwell, A. C. (Lieutenant Reserve of Officers).

"E" Company, Montreal.

Captain.

Fraser, C. K. (Captain 53rd Sherbrooke Battalion).

Lieutenants.

Swift, A. E. (Lieutenant 8th Royal Rifles).

Laurie, A. (Lieutenant 1st Prince of Wales' Fusiliers).

Armstrong, C. J. (Lieutenant 5th Royal Scots of Canada).

"F" Company, Quebec.

Captain.

Peltier, J. E. (Major 65th Mount Royal Rifles).

Lieutenants.

Panet, H. A. (Captain Royal Canadian Artillery).

Leduc, L. (Lieutenant Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry).

Pelletier, E. A. (Lieutenant 55th Megantic Light Infantry).

"G" Company, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

Captain.

Weeks, W. A. (Major Charlottetown Engineers).

Lieutenants.

Jones, F. C. (Captain in 3rd Regiment C. A).

Kaye, J. H. (Lieutenant Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry).

McLean, C. W. W. (2nd Lieutenant 8th Princess Louise's Hussars).

"H" Company, Nova Scotia.

Captain.

Stairs, H. B. (Captain 66th Princess Louise's Fusiliers).

Lieutenants.

Burstall, H. E. (Captain Royal Canadian Artillery).

Willis, R. B. (Lieutenant 66th Princess Louise's Fusiliers).

Oland, J. C. (2nd Lieutenant 63rd Halifax Rifles).

O. C. Machine Gun Section.

Bell, A. C. (Captain Scots Guards) A. D. C. to the Major-General Commanding Canadian Militia.

Regimental Adjutant.

Macdonell, A. H. (Captain Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry).

Battalion Adjutants.

Macdonell, A. H. (Captain Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry).

Ogilvy, J. H. C. (Captain Royal Canadian Artillery).

Quartermaster.

Denison, S. J. A. (Captain and Brevet Major Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry.

Medical Officers.

Wilson, C. W. (Surgeon-Major 3rd Field Battery).

Fiset, E. (Surgeon-Major 89th Temiscouata and Rimouski Battalion).

Attached for Staff Duty.

Drummond, L. G. (Major Scots Guards) Military Secretary to His Excellency the Governor-General).

Attached for Special Duty.

Drury, C. W. (Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Canadian Artillery), A. D. C. to His Excellency the Governor-General.

Lessard, F. L. (Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Canadian Dragoons).

Cartwright, M. (Major Royal Canadian Regiment of Infantry, A. A. G. at Headquarters).

Forester, W. (Captain Royal Canadian Dragoons).

Medical Staff for General Service.

Osborne, A. B. (Captain Canadian Army Medical Staff).

Nurses.

Pope, Miss Georgina; Forbes, Miss Sarah; Affleck, Miss Minnie; Russell, Miss Elizabeth.

Historical Recorder.

Dixon, F. J. (Captain Reserve Officers).

Chaplains.

Almond, Rev. J.

Fullerton, Rev. T. F. (Hon. Chaplain 4th Regiment C. A.).

O'Leary, Rev. P. M.

"A" COMPANY, BRITISH COLUMBIA AND MANITOBA.

Holmes, W. H., Colonel-Sergeant, R. C. A.
Allan, H. S., 5th R. C. A.
Alliston, B. D., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Adams, J., Manitoba Dragoons.
Anderson, J., 5th R. C. A.
Armstrong, E., R. C. A.
Andrews, H., 5th R. C. A.
Barrett, R. J., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Barlow, R. H., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Beach, A. C., 5th R. C. A.
Berthour, W. H., 5th R. C. A.
Battson, A. S., 5th R. C. A.
Bonner, H. M., 5th R. C. A.
Boyce, A. W., 13th Field Battery, C. A.
Brooking, W., 5th R. C. A.
Carnagie, J., 90th Winnipeg Rifles
Carter, A., 5th R. C. A.
Campbell, R. B., Nelson Rifles.
Campbell, A., R. C. A.
Chisholm, A., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Clough, P., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Collins, J., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Cook, J., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Corbould, G. B., 5th R. C. A.
Cowan, H. J., Manitoba Dragoons.
Cornwall, F. J., 5th R. C. A.
Court, S. T., 5th R. C. A.
Crooke, M., Nelson Rifles.
Davies, J. E., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Dickinson, F., 5th R. C. A.
Dickson, J. H., Nelson Rifles.
Dixon, W. J. G., 5th R. C. A.
Duncalfe, C. W., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Docherty, M., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Edwards, H., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Fowle, W. F., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Findley, T. A., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Foord, F. N., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Finch-Smiles, F., 5th R. C. A.
French, J. P., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Gamble, C. W., 5th R. C. A.
Groves, C. E., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Greaves, P., 5th R. C. A.
Hammond, J. L., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Hanson, S. S., 5th R. C. A.
Hicks, H. P., Nelson Rifles.
Holeyoke, G. C. F., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Hughes, E. N., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Hutchings, George, 5th R. C. A.
Ingram, L., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Irvine, A. B., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Jackson, W., 5th R. C. A.
Johnson, H., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Jones, S. L., 5th R. C. A.
Jones, J. W., 5th R. C. A.
Kelly, E., Queen's Own Rifles.
Kennedy, D., 34th Ontario Battalion.
Lee, A. S., Nelson Rifles.
Leeman, R. W. J., 5th R. C. A.
Leamy, C. S., 5th R. C. A.
LeBar, V. E., R. C. R.
Liston, B., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Livingstone, J., 5th R. C. A.
Lohman, A. O., 5th R. C. A.
Martin, A., R. C. R.
Mackie, A. S., 5th R. C. A.
Matheson, K., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Maundrill, A., 5th R. C. A.
Mills, C. A., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Munro, A. E., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.

Moier, W. J., 36th Peel Battalion.
Moodie, W. H., Kaslo Rifle Co.
Moscrop, J., 5th R. C. A.
McCalmont, R. J., 5th R. C. A.
McIvor, D., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
McKeand, D. L., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
McKenzie, H., Manitoba Dragoons.
McHarg, W. H., Rossland Rifle Company.
Northcote, J., 5th R. C. A.
Neibergall, H. E., 5th R. C. A.
Neil, G., 5th R. C. A.
Nixon, F. S., 36th Peel Battalion.
Nye, A. J., 5th R. C. A.
O'Brien, S. W., 5th R. C. A.
Odell, S. H., 5th R. C. A.
Parker, H. F., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Patterson, W. O., Nelson Rifles.
Patterson, C., R. C. R.
Perry, J. C., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Rea, J. R., Nelson Rifles.
Rumsay, F., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Rush, F., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Rorke, E. B., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Robbins, A. E., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Roberts, S. C., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Roberts, C. M., 5th R. C. A.
Sherlock, H., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Sherris, J., R. C. A.
Scott, W., 5th R. C. A.
Sinclair, J. J. S., 5th R. C. A.
Smethurst, H., 5th R. C. A.,
Smith, James, 5th R. C. A.
Snider, C. H., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Soper, A. C. W., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Somers, J. H., 5th R. C. A.
Stewart, J., 5th R. C. A.
St. James, G., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Stebbings, W. H. H., 5th R. C. A.
Talbot, A., 34th Ontario Battalion.
Thompson, C. C., 5th R. C. A.
Thompson, T., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Todd, J., 5th R. C. A.
Vinnel, A. J., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Whimster, P., Manitoba Dragoons.
Wallace, W., 5th R. C. A.
Wallace, G., 5th R. C. A.
Welch, W., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Western, T., Manitoba Dragoons.
Whitley, W. F., 5th R. C. A.
Wilkins, G. H., Kaslo Rifle Company.
Wilkie, O. J., 5th R. C. A.
Wyatt, H. R., 90th Winnipeg Rifles.
Ward, R., Royal Canadian Dragoons.
Wood, A. M., 5th R. C. A.

"B" COMPANY, LONDON, ONTARIO.

Davies, Colonel-Sergeant R., R. C. R.
Adam, S., R. C. A.
Adams, W. G., 7th Fusiliers.
Adair, A., R. C. A.
Anderson, A. H., 25th Elgin Battalion.
Andrews, E. C., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Atkinson, D. H., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Bredin, J., 38th Dufferin Rifles.
Bowden, R. B., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Bethune, A., R. C. R.
Bollard, H. E., 28th Perth Battalion.
Barr, H. B., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Barrett, P., 7th Fusiliers.
Baugh, E., R. C. A.
Beers, F. C., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Berges, H., 38th Dufferin Rifles.
Biggs, J. C., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Burns, W. J., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Burrell, H., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Burwell, A. E., 6th F. B. C. A.
Campbell, F. W., 30th Wellington Rifles.
Chapman, W. H., 7th Fusiliers.
Charman, A., R. C. R.
Coles, F. J., 7th Fusiliers.
Cole, A. E., 1st Hussars.
Corley, J. B., 30th Wellington Rifles.
Crockett, Samuel, 7th Fusiliers.
Craig, E. D., 21st Essex Fusiliers
Collins, W., 1st Hussars.
Dalgleish, A. D., 29th Waterloo Battalion.
Day, J., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Donegan, J. A., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Dolman, E. N., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Donahue, H., 26th Middlesex Infantry.
Delmer, P., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Duff, J. B., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Edward, A., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Evans, F., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Farley, J. E., 25th Elgin Battalion.
Finch, C. E., 7th Fusiliers.
Floyd, F. G. W., 7th Fusiliers.
Fox, W. H., R. C. A.
Foote, William, 29th Waterloo Battalion.
Gorrie, W. B., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Graham, George, 28th Perth Battalion.
Greene, C., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Green, W. J., 25th Elgin Battalion.
Gorman, F., 27th Lambton Battalion.
Hill, J. C., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Herrick, J., 7th Fusiliers.
Hessell, F. W., 7th Fusiliers.
Hyman, W. J., 6th Field Battery, C. A.
Hennessy, J. T., 7th Fusiliers.
Inglemells, P. C., 1st Hussars.
Irvine, R., 19th St. Catherines Battalion.
Jell, A. P., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Jones, M. L., 33rd Huron Battalion.
Johnston, K. G., 27th Lambton Battalion.
Kingswell, J., R. C. A.
Leonard, G. W., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Little, R. H., 1st Hussars.
Little, G. B., 34th Ontario Battalion.
Lane, H., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Lundrigan, J., R. C. A.
McBeth, G. W., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
McBeth, G. A., 7th Fusiliers.
McLaren, C. D., 7th Fusiliers.
McLean, M., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
McCalla, J., 19th St. Catherines Battalion.
McMahon, W. H., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
McMillan, D. C., 27th Lambton Battalion.
McMurphy, A., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
McLean, A. R., 38th Dufferin Battalion.
Marshall, A., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Marentette, V. F., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Merrix, A. E., R. C. R. I.
Moore, D. L., R. C. R. I.
Mullins, E., R. C. R. I.
Munro, G. H., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Northwood, J., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Nott, William, R. C. A.
Odlum, V., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Odlum, G., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Paddon, A. E., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Phillips, G. R. S., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Piper, T. J., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Pinel, G. F., 7th Fusiliers.
Pert, E. W., 28th Perth Battalion.
Power, L., R. C. A.
Powell, J., 29th Waterloo Battalion.
Purcell, J. J., E. C. A.
Reed, W. G., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Reid, D. A., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Redge, C., 7th Fusiliers.
Robinson, J. B., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Rae, A. H., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Rorison, C. K., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Sippi, G. R. B., 7th Fusiliers.
Smith, J., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Scott, C. R., 27th Lambton Battalion.
Smith, R., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Stanberry, F. G., 25th Elgin Battalion.

Stevenson, W. R., R. C. R. I.
Sutherland, J., 25th Elgin Battalion.
Taylor, E., 1st Hussars.
Taylor, G., 1st Hussars.
Thompson, H., R. C. A.
Trolley, F. H., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Turner, F. W., 6th Field Battery.
Tutt, T., R. C. R. I.
Wardel, A. E., 7th Fusiliers.
Webb, A. B., 33rd Huron Battalion.
West, W., 7th Fusiliers.
Westaway, H., 25th Elgin Battalion.
Wells, James, 30th Wellington Rifles.
Wheatcraft, A. H., 7th Fusiliers.
White, G., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
White, W., 21st Essex Fusiliers.
Wilson, A. R., 33rd Huron Battalion.
Wigham, R. D., 6th Field Battery, C. A.
Woodliffe, G. W., 7th Fusiliers.
Woodward, A. W., 26th Middlesex Light Infantry.
Wilson, H. R., 22nd Oxford Rifles.
Woodyatt, W. H., 7th Fusiliers.

"C" COMPANY, TORONTO.

Campbell, Colonel-Sergeant J. S., R. C. R. I.
Allen, L., Q. O. R.
Anderson, F. T., 39th Norfolk Rifles.
Baldwin, John, 48th Highlanders.
Banton, T. H., 48th Highlanders.
Beattie, A., Q. O. R.
Black, N. D., 35th Simcoe Foresters.
Blair, F., 48th Highlanders.
Bird, B. M., Q. O. R.
Bingham, H. S., 35th Simcoe Foresters.
Blight, W. S., Q. O. R.
Brettingham, W. P. R., 12th York Rangers.
Brunton, H. G., 12th York Rangers.
Burkhart, F., 29th Waterloo Battalion.
Butler, W. B., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Calvert, F. M., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Callahan, H. A., 35th Simcoe Foresters.
Christie, D. H., 37th Haldimand Rifles.
Cassel, K. J., 13th Battalion.
Curtis, W. R., 31st Grey Battalion.
Coggins, A. E., R. C. D.
Coggins, H., 31st Grey Battalion.
Cuthbert, F., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Davidson, J., 12th York Rangers.
Dangerfield, A., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Day, E. C., G. G. B. G.
Dixon, H. W. A., Q. O. R.
Dunham, F. H., 48th Highlanders.
Eakins, G., Q. O. R.
Ellis, G. S., Q. O. R.
Fawcett, J. H., 12th York Rangers.
Findlay, J. H., 35th Simcoe Foresters.
Freemantle, A. H. O., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Graham, T. H., 12th York Rangers.
Grant, W. H., 48th Highlanders.
Gray, N., Sault St. Marie Rifles.
Haines, W., R. C. R. I.
Hector, F. T. D., Q. O. R.
Hendry, Murray, 13th Battalion.
Henderson, R. H., 35th Simcoe Foresters.
Hewett, W. H., Q. O. R.
Holland, W. C. S., 77th Wentworth Battalion.
Holland, J., Civilian.
Hodgins, E. W., G. G. B. G.
Hopeson, C. W., 48th Highlanders.
Hoskins, R. W., Q. O. R.
Hornibrook, J. L., 48th Highlanders.
Inglestrom, F., Q. O. R.
Ironside, G. M., Toronto Police.
Jones, N. J., 31st Grey Battalion.
Jordan, Joseph, Q. O. R.
Kennedy, James, 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Kidner, R., Q. O. R.
Long, J. L., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Lorsch, F. D., 48th Highlanders
Love, William, 37th Haldimand Rifles.
Machin, H. A., 12th York Rangers.
Manion, W. T., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Martin, G. F., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Morley, N. L., 48th Highlanders.
Mitchell, J. A., 48th Highlanders.
Morse, T., R. C. R. I.
Middleton, H. J., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
McCall, A., Toronto Police.
McCosh, P., 35th Simcoe Foresters.
McCuish, D., R. C. R. I.
McGee, K., R. M. C., Cadet.
McGiverin, L., Q. O. R.
McHugh, E., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
McKenzie, L. C., 48th Highlanders.
McLaughlin, R. H., R. C. R. I.
McNish, M., 48th Highlanders.
McPherson, D., 48th Highlanders.
Noble, D. A., 38th Dufferin Rifles.
Page, F. C., G. G. B. G.
Parry, C. E., R. C. D.
Bugler Pringle, R., S. S. Marie Rifle Company.
Perry, S., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Preston, D. G., 44th Lincoln and Welland Battalion.
Ramage, J. H., 36th Peel Battalion.
Ramage, J. H., 346th Peel Battalion.
Rasberry, J., 77th Wentworth Battalion.
Rae, F. A., 34th Ontario Battalion.
Ridway, E. H., Q. O. R.
Robson, A., 13th Battalion.
Rogers, W. R., 44th Lincoln and Welland Battalion.
Rooke, W. J., Q. O. R.
Rorke, J. H., 31st Grey Battalion.
Ramsay, J. F., 48th Highlanders.
Rutherford, F. H., 13th Battalion.
Seager, John, Q. O. R.
Seymour, C., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Sherritt, A. W., 38th Dufferin Rifles.
Simpson, G. C. M., 12th York Rangers.
Smith, J., 48th Highlanders.
Smith, G. M., 48th Highlanders.
Solari, J., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Spence, J. D., 48th Highlanders.
Stewart, M. M., Q. O. R.
Sutton, J. H., 13th Battalion.
Thompson, G., R. C. D.
Thompson, W. F., R. C. R. I.
Tice, C., Civilian.
Tomlinson, C., Q. O. R.
Travers, W., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Usher, J. F., Q. O. R.
Vanderwater, W. J., Q. O. R.
Van Norman, A. F., R. C. R. I.
Vicary, S., S. S. Marie Rifle Company.
Vickers, J. R., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Wallace, T. G., 36th Peel Battalion.
Warde, S. M., Q. O. R.
Warren, W. C., 13th Battalion.
Warwick, W. H., 13th Battalion.
Watson, R. G., R. C. R. I.
Weir, F. E., Q. O. R.
Wellar, E. T., 48th Highlanders.
Wilson, J. A., 10th Royal Grenadiers.
Wilson, N. W., Q. O. R.
Whitehead, J., 48th Highlanders.
Wright, D. M., R. C. R. I.
Bugler Williams, D. F., Q. O. R.
Young, H., Q. O. R.
Young, A., Q. O. R.

"B" COMPANY, OTTAWA AND KINGSTON.

Thompson, Color-Sergeant C. H., R. C. R. I.
Auger, E., G. G. F. G.
Ault, C. E., 14th Princess of Wales Own Rifles.
Bartlett, E. D., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Benbow, H. A., G. G. F. G.
Bennett, A., P. L. Dragoon Guards.

Bolster, H. G., Cobourg Garrison Artillery, C. A.
Bolyea, A. W., 15th A. L. I.
Bradshaw, A. L. H., 16th Prince Edward Battalion.
Brady, W. S., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Bull, E. W., Cobourg Company, C. A.
Burns, O. T., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Burns, R., G. G. F. G.
Bugler Cawdron, A. J., G. G. F. G.
Clunie, P., Civilian.
Cunnington, R., 15th A. L. I.
Carruthers, B., 14th Prince of Wales Own Rifles.
Cairns, J. S., 2nd Field Battery, C. A.
Chidlow, J., R. C. R. I.
Clarke, C. P., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Clother, A., G. G. F. G.
Cluff, N. W. H., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Cockburn, G. G., Cobourg Company C. A.
Coleman, J. D., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Cotton, H., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Cotterell, A., R. C. R. I.
Cram, J. A. C., 42nd Lanark and Renfrew Battalion.
Craig, C. E., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Croft, F., 16th Prince Edward Battalion.
Croft, P. C., 42nd Lanark and Renfrew Battalion.
Cunningham, R. J., 20th Halton Rifles.
Chitty, L. M., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Dalberg, R. P., R. C. R. I.
Des Lauriers, E., P. L. Dragoon Guards, deceased.
Deuchars, G. D., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Donaldson, C. A., 41st Brockville Rifles.
Dunlop, E., 14th Princess of Wales Own Rifles.
Dunlop, J. R., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Eagleson, S. H., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Ellard, J. F. G., G. G. F. G.
Eley, D. M., 14th Princess of Wales Own Rifles.
Escobel, N., R. C. R. I.
Fleming, A. J., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Floden, W. J., 47th Frontenac Battalion.
Foster, P. R., G. G. F. G.
Frye, C. E., 15th A. L. I.
Gallagher, J., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Gibson, C. A., 15th A. L. I.
Gilmour, A. E., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Graham, J. D. H., P. L. D. G.
Gilmour, W. J., R. C. R. I.
Haig, H. G., 2nd F. Battery, C. A.
Hatton, J., 14th Princess of Wales Own Rifles.
Hagan, J. R., 41st Brockville Rifles.
Hennessy, J., R. C. R. I.
Hulme, G. G., 15th A. L. I.
Holland, C., 16th Prince Edward Battalion.
Hugall, P., R. C. A.
Jackson, C. E. E., 37th Haldimand Rifles.
Johnston, W., R. C. R. I.
Jones, H. H., 15th A. L. I.
Laird, A., late R. C. A.
Lamothe, G., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Latimer, W. R., G. G. F. G.
Large, A. L., 15th A. L. I.
Lawrence, W. R., 59th Stormont and Glengarry Battalion.
Lewis, Z. R. E., N. W. M. Police.
Living, J. F., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Lynn, F., 15th A. L. I.
Lyon, G. R. D., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Le Bean, L. P., G. G. F. G.
MacCaulay, A., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Martin, W. A., " " " " "
Martin, H., " " " " "
Mason, C. P., " " " " "
Matthews, A. J., " " " " "
Malloch, E. St. J., " " " " "
Major, J., 56th Grenville Battalion.
Mills, W. W., 15th A. L. I.
Mitchell, N., 42nd Lanark and Renfrew Battalion.
Morgans, E. F., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Morrison, W. A., G. G. F. G.
Morin, J., G. G. F. G.
Morrison, E. F., 3rd Field Battery, C. A.
MacCullough, C., G. G. F. G.
MacRae, R. A., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
McConnell, J. F., G. G. F. G.
McCormack, A. J., 14th Princess of Wales Own Rifles.
MacKay, R., 15th A. L. I.
McDonald, F., R. C. R. I.
McFadden, F., G. G. F. G.
McLennan, J. A., 59th Stormont and Glengarry Battalion.
McCrea, J. M., 45th Victoria Battalion.
McNair, J., 15th A. L. I.
Padmore, D. T., R. C. R. I.
Parr, W. B., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Peters, A. E., R. C. R. I.
Phillips, G., 15th A. L. I.
Prior, A., R. C. R. I.
Porteous, R. W., G. G. F. G.
Ritchie, W. G., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Ross, W. J. H., Domn. Police.
Rowley, J., G. G. F. G.
Ross, A. L., 30th Wellington Rifles.
Schwitzer, W. C., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Shillington, W. J. H., P. L. D. G.
Small, H. C., 42nd Lanark and Renfrew Battalion.
Smith, J. F., G. G. F. G.
Smith, W. A., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Southey, E. C., 46th Durham Battalion.
Spence, C. T., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Street, L. J., G. G. F. G.
Swan, N. W. D., 14th Princess of Wales Own Rifles.
Thomas, J. M., G. G. F. G.
Taylor, A. H., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Thomas, C. T., G. G. F. G.
Thompson, R. R., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Tilley, G., 49th Hastings Rifles.
Turner, R. H., 41st Brockville Rifles.
Turpin, T. J., Cobourg Co., C. A.
Wall, A., 16th Prince Edward Battalion.
Walker, L. C., 16th Field Battery, C. A.
Wendt, W. G., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Williamson, A. T. L., G. G. F. G.
Wood, F. H., 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles.
Wright, H. O., P. L. D. G.

"E" COMPANY, MONTREAL.

Young, Color-Sergeant A., R. C. R. I.
Allan, J., R. C. R. I.
Allan, C. E., 5th Royal Scots.
Ackerman, F., 9th Voltiguers de Quebec.
Adams, J. A., 8th Royal Rifles.
Allmand, W. W., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Aspell, T. J., " " " " "
Bach, R. C., " " " " "
Baugh, T. E., R. C. R. I.
Bailey, J., 2nd Regiment C. A.
Barry, C. H., Civilian.
Bigelow, J. A., late N. W. M. P.
Bolt, G. H., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Byford, R., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Byers, R. T., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Carter, M., 2nd R. C. A.
Campbell, C., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Canty, R., 8th Royal Rifles.
Carter, W., 2nd R. C. A.
Clarke, R. C., 2nd R. C. A.
Coates, H. W., 5th Royal Scots.
Cox, F., R. C. R. I.
Crotty, P., 8th Royal Rifles.
Curry, J., 5th Royal Scots.
Corner, F. G., 5th Royal Scots.
Dawson, A., 8th Royal Rifles.
Delaney, M. J., 8th Royal Rifles.
Downey, G., Civilian.
Doyle, T. H. M., 5th Royal Scots.
Durkee, A. A., 3rd V. Rifles.
Dynes, E. J., Queen's Own Canadian Hussars.
Erskine, F., 5th Royal Scots.
Fisher, H., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Fowler, W., R. C. R. I.

Fisher, R. L., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Fraser, H., 41st Brockville Rifles.
Frawley, W. M. C., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Gamble, J., 5th Royal Scots.
Gardner, J., 5th Royal Scots.
Goodfellow, R., 5th Royal Scots.
Gorman, J. F., 3rd Field Battery, C. A.
Graham, R., R. C. R. I.
Greenlay, G., 54th Richmond Battalion.
Gunn, K., 5th Royal Scots.
Hill, J. K., 8th Royal Rifles.
Hale, W. J., 5th Royal Scots.
Hampson, G., 5th Royal Scots.
Hannaford, A., 5th Royal Scots.
Hawkins, J., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Hayes, R., R. C. R. I.
Harding, E., no corps.
Hayward, H., 53rd Sherbrook Battalion.
Home, F., Queen's Own Canadian Hussars.
Hynes, P., 5th Royal Scots.
Irwin, F. B., 8th Royal Rifles.
James, A., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Jones, F., 5th Royal Scots.
Jeffreys, W., 5th Royal Scots.
Jeffrey, J. W., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Kealey, M., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Kelly, E., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Leconteur, R., 8th Royal Rifles.
Lee, F., Queen's Own Canadian Hussars.
Lewis, C. E., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Lester, C., Civilian.
Malin, J., 5th Royal Scots.
Marjin, H., 2nd R. C. A.
Martin, A., 2nd R. C. A.
Mead, D., 2nd R. C. A.
Middleton, F., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Mitchell, H., 3rd V. R.
Moody, F., R. C. R. I.
Moore, T., D. Y. R. Canadian Hussars.
Molyneux, C. R., 5th R. S.
Murphy, D., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Murray, W. R., 8th Royal Rifles.
Murdock, W. A. H., 2nd R. C. A.
McDonald, A., 5th R. C. A.
McCann, J., 8th Royal Rifles.
McGill, D. R., R. C. R. I.
McGoldrick, J., 5th Royal Scots.
McIver, W., 5th Royal Scots.
McLean, R. G., 5th Royal Scots.
McLeod, N. M., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
McQueen, A., 8th Royal Rifles.
Nash, T. B., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Nickle, C. R., 3rd Field Battery, C. A.
O'Brien, J., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
O'Meara, J., 8th Royal Rifles.
Phillips, J., 5th Royal Scots.
Platt, J., R. C. R. I.
Pope, A., 5th Royal Scots.
Porter, W., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Prince, R. H., 2nd R. C. A.
Price, G., Civilian.
Roberts, G. P., 2nd R. C. A.
Rupert, E., 8th Battalion.
Ryan, P., Civilian.
Richardson, F., Civilian.
Shaw, A. C., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Shore, R. N., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Sheehan, M., Queen's Own Canadian Hussars.
Stanning, W., 5th Royal Scots.
Swift, M., 8th Royal Rifles.
Sword, A., 5th Royal Scots.
Sword, D. C., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
Thomas, A. P., D. Y. R., Canadian Hussars.
Thomas, G. W., 5th Royal Scots.
Travers, H. B., 25th Elgin Battalion.
Tregett, J., Queen's Own Canadian Hussars.
Tulloch, A. J., 5th Royal Scots.
Turner, A. J., 8th Royal Rifles.
Tweddell, W., 8th Royal Rifles.
Upton, S., 1st P. W. O. F.
Walker, H. H., 54th Richmond Battalion.
Walters, T. A., 5th Royal Scots.
Walters, J. H., 5th Royal Scots.
Wasdell, F., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Wardle, A., 53rd Sherbrook Battalion.
White, A., 54th Richmond Battalion.
Wilkin, W., 5th Royal Scots.
Wilkins, A. W., 3rd Royal Rifles.
Williams, H., 53rd Sherbrooke Battalion.
Wright, P. E., 8th Royal Rifles.
Wright, J., 8th Royal Rifles.
Yelland, J., 5th Royal Scots.
Youngson, J. S., 5th Royal Scots.

"F" COMPANY, QUEBEC.

Lafleur, Col.-Sergt. L. E., R. C. A.
Arnton, C. S., Civilian.
Anthony, P., Civilian.
Atkinson, G., 8th Royal Rifles.
Barclay, C. N., D. Y. R. C. Hussars.
Bagot, A., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Bamford, W., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Baldwin, C., R. C. D.
Bessette, W., R. C. A.
Beaupré, C., 5th Battalion.
Brown, H. I., Civilian.
Brown, H., R. C. R. I.
Brooker, L., R. C. D.
Bouck, L., Civilian.
Bower, J. W., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Carbonneau, E., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Casey, J. E., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Champagne, M., 1st Field Battery C. A.
Chatel, A., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Cloutier, W., 8th Nicolet Battalion.
Chisholm, A. W., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Cooper, W., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Conley, F., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Cowgill, H., R. C. D.
Curphy, J., civilian.
D'Amour, J., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Demais, A., 9th " "
Dolbec, L., 9th " "
Donahue, F., late 6th U. S. Infantry.
Downing, W., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Duhamel, J. W., 86th Three Rivers Battalion.
D'Orsonens, G., 86th Nicolet Battalion.
Duberger, A., 1st Field Battery, C. A.
Dixon, W., R. C. A.
Desjardins, J. F., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Eite, William, R. C. R. I.
Fancy, J. G., civilian.
Forest, H., 61st Montmagny and L'Islet Battalion.
Gates, J. H., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Gingrass, J., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Grecia, J., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Gratton, E., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Harrison, R., 2nd R. C. A.
Harvey, R., R. C. R. I.
Hennessy, B., R. C. R. I.
Harrison, Charles, 2nd R. C. A.
Hill, J., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Hudon, J. A., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Hunter, W., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Hubley, C., R. C. A.
Irwin, W., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Ivers, M., R. C. A.
Jette, G., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Jewell, T., 8th Royal Rifles.
Jobin, E., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Larue, L., 85th Quebec Battalion.
Lambkin, H. J., 8th Royal Rifles.
Lamoureaux, E., R. C. A.
Laverdure, E., R. C. A.
Lefebre, P. W., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Lescarbeau, T., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Lightbound, G. R., 3rd Victoria Rifles.

Levielle, L., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Lewis, O., 68th King's County Battalion.
Lemay, A., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Matheson, O., 12th Field Battery, C. A.
Medhurst, J., R. C. D.
Michau, L. C., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Monteith, J., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Montizambert, H., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
McElhiney, J., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
McNeil, J. D., R. C. A.
McCollum, G. H., R. C. R. I.
McDonald, J. E., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
McIntosh, W., R. C. A.
MacTaggart, J. W., civilian.
McLaughlin, H. P., R. C. R. I.
McMillan, A., 1st Prince of Wales Fusiliers.
McMillan, E., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
McDonald, R. D., R. C. A.
Orman, G., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Paquet, G., 87th Quebec Battalion.
Plammondin, J., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Polkinghorn, J., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Proulx, H., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Peppeatt, W., R. C. A.
Peterson, C. F., R. C. R. I.
Rae, J. P., civilian.
Raymond, J. W., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Remy, J., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Redmond, C., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Robertson, J. H., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Roy, A., 89th Temiscouata & Rimouski Battalion.
Roberts, J. R., R. C. A.
Scott, J. A., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Sievert, J., 93rd " "
Soucy, A., R. C. A.
Smith, L., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Strong, F. B., civilian.
Sutton, G. J., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Sutherland, A., D. Y. R. C. Hussars.
Tapin, J., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Tattersall, H. C., 3rd Victoria Rifles.
Tessier, E., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Theriault, A., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Thompson, W. B., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Touchette, J., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Utton, F. W., R. C. R. I.
Vallee, L. C., 65th Mount Royal Rifles.
Walsh, J., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Warren, C., R. C. A.
Warren, W., R. C. R. I.
Wiseman, N., 9th Voltigeurs de Quebec.
Woodward, F., R. C. R. I.
Wylie, R. R., 2nd R. C. A.
Withy, B., R. C. A.

"G" COMPANY, ST. JOHN AND CHARLOTTETOWN.

Charlton, Col.-Sergt. C., R. C. R. I.
Sheldon, Sergeant A., R. C. R. I.
Adams, George Frederick, 8th Hussars.
Addison, Joseph, 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Aitkin, Joseph M., 71st York Battalion.
Anslow, Charles, 12th Field Battery, C. A.
Baker, Warren, R. C. R. I.
Bishop, William, 74th Battalion.
Boudreau, John, Charlottetown "E" Company.
Bowness, Ernest William, 82d Queen's County Battalion.
Burnside, James, 3rd R. C. A.
Brace, Nelson T., Charlottetown Engineer Company.
Brown, Herbert Henry, 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Bryant, William, 3rd R. C. A.
Campbell, George, R. C. R. I.
Carney, John, 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Chapman, George, 74th Battalion.
Chappell, Montrose C., 74th Battalion.
Coombs, F. W., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Cox, Reginald William, 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Craig, Edward, 3rd R. C. A.
Creighton, Crandall, 74th Battalion.
Dillon, Artemus Robert, 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Donahue, William Wallace, 3rd R. C. A.
Doyle, Andrew, 3rd R. C. A.
Dorion, Necy, Charlottetown Engineer Company.
Durant, Henry E., 74th Battalion.
Dutney, John, 73rd Northumberland Battalion.
Dyas, Frank, 36th Peel Battalion.
Fabre, David J., 3rd R. C. A.
Ferguson, Daniel, 74th Battalion.
Flewelling, Ernest, R. C. R. I.
Foley, Richard Joseph, Charlottetown Engineer Company.
Foster, Minard, 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Fradsham, Harry, R. C. R. I.
Furze, F. C., Charlottetown Engineer Company.
Gaudet, L. S., 4th R. C. A.
Globe, A. R., 62nd Battalion.
Hallamore, William, R. C. R. I.
Hammond, Albert, 74th Battalion.
Harris, Benjamin, 12th Field Battery, C. A.
Harris, John Archibald, 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Harris, Leroy, 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Hartfield, Arthur S., 3rd R. C. A.
Haydon, Arthur, 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Hessian, E., R. C. A.
Hine, Charles Herbert, Charlottetown Engineer Company.
Hubley, Russell C., 8th Hussars.
Irving, Walter H., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Jenkins, Charles Leonard, 3rd R. C. A.
Johnson, James, 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Johnston, Joseph M., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Jones, Samuel, 71st York Battalion.
Keddy, Edward, R. C. R. I.
Keswick, George, 73rd Northumberland Battalion.
Kirkpatrick, F. A., 3rd R. C. A.
Kitchen, W., 12th Field Battery, C. A.
Lane, Walter, 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Leavitt, Herbert, 71st York Battalion.
Leslie, J. P., 4th R. C. A.
Letson, J., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Lord, Roland E., 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Lutz, Ernest, 74th Battalion.
Lutz, John, 74th Battalion.
Matheson, J., 4th R. C. A.
McCain, F., 3rd R. C. A.
McCarthy, M. J., 4th R. C. A.
McRae, Frederick B., 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
McCreary, Patrick, 74th Battalion.
McDiarmid, John, 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
McFarlane, Bruce E., 71st York Battalion.
McKinnon, Hedley V., 4th R. C. A.
McLean, H. L., 4th R. C. A.
McLeod, John, 71st York Battalion.
McMullan, W., 8th Hussars.
Mellish, A. J. B., 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Miller, H., R. C. R. I.
Morley, H. A., 3rd C. A.
Morrison, J., R. C. A.
Munroe, J. R., 73rd Northumberland Battalion.
O'Reilly, Joseph, 4th R. C. A.
Pascoe, J. B., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Pelky, A., 62nd " "
Penny, Roland, 62nd " "
Perkins, J. A., 71st York Battalion.
Pickle, J., 71st " "
Pringle, James, 71st " "
Quinn, M. James, R. C. R. I.
Raymond, W. J., 3rd R. C. A.
Rawlings, John, 3rd R. C. A.
Redden, H., R. C. R. I.
Riggs, William Alfred, Charlottetown Engineer Company.
Rodd, T. A., 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Roberts, Arthur, 3rd R. C.

Russell, J., R. C. A.
Schofield, Allen, 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Scott, J. B., R. C. R. I.
Scott, J., 3rd C. A.
Singer, L. M., 78th Colchester, Hants & Pictou Battalion.
Simpson, Alfred, 3rd R. C. A.
Simpson, Percival, R. C. R. I.
Small, J. E., 4th R. C. A.
Sprague, F. W., 3rd R. C. A.
Stanton, Leigh, 5th Royal Scots.
Stevenson, P. S., 71st York Battalion.
Stewart, Lorne, 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Strange, E. H., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Swaitridge, W. O., 3rd R. C. A.
Taylor, R. D., Charlottetown Engineer Company.
Tower, Bradford G., 74th Battalion.
Turner, R. M., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Unkauf, W. C., 62nd St. John Fusiliers.
Walker, Frederick G., 71st York Battalion.
Walker, J. S., 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Wallace, W. V., R. C. R. I.
Wanamaker, H. L., 74th Battalion.
Ward, G., R. C. A.
Ward, Robert, 73rd Northumberland Battalion.
Wayne, J. F., 82nd Queen's County Battalion.
Williams, Joseph, 62nd St. John's Fusiliers.
Williams, F., 62nd St. John's Fusiliers.
Wilson, John H., 71st York Battalion.
Withers, Frederick W., 3rd R. C. A.

"H" COMPANY, HALIFAX.

Eustace, Col.-Sergt. J. D., 63rd Halifax Rifles.
Adams, W. F., 63rd Halifax Rifles.
Anderson, J. H. N., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
Atwater, James, 94th Argyle Highlanders.
Ackhurst, F. W., Halifax Bearer Company, C. A. M. S. C.
Bennett, G. B., 63rd Halifax Rifles.
Blaikie, H., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
Borton, C. N., 66th " " "
Burgess, M., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Blair, S., 93rd " "
Bent, E. E., 68th King's County Battalion.
Brown, S., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Buchanan, R., 93rd " "
Bingay, L. W., 1st R. C. A.
Baugh, B., R. C. A.
Conrad, W., 1st R. C. A.
Coons, F., 2nd R. C. A.
Cleary, W., 1st Leinster Regiment.
Carroll, James, 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
Cameron, A. A., 63rd Halifax Rifles.
Chapman, F., 63rd " "
Daley, F., 5th Royal Scots.
Dooley, F., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
Drake, J., 63rd Halifax Rifles.
Duncan, J., 2nd R. C. A.
Dewers, F., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
Defoe, J., R. C. A.
Elliott, W., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
Embree, G., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Ewing, J., 63rd Halifax Rifles.
Ewing, D. H., 63rd Halifax Rifles.
Farrell, G. P., Durham Light Infantry.
Farrer, De B., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
Ferguson, W. R., 93rd Cumberland Battalion.
Fillmore, W. A., 93rd " "
Fitzgerald, A. E., 1st R. C. A.
Forsyth, A., civilian.
Fraser, H. H., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.
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Grimshaw, 66th " " "
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Ward, E., 66th " " "
Walke, C. W. J., 66th " " "
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Wright, P., 63rd " "
Zong, A. E., 66th Princess Louise Fusiliers.

South Africa

AND

The Boer-British War

COMPRISING

A HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE WARS OF 1899, 1900, 1901 AND 1902.

BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

Author of The Life and Works of Mr. Gladstone; Queen Victoria, Her Life and Reign; The Sword of Islam, or Annals of Turkish Power; Life and Work of Sir John Thompson. Editor of "Canada; An Encyclopedia," in six volumes.

AND

MURAT HALSTEAD

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PROCLAMATION

Whereas, CERTAIN TERRITORIES IN SOUTH AFRICA, heretofore known as the Orange Free State have been conquered by Her Majesty's forces, and it has seemed expedient to Her Majesty that the said territories should be annexed to, and should henceforth form part of Her Majesty's Dominions, and that I should provisionally and until Her Majesty's pleasure is more fully known, be appointed Administrator of the said territories with power to take all such measures and to make and enforce such laws as I may deem necessary for the peace, order and good government of the said territories.

Now, therefore, I, Frederick Sleigh, Baron Roberts of Kandahar, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., V.C., Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in South Africa, by Her Majesty's command, and in virtue of the power and authority conferred upon me in that behalf by Her Majesty's Royal Commission, dated the 21st day of May, 1900, and in accordance with Her Majesty's instructions thereby and otherwise signified to me, do proclaim and make known that, from and after the publication hereof, the territories known as the Orange Free State are annexed to and form part of Her Majesty's Dominions, and that, provisionally and until Her Majesty's pleasure is fully declared, the said territories will be administered by me with such powers as aforesaid.

Her Majesty is pleased to direct that the new territories shall henceforth be known as The Orange River Colony.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

Given under my hand and seal at the Headquarters of the Army in South Africa, Camp South of the Vaal River, in the said territories, this 24th day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1900.

ROBERTS

Field Marshal Commanding Her Majesty's
Forces in South Africa.

PROCLAMATION

Whereas, CERTAIN TERRITORIES IN SOUTH AFRICA, heretofore known as the South African Republic have been conquered by Her Majesty's forces, and it has seemed expedient to Her Majesty that the said territories should be annexed to, and should henceforth form part of Her Majesty's Dominions, and that I should provisionally and until Her Majesty's pleasure is more fully known, be appointed Administrator of the said territories with power to take all such measures and to make and enforce such laws as I may deem necessary for the peace, order and good government of the said territories.

Now, therefore, I, Frederick Sleigh, Baron Roberts of Kandahar, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., V.C., Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in South Africa, by Her Majesty's command, and in virtue of the power and authority conferred upon me in that behalf by Her Majesty's Royal Commission, dated the 4th day of July, 1900, and in accordance with Her Majesty's instructions thereby and otherwise signified to me, do proclaim and make known that, from and after the publication hereof, the territories known as the South African Republic are annexed to and form part of Her Majesty's Dominions, and that, provisionally and until Her Majesty's pleasure is fully declared, the said territories will be administered by me with such powers as aforesaid.

Her Majesty is pleased to direct that the new territories shall henceforth be known as The Transvaal.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

Given under my hand and seal at the Headquarters of the Army in South Africa, Belfast, in the said Territories, this 1st day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1900.

ROBERTS

Field Marshal Commanding Her Majesty's
Forces in South Africa.

CHAPTER XII.

Condensed History of South Africa.

1486 The Cape of Good Hope discovered by Bartoolomeo Dias, and called variously Cabo Tormentoso (Stormy Cape), the Lion of the Sea, and the Head of Africa. Its present name was given by John II. of Portugal.

1497 Nov. 19. The Cape was doubled, and the passage to India discovered, by Vasco da Gama.

1650 Cape Town, the capital, founded by the Dutch.

1685 A large number of Huguenot refugees, driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, arrive at the Cape.

1700 Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stell, representative of the Dutch East India Company, established the first settlement of graziers and cattle farmers among the Tulbagh Mountains, and thereby laid the foundations of the Dutch republics in South Africa.

1795 Republics proclaimed at Swellendam and Graaf Reinet, and the Government officials of the Dutch East India Company overthrown.

1795 Sept. 16th. The Colony seized by the English under Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke.

1802 March 25th. The Colony restored to the Dutch by the Peace of Amiens.

1806 Jan. 9th. Again seized by the British; the Dutch settlers, dissatisfied with the arbitrary rule of the Dutch East India Company, making but slight resistance.

1812 Five Boers hanged at Slaghter's Nek, as punishment for rebellion against British authority.

1814 Cape Colony finally ceded to Great Britain, with the assent of the European Powers.

1820 March. British emigrants arrive.

1834 The abolition of slavery and financial ruin of many Dutch farmers. Native uprising, resulting in defeat of the Zulus and Matebeles.

1836 The year of the Great Trek. The Dutch of Cape Colony, becoming discontented with British control, left their homes and ventured into the unknown wilderness north of the Orange River. The most important party, under the leadership of Andries Pretorius, and having with it the boy Paul Kruger, settled in what is now the South African Republic and Orange Free State. Another party, headed by Gerrit Maritz and Pieter Retief, founded the Republic of Natal after severe conflicts with the natives.

1836-38 Retief and others massacred by Dingaan, Zulu chief.

1838 Dec. 16th. Defeat of Zulus. The day is still kept by the Dutch as a day of thanksgiving.

1840 The South African Republic founded by Maritz, Potgieter, and Pretorius.

1842 The British Government overthrows the Republic of Natal, and takes possession of the country, many of the original Dutch Settlers retiring into the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

1847 Bishopric of Cape Town formed; Dr. Robert Gray, first Bishop.

1848 British Government proclaims its authority over the Orange Free State, establishing its authority after the battle fought with the Boers at Boomplaats.

1849 The inhabitants successfully resist the attempt to make the Cape a penal colony.

1852 Jan. 17th. Independence of the South African Republic acknowledged by the so-called Sand River Convention.

1853 May 7th. Paul Kruger elected President of South African Republic.

1853 July 1st. The constitution of Cape Colony promulgated.

1853 August. General Pretorious, head of the Transvaal Republic, died.

1854 Jan. 30th. Independence of the Orange Free State recognized by Great Britain.

1854 March. A free state then formed by the Boers.

1854 July 1st. The first Parliament meets at Cape Town.

1856 August. Uprising among the Zulus put down by Sir George Grey then Governor.

1858 Feb. 13th. Constitution of South African Republic proclaimed.

1858 Dec. The first railway from Cape Town, about fifty-eight miles long, opened.

1861 Sir Philip Wodehouse appointed Governor of Cape Colony.

1867–70 Discovery of diamonds near the Orange River, and reports of gold in the Transvaal, renew interest in South Africa, and lead to disputes between the British, the Boers, and the native tribes. The farms on which diamonds were discovered, the site of Kimberley, claimed as British territory on behalf of a native chief who had ceded his right to Great Britain. The Orange Free State Government gives up its claim to the diamond fields, receiving £90,000 as compensation from the British Government.

1870 July 12th. New harbor, breakwater, and docks at Cape Town inaugurated by the Duke of Edinburgh.

1870 August. Sir Henry Barkly appointed Governor of Cape Colony.

1871 March. The energy of the Governor results in the repression of aggressions of the Governor of the Orange Free State.

1871 Oct. 27th. The colony of Griqualand constituted.

1871 Nov. 17th. The British flag raised over the diamond fields.

1872 Mr. T. F. Burgers elected President of the South African Republic.

1872 Sept. 1st. Death of Bishop Gray.

1875 Nov. 11th. Long debate in Cape Parliament begins upon the scheme of Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, for a South African Confederation, to include the two republics. The proposal to transfer the conference upon the subject to England resented.

1875 Nov. 26th. The Cape Parliament prorogued, and delegates sent to England.

1876 Aug. 5th. Conference of delegates in London begins.

1876 Nov. Sir H. Bartle E. Frere appointed Governor and Lord High Commissioner of South Africa.

1876 War between the Kaffirs and Boers.

1877 April 12th. The annexation of the South African Republic declared at Pretoria by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. A deputation of Transvaal burghers, including Kruger, visits England to protest against the annexation. Unsuccessful.

1878 A second deputation, including Kruger and Joubert, sent to England. Again unsuccessful.

1879 Jan. 12th. The Zulu War begins. After annihilating a large portion of the British forces at Isandhlwana on Jan. 22th, they are finally defeated in July at Ulundi.

1879 March. Sir William Owen Lanyon made Governor of South African Republic.

1879 May. Sir G. Wolseley appointed Governor of Natal, etc.

1879 Dec. The Transvaal declared a Crown colony.

1879 Dec. The Boers meet and claim independence. Both Kruger and Pretorious arrested for signing a document issued by a Boer Committee.

1879 Dec. 25th. Telegraphic communication completed between the Cape and Great Britain.

1880 April 28th. Mr. Gladstone comes into office.

1880 June. Government proposition from Conference of Delegates to promote federation rejected by the Assembly.

1880 June. War with the Basutos.

1880 Aug. 1st. Recall of Sir Bartle Frere.

1880 Aug. 21st. Sir Hercules G. R. Robinson appointed Governor and Lord High Commissioner for South Africa.

1880 Dec. The Boers meet and claim independence; Bok, Kruger, and Pretorious arrested for signing a document issued by a Boer Committee.

1880 Dec. 16th. The Boers seize Heidelberg, and re-establish the South African Republic, with Paul Kruger as President.

1880 Dec. 20th. Fight at Bronkhorstspruit between Boers and British, and surrender of the latter.

1880 Dec. 27th. Potchefstroom seized by the Boers, who retired when the place was shelled. Colonel Bellairs besieged there.

1880 Dec. 29th. Captain J. M. Elliot killed while fording the Vaal River.

1880 Dec. 30th. The South African Republic proclaimed by a triumvirate: Kruger, Joubert, and Pretorious.

1881 Jan. Troops sent from Great Britain. Sir George Colley (appointed Governor of Natal in 1880) takes command.

1881 Repulse of Sir George Colley's forces at Laing's Nek. A few days later another defeat at Ingogo. On Feb. 26th Sir George Colley, having seized Majuba Hill with a small force, is again defeated and loses his life.

1881 Feb. 28th. General Sir F. Roberts sent to Africa.

1881 March. Armistice proposed by the Boers and accepted by Great Britain. Peace proclaimed, the Boers disperse, and General Roberts recalled.

1881 April. Commissioners to carry out Treaty of Peace appointed.

1881 August. The Pretoria Convention agree to cede all territory to "The Transvaal State," subject to the suzerainty of the Queen and a British Resident.

1881 Sept. Meeting of the Volks Raad. Treaty confirmed.

1882 Conflicts with the natives.

1883 Kruger again elected President.

1883 July. Peace with the natives concluded.

1883 November. Paul Kruger and others received by Lord Derby as Transvaal deputies.

1884 London Convention signed, superseding Pretoria Convention and abolishing all limitations on Transvaal independence except the right to the Queen to veto foreign treaties which might seem opposed to British interests.

1885 Nov. 28th. Railway to Kimberley opened by Sir Hercules Robinson.

1887 Johannesburg founded.

1888 May 8th. Kruger again elected President.

1888 Amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines effected by Cecil Rhodes with the financial assistance of the Rothschilds.

1889 March. Defence Treaty entered into by the South African Republic and the Orange Free State.

1889 June. Sir H. Brougham Loch appointed Governor and High Commissioner for South Africa.

1889 Oct. Famine in Johannesburg.

1890 Mr. Rhodes becomes Premier of Cape Colony.

1890 Dec. General Joubert entertained in London.

1891 Sir. H. B. Loch and Mr. Rhodes visit London to discuss South African affairs with the Government.

1892 Feb 21st. Great Fire in Cape Town.

1892 March 10th. Sir H. B. Loch opens the junction railway between Cape Colony and the Orange Free State.

1893 April. Paul Kruger again elected President of the South African Republic for the fourth time.

1893 May 4th. Mr. Rhodes resigns and reconstructs his Ministry.

1893 June 22nd. Rejection of vote disapproving Mr. Rhodes' continuance as Premier and director of British South Africa Company.

1894 June. British subjects exempted from military service by the Transvaal Government.

1894 Aug. Revolt of the Kaffirs and their defeat.

1895 Lord Ripon retires from the Colonial Office and is succeeded by Mr. Chamberlain.

1895 Feb. 2nd. Mr. Rhodes made Privy Councillor.

1895 Feb. 13th. The Swaziland Convention passed by the Volks Raad.

1895 June-Aug. British Bechuanaland annexed by the Assembly.

1895 July. Delagoa Railway opened at Pretoria.

1896 Jan. 2nd. The Jameson Raid.

1897 Investigation of the Jameson Raid, and censure of Mr. Rhodes.

1897 Defensive treaty between Orange Free State and South African Republic.

1897 Lord Rosmead (Sir H. Robinson) retires from the Cape Governorship, and is succeeded by Sir Alfred Milner.

1898 Mr. Rhodes' party in the Cape Parliament is defeated, and Mr. Schreiner forms a new Ministry.

1898 Dec. Murder of Mr. Edgar by a Boer Policeman.

1899 March 24th. Uitlanders petition the British Government.

1899 May 31st. Conference at Bloemfontein between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner.

1899 July 10th–19th. New Franchise Bill passed by the Raad, granting the seven years' franchise, but making its application depend upon the pleasure of the Transvaal officials.

1899 July 31st. The British Government proposes another conference to examine the question.

1899 Aug. 19th. The Transvaal Government declines the British offer, and proposes to substitute a five-year franchise, provided that Great Britan will pledge herself never again to intervene in Transvaal affairs, no longer to insist upon the assertion of suzerainty, and to concede arbitration from which Governments, other than that of the Orange Free State, should be excluded.

1899 Aug. 28th. The British Government replies that it cannot pledge itself not to protect its subjects in the Transvaal, and that it still maintains suzerainty. Proposals for a conference renewed.

1899 Sept. 2nd. The Transvaal offers, conditionally, to enter into a conference, but withdraws the whole franchise offer and insists upon absolute abrogation of British suzerainty, and the formation of the Transvaal into "a sovereign international state."

1899 Sept. 13th. Great Britian replies, practically renewing the Transvaal's own proposal of August 19th for a five years'

franchise, but leaving the suzerainty question as before, and suggesting that the Uitlanders in the Transvaal Legislature should be permitted to speak English.

1899 Sept. 19th. The Transvaal replies, withdrawing all former offers and gradually agrees to a joint commission of inquiry.

1899 Sept. 22nd. Great Britain announces the preparation of final terms.

1899 Sept. 28th. The Orange Free State votes to ally itself with the South African Republic.

1899 Oct. 2nd. General Sir Redvers Buller chosen to the command in South Africa.

1899 Oct. 10th. The Boer Ultimatum.

Varied Climate of South Africa.

The contrasts in the climate of South Africa are in part accounted for by the elevation of the continent. This appears in very intelligible form in the heights above sea level of interior places associated with the war as follows: Pretoria, 4,471 ft.; Johannesburg, 5,689; Heidelberg, 5,028; Standerton, 5,025; Volksrust, 5,433; Charlestown, 5,385; Laing's Nek, 5,399; Newcastle, 3,892; Ladysmith, 3,285; Harrismith, 5,322; Pietermaritzburg, 2,218; Kimberley, 4,012; Vryburg, 3,880; Mafeking, 4,194; Palapye, 3,011; Bulawayo, 4,469; Norval's Pont, 3,988; Bloemfontein, 4,517; Viljoen's Drift, 4,760.

CHAPTER XIII

Side Lights from Both Armies in the Conduct of the War

THE South African War involves interests that affect all continents and nations and islands of the seas where barbarism survives and civilization advances. The question is whether modern English or old Dutch principles and purposes, enterprises and industries, ways and means, the Old Testament or the New, the pride of the Briton or the piety of the Boer, shall prevail in the great land that has been dark for a hundred centuries, and is just touched with white light, and shall be appropriated by progressive elevation and development and enlightened, or abandoned to a despotism of ignorance and a gloomy destiny.

The Old Testament or the New

One of the particulars in which the British have assumed superiority over Americans in the questions for self-government is, that when the country is at war especially, and in a lesser but still positive degree, in reference to all international matters, England is a solid entity,—all parties combined for the dignity and interests and moral power of the Government of the Empire. There are incidents in the war of the Britons and Boers, showing that British subjects have no advantages over American citizens in presenting a compact front, even in war times, when there is difficulty and danger so great that the profoundest passions are stirred and the people realize the intensity of their interests in the events of the day. The speech of Mr. Morely in

England's Solid Unity

Scotland in the dark and troubled hours of the Boer war dissipated the idea that the statesmen of Great Britain could stand for the state if there was peril in the air and danger in the dark.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., son of the great statesman and orator, a man of highly respectable qualities, said in a speech to his constituents: "It was the duty of every patriot to avoid in any degree hampering the Government in the prosecution of the war in South Africa. (Hear! hear!) He would do nothing to weaken their hands, but he would rather do everything to strengthen their efforts. He gave his whole-hearted support to our gallant troops. (Cheers.) He gave them unstinted sympathy and the most loyal confidence. But we owed it to our brave soldiers to see that the policy of the Government did not render useless those splendid and heroic sacrifices which our soldiers were now making for us. Even if our Government was to be changed at the present time that would bring about no immediate change in South Africa. The war would have to be prosecuted with equal vigor; but even if a change of Government was possible at present it was certainly not desirable, because the present Government were responsible for what had happened, and their bitterest enemy did not wish to change places with them. (Hear! hear!) As there was no idea whatever that either the Liberal party or any great section of it were likely to seek to upset the Government in order to put themselves in their place, he felt he could speak with greater freedom. Although Liberals were asked to abstain from party politics, there was no such self-denying ordinance yet visible on the other side. (A laugh.) Conservative papers and Conservative speakers indulged in the same old denunciations of Liberal politicians and Liberal policy. This was especially the case with regard to the action of the Liberal Government in restoring the independence of the Transvaal after Majuba

Mr. Herbert Gladstone's Speech

Hill. He was glad that he voted for that policy, and he would never regret it to his dying day. (Hear! hear!)"

That was spoken like a gentleman and one devoted to the vindication of the memory of his distinguished father, but it yields no glimpse of the duties of the British Empire to protect from despotic rapacity many thousands of British subjects greviously imposed upon and for years petitioning for relief from such disabilities and evil treatment as in any other quarter of the globe in any other period of English history would have aroused the Government and caused additional illustrations in action of the system pursued for generations by Her Majesty's Government to appear as the defender of Englishmen robbed, oppressed, and in all unseemly ways trampled upon. England would not have submitted very long to the disregard of the rights of British subjects by any tribe of half-civilized people in the world without resenting it, and yet it is the cry of the opposition of the Government in England that the war could have been and should have been avoided, and that the day of reckoning will come soon when there must be a change of parties in the administration of the Empire. The British have been in the habit of considering American elections objectionable because the opposition is sometimes flagrantly unjust to those in power and seeks with extravagant misrepresentation to be revolutionary—that is, to put out the ins and get in themselves. The spirit of loyalty to nationality of which England has boasted does not seem to be on exhibition upon this occasion.

Rights of the British Must be Protected

Mr. Morley's speech in Scotland was full of mischief-making. He belittled the tyrannies suffered by the majority of white men in the Transvaal, scoffed at the fact that they were disarmed, that the greatest city in the Transvaal was surrounded with forts, so that the busiest streets that had made that part of the world best

known to mankind, were under the mouths of cannon, and the inhabitants refused redress contemptuously. Still Mr. Morley said:

"If the Government of the Boers had been so corrupt and oppressive, I wonder whether men by the thousand would have left their homes and their wives and their property and endangered their lives for the preservation of the independence of that Government. (Hear! hear!) I do not think so. Where were the Uitlanders' grievances? Men did not get their votes soon enough; they did not get their dynamite cheap enough; the black natives were not made to work hard enough—I should like nothing better than to go with you and with all other voters in the burghs through the list of these grievances coolly in detail with chapter and verse and tell you what the end of it would be."

Mr. Morley's Mischievous Speech

There would not have been war if the Boers had consented that nearly two-thirds of the white men of the Transvaal, paying nine-tenths of the taxes, possessing about that proportion of the capital, the great employers of labor, had been allowed one-fourth or even one-eight of the representation in the Volks Raad, and allowed to state their grievances in English, as the Dutch may state their desires and complaints in Dutch in Cape Town. Mr. Morley continued:

"The great curse of the war, whether long or short, which has broken up the old South African system which existed a year ago, is that it has kindled passions and resentments which will make either the restoration of the old system or the construction of a new system a thing of desperate difficulty. War is like an earthquake. It is useless to ask me to give you plans for rebuilding a city which an earthquake has shattered, until I know for certain that the subterranean wave which produced the earthquake has spent its force, until I know

War Like an Earthquake

that no new tremors will shake down the walls still standing, that no fresh clefts and fissures will open at my feet. You cannot, while a great armed conflict is going on, in my view you cannot as practical men say what plan you will have in your mind for the restoration of a better state of things when the war is over. I leave that. That is no responsibility of ours."

Of this the London *Times*, January 25th, remarks:

"While with a singleness of aim and a fervor of patriotic purpose unapproached in our days, the whole Empire is bending itself to the prosecution of the war, Mr. John Morley has gone down to his Scottish constituents to belittle the national cause and pay homage to his own righteousness. Thousands of British homes are mourning their dead, tens of thousands are racked by cruel fears for their nearest and dearest nobly borne, while every household in the land is overcast with anxiety for the fate of our brave soldiers. But Mr. Morley thinks this a time to indulge in feeble platform witticism, to make paltry party recriminations, and to condemn the conflict in which we are engaged, and which even he admits must be fought out, as shameful and pregnant with future evil. The men of Arbroath—the countrymen of the gallant Highlanders who sleep on the veldt at Magersfontein—gave him, it seems, a good reception. The fact, if it be a fact, does not probably amount to more than what the French euphemistically term a *succès d'estime*. We are confident that the nation as a whole is in no humor for Mr. Morley's jokes and sophistries. Some qualm as to their unfitness appears to have crossed his own mind. He seeks to excuse his action by the ill example set him on the other side."

Mr. Morley's Sophistries Ill-timed

In St. Paul's Cathedral, January 19th, the occasion the farewell service to the second detachment of volunteers for South Africa, for whom a space immediately under the dome was secured,

opened with the hymn, "Fight the good fight with all thy might," and was followed, after the supplicatory portion of the service, by Psalm xci. The lesson, which was read by Canon Scott Holland, was taken from I. St. Peter, v., 5-11, beginning with the verse, "All of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble."

The Boers would, of course, claim this humility for themselves, and they never hesitate to assert their vital piety.

There is visible a certain competition in the religious fervor of the Britons and the Boers. The Bishop of London delivered an address in St. Paul's before the Second battalion of Volunteers in which he said:

Address of the Bishop of London

"This great church which rises over the City of London was planned at a time when London lay in ashes. And yet it was planned on a scale which corresponded not to the existing distress of London, but to London's conception of her abiding greatness. Many a time, I doubt not, have you, in some shape or another, asked within yourselves, 'Here and here, did England help me; how can I help England, say?' Now that question has been answered. Now the call has come to you, and with simple steadfastness you say, 'England has need of me; I rise and go.' You rise and go. You rise above your ordinary selves, above the claims of every day. You go bearing England's honor with you. You go committing yourselves to God, with whom are all the issues of all our endeavors. You go to face unknown difficulties and dangers for your country's sake. You go for your fathers who begat you, whose work you cannot refuse to carry on. You go for your children, who are to come after you, that you may hand down to them England's honor untarnished during the brief period in which it was committed to your trust. My brothers, all England is with you in its good wishes and its prayers

to-night. England has learnt the meaning of its national life, and the supreme claim which the nation has on the allegiance of all its sons. You go to carry elsewhere that life of England. Not your own personal bravery and skill; it is not that. But your share of the qualities which distinguish the British people. You go for us, and our hearts go with you. We are filled to-night with feelings which are too deep for words, feelings which we can only dimly express, which we have been trying to express in our prayers to God—God who sees within us what we ourselves cannot utter. You have prayed for yourselves to-night and you have prayed for one another. You go from this church to face the enthusiasm of those who rejoice in your courage. Believe me you carry to-night the honor of England."

Feelings too Deep for Words

The Boer and Orange Presidents are as confident of the favor of God as the Bishop of London or the Queen of England, and indeed surpass the churchmen of England in the confidence with which they speak of the Divine help that is their due for righteousness sake. In a telegram to President Steyn Oom Paul said:

"Honored Sir and Brother.—The case is too momentous for me to remain silent. Your Honor must impress upon all your officers and burghers the fact that if we wish to retain our independence and not to surrender our land to the enemy, we must, even if it costs our lives, determine to make a firm resistance, and not to retreat but to resist until we have secured the victory.

Kruger's Confidence in Divine Help

"The Lord has shown that He is with us, as the enemy have to regret the loss of hundreds while we have only to lament the loss of a few.

"If we retreat, it is owing to cowardice. I have noticed that want of co-operation has caused us to evacuate our positions.

"My age does not permit me to join my sons, otherwise I would have been at the front by this time.

"Your Honor's directions and advice must be before them continuously. For the decisive struggle is fast approaching which is to prove whether or not we shall surrender the country.

"By no means must we give up the country, even if it costs us half of our men.

"Your Honor must impress upon the officers and burghers that they must resist to the death. In the name of the Lord, with this determination, and with a prayerful attack, I have confidence that we shall secure the victory. For Christ has said, 'Whosoever would keep his life shall lose it, but whosoever would lose it for truth's sake shall keep it'."

Boers Panicky at Modder River

President Steyn visited the state troops who had been in the fight at the Modder River. It appears from the journal of an American who has been some time with the Boers, that in the course of this battle, which was the one in which Lord Methuen was worsted, the Orange State troops, having been frightened in two previous combats by the heavy artillery fire of the British, became panicky, and though they had not suffered very much retreated to the bank and across the river. The excuse made for them was that they were led by men who had no confidence in themselves, and inspired none in their followers. It was reported by the Boers that the British at this moment "promptly seized their opportunity" and crossed the stream. The Boer forces are said to have numbered between four and five thousand, and they have put their loss at eight killed, twenty-two wounded and ten prisoners. Some lyddite shells had torn a few of the Boers in a frightful way, and the American journalist says "helped to weaken the nerves of the Free Staters who had no leaders of their own they could trust,"

On the day after the battle, President Steyn telegraphed, "respected officers and burghers," that while God could not be thanked enough for "the help given hitherto," and they commended the bravery shown by our burghers, he urged "upon all the fact that we can only expect aid from above when there is co-operation and love amongst the officers and burghers, and when each and every one conscientiously does his duty."

President Steyn's Words of Admonition

And the President said it was with regret that we learned that only about 1,000 men of the Free State fought in the last battle, and that many of the others remained in their camps while their brothers resisted and even defeated their enemy.

"I should not be performing my duty were I not to impress upon you all the fact that such behavior can only lead to disastrous results for our liberty as a people, and may have most unfortunate results for our brothers in the strife.

"I must therefore impress upon each and every one that it is his especial duty to obey the officers in command, and that the officers should accompany the burghers throughout the battles."

After this serious rebuke President Steyn resumed his expressions of confidence in God in these terms: "If we act in this way I have no doubt but that the God of our fathers and our God will not forsake us, but give us the victory. So let not one be found out of his place at the next engagement. Let each one be found taking his part in the strife. We must remember that we are fighting for all that is dear to us."

Boer Prayers Aid to Victory

There are many Boers and others who believe the habit of the Boers in the field to sing hymns and be as devoted as Mahommedans to religious services, especially public prayer, aided in beating back the British armies. There are honest and reverend doubts about this, but there can be no question that the Boers are

all marching one way, and they would never allow a Morley to disfigure the Dutch language in war time, in opposition to the country as is done in England in English speech.

The fact that there is a good deal of solicitude felt as to the attitude of the Cape Town Dutch at the British headquarters of the army in South Africa appears in the general order issued January 19:

"The Commander-in-Chief wishes to impress upon all officers who may at any time be in charge of columns or detached commands the grave importance of doing all in their power, by good and conciliatory treatment, to secure compensation for the people of the country in all matters affecting either their own interests or those of the troops. In all cases in which supplies of any kind are required they must be paid for on delivery, and a receipt taken. Officers will be held responsible that soldiers are never allowed to enter private houses or molest the inhabitants on any pretext whatsoever, and that every precaution be taken to suppress looting or petty robbery by any person connected with the army. When supplies are absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army and the inhabitants are unwilling to meet demands, commanding officers may, after careful personal investigation, and having satisfied themselves that such supplies are necessary and available, order them in such case to be taken by force, and a full receipt given.

English Regard for Property Rights

"KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM."

Mafeking, December 10th, Colonel Baden-Powell, commanding, published in the "siege edition" of the Mafeking paper an address to the Boers in arms around the town, opening:

"Burghers—I address you in this manner because I have only recently learned how you have been intentionally kept in the dark by your officers, the Government, and the newspapers, as to what

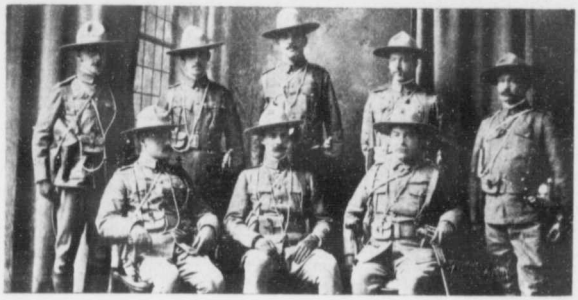
is happening in other parts of South Africa. As the officer commanding Her Majesty's troops on this border, I think it right to point out clearly the inevitable result of your remaining longer under arms against Great Britain. You are aware that the present war was caused by the invasion of British territory by your forces without justifiable reasons. Your leaders do not tell you that so far your forces have only met the advance-guard of the British forces. The circumstances have changed within the last week. The main body of the British are now daily arriving by thousands from England, Canada, India and Australia, and are about to advance through the country. In a short time the Republic will be in the hands of the British, and no sacrifice of life on your part can stop it. The question now that you have to put to yourselves, before it is too late, is: Is it worth while losing your lives in a vain attempt to stop the invasion or take a town beyond your borders, which, if taken, will be of no use to you?

B.-Powell's Address to the Burghers

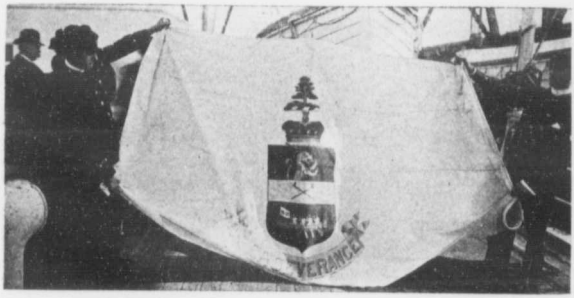
"I may tell you that Mafeking cannot be taking by sitting down and looking at it, for we have ample supplies for several months."

Colonel Baden-Powell proceeded to mention that the Boer artillery had not done much harm, that there would not be European intervention, that the burghers should think of the safety of their families and farms, and added that the Boer leaders had caused the destruction of farms, and have fired on women and children. Our men are becoming hard to restrain in consequence. They have also caused the invasion of Kaffir territory, looting their cattle, and have thus induced them to rise and invade your country and kill your burghers. As one white man to another, I warned General Cronje, on November 14th, that this would occur. Yesterday I

Warning General Cronje



MAJOR WILLIAMSON AND OFFICERS.



THE STRATHCONA FLAG.

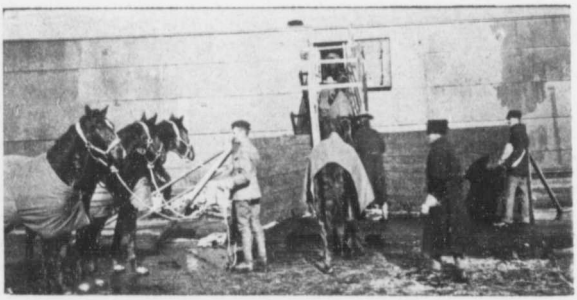
LATEST NEWS FROM THE FRONT

Photos. by Gauvin & Gen'zel

A DETACHMENT OF "STRATHCONA HORSE" FEASTING

Alex. McCarthey (Lobo) standing on the right was severely wounded by the bursting of a shell.

TORONTO QUOTA TO FILL VACANCIES IN 1ST CONTINGENT.



EMBARKING HORSES AT QUEBEC FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Photos by Gauvin & Gentzel.

heard that more Kaffirs were rising. I have warned General Snyman accordingly. Great bloodshed and destruction of farms threaten you on all sides.

"I wish to offer you a chance of avoiding it. My advice to you is to return to your homes without delay, and remain peaceful till the war is over. Those who do this before the 13th will, as far as possible, be protected, as regards yourselves, your families, and property from confiscation, looting and other penalties, to which those remaining under arms will be subjected when the invasion takes place. Secret agents will communicate to me the names of those who do. Those who do not avail themselves of the terms now offered may be sure that their property will be confiscated when the troops arrive. Each man must be prepared to hand over a rifle and 150 rounds of ammunition.

Alternative Offered the Boers

The Boers were extremely indignant that this paper was sent to the Boer soldiers directly, as it had a considerable circulation among them, and was calculated to be very disagreeable. It was irregular to give so much useful information in a lump, but it answered the purpose of the gallant Colonel in disturbing the peace of mind of his enemies. British influences are keeping the Basutos from taking revenge on the Boers, though the latter forced both natives and British into their ranks and compelled them to fight more or less.

Captain Mahan's Statement

The writings of Captain Mahan on the South African question are as acceptable to the British public as his works on Sea-Power. There is much commentation of his statement that it is "The Uitlanders, not the Boers, who should be compared with their forefathers who revolted against George the III. This passage from the Captain's letter, reproduced in England from the *New York Times*, states that "the people of the Transvaal have

been brought into this dilemma because national liberty was in Kruger's mind inseparably associated with the right of the dominant minority, the sole possessors of political power—in other words an oligarchy—to oppress the majority, tax it heavily, and refuse it representation."

A writer, Fred Jas. Tomkins, dating at Toronto, has been in communication with colored people in Canada, in the United States, and in Africa for the last forty years, and he remarks:

Loyalty of the Blacks to the Queen

"The first fact to place before the public is their loyalty to the Queen, and to the British race. I would ask why this people, panting for liberty, easily trained to arms, brave in battle, patient, obedient, and loyal to the Queen, should not be employed in this exigency, thirsting as they are to avenge the oppression of ages and to assist in the great conflict now being waged in Africa. I may say that there would be no difficulty in raising as many contingents of black and colored men in Nova Scotia and in Ontario, men of intelligence, men of eminent piety, for the negro race is a religious race, who will be willing to struggle to live, and, if it pleased God, to die for the mother country. In every part of the world the black man knows that this is his day and hour."

Mr. Tomkins refers to the success of the colored soldiers in the northern armies during the war of the sections. He has been misinformed when he states that two army corps of the National Army were entirely composed of colored soldiers, and he neglects to mention in their behalf that one of the most distinguished regiments in the battle of Santiago was the 24th United States Infantry, composed of colored men.

One of the most gratifying aspects of this war from its very beginning has been the the truly humane and often magnanimous treatment of prisoners on both sides. The following extract from

a letter from a Cape Town correspondent shows the spirit that was displayed alike by Briton and Boer.

"The lot of the Boer prisoners is not a very hard one. The only task imposed on them is that of keeping their own quarters clean. They are allowed to receive visitors on certain days of the week. Their friends may supply them with any luxuries they desire in the way of deck-chairs, clothes, cakes, fruit or tobacco, in fact anything except money and spirits. Their food is not luxurious, but sufficient and healthy. The meal I saw consisted of boiled beef, potatoes, pickles, bread and coffee.

How the British Treat Boer Prisoners

"On the other hand, from the best information, we learn that our prisoners, confined near Pretoria, are as well treated and as well fed as the average Boer soldier. They have an enclosure sufficiently large to allow them to play cricket and football. From what I saw of the Boer leaders myself at the outbreak of the war and from their behavior since, I believe they intend to carry out this war in a civilized and humane spirit."

A Wounded Canadian Volunteer's Last Letter to His Mother, from South Africa.

Dear mother, I now write to you,
But this will be my last:
A rifle bullet pierced me through,
My strength is failing fast.

Grieve not for me my mother dear:
Though here I wounded lie;
For I'm a Christian volunteer
And not afraid to die.

I have no envy in my breast,
Against my fellow-man:
I know not what caused this contest,
Nor why it first began.

But this I know, if all were good
And righteous in God's sight:
There would be no such loss of blood,
Nor cause for such a fight.

But worldly men for wealth or fame,
Would slay from pole to pole:
And, after all could not obtain,
The value of one soul.

No more shall I behold the place,
Where once I oft did roam:
I ne'er shall see your smiling face,
Nor my Canadian home.

But mother we shall meet again,
On Canaan's peaceful shore:
Where there will be no grief nor pain
And parting is no more.

With me it's near the close of day,
God bless us one and all:
Farewell, adieu, I must away
I hear the bugal call.

—*J. Woolsey.*

CHAPTER XIV.

Africa a Great Country.

THE giant continent of Africa—so near an island that a slender isthmus of sand only prevents the union of the seas around her burning shores—and through this sand a canal for ocean steamers completes the circum-navigation of the enormous bulk—never loomed upon the world in its full proportions and invited speculation as to its stupendous possibilities, as since the Dutch and British war advertised with bloodshed the progress and the demands of civilization, and illumined the ancient darkness that was the distinguishing characteristic of the vast dominion, three times as extensive as all the States and Territories of the great American Republic, and with natural resources far exceeding those of Europe or South America. In larger measure than ever, the whole world is now interested in the Greater Africa, and, while the immediate question is whether the more temperate and fruitful parts of the African lands shall be modern British or ancient Dutch, there are other matters of moment rising in the near future like headlands emerging from a fog.

The Great Continent of Africa

Northern Africa had a great part in the earlier history of the Globe. In peace and in war, in the splendors of Egypt and Carthage, the soil of the former containing the most wonderful works of man, monumental of the era of which history was the written evidence. It was an Eastern light coming with the sunshine from Asia, that flamed like a great torch on the banks of the Nile, the mysterious

river flowing forever from the immeasurable South—from the southern into the northern temperate zone, crossing the Equator, draining a lake country incomparable in the world until the New World was revealed, just before the navigators, seeking the road to India had rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Egypt and Carthage were of the bloodiest despotisms of the ages when there were only points of light rising from the abyss of chaos; and their conquest by the Roman Empire was victory for the cause of progressive promise, and compensating in part for the future fact that at last the invadors from Asia overwhelmed the Republics of Greece. The Greeks were such students and lovers of their own beauty, they lost regard for the strength of political unity, so that the champions of Christian civilization, those Crusaders for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, who beat back the deluge of Mohammedanism for centuries—won Jerusalem for a time, and defended Constantinople. From mediæval Italy with her fatal gifts, and beyond in the far West of Europe, marched hordes from the Empires Alexander overcame, established themselves on both sides of the Hellespont, and, making the city of Constantinople their capital, swept over not merely Macedonia, Athens, Corinth and Sparta, but established themselves on the banks of the Danube, and founded kingdoms in Spain and Morrocco, possessing both the pillars of Hercules.

Early Changes in Northern Africa

Northern Africa, from the mouth of the Nile to the Atlantic, was, before this and for a time after, the scene of brilliant activities, of literary labors, of "cloud-capped towers" and gorgeous churches, of famous orators of church and state and warriors; and we may say the inventors of historical writing. The production of the Alexandrian Library, whose conflagration was one of mankind's common misfortunes—the sombre smoke and flame of which still makes a sinister mark on the sky of the East. It is a long cry

from the burning of the Alexandrian Library to Napoleon's Battle of the Pyramids and the bombardment of Alexandria by the British, when the Egyptians found their tactic masters.

It was the dominance of Britain in Southern Africa and her wealth of world-wide commerce and supremacy on the seas, that gave her possession of the Isthmus of Suez, and the Cape of Good Hope—the two commanding the continent. Holland was overpowered at one end of Africa and France at the other, because their uses for the ends of the earth were comparatively small when Great Britain was in the reckoning. France has more than she needs of Africa in Algiers and on the West Coast. She has not the surplus population to spare to cause her colonies to flourish. She is under the strain, however, of an effort to be equal in power on the land to Germany and on the sea to England—and the waste of men and money in the Sahara Desert is in the name of ambition that pursues a fantastic phantom.

Dominance of the British

It was not long ago the fashion of the European nations that assumed themselves to be progressive—with the exception of Russia and Austria—to seek possessions in Africa. Before Russia had for her development the monstrous field of all Northern Asia and the tempting provinces of European Turkey, for a display of expanding dominion and expansive policy. Austria has her sorrow in conflicting peoples indisposed to dwell in unity, and the elderly Emperor is growing weary of assimilating in his person, as they will not be recognized in one government, his Empire, that lacks the stability of homogeneity—and the war of conquest in Russia and Herzegovina is fresh in recollection as a costly ceremony. Italy was unfortunate in her Abyssinian enterprise, and retired from it without excessive sacrifice for the safety of her dignity. The German

Colonizing Efforts of Other Nations

Emperor has had sympathetic periods with the Dutch Republics, and the farmers of Dutch decent, beyond the boundaries of official Boerdom, and cabled Oom Paul after the Jameson raid his sincere congratulations; but the ties between the Hollanders of the mountains and the dominant Prussians are not close, for the Boers cannot fairly be said to speak German, though they do succeed in making a Republican despotism of a caste and a clique exceeding in personnel a class tyrannical rule, everything in the examples that are Imperial.

The Germans have acquired title to a portion of the West African Continent, but it is far from the scenes of conflict between Britons and Boers. The Portuguese on the Eastern shore have land and a harbor more convenient for them than if they had exercised legal sovereignty over it, for it gives them a free road to Europe in war as well as peace against the power that is most overbearing on the sea. On the West Coast of Africa we find Liberia, the only spot on the continent where the people can be said in any reasonable sense to govern themselves—which is accountable from American association and education—and the Congo State that reposes politically and grows industrially under the patronage of the Crown of Belgium.

The Vast Interior of Africa

This leaves the heart—the huge central part of Africa, with space twice as large as the United States, including territories and islands, in a state of nature as modified by the slave trade and the ivory trade—the former reduced to Arabian adventure and the latter to the limited supply of elephants passing away like the buffaloes of North America—though the massacre of the herds is not yet hastened with American energy. Into this tremendous country "here and there a traveler" has penetrated, the most influential and better informed of them, Stanley. Within, the wars of tribes have raged, and there has been fighting on the frontier. This

prodigious land of the great hereafter, is a little better known than our frozen zones or the face of the moon that she hides as she waltzes around the earth, but it is the least explored portion of the earth's surface—with the possible exception of the interior of Australia.

Central Portion of Africa

In the central portion of Africa, remote from the seas, are great rivers and forests, wild men and wild animals, lands of exceptional fertility, stored wealth for the abundant supply of as many inhabitants as Asia sustains; and the natives have been so little in touch with Europeans that the conditions of their lives have not been changed radically for many centuries. There is, indeed, within some thousands of years, evidence of the progress of barbarism rather than of civilization. The state that seems to be in the most auspicious situation is that of Congo, and yet it is but a few years since Stanley fought his way from the Eastern lakes of Africa to the Atlantic with his elephant gun, through cannibal hordes; and then again found his way back through the pathless woods from the Congo country to the borders of the Soudan.

Southern Commerce in British Hands

There did not seem to be any particular reason, when the commerce of the South Seas had fallen into British hands, and the Indies were held by the title of the sword, by Great Britain, that those by whom English was spoken should refrain from overthrowing the Dutch corporate monopoly at the Cape, and the pompous but impracticable and impecunious Turkish ascendancy at Cairo. It was a natural and excellent thing to do and to have done, and there was but very little warfare in doing it. British rule greatly benefited the people of the Cape Colony, made Natal a province of prosperity, and it was the presence of professional philanthropy

that reduced the ascendancy and varied the course of British statesmanship, so far as to surrender rights in the Orange and Transvaal States; and thus were raised up enemies who, as they were far inland, thought they could afford to despise the masters of the seas.

The story of the trekkers and the motives of their migration has been made plain since the Boer and Briton war opened—and in that connection appears, with photographic truth, the Boer attitude as to slavery and the teachings of missionaries. The blood of the British has been freely given for African possessions in the wars between the River Nile and the Red Sea; and the fate of Gordon at Khartoum has been a warning against policies of procrastination based upon pretences of humility. It was the British troops that prevented the Mahdi, with his Dervishes, from the occupation of Egypt, and also saved that country from the tyranny of her own imbeciles. It was British troops that were sacrificed to break the power of Cetywayo, the Zulu King, who menaced the existence of the Boer communities of the Transvaal. This was done in the interest of preserving the integrity of the province of Natal and the maintenance of the rule of the British Empire there. The great province of Rhodesia, westward of the Boer country, declares the expansive force of the British Colonial system as now administered; and the disturbing element of the relations of the British and Boers was the presence of a majority of white men in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, speaking English and developing the astonishing and incomparable riches of the land. As these "intruders" were the bulk of the manhood on the spot—two-thirds of it, and the payers of nine-tenths of the taxes, they, perhaps impertinently, assumed, according to the political glossary of the Boers, that they should have a few rights in the land where they were in the majority and by far

British Sacrifices

the greatest producers, carrying on the greater industries, giving to the world wealth in precious metal and precious stones beyond all comparison. But this sort of intrusive and pretentious majority caused the war by asserting—not that the majority should rule, but that they should have one sixteenth part of political power in the legislative division of the alleged Republic, purely for the purposes of self-protection. The Colonial Secretary of England, brutally, according to the Boer accusation, insisted upon saying something to this effect.

England's Just Rights

It was this assertion of the Uitlanders that drove the Presidents of the Orange and Transvaal States to the desperation of declaring war and entering upon the terrible struggle of 1899 and 1900, the story of which follows.

The English possessions in Africa that are important are located on the Eastern side of the continent fronting the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, extending along the Nile from the Mediterranean to the great African lakes, so that the British have right of way for public improvements from the Cape to Cairo, with the exception of a gap of 200 miles that may be closed with facility; and it is the enterprise of the construction of a railroad through Africa on this line, that Mr. Cecil Rhodes, honored by President Kruger as his most formidable and bitter enemy, has been prominent in organizing—in finding the ways and means for the material work. There are persons to whom this seems a criminal intent, an assault upon many solemn and holy things—but it is one of the greatest ideas and projects of which the world has heard. The Russian trans-Asiatic and the American trans-American lines are the only works of man comparable with this magnificent African undertaking. The railroads built with British capital in Africa proclaim the practicability of the Cape to Cairo scheme—and it is a planned campaign for the

The Cape and Cairo Railway

winning of one of the grandest victories of peace—one of greater renown than those of which there is knowledge.

The navigation of the Nile and its tributary lakes will be coincidentally improved, and steamboats on those waters will at first connect the finished lines of rails, until the whole course is laid with steel. Already the route has been marked by the footsteps of British missionaries and the blood of British soldiers who perished in the Zulu and Soudan wars, and the crimsoned paths of British columns in the war of the Britons and Boers.

It is appropriate that Rhodes, the friend of Gordon, and Sir Redvers Buller, who stemmed the torrent of fanatical Mahdists on the Nile, and Lord Kitchener, avenger of Khartoum and conqueror of the Soudan, and Lord Roberts, who pacified the Afghans when he broke their military power at Kandahar, and was sent for after the Majuba Hill disaster to the British arms twenty years ago, and was subjected to the humiliation of a peace without honor while making the voyage from England, should be the leading figures of the South African war, that, if it gives a stable government in that country, will secure the accomplishment of the trans-piercing African railroad construction that will hasten the redemption of that quarter of the globe. Until within the few years in which gold and diamonds have broadened the course of empire by increasing the rewards of industry and commanding the channels of commerce, so that the locomotives will take hold on the paths where Livingston walked, the possibility of such a triumph of science and labor and war for the cause of Christian civilization seemed as remote as some crank's design of making the moon a captive balloon.

The Forces Working for Good

CHAPTER XV

Boer Life in Times of Peace.

OUT of doors, hunting, trekking, or attending to the numerous make-shift devices of his daily pioneer-life, the Boer is a loud-spoken, blustering, and cruel driver of man or beast under his control. Fond of an occasional break-away from the habitual discipline of his home life, he indulges in rough horse-play with kindred spirits, thoroughly enjoying the healthy strength of his manhood, without restraint or curb from the apron strings and sunbonnet of his good vrow at home.

Within doors, all this ebullition of animal spirits is subdued. The noisy, blustering hunter, or the free and easy-going "kurveyor," just home from the coast or township from one of his long journeys, at once changes his nature into a taciturn, automatic obedience to the passive authority of the mistress of his home. Within his four walls you see him the patient shoe-maker for the whole family, slowly and laboriously cutting out or sewing the veldtschoen (shoes) for himself, wife, and children. No longer loud-spoken, he is silenced by the dominant expressions of his good wife. Quietness and slow movements, with or without occupation, must reign when indoors within her realm, except on the special occasion of a wedding feast or some other celebration which has received the sanction of "Tautje"—the housewife. "Tautje" or auntie, is herself the best of wives and mothers in such a household; but in her is concentrated all the opposition to advancement, the objection to the

The Boer at Home and Abroad

livelier Uitlander, which, unfortunately, characterizes this peasant race. With auntie, what is the use of anything so long as she knows nothing of its uses? But let that auntie first understand the value of some improvement, then she will permit some slight innovation to be introduced by herself into the household. Auntie looks after the manufacture of the tallow candles and soap (used sparingly by her family), made in accordance with recipes handed down to her by her mother or grandmother before her. Surely, as they have been good enough for such worthy ancestors, they must be good enough for her household! She has no patience with the daintily-dressed, hair-curled, piano-playing townsfolk who use oil, gas or electric light whenever they can get it. Auntie is not a very good cook, but she cooks a great deal; in quantity rather than in quality does she satisfy the appetite of her lusty family.

How the Auntie Manages Her Household

Boiled or stewed meat and potatoes are piled up in a dish in the centre of the table, from which each helps himself by hand or fork according to his fancy. Not, however, until the word of command, "Kreech maal" is pronounced by the father of the family; then each may select the particular tit-bit his eyes have fastened on during the sometimes lengthy grace before meat.

In the preparation of preserves the Boer vrow excels. Small Tangerine oranges are prepared in a rich syrup, to which also are added figs, apricots, and wild honey. The whole, flavored with brandy, forms a rich preserve. Auntie's pastry is solid and satisfying; her puddings are massive. All the cookery has to be done either over the fire or in the baking-pot, which, when placed over the embers, has hot ashes and fresh fuel placed on the lid to give heat both above and below it.

How the Cooking is Done

Sewing machines and washing days are unknown in the household economy. If her man wants a new shirt, he can ride over to the nearest store (where they have a running account in exchange for farm produce) and buy a new clean one, for surely the old garment, which has not been taken off since put on for the first time, is worn out, as the sleeves are quite gone!

Auntie rules her daughters with an iron will. Rebellion against her authority is unknown. This authority is long continued over the daughters, even after marriage, when the daughter's man has come to live on the same farm and built an addition to the farm house for himself and family. The marriage of her daughters is the great desire of every good vrow. She keeps her eyes open on all the eligible young men of the district whom she may have observed when at the last monthly "Naachtmahl" (church going). Should such a young Boer be smitten by the sun-bonneted damsel in charge of her portly mother, his mode of courting is characteristic of his race.

Auntie Rules Supreme

Without speaking to the lady of his choice or to any of her people, he makes lengthy preparations for his amorous excursion. His horse is carefully groomed, the first time, perhaps, in the animal's life; new saddle, bridle, and saddle-cloth are purchased. The saddle-cloth, especially, must be bright, glaring, and highly-colored, with a splendid yellow or red fringe to stamp the taste of the owner. A new suit of fine corduroy clothing, with a completely new kit from hat to shoes, is also necessary; then, in bright spurs and well-shaped riding sjambok in hand, the ardent lover canters forth to seek a wife. The approach of a rider got up in this fashion at once conveys to the household the object of his visit. Preparations are made for the hearty reception of so welcome a guest. All the daughters polish up their faces with a damp cloth, and a little mutton fat, hair is tightly plaited up and bound in ribbons;

brass jewelry, purchased from the traveling smouze pedlar, is donned, and the best frocks are put on. "Tautje" gets out her most luscious preserves and stock of "koesisters" (cakes made of flour, sugar, and spices), and puts more coffee into the ever-stewing coffee-kettle. The best crockery is displayed, and all is ready. The welcome lover has discreetly kept away from the house with the father of the family inspecting the stock and enclosed land, to fill up time until the request is brought him by one of the younger members of the house to come and "take coffee."

Thus he enters, silent, shy, and subdued, into the presence of five or six buxom Dutch girls and his future mother-in-law. Each of the girls in her heart of hearts longs to be his happy choice. For has he not a splendid riding horse, his own wagon and span of oxen, a few sheep, and his own account at the neighboring store? He must, too, be a bit of a wicked rascal! For has he not journeyed down to Port Elizabeth or Kimberley, and visited the den of wickedness, Johannesburg? Surely such an experienced young man must be the joy of any girl's heart!

Characteristic Mode of Courting

Just now, however, he looks too hot, moist and uncomfortable, under the suave enquiries from "Tautje" as to his own health and that of all his tribe. His coffee is handed him by one girl; another puts more sugar in his cup, although already sweetened; he is pressed to eat sweet cookies and stickiness, till even he can eat no more. Thus, with coffee-drinking, smoking and banter with all the family, who are in high spirits for the great occasion, the afternoon passes. The evening meal is served; then comes the critical period.

After supper he ought to go, and the household ought to go to bed, so a candle is brought in as a reminder. Now is the time when the young Boer must seize the opportunity of asking "Maag

BUILDING PONTOON BRIDGE UNDER DIFFICULTIES OVER THE TUGELA RIVER

"JACK TARS" TO THE FRONT AT "GRASPAN."

ik oopsit" ? (may I sit up ?) with the girl of his choice, thus conveying to the whole family his desire to pay court to the girl named. There is not often a refusal given at such a very proper request, for is not matrimony the great aim of all young Dutch girls, whilst a married daughter is a constant joy to her mother. Permission is readily given, and the family all retire, leaving the blushing maiden and amorous Boer to themselves. This private chat is limited by the length of the candle, for, should the candle be permitted to burn to the end, the girl thereby lets the lover know that his addresses are unacceptable and he must ride away forthwith. It is her duty, though, should he find favor in her sight, to blow out the light, thus declaring her surrender to the persuasive eloquence of the amorous visitor.

The Deciding Point

The marriage at the neighboring town soon follows, when feasting, dancing and drinking are indulged in until late into the night of the wedding feast. The newly-married couple then take up their residence either in the home of the father of bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, until the necessary house has been built for their permanent occupation, or an additional flat-roofed room added to the parental home for the establishment of another shoot from the family tree.

The harvest of the Boer farmer, as the result of cultivation of the few acres of enclosed land, is of the utmost importance with regard to the sustenance of himself and family from one harvest time to another. As a rule, his cultivated land is not capable of producing much more than is required for the home consumption of his own "volk" (people). In the event of failure of his crops, or their destruction by locusts, the result is dire poverty and semi-starvation; he is driven to the necessity of selling his stock or his shearing

Crops and Other Products

of wool prematurely. For this purpose he takes a long journey seaward, with the bales of wool loaded upon his wagon, for which he hopes to realize a higher price in ready cash at the seaport than he can obtain in exchange for goods purchased from the particular store where he habitually deals, to the owner of which he has practically already mortgaged his shearing.

Wheat is raised exclusively for his family use. All has to be reaped by hand with a sickle. It is at once threshed out after his own fashion and taken away to be ground at the nearest of the few flour mills situated beside the large rivers of the country. Here he camps out with his wagon, accompanied by his vrow and children, waiting his turn for the grinding. He is satisfied with a bag full of flour and bran mixed (Boer meal as it is called) for each bag full of wheat delivered to the miller. Whether the meal be the grinding of his own or other wheat he knows not. So long as it is in his own bags he feels assured all must be right, since he carried the sacks of wheat into the mill himself and saw them emptied. Thus the South African miller thrives, as his toll is heavy and grinding charge high, and speedily becomes rich, as his clients of necessity must come to him, there being no other mill within fifty miles.

Grinding, and How the Miller Gets Rich

The method of threshing and winnowing is an exciting spectacle. The floor of the threshing krall (a circular stone-walled building, like a circus) is prepared by moistening and beating down the virgin soil, which soon becomes baked hard by the dry atmosphere and blazing sun. A layer of 18 inches of wheat straw with the ear, as reaped, is laid over this threshing floor. All the horses and mules of the farm are then driven within the enclosure and fastened in, whilst the Boer, his sons, and black servants, armed with whips and sjamboks, mount the walls, driving the terror-

stricken animals round and round without rest. The straw gets trodden lower by the persecuted animals, and more is thrown in, until at last all is trodden out; the straw is broken, crushed and cut into loose chaff by the animals' hoofs, while the wheat proper has been separated from the husk, falling to the bottom of the loose accumulation. Exhausted, bruised and hungry, the poor animals, which have so labored, are then turned out to shift for themselves on the base veldt, or perhaps are treated to a few armfuls of the trodden chaff. The mouths of the horses and mules that tread out the corn are truly not muzzled, but no time is allowed the poor creatures to get a bite during their hours of torture. The straw chaff is carefully collected and stored for high feed, while the grain and husks, together with sand from the threshing floor, are swept into a heap ready for winnowing.

Threshing and Winnowing

This operation is performed after the primitive fashion of aboriginal races. A windy day is selected; the Kaffir women of the farm stand in rows, and with handfuls raised above their heads let the grain slowly fall to the ground, while the dust and chaff are carried away by the wind. Boers of advanced ideas are known to sift the threshings before winnowing. They are not, however, numerous, nor is the practice general.

The harvest of the oats is different. Each sickleful, as cut by the Boer or his boy, is laid down separately on the ground, when it is carefully bound up into bundles about six inches in diameter, then stored under cover for sale as forage. This oat crop affords a very important ready cash result for the Boer, as he can take a large load to the distant township, where it is sold on the public market at sometimes as much as two shillings per bundle in times of scarcity. A small stock is also kept for home consumption and

Oats and Garden Products

for sale to any traveler who may be passing the homestead, but always at highest retail rates, as everyone knows who has been obliged to call for forage when on a journey. Small crops of potatoes and onions are also raised, mostly for family consumption, only small quantities of these finding their way to the public markets. Maize is perhaps the most profitable and prolific product of his land. With this he feeds his Kaffirs, serving it out to them in the cob, which they clean by hand. Pounding the grains of maize corn in a wooden mortar, with a heavy iron-wood pestle, they are able to crush it into a rough meal, from which they can prepare their "koss," or mealy porridge. Boiled or roasted green mealies (corn cobs), freshly picked, are indeed a luxury. Eaten from the cob, as a dog gnaws a bone, they are not to be despised by the daintiest palate. How these mealy cobs pass away many a miserable hour in camp on the open veldt! The cold, hungry trekker watches the roasting of them, carefully turning the cob round and round as each seed bursts forth like a floury potato in miniature. This, with a rasher of bacon or (luxury of luxuries) butter, pepper and salt, is a meal fit for the gods, satisfying the cravings of a hungry stomach, and warming up the half-frozen body of the man on trek who watches their preparation.

CHAPTER XVI.

Boers' Methods of Making War.

THE audacity of the Boers of which Lord Salisbury spoke at the beginning was the unexpected. The fortunes of war during four months cannot be accounted for, without observing that the British and Boers alike underrated opposing forces and so had the nations and people of the vast majority of intelligent persons who form opinions in all enlightened countries. The British idea was that a few divisions would do the work they needed. They had not made out that the Orange State was a province of Oom Paul, that Natal and Cape Colony were swarming with spies, that the superiority of the Boers in mobility would be so marvelous, and their armies in campaigning multiplied. The Boers had formed a contemptuous judgment of the English—did not believe they had a military spirit—thought they would shrink from blood-letting and find a way to sue for peace and pay for it if they were a few times sharply worsted.

Opposing Forces Underrated.

There was for some time a controversy in England that largely occupied the public speakers and the public press—whether the Boer artillery outranged that of the British, and all the facts of the case were slowly arrayed and announced. A great deal in the course of this has been said of the mobility of the field guns and their comparative weight. The defenders of the Government dwelt upon the field guns as a compromise between mobility and

range. The British field gun weighs 7½ cwt., the German 8½ cwt., the French nearly 10½ cwt.; and there is a question of the diameter of wheels and the varieties of ammunition. The Director-General of the Ordnance of the British holds that when small shells are fired with great velocity by field guns there is little done,—practically useless, but with howitzers and the angle fire, 8-inch, 6-inch and 5-inch shells, "you can do a work of destruction that you cannot get with shrapnel fire when men are protected by works." The fact is the Boers have not made, except occasionally and to no great purpose, an effective use of field batteries. It is not the field pieces of the Boers that overwhelm the British field guns. It is the Boer rifle fire that does the deadly work, and what the British needed to carry defensive lines. A Major-General writes:

British Ordnance

"Heavy howitzers should form part of the Corps artillery, and be kept in reserve for attacking redoubts and defensive lines. Before an assault the howitzers would turn the defending troops out from their cover and the shrapnel of the field guns would deny the use of the parapet to them. The introduction of the Magazine rifle has so enormously increased the importance of shelter trenches and field redoubts that it seems most desirable to concentrate high angle fire on them before an assault instead of trusting to the ordinary field gun, which, though excellent in the open, is of very little use against troops behind cover."

The British War Office sent out, when complaints were first made about artillery, an additional supply of field guns, seventy-two in number, and eighteen of them the much-approved howitzers. A howitzed division composed of three field batteries, each with six guns, was hurried away to the scene of action. The feeling in Great Britain about the lack of adequate supplies of the most formidable guns and ammunition

Expert Opinions

ever invented to prevent the solid column frontal rush upon Boer trenches is of the keenest anger, and an expert correspondent says:

"I have not discovered a particle of evidence that the Boer field guns have ever played any effective part in the war. 'Civilian,' after much research has been unable to produce such evidence. That any fairly modern field gun firing common shell could 'outrange' our field guns firing shrapnel, which cease to be effective soon after 4,000 yards, was a sufficiently obvious certainty. Meanwhile, it is impossible to take up a paper without finding the strongest testimony of the extreme efficiency of our field and horse artillery."

Another says: "If it were true that the Boer guns outranged them, we should hear of our teams being cut to pieces, and of our guns being put out of action by the enemy's artillery fire whilst driving up to take up their position opposite the enemy's trenches. Where is there a jot of such evidence? Remember that at the Tugela it was rifle fire that disabled the guns.

High Velocity or Rapidity of Fire

"What we do find is that again and again our artillery take up their positions without any loss from artillery fire and then speedily silence the enemy's guns, leaving our guns free to attack the lines of intrenchments manned by the Boer infantry. High velocity guns have been tried in this country and found wanting. Is it in rapidity of fire? Well, that might be so, since in common with all other powers (except perhaps France) we have not yet succeeded in obtaining a thoroughly satisfactory quick-firing equipment; still there is no evidence that the Boers are better off. But we have greatly improved the rapidity of our fire by doing all that is possible in converting our existing equipment, and the result as recorded by your correspondent with Lord Methuen's column seems most satisfactory. What enabled the Naval Brigade and Yorkshires to take the position at Graspan? Let your correspon-

dent reply: 'The activity of the gunners was now extraordinary. Shell after shell burst upon every edge of the sangar and the fire slackened perceptibly.' And, again, your correspondent speaks of 'The storm of shrapnel that safeguarded the upward climb of the two regiments.'

"After the capture of the position at Belmont the artillery are also recorded as bringing a rapid and accurate fire to bear on the retreating foe. On visiting the enemy's positions at the Modder River your correspondent records, 'The destruction caused by our shell was awful.' This is confirmed by the enemy's wounded, and finally, at Magersfontein, the retirement of the Highlanders is made under cover of 'a terrific fire from our gun,' which, though it did not silence the fire of the Boer infantry, evidently impaired its accuracy, so that 'the casualities were fewer than might have been thought.'"

Fighting an Invisible Foe

There is a sense in which this is in the highest degree complimentary to the Boers who have undoubtedly set examples in warfare that must be accepted as teaching war to to the armed nations. In the American-Spanish war the phrase "fire-line" became known to the people as the "front," where rifle fire was given and taken. The American soldiers at Santiago complained as the British have done in half-a-dozen battles in South Africa, that they fought an invisible foe. Very often in the letters from private soldiers as well as the reports of the officers in the British army, the remark is made that during half-a-dozen engagements they never saw a Boer. The Spaniards were up in the knowledge of the value of smokeless powder in a degree greater than we, at the beginning of our Spanish war, and they had the art of hiding themselves in the tropical vegetation. The Americans at first burned the old-fashioned powder, and afforded good marks for the Mauser rifles that

were undiscoverable by smoke and had an astonishingly long range. In one particular the American artillery were more serviceable to the soldiers in Cuba than the British field pieces have been to them in South Africa. The American guns and gunners were much superior to those of the Spanish, and drove the enemy out of the thickets in which they found hiding places, and also searched the Spanish trenches. In South Africa the Boers are indefatigable in preparing ditches, and have several stratagems that assist their resistance of superior forces. They have had the sharpness of imitating the Spanish in the use of barbed wire, and there is nothing that bothers the British more than to be entangled in wires. The Americans were speedily provided with nippers and other instruments for breaking the tangles. The British seem to have been too deliberate about that. The Boers have, in several instances, quickly piled for their protection heaps of the rough stones, of which there is such abundance in Africa, and they form almost impenetrable breastworks of that material, giving rests for rifles and protection from shells. The stone walls of the Boers are often at the base of the hills, and behind them are riflemen who have cartridges with smokeless powder, so that they give no sign of their presence save accumulations of stones until they have chances to take deadly aim at the approaching enemy. Above them on the hillside, often near the top, are intrenchments in which the riflemen use black powder, and they are the first to fire upon the advancing Britons. If the customary front attack is made, the line of Boers behind the rocks with their smokeless powder have the opportunity of shooting down in the clear air their assailants. This scheme of meeting the advancing column was so often at least partially successful, that one presumes it became familiar; and that some means will be taken to extinguish the fire at point blank

Smokeless Powder and Intrenchments

distances of the invisible defenders of the stone walls. The Boer had great reliance in his ambuscades at the bottom of a hill while the smoke of rifles at a considerable elevation drew the attention of the artillery of the British, and thus even the lyddite shells were wasted. Among the stones of South Africa shrapnel shell are not so effective as in ground more open. An enemy could be driven out of a thicket with shrapnel, but would not be disturbed if sheltered by fortifying rocks. The stones are readily arranged to shelter the soldiers from shell fire, and the British will have to take advantage of the extraordinary object lessons they have had. The American artillery, as a rule, made the Spanish positions untenable, and then our infantry were pushed forward confidently, and with constant success. There is truth in the saying that rifles in the grasp of footsoldiers have as long range in these times, as the equipment is up-to-date, as field guns; and this extends the area of danger of all spectators of combats, so far beyond the experiences of all wars up to this time, that it is difficult for even veteran observers to make correct conclusions as to tenable places.

Black Powder as Decoys

A very interesting inside view of the Orange State army was obtained by the capture of a Boer who had been at pains to keep a diary. There was no doubt of the fact that it was a record the man had kept for his own edification. He was of some position, and had been commandeered in the latter days of October, and wrote in his book that he had sent his wife to Cape Town for safety. It is rather remarkable that the Boers all have the greatest confidence that the safest place in the country is the British capital of South Africa. The man with the diary left Johannesburg on the 2nd of November, made his way to Bloemfontein and to the Boer Laager at Donkerpoort, where he found the Boers engaged in athletic sports, debating

Diary of a Boer

societies, singing and prayer meetings. They began the religious services at 4.30 in the morning, with coffee at 5. There was no drilling except that of digging trenches. On the 10th of November he assisted in dragging a dam for tortoises, and returned with a bagful, that made a delicious dish. The rapidity with which the Boers did everything astonished this recruit. The camps of the Boers were full of rumors of what Sir Redvers Buller was about, with his 25,000 men. In one place in the diary there was a note that "the day being Sunday prevented any move." The writer had the opinion of the British army that the British officers were plucky and cool, "but that the soldiers were turned very easily." The night of the 20th of November this soldier thanked God in his diary that the rain was falling, and said many of the Boers took this as "a sign of the Almighty's favor." This because the pasturage would be good in a little time, and the empty dams replenished with water.

Variable Courage of the Boer

He gave the following curious opinion of the coming and going of courage among his comrades: "Another thing that struck me in the Boer character is the absolute fear he has before the fight and the cool and collected way he behaves when in it. When our laager left Kaffir River we expected to be in action in a few days' time; the result was that out of our lot of 200 men over fifty applied to the doctor for a 'sick' certificate. Only one such was granted, so about 25 per cent. of our men funked it; this, I am told, happens with every commando, but it has been proved in many instances already that the very men who pretended sickness when there was a chance of meeting the enemy were the pluckiest and coolest when under fire."

A great deal has been said about the liberty of the press in course of the war, and much complaint made of the censorship of the news, but a great many things appear notwithstanding

all restrictions in the newspapers of England that would be valuable information to the commanders of the Boer armies; and that the wires are at work between the Transvaal and the continent, giving news that it is thought would be advantageous to the enemies of England, is certain. The London papers have published complete lists of the organizations of the British army in South Africa, giving the location of the several battalions and batteries. This would be extremely important if it were not that the telegraph is not habitually used in forwarding the lists to England, and therefore by the time the intelligence returned there were chances for the movements of the troops. However, a competent agent of the Boer Government could, by telegraphing to the Boer Head Laager in front of Buller, give very clear accounts several times in a week of what Buller was doing, in spite of the alleged censorship. Occasionally there were articles undertaking to set forth Lord Robert's plans. If the truth should happen to be told, the Boers would probable think that the British could not be so foolish as to tell it, and take no advantage of the information. The Boers are not troubled by their newspapers. The presidents of the two republics that are fighting the British would make short work of publishers who told anything that is going on that would be of service to the enemy. Winston Churchill came out with a budget of valuable intelligence. One point is that the Boers do not propose to make peace with the British without an indemnity to the amount of a hundred millions of dollars, and the turning over of the valuable gold and diamond mines. At least, Oom Paul and President Steyn would want to have an understanding with the stockholders after the manner of the dynamite ring in favor of the former.

Censorship Not Effectual

One of the burning questions in England is touching the value of British artillery compared with that of foreign nations. The Boers, with great forethought and large expenditure were for years quietly getting together some of the best guns that have been made in France and in Germany, and the British Government is ferociously denounced because stories from the seat of war tell that British guns are inferior to those of the Boers. It is not likely that this contest will be concluded for some time. The difficult point in the question of the British guns does not seem to be so much as to that of the field guns as of the guns of position. The Boers have some heavier guns than the British have been able to use in the same manner, that the Boers pull about with great celerity, and it is a surprise to note that, according to the military experts and essayists, the British authorities have recognized the value of heavy batteries in the field for more than thirty years, but failed at first to put them into the African war. They had 40-pound Armstrong guns, and 8-inch and other mortars in the Afghan war in 1879-80; and there are now reported six heavy Indian batteries' howitzers throwing 60-pound shells far beyond the range of field guns. The calibre is 5.4 inches. They are drawn by elephants on the line of march, but by bullocks in action. The elephant will not stand fire, and even the mules have been found flighty. A correspondent of the London *Mail*, exceptionally intelligent, says of the attack by the Irish brigade under General Hart, at Colenso, that a small body of Boers were seen running when the British approached the river within 500 yards. The flight of the Boers was deceptive, for just as the British forward line reached the river bank they were fairly riddled by bullets at a distance, it was estimated, of only 400 yards. The men quickly stretched themselves on the ground to gain the little shelter it afforded and

Heavy Guns

A Boer Trick

return the fire. But what were they to fire at? "There was no one visible; the smokeless powder did not betray from whence had come the deadly fusilade; and our "bhoys" were as defenceless as if unarmed."

Colonel Long, who lost his guns, thought the cessation of the Boer fire meant that they were in the course of being beaten, and ordered the unfortunate movement of the artillery in the zone of the rifle fire of the Boers. He had been fighting hard and well, and ordered the advance to a position 800 yards from the river, which did not seem a very dangerous undertaking. The Colonel had not thought of using up his ammunition and being compelled to retreat and there was plenty of transportation when he went forward. But the rifle fire killed or disabled his horses and some of the men, and when the ammunition ran short it was impossible to get fresh supplies. Orders were sent back for it, but it could not be handled, and the men, while waiting for it, sheltered themselves in a donga, where a majority of them were eventually captured. *The Mail* correspondent says of the capture of the guns:

How the Guns were Disabled

"It is inscrutable to the lay mind how the enemy were allowed to carry on their depredations, and to remove the guns when they were within range of our naval battery. Surely the 500-yards space between the cover from which the enemy emerged, and the guns could have been peppered till dark, when our infantry could have guarded the home-bringing of the men and ordnance! Or, if this were not feasible on account of the risk of killing our wounded, why should not the naval guns have engaged the artillery of the enemy while a powerful line of infantry lay out of rifle range, prepared to strike down any force which advanced?"

This incident above all others demonstrates the range and accuracy of the modern rifle in the hands of those educated in its

use, and it means a revolution in tactics. All students of military matters are under instruction by the Boer schoolmasters. Immediately after the first repulse of Buller on the Tugela, the Boer leaders added to their religious functions the indulgence of self-conscious gifts of prophecy, and were moved to say there were many surprises in store for the British—that Kimberley and Ladysmith would be reduced before Roberts and Kitchener could arrive, and then there was to be real fighting, the Boers winning until the British adopt our way. They will never be able to do anything against us, and we are firmly convinced that they will be killed or captured to a man before forcing us back over our own border.

A Revolution in Tactics

"They little know what January has in store for them. We have no more fear of Roberts and Kitchener than we have of Buller and Methuen." This prophet gave the following as the secret of Boer success: "The repeated surprises of the British are not due to any failure on their part in regard to scouting, but to a ruse of the Boers which has never yet failed. What the Boers do is to secretly and rapidly change their position after the British scouts have passed and to mass in force in spots that were previously unoccupied. The result is, the British columns inevitably walk into the trap, and find themselves met with a murderous fire where they thought there was nobody."

CHAPTER XVII.

Invasion of the Orange State

A BRITISH officer, well acquainted with the country from Blœmfontein to Pretoria, furnished an account of it to Lord Roberts as he was preparing to invade the Transvaal. He says the railroad which runs north-northeast from Blœmfontein to the Vaal River, passes with scarcely a curve or a cutting or an embankment or a tunnel, through a monotony of 175 miles of rolling plains, occasionally diversified in the more northern districts by comparative low ranges of hills, which are themselves surmounted by singular replicas of the crags about Cape Town known as Table Mountain, the Devil's Peak, and the Lion, only much less elevated.

"The maps, this authority states, were 'naught,' and the same of the "ranges" found on the maps, that promised mountains and were only rising ground, while the levels are treeless, save for scrub; riverless, save for the temporary streams of the rainy season; untilled, save for nature's pasturage of square miles of luxuriant, waving grass; houseless, save for a very few isolated homesteads or kraals; and foodless, save for the sparse cattle and the unattainable game.

The Country Blœmfontein to Pretoria

"There is a lack of roads, but the railways repair easily, and cart tracks may be struck out almost at will on the fairly firm pasturage, and as soon as these become rutty the difficulty is immediately obviated by a small semicircular divergence of route. There are no vital strategical features corresponding to the Tugela River, to the Majuba-Langs Nek heights, to the Drakensberg, or to the ranges south of the Orange River between Hopetown and

Norval's Pont. The Table Mountain-Devil's Peak heights, which a non-soldier critic might suppose formidable, are illusory as tactical obstacles. They are generally *en l'air*, are never *en potence* with a marsh, a road, or a river, and can always be shirked. Groups of kopjes may occasionally induce the retreating Boers to attempt a stand, and even to fight a rearguard battle, but Lord Roberts has shown us over and over again that these can be turned by tactical skill; the firm pasture plains are especially suitable for our mounted infantry, and any such stand would melt away after a short delay. Of more importance, as threatening loss through rearguard actions, are the numerous spruits or streams, which in no case are spanned by bridges, and in every case have their beds "bouldered" with formidable granite *débris*. During the rainy season the spates occur so suddenly that in a few hours a trickling thread is converted into an unfordable torrent, which, however, subsides with equal rapidity. When the beds are dry, our enemy's opportunities of punishing an over hardy pursuer would be increased. The waters have ploughed out long lines of deep chasms, with banks so overhanging that they constitute formidable parapets from behind which an unsuspected enemy could devastate his foe, advancing over the open plain, as effectually as the valiant Highland Brigade was devastated at Magersfontein."

Torrents Quickly Formed

Lord Roberts found precisely the country so clearly sketched. The officer we quote gave this account of the obstacles that Genenral Buller had to overcome, and said of the Drakensberg range by Van Reenen's pass that they "vividly impressed him with the difficulties and hazards of any attempt to force the defiles against such an enemy as the Boers. Although neither the main ridge nor the subsidiary spurs are alpine in their character, the zigzag routes across them are suggestive of Simplon and the Brenner on a

modified scale, especially those on the eastern acclivities. One long gradient, which I measured, represented an average rise of 2,000 feet in seven miles, and for short lengths the incline was double and treble in steepness. The road itself, well engineered and admirably constructed, incessantly skirts precipices, twists round projections, tapers up kloofs, and doubles on itself along superposed terraces. At every angle there would be a liability to an inevitable surprise; at every chasm, to an unforeseen calamity. The forcing of these passes would doubtless be practicable, but the operation would probably be tedious and the losses would be severe, unless Lord Roberts were first to shake the Boers by threatening their rear from his line of railway.

Adaptation to Defenses and Surprises

"There remains an alternative circuitous route *via* Glencoe, Newcastle, and Standerton. Here the Drakensberg Passes have broadened into gaps, and the crags have been sloped down into steeps, up which a team of eight horses sufficed to drag our cart at a merry trot; but the more I gazed on, the more I pondered over, the Ingogo, Majuba, and Langs Nek heights, the stronger grew the conviction that should an army of 10,000 Boers fail to arrest here an invader of 30,000 men the teachings of history are vain,"

This kindly reference to General Buller is an example of much that has appeared by prominent officers of the British army, uniting in saying that the country into which the requirement that Ladysmith should be relieved through General Buller was about the most difficult in the world, and notwithstanding the long delays and heavy losses on Buller's line of operations, there is almost a concensus of judgment among the British authorities that what Buller could not do no other officer could have accomplished. The

Lord Roberts Advantages

immense advantage that General Lord Roberts had was not merely the indisputable command of the army, the fact that if he failed England failed and there was no alternative, but that he knew the country through which he was to strike and prepared to do it with ample forces, so equipped as to permit him to make flanking operations, dislodging the Boers from their favored intrenchments in which they could, remaining invisible, fire with deadly aim upon their enemies.

General Cronje was following British precedent when awaiting the movements of Lord Roberts before invading the Orange State. He undervalued his opponents. He did not anticipate a "mobile" British army, and the result was his captivity, and Lord Roberts hastened to make Blœmfontein his headquarters. But the invading force was exhausted by headlong marches in clouds of dust, with a dreadful scarcity of water, short rations and a week of intensely hot weather. The men on arrival at the Orange capital were exhausted. Horses had perished by thousands. General French, who relieved Kimberley, lost 1,475 horses in four days, out of 5,000. When the race to get ahead of Cronje was going on there were at the British front at the critical point, only 1,200 horses able to move. The invasion of the Orange State by Lord Roberts was with about 40,000 men and as many animals, and in the midst of the movement the direction was, owing to a Boer operation, suddenly changed, the Boers going out of the line of expectation, and it is reported that when Lord Roberts realized this new position he sent for the head of the supply department and asked him if he could promise him full rations for the new movement. "I cannot, sir." "Three-quarter rations?" "No, sir." Half?" "I cannot promise." A pause ensued, and the field-marshal asked

Forced Marches Alarm Boers

gravely, "Quarter rations?" "Yes." A second pause, and the Commander-in-Chief said, "Well—I think they will do it for me."

Two British divisions, headed by the Guards Brigade, marched thirty-eight miles in twenty-two hours. A feature of the movement described in the diary, made conspicuous by the English press, of a British officer, was that General French won an all-important ford "by five minutes only," and that was "done only by galloping." The strain on the men and horses was extraordinary. The Boers were amazed and alarmed by the activity of the British cavalry, which was something out of all experience; but the army had to rest and remount, and many of the horses required were on the way from South America. In addition it was necessary that food and ammunition in large quantities should be accumulated at Blœmfontein, and the town securely fortified as a second base. The Free State burghers rapidly recovered from the panic that possessed them in the presence of the invaders at first, and struck several sharp blows in places where they did a great deal of mischief, and vindicated themselves again as soldiers of uncommon capacity with a high spirit of adventure and bravery of execution.

Interesting Developments

The change of seasons from hot to cold was approaching. Winter clothing was necessary. Every day the march carried the British army nearer frost, and during the Blœmfontein halt Presidents Kruger and Steyn made energetic personal efforts to revive the spirits of their followers, and in a measure succeeded. There was a season of Boer revival. The Boer Presidents thought the moment after the capitulation of Cronje appropriate for appeals to the powers for intervention that would demand pacification with independence. The wonderful fight the Boers made, and their success at many points for months in beating back

General Buller's forces, had aroused the sympathy that manliness ever has for valor, and that it is natural to feel for the weak who are gallantly resisting the strong; but gradually it became distinct that the Boers in besieging military positions were hardy and courageous, but insufficient, and that when the frontal attacks of the British gave way to flanking operations that caused the abandonment of trenches, the composition of the Boer army that gave it the marvelous mobility that had distinguished it could not resist permanently the solid organization of a disciplined army, superior in numbers and competently commanded, and there was a slow and steady development of a chill of discouragement in the daring commandoes that resisted so strenuously the early advances of the British. The leaders of the unfortunate Republics deceived themselves or were deceived by their foreign agents in essentials that must be carefully studied to find full explanation of the phenomena of one of the most remarkable and instructive of wars.

South Africa British or Duch

From the beginning of the series of troubles between the Boers and Britons two resources that the ruling class of the Republics confided in failed them. As the greatness of Africa has become clearer to the world, the question whether the southern part of the continent should be British or Dutch has been constantly magnified in relation to all colonial and state affairs. The British and Boers have undervalued each other as military men, and also as diplomats and statesmen. The Boers knew themselves to be immensely stronger in the field than the British supposed them to be, and believed in the general insurrection of the Dutch colonies, Cape Colony and Natal, and wherever the existence of Boers and other sympathizers could be located. The hurried declaration of war was made that the Boer forces should gain defensible ground, and the expectation was that Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking were to be speedily

taken. The turning point was Ladysmith. The signal for the general rising of the Dutch, irreconcilably hostile to the British, was the capture of Ladysmith by the Boers, and was never given. It was waited for in vain. Still more, it was the confident expectation of the Transvaal war party that the example of the Orange president would be followed throughout South Africa, and that the course of war would be toward the seashore instead of through the mountains —rather to Cape Town than to Pretoria. In this presumption the Boers were self-deceived, and their foreign agents are responsible for the fatality of the Boer faith that the great powers of the world would interfere and forbid the conquest of the republican states by the British. President Kruger certainly, and President Steyn probably, were misguided by the recollection of the German Emperor's dispatch to Kruger about the Jameson raid, the frothy passions of the French press and concerning the majestic ambition of Russia. The Boer diplomats have sought to make themselves of commanding consequence, and they encouraged Kruger and Steyn to believe somedody would intervene and force England to end the war. They, it must be said, are men of ability, who have made the most of the material they had to deal with. Their last resort was the United States, and as the Europeans were keeping out of the combat, the voyage across the Atlantic to appeal to Americans was held to be hopeful, and the knowledge of their disappointment came to the Boers co-incident with the advance of Lord Roberts from Blœmfontein upon Johannesburg and Pretoria. "The material aid" for the Boers from this quarter has indeed been as impossible as that solicited by the eloquent patriot Kossuth, who pleaded in England and America for an impracticable intervention against Austria and Russia about affairs on the Danube. There

The Boers Self-decevied

Hopeless Appeal to the United States

has been an added bitterness for the Boers in the fact they have witnessed the firm attitude of neutrality of the great powers of the world, the failure to cause disturbing insurrections in the British colonies of South Africa; and then the rush of colonial contingents from Australia, New Zealand and Canada to the assistance of the British Empire. The series of disheartening events has been, in the latter part of the war, so continuous and impressive that even the hardihood of the Boers appears to have given way to the idea of the acceptance of the hard conditions of conquest as it comes in such form as to be irresistible.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Siege of Mafeking and the Story of Its Relief

THIS siege may be counted one of the immortal chapters in history. It is the South African combat that possesses the conditions, environments, incidents, the personalities, that insure perpetual fame. It lasted 214 days, beginning three days after the war was declared. In the duration of the struggle it exceeds the sieges of Paris, Plevna, Lucknow and Cawnpore, and was surpassed by those of Khartoum (341 days) and Sebastopol (327 days.)

Mafeking is almost directly west of Pretoria, and was the furthest north of the positions held by the British. The distance from Blœmfontein is 215 miles. While the siege will be memorable, it was not a matter of interest in the sense of military materialism. It was not an affair of bloody battles, though there were many severe skirmishes, and the capture of the slender garrison, beleaguered for many months far from help—for the place was remote from the scenes of action—would not have been significant in itself. The siege became a test, a high game between the combatants to prove their qualities in the conspicuous competition. The town might have been lost or won by Briton or Boer at any time without other than a moral influence. Victory or defeat did not involve the fate of a considerable city or a populous province. Yet it was over the relief of this place that

Not of Military Importance

London became a metropolis of lunacy—silk hats smashed by the thousand, business suspended for the day, and night made hideous; the members of the London stock exchange demanding over the telephone wires that their fellow-creatures on the Paris Bourse should listen to the singing in London of "God Save the Queen;" and the people of England at large became madly impatient over "sublime" peace meetings, and smashed them along with the silk hats. There was no such demonstration of popular passion when Cronje was captured and Kimberley and Ladysmith relieved.

The distinguishing peculiarity of Mafeking was the presence of a remarkable man, whose characteristics are rare and brilliant, and career interesting as a romance. Major-General Robert Stevenson Smyth Baden-Powell was born February 22, 1857. His godfather was Robert Stevenson, the celebrated engineer, his father a clergyman, and his mother the daughter of Admiral Smyth. Colonel Baden-Powell, whose promotion to major-general, followed the successful outcome of his defence of Mafeking, has been long known to the army and to the people of his country as "B. P.," and the author of the famous book "Scouting,"—a man whose military orders are as pithy in substance and fascinating in flavor as poems by Rudyard Kipling.

General Baden-Powell

The British garrison when relieved numbered 1,150 men, among them sons of the Marquis of Salisbury, Premier of England, and the Duke of Portland, one of the enormously wealthy dukes. There will be no mistake in classifying "B. P." as a man of genius, and he was so notable before the war that much attention was given the fact, in the early days of hostilities, that he was at the front, and that the Boers were certain to make their first aggressive effort to crush him. This expectation was immediately realized. There was also present during the siege a remarkable woman, a

writer and traveler, who found ways to send messages through the Boer lines to her friends—Lady Sarah Wilson—and she contributes piquancy to the literature of the episode.

Colonel Baden-Powell when a child was an artist, and at 18 years of age prepared to study at Oxford with a view of "going up for the army as a university candidate." His first army experience is told in these terms:

Early Military Experiences

"In June Dean Liddell promised him rooms in Christ Church for October, 1876. In order, however, to utilize the intermediate summer "B. P." entered himself for the July army examination, so as to learn what kind of subjects would be required of him in the future. It was not his intention to pass before the prearranged stay at Oxford, and he merely answered to the best of his ability such papers as came within the scope of his knowledge.

"When the examination was over he went with his brother on a yachting cruise. To his great surprise he received in September—the month before he proposed taking up his residence at Oxford—a formal notification from the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, that he had passed second for the cavalry and fifth of the whole 718 candidates, and that the Duke had already appointed him Lieutenant in the 13th Hussars. Young Baden-Powell had no alternative but to abandon all thoughts of Oxford and to forthwith join his regiment in India."

The number of persons who had to be fed during the seige of Mafeking was 9,060—white men 1,150 at the close, white women 400, white children 300; the remainder natives. April 19th, after six months of the siege, this account was given of the rations served:

"Both the white and colored men originally received eight ounces of bread. The allowance has now been reduced to six, but a quart of soup is given to make up the deficiency. Half a gallon

of sowan porridge a day will sustain life. The horse soup is made from the carcasses of animals which had ceased to be serviceable and those killed by the enemy's fire, as well as horses and donkeys purchased from individuals who can no longer afford to keep them. This soup is unpopular among the natives, but this is due rather to prejudice than to the quality of the soup. Among the Fingos there is an almost national tradition against the eating of soup, and so strong is this prejudice that it has been found necessary to feed them entirely upon sowan porridge. The distribution of supplies of every sort is entirely under Imperial control, and the Army Service Corps possesses a slaughterhouse, a bakery, and a grocery at which the authorities receive and distribute all vegetables."

April 11th a correspondent in Mafeking wrote:

How the Besieged Were Fed

"In order to supplement the existing scale of rations—six ounces of oaten flour biscuit and three-quarters of a pound of meat—and defer to as distant a date as possible the issue of horseflesh to the white population, the commissariat has called for suggestions as to utilizing the waste from the crushed oats which are now being substituted for flour. Suggestions were also invited as to how biscuits made of it may be rendered less liable to set up internal inflammation, which is frequently engendered owing to the difficulty of removing the sharp-edged and sharp-pointed crushed husks which the commissariat uses. By way of experiment small parcels of oat flour and waste were allotted by the authorities to our baker, Lutson, who produced a crisp biscuit. After a series of unprofitable attempts on the part of amateurs aspiring to culinary distinction, an enterprising Scotchman named Sims evolved a mess closely akin to sowan, a popular Scotch substitute for porridge. The biscuit is accepted at present as a ration of bread, while sowan has

now become the sole diet of the natives and an important item in the ration for the whites."

An energetic effort was made Good Friday night to run in a drove of cattle, but the Boers were alert and the cattle drivers anticipated. A British correspondent says: "The Boers closed in on the cattle with cheers. They were heard speaking to the wounded natives, and, after obtaining all the information from them they could, murdered them in cold blood.

Incidents of the Siege

"By a curious piece of good luck a runner who was carrying a great bag of newspaper packets and photographic films got through unharmed. The contents of the bag proved most interesting.

"On two or three nights native women who were endeavoring to pass through the Boer lines were butchered in cold blood.

"At dawn on April 12th our lookouts discovered that the enemy's big gun had been removed from its position to the main laager, Macmullin's. This makes the fifth position from which our small calibre guns and sharpshooters have driven the enemy's 100-pounder."

Colonel Baden-Powell reported April 13:

"All well here, enemy have been reinforced by stragglers from south, including Germans, and some guns from north. They shelled us heavily on 11th for five hours with eight guns and two Maxims; heaviest bombardment we have had."

The cheerfulness of the telegrams of "B. P." was remarked throughout the siege. He generally closed with the words, "All well," or, "Everybody in excellent spirits"—always something to that effect. It would appear that the Boers overestimated the value of Mafeking; but it was a thorn in their side, and they felt sure the time might come in the course of the war when that position would be a very convenient one for the British from which to

Baden-Powell's Cheerful Reports

make flanking movements upon Johannesburg and Pretoria! This may account for the tenacity and energy with which they conducted the siege. They used artillery as if they had an endless supply of ammunition, and were responded to with so much vigor that they frequently shifted their batteries, and especially removed from place to place the great Cruezot gun that made a reputation throughout the world for itself. A correspondent mentions this gun in the following terms:

"Nine 100-pound shells burst within the precints of that place in the space of an hour, and in palliation of this there is nothing whatever which can be said, since the enemy had posted a heliograph station upon a kopje a few thousand yards distant from the point of attack. As the big shells sped across the town to drop within the laager beyond, the enemy's signallers heliographed their direction to the emplacement of Big Ben. Our own signalling corps intercepted the messages from the enemy, reading out from time to time the purport of the flashes. The first shell was short, and the enemy's signallers worked vigorously. The second was too wide. The the third fell within the laager itself, the pieces piercing, when it burst, a number of tents. To this shot the heliograph flashed a cordial expression of approval."

Heliographing Effect of Shells

An incident of the big gun's service occured on St. Valentine's day, thus related:

"At half-past 4 we stood to arms, to hear that the enemy had made contact with our trench. As we found this out, news was brought that the big Cruezot gun had taken up its position upon the southeastern heights, and so commanded our entire area. The inevitable had arrived, and perhaps, for a brief moment, we were all a little subdued. As the sun rose, Inspector Marsh, commanding the south-eastern outposts, under directions from headquarters,

warned every man to take such cover as was obtainable while they moved into the advanced trenches. The Boers' shelling was magnificent. In the three holes which formed the advanced post there are half a dozen shelters made from corrugated iron. They are neither shell proof nor splinter proof, but they had been relied upon to protect the men from the sun. After the first shell, which fell between the Boer lines and our own, the enemy's artillery wrecked shelter after shelter. Within four hours thirty-eight 100-pound shells had been thrown into the circle of the south-eastern outpost defences and there had been five casualties."

Boers' Excellent Marksmanship

The strange familiarites that grew up between the sharpshooters of the trenches during the more than thirty weeks' acquaintance on the fire-lines are vividly portrayed in the story as told in the London journals of the best marksman of the Boers, who was known to his enemies as "Grandfather." This is the tragic, almost incredible tale:

"To the northeast and southeast we have put forward our guns, and to the southeast have increased a detachment of sharpshooters, who from a very early date in the siege have occupied a position in the river bed. These men are only 200 yards from the sniping posts of the Boers, and through the cessation of hostilities upon Sunday, they have grown to recognize one another. Sunday has thus also brought to the snipers an opportunity of discovering what result their mutual fire has achieved during the week, and, when from time to time a figure is missing, either side recognize that to their marksmanship at least that much credit is due. Among the Boers who occupied the posts in the brickfields were many old men, one of whom, from his venerable mien, his bent and tottering figure, his long white beard, and his grey hair, was called

Familiarity Between Sharpshooters

grandfather. He had become so identified with these posts in the brickfields that upon Sundays our men would shout out to him, some calling him Uncle Paul, others grandfather, and when the old fellow heard these remarks he would turn and gaze at our trench in the river bed, wondering possibly, as he stroked his beard, brushed his clusters of hair from his forehead, or wiped his brow, what manner of men those snipers were. He has been known to wave his hat when in a mood more than usually benign; then we would wave our hats and cheer, while he, once again perplexed, would, taking his pipe from his pocket, slowly retrace his steps to his trench. The old man was a remarkably good shot, and from his post has sent many bullets through the loopholes in our sandbags. He would go in the early morning to his fort and he would return at dusk, but in the going and coming he, alone of the men who were opposing us, was given a safe passage. One day, however, as the Red Cross flag came out from the fort, we, looking through our glasses, saw them lift the body of grandfather into the ambulance. That night there was a funeral, and upon the following day we learnt that he had been their best marksman. For ourselves, we were genuinely sorry."

Grandfather's Death and Funeral

The besieged in Mafeking, though few, did not confine themselves to the defensive, but made several sorties which were costly in valuable lives. There was a desperate effort made to carry one of the strong Boer positions the day after Christmas, the siege then having lasted nearly three months. A writer on the subject, says:

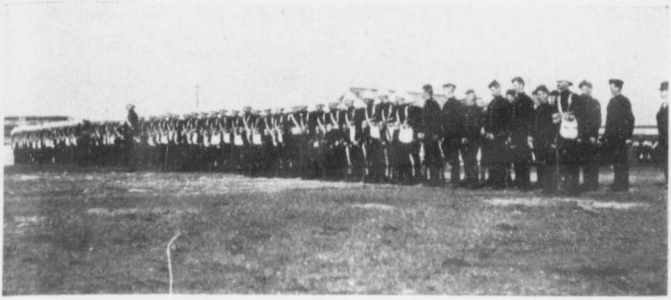
"The steady rush of our men, undeflected by the worst that the enemy could do, was rapidly demoralizing those who were firing from behing the loop-holes in the fort, and it may have been that, had we not had our responsible officers shot or killed before we reached the walls of the fort, a different story might have to be

told. Our men from one side of the ditch fired point blank at an enemy, who, from behind his loop-hole, fired point blank at him. Here those who had survived until now, were either killed or wounded, and it was here that Captain Vernon was hit again, as he, with Lieutenant Paton and the scout Cooke, whose tunic at the end of the engagement was found to be riddled with bullets, endeavored to clamber into the fort. Captain Vernon and Lieutenant Paton managed by superhuman efforts to reach the loop-holes, into which they emptied their revolvers. Their example was eagerly copied by the few who remained, and who were shot down as they plied their bayonets through the apertures. Here Captain Vernon, Lieutenant Paton, Corporal Pickard, Sergeant Ross, and many others were killed. Captain Vernon was shot in the head, the third wound which he had received within 200 yards. Lieutenant Paton was shot in the region of the heart. Bugler Morgan, who was the first to ply his bayonet, was shot in three places, but it is believed that he will live. Then a mighty roar rose up, and we who had not taken part in the charge, again thought that the position had been carried. But it was the triumphant shout of the Boers."

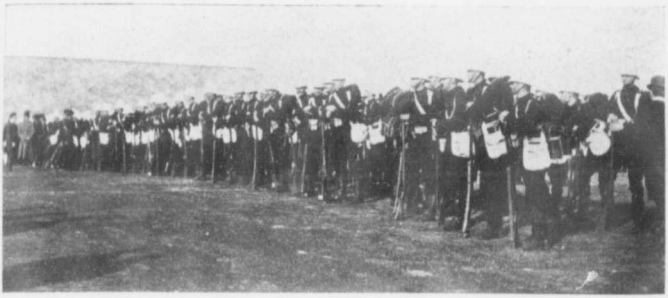
Terriffic Fighting Through Loop-holes

The use of the megaphone by the British in night fighting was an astonishment to the Boers, and indicates a keen appreciation of the humorous on the part of the defenders. "Occasionally as we fired," says a London correspondent, "Inspector Brown, in charge of the river-bed work, exchanged signals with Inspector Marsh, the post commander, through a megaphone, much to the discomfiture of the Boers, who, as the stentorian commands rang out in any lull of firing, were sadly perplexed. These signals had, of course, been arranged beforehand, the men knowing that they were the

Commands by the Megaphone



MONTREAL AND OTTAWA 1st CONTINGENT.

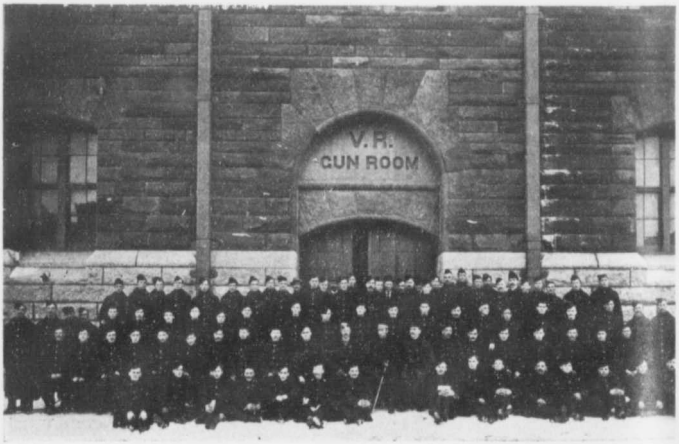


MANITOBA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA 1st CONTINGENT.

MAJOR PARENT ADDRESSING THE CONTINGENT.

Photos by Livernoise, Quebec

WINNIPEG'S FAREWELL TO MANITOBA'S CONTINGENT.
Photo. by Steele & Co.



SPECIAL CONTINGENT TO FILL VACANCIES AT THE FRONT.

merest pretext, and one by which it was hoped to confuse the Boers. Upon the part of the enemy it must have been rather alarming to hear between some temporary stoppage in the firing a voice in thunderous tones crying out, "Men of the advanced trench, fix bayonets," an order which would be invariably followed by hearty cheering from the Cape Police and insults of an exceedingly personal character from the Cape boys."

There was a mystery about the relief of Mafeking. It was noticed as if it had been the work of a magician that Lord Roberts sometime before the relief announced the day on which it would take place. One way of accounting for this is that his movements were with great precision, close counting of time and a full knowledge of all the elements, entering into the situation, so that he had uncommon advantages in making close and prophetic calculations. In addition, "B. P." had many ways of making himself and the surrounding conditions known to the commander-in-chief. Frequently his runners got through—and often they were shot by the way. There were carrier pigeons employed and heliographing. In some way the man of genius at Mafeking kept up intercourse with the outside world. There was a mystery for several days as to the identity of the commander of the relieving expedition. The command, consisting of 2000 men of the South African Light Horse, the Imperial Yeomanry and the Kimberley Horse, left Kimberley on May 4th with thirty-five wagons containing stores and ammunition, with four guns of the Horse Artillery and two Maxims, moved west along the railway and make one long rush for Mafeking, covering 130 miles in five days. One of the features was a special equipment of light-springed mule transports, and such was the rapidity of the advance that the Boers, whose business it was to interfere, could not find the aggressors, and were surprised. The movement

Mystery of the Relief Explained

of the column was presently parallel with the enemy's positions on the Vaal, between the Vaal and Hart rivers, and reached Vryburg May 11th. The Boers then were on the right flank of the British, and a race followed. The Boers succeeded in crossing the path of the column, and then the commander, Colonel Mahon, turned west during the night and was attacked in the rear, but the Boers were beaten off. It was an essential part of the plan of the expedition that the column under Colonel Mahon should unite with that of Colonel Plumer, and their forces met at Jamasibi, May 15th, relieving Mafeking three days later.

An Exciting Race

Lady Sarah Wilson says of the first news of the relieving columns received in Mafeking:

"The first intimation at headquarters of what had occurred came through a telephone conversation, the officer on duty, Lieutenant Colonel Hore, being suddenly interrupted by a confused din and a strange voice calling through the instrument: 'I am a Boer. We have taken Mafeking.'

"'Have you, indeed?' was the prompt reply, followed by an aside to the orderly, 'Please disconnect the wire."

The official report from Baden-Powell, dated May 13th, contains this:

"Before dawn, May 13th, a storming party, 250 strong, personally led by Eloff, rushed the pickets and reached the Stant and Protectorate camp from the westward, along the Maloppo Valley, a strong musketry demonstration being made at the same time along the eastern front of our position. Our western posts closed in and stopped the Boer supports following, thus cutting off Eloff's retreat, while the town defences stopped his further advance. His force got divided in the darkness, and a strong party was placed

How the Siege was Raised

between them, completely surrounding them. Fighting continued all day long.

"Soon after nightfall the two parties surrendered and the other was driven out of the Staat under a heavy fire. Ten dead and nineteen wounded of the enemy were left behind, and 108 prisoners were taken, including Eloff and nine officers. Seventeen Frenchmen and many Germans were among the prisoners. Our losses were six men killed, and two offiers and nine men wounded."

And the following is Major-General Baden-Powell's official report of the relief to Lord Roberts:

MAFEKING, May 17th.

"I am happy to inform you that Mafeking was successfully relieved to-day. The northern and southern columns joined hands on May 15th, and attacked the enemy yesterday, and, after a small engagement, entirely defeated them with loss. The British casualties were three killed and thirty-two wounded.

"The relieving force marched into Mafeking at 9 o'clock this morning, and the relief and defence forces combined and moved out and attacked the enemy's head laager. We shelled them out and nearly captured Snyman, and took one gun, a flag and a large amount of ammunition, stores, etc. Five dead and fifteen wouded Boers were found."

CHAPTER XIX.

Boer and British Strategy Compared.

NOT even in the Crimean War was there such a deep sentiment and touching sorrow in parting, as at the ports from which the soldiers were embarked for the long voyage to Africa, starting from a point as far north as Labrador, crossing the torrid zone, from a parallel of latitude 650 miles north of New York, to a country where the summer is winter in England, literally speeding from "lands of snow to lands of sun," three weeks due south, with the prospects of many chances of that "longer journey" beyond the ends of the earth.

Parting from Home

It is remembered by informed persons who crossed the Pacific on the way from San Francisco to Manila, that they had intervals of thoughtfulness when some thousands of miles from land, no sails in sight and none expected, touching knowledge that deep in the hull of the steamer that bore the fortunes of several Cæsars (and it was hoped far from the furnaces that were daily consuming an enormous quantity of coal) were many hundreds of tons of fixed ammunition. "What supply of gunpowder food have you for your guns?" a passenger asked the captain of a battery of three-inch rifles, two of which were on the deck of the transport ready for a possible skirmish with a Spanish gunboat. "Eight hundred boxes," was the reply. Plain gunpowder was not so bad, but what shall one say of the variety of fulminating compositions—percussion contrivances, terrible chemistries, mysteries to all but the scientific experimenters and professional destroyers? Fancy all this in the

tropics, where even the ships are hot, and ice is made with fire, and there are bunkers of coals that might evolve spontaneous combustion! Why should not the shaking of the ship, with every turn of the screw, thrill the shells in the remotest recesses and set them off? Then there are storms. Lightning might strike a mast and go down through. In so vast an ocean there must be rocks not on the charts. Suppose the ship should be suddenly halted by the intrusion of a stony spear, and then a jar, a flash, and how high would a passenger go and know while he was going that he was flying into the southern sky to land, as it were, in the great ocean!

These reflections are suggested by the story of the cargo of the *Tantallon Castle*, that sailed from England for the Cape with a siege and pontoon train. "An account says in her hold is a vast store of munitions of war, including thousands of shells and gun cartridges, cases of fuses, and tubes and lyddite exploders. There is, in fact, ammunition, great and small, for land and sea service alike. Not very pleasant, some may think, to be rocked in the cradle of the deep for sixteen or seventeen days, with the knowledge that there is all this explosive material down below. Experts, however, know well enough how to reduce the risk to a minimum." **Dangers of Transports.**

The most cheering remark that follows this statement is that the service of transporting huge cargoes of ammunition made up in the most modern manner has "not been without accidents." The British ships that carried the shells of which so much is said passed through the torrid zone and encountered rough seas, but the vessels on the way from England to South Africa, like those that carried similar cargoes from our Pacific coast to the Philippines escaped all the mysteries of the perils by percussion.

Mr. Balfour said, in a speech January 8th, "The mobilization of three army corps at a distance of 7,000 miles was a thing which the world had never seem or attempted before; yet it had been accomplished without a hitch."

The nearest approach to this was in the immense forces the Spaniards sent to Cuba, a distances of 3,000. The Spaniards had there over 100,000 men for more than a year; the United States sent an army corps to the Philippines from our Western shores.

Napoleon's Campaign Compared

The most critical time in the fortunes of Napoleon from which he emerged victorious, was between the battles of Essling and Wagram, and Captain Mahan quotes Lanfrey saying that the words should be engraven upon the mind of every commander by sea or land. "Never had the maxim of sacrificing the accessory to the principal, of which Napoleon's conceptions afford so many admirable examples, and which is true in every art, been applied with more activity and fitness. * * * The complications which he most feared were to him, for the moment, as though they did not exist. No secondary event had power to draw him off from the great task he had primarily assigned to himself."

Napoleon was the victor at Wagram because he pursued the policy described in the words quoted and directed his blow at the Arch-Duke Charles, and rolled him back beaten just before the Austrian reinforcements, that might have turned the tide, could reach the field of battle. After the Russian campaign Napoleon sacrificed in garrisons, attempting to hold possession of countries that he had once overcome, the flower of his army. And those forces were besieged and blotted out one by one by the allied powers, when if they had been withdrawn in good time and concentrated they would have been a grand army, prehaps able to give Napoleon victory at

Leipsic, certainly equal to the defence of France in 1814; and probably the territory evacuated according to the Wagram precedent would have enabled Napoleon to reconquer the abandoned countries.

The immense force of British poured into South Africa was now ordered to operate as one overwhelming force, to make sure of the relief of Kimberley and a crushing march upon Pretoria, and the holding of Ladysmith by 10,000 British troops made that city the pivot of the struggle, and its defence for months was a most ceaseless and serious embarrassment.

They began with the mistakes of Napoleon after Moscow. The genius in the field in 1814, after the allies crossed the Rhine, in defending France, exceeding that of his youth in Italy, was his personal compensation, though it ended in Elba.

Boers' Preparation for War Unknown

The extreme difficulty of the British position at the start of the war did not for a long time receive the attention demanded that the people might have knowledge. It was not within the understanding of the executive department of the British Empire for a considerable time that there had been arranged an alliance between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State that would give unity to the forces of the two states, and the discovery was not made quickly that the Boers had so carefully prepared for war with the revenue exacted from the Uitlanders, and, indeed, that all arrangements were made to strike a sudden and heavy blow and deeply invade Natal and Cape Colony.

No incident attracted greater attention in England than that of fitting up, by American ladies chiefly, the hospital ship *Maine*. The Queen graciously expressed her heartfelt sympathy with the enterprise. The Duke of Connaught was present just before the departure of the ship, and presented a flag sent by Her Majesty as a mark of her appreciation of the generosity of those who had

found the money for the ship, and also a mark of her feeling that a large number of American ladies and gentlemen had shown a solicitude for their own kin now fighting in South Africa. The Duke remarked that never before had a ship sailed under the combined flags of the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes, and hoped it marked an occasion that would bring out a feeling of affection between the two countries. He pronounced the ship well found, and asked Lady Randolph Churchill to accept, in the name of all who had worked with her, the thanks of the sovereign and all British men and women for this splendid present. Lady Churchill replied, thanking His Royal Highness, and trusted he would convey to Her Majesty how deeply they felt honored by this kind and thoughtful act.

American Hospital Ship "Maine"

While the Boers have their own way of fighting that will be long and well remembered, they are in some respects inclined to imitate the British in their deportment as soldiers. It is a fortunate circumstance for the humanities of the war that the first successes were by the British, who took very good care of the wounded Boers and treated them so well that the Boers have followed the example, and the horrors of war are to a considerable extent mitigated, because on both sides the best practicable attention has been given the wounded fallen into the hands of enemies. There might have been a great deal of savagery developed if the British had not taken the initiative in a manner that was becoming civilization. The Boers have been disregarding flags of truce and even Red Cross hospitals, and in the heat of battle they do not respect ambulances, and have fired steadily upon those engaged in no other occupation than picking up and caring for wounded men. They draw the line when the wounded are in their own possession.

Best Attention Given the Wounded on Both Sides

A Red Cross officer writes of the hospital trains that they proved "excellent and efficient," and gives this account of them:

Red Cross and Hospital Trains

"One train carries ninety-two and the other ninety-six officers and men lying down in five carriages with passage down the centre, all communicating with one another, and with carriages fitted, one for carrying arms and kits, one fitted as kitchen and pharmacy, and a saloon carriage accommodating eight first-class and fifteen second-class passengers, two medical officers and two nursing sisters being provided for in this saloon with a portion of the other male attendants on the wounded.

"The ventilation is admirable, and I was only able to suggest the provision, which I agreed to pay for, of movable bed trays for the patients who could sit up to eat their food from. I also provided an ice-chest for one train." This officer found 102 wounded men who had made the journey of 500 miles within seventy hours of the time they were picked up on the field of battle, and says of them:

"I found all—surgeons, nurses and attendants—quietly but busily engaged in tending the newly-arrived wounded, operations going on and X-rays photographs being taken to localize the bullets. All the wards looked bright and cheerful, and, being thoroughly well-equipped, the wounded were as comfortable as they could possible be, and gratefully said they were so.

Modern Care of British and Boer Wounded

"Some urgent necessities for special articles, such as a special form of force-pump for spraying operating chambers, have arisen, and I have arranged with the P. M. O. for their prompt purchase at the cost of the British Red Cross Society. I have also provided money for postage of letters from the sick and wounded to their relations

and friends, and I will provide continuous supplies of writing paper and envelopes for their use.

"I made a special point of visiting the Boer wounded prisoners in the hospital. With the sanction of the P. M. O. I asked all of them if they had any want of anything. They one and all expressed their satisfaction with their treatment, and with the provision made for them and their needs in every way.

"Day by day pressing application for help in one shape or another in aid of the sick wounded have had to be dealt with, and and have been promptly dealt with by the help of willing workers among the ladies and gentlemen of the Good Hope Society and St. John Ambulance Association centre here, who are working in complete co-operation with and through me.

"To give an idea of the work done, I may just mention that during the last three or four days the following articles have been sent to No 1. Stationary Hospital, De Aar, which is 500 miles from Cape Town, and have been sent within a few hours of receiving telegraphic applications:

Work Done in a Few Days

Fifty bedsteads with spring wire-wove mattresses.

Fifty beds, pillows and pillowcases.

Fans, mosquito netting and gauze to protect patients from flies.

Games, sponges, tobacco, eau de Cologne."

A card from three ladies in Warwickshire, advising friends who desire to help soldiers in the field, contains this sensible statement of things needed: "We have ascertained that while heavy articles cannot be carried by the soldiers, new socks are always needed and always welcome, and that knitted caps will be urgently required for sleeping out on the veldt, where the nights by March will be intensely cold. We propose that every Warwickshire man at the front shall receive from home two pairs of socks, a sleeping cap, and a packet of tobacco. Contributions may be

sent not later than January 30th, carriage paid, to Miss Chamberlain, Highbury, Moor Green, Birmingham, and should consist of socks, sleeping-caps, or money."

One of the incidents in the siege of Mafeking was a note from the Boer general, Cronje, saying the Geneva Convention did not authorize the Red Cross flag to fly from several buildings in a town at once. And he thought no dynamite mines, or natives—meaning original Africans—should be used in the war. Colonel Baden-Powell replied that the Geneva Convention makes no stipulation as to the number of Red Cross stations permissible. Mafeking possessed three. It was only necessary for the enemy to respect the hospital, the convent, and the women's laager, all of which were beyond the limits of the town.

Red Cross Regulations

The Boers continued to shell the Red Cross. As to the notice, Colonel Baden-Powell said the Boers had fired upon natives, burned their kraals and raided their cattle, and that the natives only defended their lives and property.

It is natural that the people of England speak with extreme earnestness and even effusion of the bravery of their men in South Africa, though they had mysteries of misfortune to contend with, fighting invisible foes, making the first experiment in modern history in bayonet charges upon entrenched marksmen equipped with magazine rifles having a range greater than that of modern artillery until a very little while ago. The pride of the British race was justified in the bearing of the men with the guns and the swords under extremely trying circumstances in which the visible duty was that of sacrifice—death and agony near and ghastly; the rewards of reputation unreal and the glory of fame a far-away phantom. The majority of men are brave on all continents, and there

The Bravery of the British

are few exceptions if we compare races, though some of them experience higher influences and have the advantage of greater intelligence and personal pride than others, but when nervousness in the presence of danger is overcome by discipline, the distinctions between men of different colors and climes is not so great as those of European countries and their descendants are in the habit of believing. The Arabs and Zulus and the greater number of the Asiatic races and African tribes are comparable without discredit, if well instructed and handled, with the men of Northern Europe and America. The Boers are as brave as the men of the British Islands. The bravery of the people who have dwelt in deserts and in the wilderness, and who were educated in hardship, is a quality that claims brotherhood with those who have had more fortunate surroundings, and the sympathy of the generous in the ambition for elevation is their due. The British have that of which they may be more vain than of the courage that is dauntless and claims the star-like word heroic, and crowns the lives of humble devotion with the stainless honor of lofty purpose—it is that they are bearers of "the white man's burden."

Disciplined Bravery

The London journals have constantly given a great deal of prominence and expressed themselves in terms of approbation and congratulation as to the colonial contingents. The news that the second Canadian contingent was about to sail caused a great deal of comment. At the same time the news from Sydney that the Imperial Government had accepted the New South Wales Battery was received with a great display of popularity in this matter, though there was no official demonstration at the time of the departure of the battery. A Melbourne despatch about the selection of Victorians for services in South Africa had a prominent place. Mr. Seddon, the Premier of New Zealand, was reported by

telegraph from Wellington as saying that fighting men were not fault finders, and were those especially wanted in the interests of the Empire. They were nominally fighting the Boers, but actually fighting those who were jealous of the growing power of the British. Colombo, in Ceylon, also reported the formation of a crops of mounted volunteers for service in South Africa. Calcutta reported proofs of the loyalty of native chiefs and the Indian volunteers were daily expressing, December 30th, 1889, the keenest desire to embark for the campaign. Many of the Indian princes placed horses at the disposal of the Government, and it was decided to accept them. The Sixteenth Lancers left Ambala for Bombay and South Africa on the first day of the year 1900. The native states' Imperial Service troops were said, at Calcutta, to be most anxious to lend assistance in any way, and their loyalty was stirred by the enormous difficulties the campaigning had revealed. A similar spirit prevailed among the native officers of the Indian army, but they did not seem quite to understand who the Boers were, but were deeply interested in the fact that England was employing a very great army.

Colonial Contingents

In conducting themselves on the defensive, the British troops were steadfast and bold, through long suffering tenacious, and held their own with indomitable resolution. The Boers as besiegers were persevering, and wonderfully vigilant for untrained troops, keen as sharp-shooters, and hard hitters with the long-range big guns. They were commanded by generals who did not squander the blood of the men unless there was the most urgent demand for a dash in one place that others might be relieved to appear in another part of the extensive field of combat. There was a heavy strain on the Boers when General Buller first advanced, proposing to relieve Ladysmith, and the bloody struggle to rush the town January 6th, that the Boers, who were

Boer Strategy

beleaguering it, should be free to reinforce those who were confronting the British army on the Tugela.

There is no more impressive illustration of the impatient temper of the English people when they consider their troubles in South Africa than appears in what the *Times* had to say of the speech of Mr. Balfour. This plea was on behalf of the Government, that the generals were compelled to act by "circumstances to us absolutely unknown", and Mr. Balfour was surprised that the people should be so unreasonable as to "ask for more" in the shape of intelligence; and the *Times* said: "We want to know why 7,000 British soldiers (this was early in the war) have been returned as killed, wounded and missing, before the men of our army have trodden the soil of the two petty republics which have made war upon us?"

CHAPTER XX.

Contrasting Briton and Boer in Battle.

THE Boers have had a great deal of credit for their skill in constructing and constancy in holding trenches, and they deserve it; but when it has happened to be their turn to attack the intrenched British they have failed. The desperate effort of the Boers to storm Ladysmith was a signal defeat, and their only ideas of capturing besieged towns has been to bombard them and trust to fever and starvation.

Boers Not Good at Assault

The Boers' work as besiegers was decidedly inferior to their service as defenders. The labor they performed in digging trenches was carried on day and night to arrest Buller's advance on Ladysmith; and it was rather with the spade and its application in localities with which the Boers were familiar, that checked the British columns for a time, than the Spanish rifle the Transvaal troops carried. The Boers were not so victorious on the aggressive as they were industrious and ingenious on the defensive. Evidently, if it had been their part to attack the British lines, their incompetency as aggressors would soon have sent them home discomfited. An examination of their works about the several towns they have undertaken to capture, while it shows faithfulness in constructing batteries and trenches for their own position, does not indicate a very clever engineering capacity, and there is an absence of impetuosity in their attacks. The shelling that has been done at Kimberley, Mafeking and Ladysmith has abounded in the

picturesque, but has not been destructive of men or material. Indeed, the world gets an object lesson which removes to a great extent the terrors of bombardment though it takes time to compose nervous people under fire, the boom of the big guns and the shrieks of the shells are so alarming to the inexperienced.

It is after much experience that should be instructive that the British soldiers conclude they are on the average as good marksmen as the Boers, and perhaps better. The failure of British riflemen to hit marks has not been so conspicuous as their inability to discover enemies and the heedlessness with which they have been tortured by their commanders through dreadful night marches to be entrapped in the morning. The most serious deficiency of the British troops in Africa has been in scouting. They were not for a long time able to make the acquaintance of the country they were called upon to conquer. Frequently they ascended in baloons and surveyed the forbidden landscapes, and gained some general information, but even with that exaltation they were often deceived.

Relative Values of Boer and Briton

Man to man, the Boer is not a better soldier than the Briton; indeed, if the tests of combats at close quarters are to be taken, the better men are the British. The generalship of the Boers has been of a higher order than their soldiering, but a Cape Town letter is correct in saying that the Boer officers have been "less hampered by preconceived notions formed in warfare under very different conditions." The strategy of the commanders of the Boers has been, as a rule, except to hold entrenchments with tenacity, that of timidity, the reason no doubt the necessity of economizing men, for while the military character of the Boer troops is excellent, the material is liable to be exhausted. The British want of success has been charged to "the inability of elderly generals to adapt themselves readily to new conditions." It is worth while to

DEATH MESSAGE TO GENERAL CRONJE'S LAAGER AT MODDER RIVER.

A RUSH ON THE BOER TRENCHES AT SPION KOP.

remember in this association that the generals of the Boers are as elderly as those of the British. Joubert and Cronje, for example, are men who saw service many years ago. But the conservatism of elderly generals does not take into account the fact that the Boers were all what we call "light horse" or mounted riflemen, and the great bulk of the British forces were, at least up to the time of the invasion by Lord Roberts of the Orange Free State, decidedly heavy infantry.

An English Cape Colony correspondent said with pathetic patience: "In time the Imperial officers will fall in with the African idea of numerous small bodies of auxiliary scouts, continually on the alert, harassing the enemy and patrolling the surrounding country, as well as supporting and protecting the artillery."

Value of Numerous Scouts

The African campaign has made an ineffaceable mark on the soldiers of the British Empire. The City of London Volunteers hurried off after sitting through religious services under the dome of St. Paul's, which reported within a few days after landing in the dark but burning continent, "marked like any other dust-browned soldiers," and writing February 4th, at Cape Town, the correspondent of the *Mail* said of them: "This dusty land knocks the newness out of clothes and the brightness off accoutrements, and already the African sun is burning its brand deep into the faces and hands of the men, who are all very fit, very happy, and very anxious to get away to the front."

A Spearman's Camp letter to the Natal *Advertiser* says: "The most striking feature of the military situation is the fine physical condition and the wonderful spirits of the troops. None in the wide world would have stood more effectually the strain of the severest fighting imaginable for seven days, from daybreak till midnight. The men have retained the most perfect discipline and

are ready again to go through the same trial of pluck and endurance." The sword has been from the beginning of wars one of the most forward of weapons, associated with spears, shields and battle-axes. There have been two-handled swords, alarming in appearance, used much as battle-axes, and there have been dress swords worn for ornamentation and distinction only. The sword that has been most serviceable in actual warfare was that of the Romans. It was short, strong, double-edged, with a cross hilt and angular point. The Roman, with shield on his left arm for defence, struck upward to penetrate the trunk or chest of his enemies. The Roman sword was an easily wielded and practical weapon. It was a stabber.

Obsolete Implements of war

The Boer and Briton war appears to have decreed that the sword shall be put up, but its retirement is not to be accepted as testimony that wars are to be no more. The sword shall not devour forever in form, but it will cease to be borne as a badge of office, because it has already ceased to devour, and lags superfluous on the field. It is not of the slightest utility in actual warfare. Even in the equipment of cavalry the lance is more effective than the sword. Officers find the sword a mere badge, showing the possession of rank; and so far as it is distinguishable, it is not desirable as an attraction for sharpshooters, on the contary. The infantry officer of the future will not be accompanied after a little time has passed with a halberd or mace. The chances are, the officers will carry rifles, and, of course, they will have to be of the same caliber, using the same cartridges that are provided for the rifles of the enlisted men; and the officer, instead of carrying a bayonet, for which there is very little use, though there is always a great deal of talk about it, will wear a revolver for close quarters, and he will, therefore, be even better armed than those under his direc-

tion. Of course, one of his accomplishments ought to be that of a marksman. The soldier, with a magazine rifle, should have a field glass also. Something has been said of serving to British soldiers a field glass for every five men. Made of aluminum, they are almost as light as a cigar case or tobacco box, and it is not necessary that they should be of considerable proportions. The most useful field glasses now occupy very little space. It is not necessary that each soldier should carry a field glass as powerful as one that a field officer requires, but he needs to have his eyesight assisted that it may have a clear range equal to that of his rifle. All decorations that shine afar are to be discarded in military uniforms, because the two words the British have been taught must describe the characteristics of the soldier of the hereafter are, "mobile" and "invisible." He must be speedy and at the same time obscure. One who has been a close observer of these things in South Africa writes, as an expert, saying:

Modern Requirements

"At the distances at which modern rifle fire is effective, a little precaution is quite sufficient to make men almost invisible to the naked eye except when standing up against the sky line. The conditions of such invisibility are determined by a few elementary optical rules. The general effect of a soldier's uniform and equipment at long range should be neutral colored and as much as possible blurred against the background. It should present no bright gleaming spots of metal, such as polished buttons, buckles, or tin pannikins. In strong sunshine any bright metallic object, however small, is visible for hundreds of yards after the dull khaki uniform has become invisible. The production of a pair of aluminium field glasses out of their case will provoke a perfect hail of bullets from trenches a mile off, while an uncovered tin water bottle may mean a hot five minutes' attention from a Vickers-Nordenfelt quick-firer.

Broad patches of color, differing markedly from the background, or from the rest of the uniform, are no less dangerous. The dark greycoat shows very plainly on the soldier's back when lying down, and has been, no doubt, responsible for many straight shots. Still more fatal has been the dark-green kilt, which proved such an excellent target to the Boers at Elandslaagte and Magersfontein."

Bombardment of Small Effect

The inhabitants of the besieged cities appeared to find a fierce bombardment rather entertaining than otherwise; that is, when they became accustomed to it. At Ladysmith, up to November 25th, the besieging Boers had fired 2,680 shells, and of this number 1,070 fell in the town, 750 into the camps, and the rest were aimed at the naval batteries. Under all this firing but eight soldiers were killed by shells.

The correspondent who had the art above all others of giving with his lead pencil the symphony of a bombardment was Mr. Stevens, who died of fever in the city, and he had pet names for the Boer banging at the town. The list given in one letter was "Long Tom," "Fiddling Jimmy," "Puffing Bill," "Silent Susan," "Lady Annie" and "Bloody Mary." "Silent Susan" was so called because the shells she sent arrived before the report. The artist adds this touch, "a most disgusting habit in a gun." Long Tom was "a friendly old gun, and there were none but the kindest feeling towards him. It was his duty to shell us, and he did; but he did it in an open, manly way. Behind the half-country of light red soil they had piled up around him you could see his ugly phiz thrust up and look hungrily about him. A jet of flame and a spreading toadstool of thick white smoke told us he had fired. After the punctilious reply, you waited until you saw the black smoke jump behind the red mound, and then Tom was due in a

second or two. A red flash—a jump of red-brown dust and smoke—a rending crash; he had arrived. I am not able to tell you exactly what brand of gun he may be. It is evident from his conservative use of black powder, and the old-gentlemanly staidness of his movements, that he is an elderly gun. His calibre appears to be six inches. From the plunging nature of his fire, some have conjectured him a sort of howitzer, but it is next to certain he is one of the sixteen 15-centimeter Creusot guns bought for the forts of Pretoria and Johannesburg. Anyhow, he conducted his enforced task with all possible humanity.

Effect of Various Guns

"Westward, on Telegraph Hill, was a gun which appeared to prey exclusively on cattle. I am afraid it was one of our own mountain guns turned cannibal. The cattle, during the siege, had of course to pasture on any waste land inside the lines they could find, and gathered in dense, distracting, noisy herds; but, though this gun was never tired of firing on the mobs, I do not think he ever got more than one calf."

The same writer says of the sound of the passing projectiles: "The silky breath of the Mauser bullet, or the burr of the Martini-Henry, alternating with the siren-like drone of the ricochet, all are familiar. The only exception that should be made is that of the 1-pound Vickers-Maxim gun. 'Bong-bong' is wholesomely respected by every one."

The siege of Mafeking began in earnest with bombardment, October 22nd, and Colonel Baden-Powell, finding the Boers getting siege guns into place, opened fire upon them, and there was an artillery duel for several hours. The Boers were laborious in the manipulation of guns brought from Pretoria. One, reserved by the besiegers until all was ready, and then, the glowing correspondent writes:

"On the distant sky line a tremendous cloud of smoke hurled itself into the air. The very foundation upon which Mafeking rests seemed to quiver, all curiosity was set at rest, and there was no longer any doubt as to the nature of the new ordnance the Boers had with them. With a terrific impact the shell struck some structures near the railway, and the flying fragments of steel spread over the town, burying themselves in buildings, striking the veldt two miles distant, creating a dust, a horrible confusion, and an instant terror. The principal hotel was recked by a shell. The two heaviest of the Boer guns were a 64-pound howitzer and a 94-pound muzzel-loading siege gun. Soon the shells were flying into Mafeking at the rate of 200 a day. Reuter's correspondent at Mafeking says Cronje was good enough to confess in a letter his inability to storm the town, but gave the women and children warning that he had sent for siege guns, and he mentioned the date when he would begin. Colonel Baden-Powell is also a literary warrior, and he informed the courteous Cronje that the town was surrounded by mines, some of which were arranged to explode automatically while others were connected with headquarters. He added that the jail was chiefly occupied by Commandant Cronje's fellow countrymen, and that he had hoisted the yellow flag over it to enable him to avoid firing at it. He added that if the Boers insisted on shelling unoffending civilians and women they would afford a precedent for the British when they invested towns in the Transvaal.

Under Bombardment.

The Boers around Mafeking were not in great force and were cautious. The garrison was small but varied the story of the siege with sorties carefully planned and courageously carried out. One is thus described :

"Colonel Walford, with a detachment of officers and men, not only held a tall and almost unprotected fort against an advance of

the enemy under cover of four field guns and a 100-pounder, but repulsed and discomfited them so that they did not dare to venture against the position again. Our loss was eight killed, a heavy price for the small garrison to pay. The funerals of the officers and men killed took place the same night, as it was impossible to bury them in the daytime. The services were conducted in the light of a dimly-burning lantern by the rector and the Roman Catholic chaplain."

Valient Sorties

Perhaps the hottest day during the siege of Mafeking was when Colonel Baden-Powell sent out a force to move silently in the darkness with fixed bayonets to creep along until they approched the head Boer position near the race course. Then, at a signal of a shrill screech from a whistle, the British party cheered, rushed into the Boer camp, and with the bayonets killed a number in their tents. It is described as a fearful slaughter in which many Boers lost their lives.

CHAPTER XXI.

Modern Modifications of War.

THUS far the press has played a still greater part with the Boer-Btitish War than it did with the Spanish-American combat. The most distinguishing feature of the press at large has been sentimental and sensational exaggeration. The world has become accustomed to remarkable extravagance in the accounts given of the series of skirmishes in Africa, all of which have been described as battles and in many cases the strongest descriptive words in the language employed. The German army lost more men in killed and wounded in ten minutes at the battle of Gravelotte, August 18, 1870, and were victorious when the day declined and the battle was over, than the British, perhaps both sides, in South Africa lost in that part of the world from the 10th of October to New Year's day, 1900. The Boers hurried up the war and rushed an informal, but unequivocal declaration that the war was on, that they might by a hurried movement for which they had carefully and energetically prepared, gain the advantage of positions and occupy the most defensible lines of a country guarded by a series of immense natural fortresses. As the Boer authorities had absolutely determined that they would not do anything for the Uitlanders that would give them political or any other rights, and, therefore, they must eventually fight, they accepted the challenge and gained many strong places by the suddenness of their movement. They made

Exaggerated Importance of Reverses

good use of their time and improved the opportunity with hardihood and generalship. The difficulties of the British in the field were greatly increased by the stroke of the Boers in abandoning diplomacy, and with the help of the Orange state they easily possessed much territory that would have been at least sharply disputed with them if the British had been prepared to make the first aggressive movement. The official papers show that the Boers complained for some time with a great deal of angry emphasis that they were menaced by British forces in South Africa moving into places to attack the free states, but they seem to have accused their antagonists wrongfully, for when hostilities commenced the Boer preparation for war was much more complete than that of their antagonists. The unpreparedness of the British was authoritatively asserted and accounted for by Lord Salisbury in his Lord Mayor's dinner speech. The Boers took the initiative in active service because they were well aware they could not expect British acquiescence in their policy, and had taken that into consideration for several years, and they intended to strike the first blow. The explanation offered by Lord Salisbury of the disadvantage at which the British armies were placed, because the Boers would at any time have crossed the frontier and opened the war with headlong activity just as soon as they were advised that the British were entering upon unmistakable war measures was according to the facts. The advantage of location and initiative were placed in the hands of the Boers by the situation of the country and the relations of the South African states to each other. The Boers at last expressed their disdain for the negotiations in which they had been so long engaged, and just before declaring war sneered at the idea that they could at any time have thought of allowing a minority of representatives in the Volks Raad to speak the language of the majority of the white men,

Boer Expectancy

British Non-Expectancy

including the Boers in the Transvaal State. The Boers considered it a joke that there was any sort of expectation on the part of the English-speaking people, who were in the majority, though they had been after the Jameson Raid disarmed and were helpless under the guns of the Boers. It becomes clear in this light that there never was a possibility of a concession by the Boer Government that would give the Uitlanders any more rights than the native blacks. Both British and Blacks were to be held iron handed.

The Boers would as soon have consented to the Kaffirs talking in their Volks Raad as to the British speaking there the tongue of the majority of the whites. This was not positively understood by the British people at large. They had an anticipation that they were to gain something for the inhabitants of the gold fields, carrying on the great industries that had given the Transvaal State its world-wide reputation and vastly increased its consequence. It has been from the first a fact that the only way to give relief to the great colony of white men occupying the gold fields in Africa, to give them a standing better than that of the enslaved natives, was to overcome the Boer policy by force of arms. There has been no alternative, and all who are well informed as to the African situation have known that this was a matter of the utmost gravity. There has for years been impending a great war in Africa. It could not be postponed without submitting to the barbarous despotism of the Boers. The military system of the Boer country is even more comprehensive and searching than that of Germany. For about a year before the outbreak of hostilities, they provided themselves with 149,000 Mauser rifles, which were supposed to be about four good guns for each burgher ready to be commandeered. When all was ready to fight at a signal, the grim humor about English-speaking in the

Force of Arms Necessary

Boer Congress was indulged. In the carefully prepared memorandum, addressed by F. W. Rietz, State Secretary of the South African Republic, to Conyngham Greene, Esq., C. B. British Agent at Pretoria, dated "Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Pretoria, September 15, 1899," he says: "The Government has noticed with surprise the assertion that it had intimated to the British Agent that the new members to be chosen for the Volks Raad would be allowed to use their own language; if it is thereby intended that this Government would have agreed that any other than the official language of the country would have been used in the deliberations of the Volks Raad, it wishes to deny the same in the strongest manner. Leaving aside the fact that it is not competent to introduce any such radical change, it has up to now not been able to understand the necessity, or even the advisability, of making a recommendation to the Volks Raad in the spirit of justice; hence also the immediate and express denial given to Her Majesty's agent by the State Attorney to a question on that subject."

English Language Prohibited

That final slap in the face of the British Government by the Boers was reserved. The Boer, being migratory and possessing many wagons, ponies and cattle, and under an iron rule beside which the Kaiser or the Czar is in authority a tame and restricted imperialist—could take the field and find ambuscades, throw up earth works and dig rifle pits to hold advanced ground, and go to the front with full ranks while the British were on the seas thousands of miles away. The Boer riflemen could, with the aid of British-built railroads, pass the frontiers, fortify themselves formidably with a few days' work while the British would require as many weeks to locate the forces of their enemies and prepare to attack them. It is plain that the Boers did not gain as much territory as they

Time necessary to the British

expected to seize. The English were alert, and the fortunes of small military affairs magnified in the newspapers, partly in ignorance, partly in malice, and partly in sensational enterprise, do not possess the significance to the student of the plucky stands made at exposed points and the steady, sturdy qualities that held with desperate devotion besieged positions. It is safe to assume that the Boers believed when they made war and got the Orange Free State under the yoke with themselves that they would at least divide Natal and disturb exceedingly Cape Colony; and they expected European Continental intervention that would open for them a port for free trade in contraband articles of war. They were early halted in the march that they thought would go far in triumph for them. The besieged British maintained the best history and tradition of their forces, and it is a tale with two sides that the repulse of columns of relief did not result in the swift surrender of the beleaguered garrisons.

Unexpected Modernism of Boer organization

In Great Britain the sense of discomfiture has been in excess of the proportions of disaster, because the people have not accustomed themselves to contemplate the butchers' bills of costly victories and the results of partial or total failures. The British have not for a long time had the experience of confronting as enemies others than Asiatic and African half-civilized people or some of the feebler races. India, Abbysinia, Zululand, Egypt and the Soudan have been the scenes of the exploits of the British military forces, but a British army has not faced first-rate armies of white men with European equipment and instruction since Inkerman and Balaclava. They had some experience of Boers, but were not prepared to find them competent artillerists as well as excellent riflemen, and they have suffered some sharp repulses in the way of instruction. It is absurd, however, to count the failure of Sir

Redvers Buller to cross the river in the face of a force nearly or quite as numerous as his own, and the loss of a small percentage of Buller's army is not to be considered a crushing defeat. The repulse was rough. The awkwardness of the loss of artillery has been celebrated beyond the actual extent of the calamity. The startling fact appears to be that the Boer infantry had the better guns and that the British loss of guns was in recklessly pushing them to the front under the long range rifle fire of marksmen. The rushing of the artillery into the zone of fire of the Boers was an experiment in the efficacy of modern weapons, those on the offensive naturally paying the expenses, and it shows solid soldiership in Sir Redvers that he did not sacrifice his men in the struggle for guns, when the fact that the army could not cross the river became apparent. The affair was more serious than the incident of the stampede of the mules that caused a heavy loss of troops surrendered, but in both cases there has been a tendency in the losers to brag of the size of the misfortune rather than to diminish it.

Buller's solid Soldiership

But the British have not as yet seemed anxious for a magnanimous statesmanship to relieve the Empire from the terrors of war. It is very creditable to the energy, intelligence, foresight and general ability of the Boers that they have made their artillery so useful. It seemed certain that they would be outclassed in that respect very soon, but they have held their own marvelously. They have had help from both France and Germany. The greatest apparent oversight of the British management is in delaying the dispatch of a siege train and the use of railroads to place far-reaching big guns where they could be serviceable. Why there was not a first-class siege train with all the equipments at Cape Town is a mystery that will require elucidation. It looks like a case of mistaken economy. The outcry about the deficiency of

the British Army in cavalry seems to be greater than the evidence of weakness in that arm warrants. With rifles that do deadly execution at a distance of a mile, the mark afforded by mounted men is one that it is hardly possible to miss; and South Africa is full of cover for riflemen just suited for cavalry receptions. The horse is an animal that is tender in Africa, and the actual decisive fighting clearly was to be done at last by infantry with, of course, the assistance of the cavalry and the artillery; but the generalship is called for to give the infantry equal chances with military genius to guide the columns of invasion into a country. The invaders are often placed at a disadvantage because they cannot flank defences and force the fighting on terms that approximate to equality. The fashion of announcing by vehement artillery fire that an infantry charge is about to be made squarely in front of rifle pits and deep trenches guarded sometimes, as the Spanish lines were at Santiago, was abandoned only after several costly lessons. The Boers had greater mobility than the British, in the style of their warfare, as well as in handling troops, concentrating where wanted, and with inferior forces being superior in numbers where the fighting of moment was going on. When we consider the unprecedented breadth of the fire zone of a battlefield, it is essential that military aggressors should be commanded by generals of a high class, or the defence will be always successful.

Invaders at a Disadvantage

Touching the question of numbers in the South African fields, there are surprising margins of doubt as to the Boer population of the Transvaal, but in 1878, when the British were in authority, Sir Theophilus Shepstone is quoted as saying there were 8,000 Boers able to bear arms. Has the population been multiplied by five in thirty-two years? Sir Jacobus de Wet computed the Boer population at 71,000. A close analysis after

Numbers of the Boers

thorough examination by a writer whose correspondence is made conspicuous in British papers, says of the numbers of the Boer people that "they cannot now exceed 80,000. There would, therefore, be about 40,000 males, and according to the proportion of the United States population, which most nearly assimilates to that of South Africa, a little over half of these are between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five. This gives about 22,000 capable of bearing arms. To send them all into the field would be to leave all the farms and towns without a single man under fifty-five to look after them. We may therefore safely deduct the 2,000.

The Total Free for Fighting

"The Orange Free State never had so large a population as the Transvaal, and 70,000, I am certain, is a decided overestimate. But 70,000, treated in the same way, gives 17,500 men free for fighting, or a total of 37,500. Even this, I am confident, is largely in excess of the actual number in the field, for there must be more than 4,000 men left at home in two such huge territories."

Adding 5,000 Boers who live in Natal and joined the commando, and 5,000 British subjects forced into the field, and 5,000 European volunteers, and we have 47,000 fighting men in all, and there must have been, when Buller undertook his second expedition, not more than 40,000 available Boer troops; and each division was expected to be reinforced when closely confronted by the British by the familiar process of "mobility". An estimate of the population of South Africa made by a member of the Legislative Assembly of Cape Colony, and published in October, 1899, gives the figures of the census of 1891, quotes the white population of the South African states and colonies as 634,775, and states it now at 820,000, the increase going chiefly to the British side. The following figures are those for which the United Chambers of Commerce are responsible. The use of the word "English" means "non-Dutch":

	Total Whites.	"Dutch."	"English."
Cape Colony with Bechuanaland	460,000	265,200	194,800
Basutoland	650	300	350
Orange Free State	93,700	78,100	15,600
Natal with Zululand	52,000	6,500	45,500
Transvaal	203,650	80,000	123,650 M
Rhodesia	10,000	1,500	8,500 M
	820,000	431,600	388,400

(M = nearly all adult males).

FAMOUS OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

FAMOUS BOER LEADERS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Boer and British War Unavoidable.

THE thoughtful study of the war in South Africa is convincing that there was no help for it, short of a change in the nature of the British and the Boers. If the British policy had been stable for a generation, the preservation of peace at this time would have been possible. The development of idiosyncracies under the educational influences of erratic statesmanship made war inevitable.

The organized emigration of the Boers from British territory grew out of racial and personal qualities that defined their character as a people with great distinctness. The Cape Dutch were indebted to the British for release from slavery. Their owners were the Holland East India Company. The settlers of the Cape were not allowed to sell the products of their farms except to the Company at prices the Company decreed, and they had to buy The Company's goods at the Company's prices. There was no redress, to be had from Holland. Betterment by the British was resented. There were middlemen corrupt and unmerciful. The despotic Company refused to permit the tillers of the land to own it—that on a continent of 11,500,000 square miles. It was not the scarcity of land that dictated the policy of the Company, but the insatiable greed of the monopolists. There never was a more bitter tyranny than the ancestors of the Boers suffered from, until the British took the country. Then the Dutch settlers got titles to land, fair

The East India Company and Its Treatment of the Boers

hearing in the courts, comparative freedom of trade, a postal system and a school system, and their way of appreciation was to become jealous of the generosities of civilization. To be sure, the British system was a little lower than an angelic administration, but it was a wonderful improvement upon the Dutch Company.

The Grievance of the Boers

The grievance of the Boers that aroused their hostility most intensely toward the British was the compensated abolition of slavery. The slaveholders received from Great Britain, or at least receipted for the amount of $6,000,000. Of course, they did not think they got money enough for their black slaves, and they were so incapable of caring for themselves that a great portion of the cash paid the emancipated Africans got into the pockets of agents who cultivated extravagantly and bought cheaply claims for slave property—a process of wrongdoing not unkuown in broader lands of freedom, for there has been no case of satisfaction among slaveholders on British territory with the details of the distribution of the $100,000,000 the British paid to free all the slaves within their jurisdiction.

The Boer Reaches His Canaan

The disconsolate Boers trekked to the Orange State at first, and tried for a time to appropriate Natal, but the British were too early and strong for them there—that is, the advanced squatters were British rather than Dutch, and so the freemen on wheels whipped up and pushed on finally reaching the promised land. This was their Canaan. The Canaanites had no rights except to be servile, or killed if they did not like it, and their massacre or enslavement was according to the Gospel of the Boers on behalf of liberty. The British were the Egyptians who pursued, and were baffled by the movement northward with processions of oxen to turn the wheels. The movers were not in a hurry. They were in

families. The head of the family took along his wife and children, cattle, wagons, household goods and stores of ammunition. When the oxen grew weary and there was good grass and water, a rest of some weeks was the policy of recuperation. The supply of antelopes never gave out. The grass was green and the water ran. The boundless country before the seekers of new lands was stocked with the greatest variety and the most excellent quality of game ever seen on the face of the earth, and the rivers were swarming with delicious fish.

Motives for Emigration

The specific and greater grievances from which this very free people were fleeing was that they had been deprived of their slaves and bereaved of their language in an official capacity. The fact that the English abolitionists of black slavery had also broken the iron fetters of the East India Company, if remembered at all, was not applied to current affairs. The offence next in order in the afflictions of the migrating Boers was that the official publications at the Cape were in English, and the Boers had a speech of their own, neither English, German or Dutch.

The story that the trekkers were practically expelled from their native land is not in any respect warranted. The liberty of enslaving others that was most dear to the wanderers, before whom was spread land that seemed immeasurable, and was as an immense park, the soil rich, the skies glorious, the scenery attractive, the game numberless and without boundaries, affording a prospect of endless sport and fresh meat forever. The motives of the Boers in emigration may be discussed from English and Dutch points of view, widely separated. That which is sure is, no people had greater temptations to seek a country that was new, for the sake of the country itself, than they had; and they knew nothing of the fact that the soil they traversed was to an extent unparalleled

endowed with gold and diamonds. The hardy pilgrims did not care for such trifles. They called the new country their land of promise, and they had forty times Canaan before them, flowing with milk and honey, and were a people who had chosen to seek fortune and find destiny in a region that seemed the most remote under the sun. And it was not until they felt the stinging misfortune of having struck gold mines in what they had taken to be pastures for all time, and found the shining stones picked up while herding the cows were priceless diamonds, that they became apprehensive of the overtaking advancement of British civilization still inviting them to move on. And it took a long time for the experiences of the wilderness to suggest the possibility that the heart of Africa might become an objective point of the enlightened nations of Europe, worthy the contention of armies and the seat of colonies of English and Germans, rivaling in magnitude and natural wealth above and below the surface of the earth, equal to the enormous prizes the Americas offered when the division of the new possessions of Spain and Portugal was determined by a line drawn north and south, with the authority and benediction of His Holiness the Pope, through the Atlantic Ocean. Still later and less did any one fancy the time had come when Africa should by the Isthmian Canal of Suez be an island, the greatest on the globe, surrounded by fleets, encircled by cables of magnetic wires, and penetrated from the north and south and east and west by railroads; and when the most stupendous scheme for a railroad from theCape to Cairo for the actual conquest of Africa on behalf of mankind would be made practicable by the mineral resources of the Transvaal, so that the Boers in what they thought was the part of the world furthest out of the way, would find themselves fighting against becoming one of the centers of energy that promote the progressive conquests

Unexpected Development

and the illumniation of regions that for thousands of years were untraveled except by savages and hidden in darkness, made ready for redemption at the beginning of the twentieth century of Christianity; and that whether the victory counted for civilization or barbarism must be decided in the country once far from all the lines of ambitious adventure, but inconceivably rich in diamonds and gold, marked by railroads with puffing locomotives in the mountain ranges, over the vast plateaus and beside the rivers of Southern Africa.

The issue of the war is not in doubt. The blood of brave men has not been shed in vain. The armies of the British and the Boers in their resounding combats and flashing rifles, great and small, will pour the full light of knowledge upon what has been to the great majority of men a gloomy and forbidding end of the earth, and in the clamors of charges of embattled hosts and the thunder of big guns, Africa will be advertised the world over, and its surpassing greatness made familiar, and the progress of the several peoples, arrested for a little while, will go on with increased volume and accelerated velocity, while the Gospel announcement that the field is the world and the command to "go into all the earth and preach to every creature," will have a scope of significance and grandeur of attainment richly compensating the races engaged in strife for the sacrifices of warfare.

The Issue of the War Not in Doubt

The charge that the diamond mines were juggled from a people whose weakness was ignorance, and that they were cheated and robbed, is a complaint strained beyond truth and reason. The secrets of the earth and the skies belong to those who find them out. The Boers were warned when on wheels seeking freedom for oppression of the natives of African soil, that they were still British subjects, but they lacked the gift of prospecting in large

affairs. The political perspective was not within the range of their vision or the accomplishment of their arts. It was out of sight for them that their broad farms should be undermined by diamond and gold diggers, and themselves pursued across the Continent by locomotives more formidable than the monsters of the forests, and if they had found truthful teachers, even of the superficial lessons of the average fortunes of men, they would have known that the policy of selfish rule by a minority class of majorities, both below and above their level in civilization, or evading and fighting taxation themselves and imposing it upon others, could not be everlasting bound to destruction by violence, if it were not surrendered according to the dictates of the common wisdom of men who know enough to govern themselves.

A False Charge

The discovery of the diamond fields on the borders of the Orange Free State caused the complication handsomely adjusted by the English, who paid £90,000 to the State to settle the disputed claim. The transaction was advantageous to all concerned. With this money the State built its first and best railway. This State had the wise guidance of John Rand for a quarter of a century, and has latterly had the misfortune, in the hands of President Steyn, to be hypnotized and victimized by the indomitable Kruger.

A Transaction Advantageoous to All Concerned

Not only did the English release the Dutch settlers of the Cape from the grinding and relentless despotism of the Company that kept them in poverty and helpless dependence; they also relieved the Transvaal in later days from the peril of the crusading propensities of the Zulu kings at the cost of a sanguinary war—the Boers looking on with "grim" dignity. We infer it was dignity. They were always grim, even when roaring with laughter. Cetywayo menaced the Transvaal with forty thousand warriors.

The British moved forward and took possession of the disputed territory and assumed the duties of government. Then for no greater offense than that they were not in haste to call a Boer legislature, there was an agitation against British rule, and Paul Kruger appeared upon the scene. President Burgess, who preceded Kruger in his last address to his Volksraad, said of this opposition: "You have ill-treated the natives, you have shot them down, you have sold them into slavery, and now you have to pay the penalty. * * * The fourth point which we have to take into account affects our relations with our English neighbors. It is asked, what have they to do with our position? I tell you as much as we have to do with that of our Kaffir neighbors. As little as we can allow barbarities among the Kaffirs on our borders, as little can they allow that in a State on their borders anarchy and rebellion should prevail. * * * To-day a bill for £1,100 was laid before me for signature, but I would sooner have cut off my right hand than sign that paper, for I have not the slighest ground to expect that when that bill becomes due there will be a penny to pay it with.

President Burgess on the Opposition

Said Burgess: "Fruitlessly did I press upon him (Kruger), the fact that by showing how our danger lay in want of unity, the British Government would have cause to step in, on the ground of humanity, to avert civil war, and to prevent a general rising of the natives. * * * He would not hear of retiring. Had I not endured in silence, had I not borne patiently all the vile accusations, but out of selfishness or fear, told the plain truth of the case, the Transvaal would never have had the consideration it has now received from the British Government. However unjust the annexation was, my self-justification would have exposed the Boers to such an extent, and the state of the country in such a way, that it would have been deprived both of the sympathy of the world, and the consideration of English politicians."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Transportation and Casualties

THE war between the British and the Boers, as soon as it took on unexpected magnitude and grew in gravity as it progressed, was recognized as much more than a quarrel and contest about the extension of the elective franchise in some degree to enterprising immigrants interested in gold and diamond mining and railroad construction, the real issue being whether the ancient Dutch or modern British should be the predominant power in Southern Africa—whether the trekkers from British civilization, who started out in wagons for Jerusalem generations ago and got as far as the land of Ophir, should ride as conquerors of the British Colonies and establish a Dutch Afrikander Dominion over the country south of the Equator, and prepare the foundations in the twentieth century in the south temperate zone of a Dutch Empire with a Kruger Dynasty.

The Real Issue of the War

The Queen's speech to Parliament, January 30th, referred to the war as "the invasion of my South African Colonies by the South African Republic and by the Orange Free State," and also to the "spontaneous loyalty with which my subjects in all parts of my dominions have come forward to share in the common defence of my Imperial interests;" and Her Majesty added: "I am confident that I shall not look to them in vain when I exhort them to sustain and renew their exertions until they have brought this struggle for the maintenance of the Empire and the assertion of its supremacy in South Africa to a victorious conclusion."

The Imperial note repeatedly recurs in the course of Her Majesty's brief speech, and includes approval of the federation of five of the Australian Colonies.

The history of the Boer and Briton war naturally divides itself into two periods, (1) that before the invasion of the Orange Free State by General Roberts and (2) the events succeeding that movement. The war began with the invasion by the Boers of acknowledged British territory, and until Lord Roberts moved in command of the greater army of the British in Africa, the soil of the Boer States had not been touched by hostile feet, unless that phrase could be applied to the British prisoners of war.

Up to the morning of January 31st, which was the day after the meeting of Parliament, a carefully-prepared table of the casualties of the British Army during the Boer war gave the following figures:

Officers killed in action	147
" wounded	360
" prisoners	112
Enlisted men killed in action	1,289
Wounded	41,37
Prisoners	2.453
Total killed	1,436
" wounded	4,497
" missing	2,565
Deaths from disease since end of November	393
Total	8,891

The Press Association states that the above table and totals do not include some of the casualties at Venter's Spruit between January 17th and 20th, or the casualties at Spion Kop on January 24th, both of which lists were issued the night of January 31st. These additional casualties number 769, increasing the grand total

of losses to 9,660. Of the additional losses, 174 were sustained at Venter's Spruit and 595 at Spion Kop.

The regiments that suffered most in the general list were:

	Officers.			Men.		
	K.	W.	M.	K.	W.	M.
Royal Irish Fusiliers	2	5	17	30	94	508
Gloucester Regiment	1	4	19	50	116	332
Dublin Fusiliers	5	6	6	51	241	153
King's Royal Rifles	16	14	1	67	279	66
Gordon Highlanders	9	16	—	46	143	3
Grenadier Guards	2	10	—	45	135	—
Coldstream Guards	3	9	1	35	165	—
Border Regiment	1	5	—	25	168	2
Argyll and Scotch Highlanders	2	8	—	52	139	3
Northumberland Fusiliers	4	11	6	25	82	335
Black Watch	7	11	—	102	183	64
Seaforth Highlanders	4	7	1	53	136	16
Connaught Rangers	4	2	28	101	23	—
Imperial Light Horse	5	18	—	47	90	1
Kimberley Light Horse	2	6	—	20	38	—

General Buller's movements were, on the 20th of October, declared by his telegrams to London to be for the relief of Ladysmith, and a British journal described the general result after the several "checks" in the game of the British with the Boers in these terms of discouragement:

"General Buller's future movements afford no pleasant ground for speculation. There appear to be five brigades of infantry, a considerable amount of artillery, and about 1,600 mounted men under Lord Dundonald, all packed away among the mountains. One branch of the Tugela is to their front, another to their rear. The Boers are said to be strongly entrenched along the whole course of the river, even below Colenso. They are extremely mobile; our force is the reverse."

It was obvious to the Boers from the first of the war that the bulk of the British forces must first move to repulse the invasion of Natal, and that perhaps two divisions of them would be placed to prevent incursions from the Boer country into Cape Colony. If the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces had been free to move according to his views of mere military success, not giving weight to moral and political influences, he might have declined to advance to the relief of Ladysmith. But the work was cut out for General Buller before his arrival by fate, foreordination and fortune. Neither the Commander-in-Chief, nor the War Office at that point of time planned the campaign. That had been done by circumstances, and it occurred that the very region in which General Buller was called to handle his troops was one of which the Government had no adequate maps. The Boers were perfectly acquainted with the country and aware when they had blockaded an army of 10,000 men at Ladysmith and that it would be absolutely necessary they should be relieved; and so they occupied themselves with the utmost energy and great skill in fortifying the passes, and were at all points prepared to make a desperate resistance. So skilful were they in the construction of trenches and the disposition of men that Captain Walter Congreve, who received the Victoria Cross for gallantry in endeavoring to save the British guns lost at Colenso, wrote of that engagement: "I never saw a Boer all day, and I do not think any one else did. Thousands of bullets pattered and shells burst all over the place, but the Boers were invisible."

Buller's Movements Foreordained

The absence of reliable maps of the seat of war was explained by the Right Honorable George Wyndham, Assistant Secretary of State for War, in the House. He described the theatre of warfare as seven times the size of England and Wales; and said the

British officers "had the colonial map of Natal," and that in 1896, two officers were sent out to make of that state a map one inch to the mile of the northern triangle of Natal. It was the theory that the Boer invasion of this state, should it come to that, would be held back at some point further north than Ladysmith, "and unfortunately, this map is of the country north of Ladysmith, and omits the very part which has been of such absorbing interest for the last six months between Ladysmith and the Tugela." Another officer was sent out to make sketches and maps of all bridges and approaches, and these were printed a year and a half ago; also maps of possible lines of communication; and officers were also sent out to make maps of all places of military interest, but they did not strike the land where the thunders of the battles echoed from the African mountains.

No Reliable Maps of the Seat of War

The two maps, owing to this insufficient comprehension, were wanting where the fighting must be made for the advance upon Ladysmith, and the Boers had time to invade and fortify the angle of Natal, which is a peninsula between the Boer States, and which never had been scientifically explored and presented by the British; this while the pressure of the siege hastened the movements of the British, and lack of transportations compelled the army to remain within ready reach of the railroads.

The first "check" of Buller justly alarmed Great Britain, and Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were ordered to the scene of the struggle, followed by forty steamers full of troops. This was made as easy as possible for General Buller, but he was no longer Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in South Africa, and his repeated reverses revealed such an impossible country between Colenso and Ladysmith that Lord Roberts prepared for an invasion of the Orange Free State with an army of nearly 50,000 men, Buller

and his mass of forces continuing to confront the Boers on the direct road to Ladysmith that had up to that time proved "no thoroughfare"; and this shifting of the scenes of the war placed Lord Roberts instead of Sir Redvers Buller in the center of the stage.

Events were shaping themselves in this form when Parliament met January 30th, and February 1st is the pivotal date of the change of British commanders in the field; and the opening of the new campaign was the invasion of the Orange Free State by the grand army of Field-Marshal Lord Roberts. There was dismay at Ladysmith when the announcement was made that General Buller's advance for the relief of the town had been arrested. A correspondent, writing from the inside of the assailed city, said: "There was a full ration of the necessaries for at least two months. The defences were practically secure against attack. Our worst enemy was sickness. The situation was anything but desperate."

Invasion of the Orange Free State

In the House of Commons, February 2nd, Mr. Wyndham made a speech in which it was apparent he was the best informed member of Parliament in matters essential to a perfect understanding of the history of the war, and the figures that he gave of the composition and equipment of the army are in the best sense official. Mr. Wyndham stated the South African British forces were increasing every day, and the total figure was 180,000 men. The standing garrison of Natal before the war was seven battalions of infantry, two regiments of calvary and two batteries of artillery, and that garrison was increased at the time of the outbreak to seventeen battalions of infantry, five regiments of cavalry and nine batteries of artillery, about 25,000 men in all. This was the extent of the provision that the Government made for contingencies in that quarter. The embarkation of troops from

England for the seat of war began on October 20th, and in eleven days there had been shipped 27,000 men, 3,600 horses and forty-two guns. December 4th there were in the British army of South Africa 47,000 men; and Lord Methuen, it was stated, arrived at Orange River fewer days out from London than the German Army required to reach the frontier of France in the Franco-German war, deducting the time of the sea voyage. The embarkation was up to the incomparable capacity of the quays and ships at the disposal of the British; and there was also a limitation as to the supply of coal at the stations by the way. There never had been such an extraordinary movement of steamers from the ports of England to the ports of South Africa, from the middle of October to the end of January, and the maintenance of a sufficient supply of coal was a matter of great difficulty. There were physical difficulties in the way of sending men any faster. A wonderful work was done in transportation—there is nothing like it in military history, taking the number of men and the distance traversed and the weight and bulk of the arms and ammunition and stores forwarded.

Wonderful Work in Transportation

The next day after Buller's first reverse, he asked that the 7th Division should be sent to him, but before his despatch was received the Government had moved to do exactly what he desired; and at the same time the first steps were taken to call out the Imperial Yeomanry and volunteers invited to go forward; and February 1st there were fourteen regiments of British militia serving in South Africa, and six about to go there, and there had been sent or were going forward sixteen siege train guns and thirty-eight naval guns—these may be termed the artillery of "position;" and there were thirty-six 5-inch howitzers moving with the troops and throwing, Mr. Wyndam said, "a very heavy shell, with fifty pounds of lyddite, or 110 guns capable of throwing

a large shell with a high explosive, and some of them with a range of 10,000 yards." He added, "we have fifty-four guns of horse artillery and 234 guns of field artillery, or 288 field guns with the troops. In all, counting in the howitzers, there can accompany the troops in the field 324 guns." In addition there were mountain batteries. The whole number of British guns in South Africa was, February 1st, 410; but it should be noted that these were not all mounted, though everything that would make them serviceable was hastened with or after them. At this time there had been accepted from the Colonies 2,375 unmounted and 4,698 mounted men; and Mr. Wyndham said, "The totals on October 9th, the day of the ultimatum, were 2,600 unmounted and 3,400 mounted—rather more than one to four. The totals on January 7th, were 83,600 unmounted and 19,800 mounted—a little less than one to four; and the total complement that will shortly be there (January 31st), not including the 8th Division or the 4th Cavalry Brigade, is 142,800 unmounted and 37,800 mounted men in South Africa. The total of our troops in that country in the next fortnight or three weeks will be 180,600 men."

Military Strength of the British

The three weeks included the first week of Roberts' invasion of the Natal State, shifting the stage of the war drama from the British to the Boer territory. The official British estimate made up by the Intelligence Department of the military strength of the Boers was as follows:

"In the Transvaal, liable for service, 29,279; add to that 800 for artillery and 1,500 for police, total 31,579. In the Orange Free State, between the ages of 16 and 60, 22,314." They deducted a little there, because 16 is a very young age for war, and put 20,000; or together in round figures, 51,000. Then they estimated the number of men likely to join the enemy from the Colonies at

4,000, making a total of 55,000, and the estimated number of foreigners, likely to come into the country, or who had been in the country, likely to join them, was 4,000, making a total of 59,000 as the maximum force with which it was possible for those two republics to take the field.

The guns of position and field guns in possession of the Boers, including the 19 British guns captured, were on London authority 110.

In 1888 the men actually in the British Army serving with the colors was 210,717; and October 1st, 1899, there was an increase of the peace army to the number of 25,207. Mr. Wyndham added: "The recruits who came into the army in 1895, the first year of this Government, numbered 29,583, and the recruits last year were 42,700."

The Difficult Task of the Under Secretary of War

The speech of the Under Secretary for War, put heart in the British equal to the winning of a battle. He had a difficult task and acquitted himself brilliantly, doing much to restore public confidence in the Government and the nation. Through his mother he is the great-grandson of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, leader of the rebellion in Ireland in 1796, and is said to bear a striking resemblance to his ancestor, and this is one of the reasons why he has held to a remarkable extent the good-will of the Irish members of the House. He elevated the war debate in Parliament, and that was an excellent office to perform for a country where talk is the tyrant that at last rules.

The *Times* quoted Lord Salisbury that the situation is "full of humiliation and not free from danger," and said allowances must be made for Salisbury's "irresistible humor," adding that he parried "very pertinent complaints, as to the action of the Government in risking the chances of war without adequate preparation, by smart debating retorts on the errors of former Liberal Cabinets

and humorous explanations of the disguises under which guns and ammunition were got up to Pretoria."

It is to be said of the press of England that in spite of effusive expression of excessive excitement, it has better represented serious purposes and the national necessities of the country than the politicians of Parliament, with not more than two or three exceptions. One of these, certainly one who has most ably represented the British Empire, is Mr. George Wyndham, and Lord Rosebery has made a stronger impression than ever before as a public man by his dignity and patriotism and information regarding the cause, the course and the consequences of the war in South Africa; and thus he has advanced his claims to leadership over the scattering agitators that have so largely occupied the attention of aspiring members of his party. His citation of the Austrian campaign of occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a pertinent study for the comprehension of the war with the Boers, ranks as a valuable service to the state. The people of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina turned over to Austria in the Berlin Conference following the last Russo-Turkish war, fiercely fought the transfer of themselves and their homes without in the least consulting them. The two provinces closely represented in their mountains and their climates, though not in their political relations and regard for public rights, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal of South Africa. The method of the people in fighting in defence of their natural fortifications closely resembled that of the Boers. They were more numerous than the forces of the African States but not so well armed. They made a terrible struggle. Austrian troops suffered there, as the English in South Africa, from the heat and the rainfall. The war in those provinces opened with the defeat of a squadron of Austrian cavalry, an affair which was very

Lord Rosebery's Opinion

much like that in the recent British experience at Belmont, where Sir George White got a detachment of his troops into an untenable position. One of the Austrian columns, an army equal to that of Sir Redvers Buller on the Tugela, was driven back with great loss. The total invading force at first, as it was not expected there would be any formidable resistance, amounted to 72,633 men, 12,863 horses and mules, and 111 guns. It was the presumption of the Austrian authorities, civil and military, that this array was overwhelming, but before the war, which lasted about three months, was ended, there were four Austrian army corps in the field, numbering altogether 208,000 men, 38,600 horses and 480 guns. The Austrian loss, including wounded, before peace was made, was 179 officers and 5,000 men killed and wounded, and in addition to this there were 2,233 deaths from disease and wounds.

An Instructive Parallel

A writer who closely studied this Bosnian and Herzegovinan struggle of mountaineers against regular troops, and the instructive parallel it is to the experience of the British, remarks: "It is certainly remarkable that the campaign mentioned by Lord Rosebery should not be more frequently referred to at the present time. In many particulars, especially in those of a technical military character, its similarity with that in which we are now engaged in South Africa is striking. It is not at all improbable that we should have suffered fewer disappointments had we studied in good time the Austrian operations to which Lord Rosebery has directed our attention. A study of them even now will be found instructive."

Those who closely follow the history of the war between the Britons and Boers, should have a care to bear in mind that it has been for some time before the white people in South Africa that the future of that country must be a confederacy of the Colonies

and States. As the importance of that part of the world has been manifested, the attention of all mankind drawn to it by the unprecedented production of precious metal and precious stones, and the promising openings for colossal enterprises, it is certain there should be one country, excepting, perhaps, the Portuguese Colony which is not to be classed with Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, Transvaal and Rhodesia. The demand for unity has developed steadily, and white people have for a time been aware if there was union—either the Brition or the Boer must govern South Africa. There is another form of saying the same thing, namely—that the British or the Dutch shall have to take the first place. This has been quite clear to the Dutch, and they have lived up to it. The British in Africa have been discouraged by the lack of intelligent interest in the home country as has been repeatedly exhibited by those in favor of a belittled England. The Boers have an immense capacity for self-esteem, and the fact that they had defeated the British in a few skirmishes implanted in their minds the conviction that they had only to assert themselves and become masters of the situation. The only word that defines the problem is Afrikander, and the Dutch element would prefer that they should be the ruling class. This scheme has largely affected the Dutch people in Cape Colony and in Natal, as well as in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. It is a curious matter that the only African Province or State in which the British had a decided majority over all other white men was that of the Transvaal, and the fact is that their predominance in numbers and in their labors, in their prosperity and their purpose of carrying on great works, disturbed the stolid despotism of the Boers who would not consent to any rational compromise that gave the white men of the country a ballot, no matter how much restricted. The result of the war must be unity in South Africa,

Result of This War Must be Unity in South Africa

Either the Boers or the British are to have authority indisputable within the borders of these great territories. The Boers have trampled always upon the native races, and they have the most violent propensities to assail and to disregard all humanities. With respect to the immigrants from British India, one of the things the rulers there have failed to do has been to protect their Indian subjects and their own people in Africa.

The history of the war, studied from the original troubles, may be considered in three groups of facts: First, the aggressive advance of the native forces of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State upon Natal and Cape Colony—driving before them a great number of fugitives from the British settlements. This was done in a way that cannot be characterized by a word less severe than savagery. There was an eagerness to confiscate the property of the British and to drive them out of the land that they had made profitable. The war brought to the public mind that the white people were in the majority but disarmed, and in the presence of a minority thoroughly armed and with expert knowledge of the use of their weapons.

Three Groups of Facts

It is the only instance in the history of the world in which the majority of the white people of a country have been domineered over, their rights disregarded, their property confiscated, themselves insulted and abused, and forced to submit to this from the minority. It is something unique in human experience. The second scene of the situation was the attack upon the several towns of Mafeking, Kimberley and Ladysmith, and the advance into Natal over the Tugela, capturing Colenso. Then came the actual fighting, and presently there were three British towns besieged, an extensive part of the country that had belonged to the British people overrun, and there was attention as to their conflict of arms,

the Boers still maintaining the aggressive. The Boers, when Sir Redvers came with heavy forces, were compelled to stand on the defensive and gather as commanded to prevent the relief of the besieged towns. Sir Redvers suffered serious reverses, but whatever may be said of his generalship and the conditions around him, he was cool and his information comprehensive; but he had a hard part thrust upon him—that of taking a great responsibility upon himself, accepting the blame of failure rather than undertaking to force his way at a tremendous sacrifice of life. While his success in military movements has been sharply limited, it is clear that he has not lacked heroism, good sense and solid judgment. It was his failure to make good his advance upon Ladysmith, when he first attempted it, that reduced his part to secondary proportions.

The Third Chapter of the War

The next chapter is the arrival of Lord Roberts of Kandahar, and Lord Kitchener of Khartoom. It was demonstrated by the severe experience of Sir Redvers Buller that moving an army sufficient to overpower the Boers around Ladysmith, in other words, to force the passage over the sixteen miles of most difficult country between Colenso and Ladysmith, was impossible without an excessive sacrifice. Roberts and Kitchener took the field to take the aggressive. The fate of the British Empire in a great degree —a very decided degree so far as military character is concerned— and the prestige of Great Britain are at the foundation of her prodigious commerce and resources, and hold the world-wide possessions that pay tribute to her. This Imperial fame and fabric was committed to the heroes of the Afghanistan, Indian and Soudan wars, and the speedy success of Roberts, relieving Kimberley and capturing Cronje, was followed by Buller's hard-earned success, in the relief of Ladysmith, and the Boers were forced to retreat on all lines to concentrate.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Some Important Lessons of the War.

THE racial questions have produced the war of the Britons and Boers and profoundly influenced the military operations in South Africa. There is not to be found a more remarkable mingling of the blood of the races of Europe, Asia and Africa than in the African southern states and provinces. There are many types of the natives in the contested territory, the most distinct the Hottentots, Kaffirs and Zulus, and each of these has several shades of development and distinction. The Cape Dutch were largely Holland stock, but the Cape was a stopping place for wanderers of all descriptions from Europe—seamen, weary of the sea and willing to drift towards barbarism with the colored people—the vagabondage that eddied around the Cape, the currents flowing from Northern Europe and Southern Asia. There, on the extremity of Africa was the resting-place when voyaging to and from the Indies, and there was a considerable sediment of humanity desposited. There came the victims of religious persecution in France and the poor girls from the almshouses of Amsterdam and the mixtures of Europeans, Africans and Asiatics, including the higher and lower types of the human race. Probably the Dutch would have held their original advantage, if it had not been for their narrow-gauge methods of grasping the earnings of others for the corporations that were the organizations of Dutch interests and that with one hand robbed the natives broadly and freely, and with the other picked the

A Mixing of Races

pockets of white men boldly and greedily. The corporations of the Dutch India Companies were not conciliatory; they were rapacious and with industrious frugality provided themselves with the resources for prodigal lives. The British were a broader people than the Dutch, with something of good-will toward those who served them, and had mingled with their strength traits of generosity and an immense skill in dealing with the people they found at the ends of the earth. The proof of this is in the enormous colonies that remained to the Empire, though they lost dependencies that from colonies became states and then the United States. The Spanish and Dutch colonial systems have disappeared from the maps of both the hemispheres of the earth. The Boers trekked north, setting their faces toward Canaan, not to enjoy the blessings, of the liberty that demanded all men should be at least born free, but to assume the attitude of masters of slaves and appropriate the increment of the earnings of any other people with whom they came in contact. The Boers are of mixed blood, white, dark and tawny, and yet are classed as white men, because they have assimiliated with Hottentots and found the native admixture notably vigorous and productive. The British having the greater share of the Indian commerce, whether the goods were transported by way of the oceans or the deserts, at last inherited rather than conquered the Cape. Their right to it was that they had more use for it than any others could have, and their titles were those of occupation, power, and the promotion of the general welfare, by profitably employing the labor of the land for the increase of the recompense of industry.

The Boer Assimilations

The Briton and Boer war determines whether Africa is to go forward under British auspices or backward into the hands of the Dutchmen of the South Seas, and their descendants. A British Confederacy of States in South Africa would mean progress, the

redemption of the great continent that has had the shadow of chaos on it since the world began. A Boer Confederacy could mean at best a stolid, dull, impassive conservatism with energy in it, but not adaptability to the activities that the British have imparted to the broadening civilization under their rule of Southern Africa.

A short and simple story of the successive steps by which the Britons and Boers entered upon the awful arbitrament of arms seems essential to the formation of public opinion in respect to the merits of the strife for Afrikander mastery. The origin of the Boers, their trekking away from the Britons—their wars with the natives and persecution of the missionaries, and their malevolent injustice to the gold-seekers and diamond-hunters have been fairly related, and the conclusion reached that the great war of 1899 and 1900 was unavoidable, meaning either British Empire or Dutch Dominion in the eastern or southern countries of the African continent; and we have had occasion to affirm the responsibility for the culminating difficulties rests with the instability of British colonial policy in Africa.

A Short and Simple Story

There has been developed in England an aberration from the paths of empire pursued around the world and that has spread her influence over continents and the islands of the seas, richer than all others except our own. The independence of the United States has been one of the most important developments of the history of English-speaking peoples, and it has not been unfortunate or inauspicious for Great Britain herself. The compensation of the British world-wide Empire for the loss of the Imperial heart of North America, has been in the reformation of her vast colonial system, so that the Dominion of Canada and the Australasian Confederation have appeared in the northern frosts and the southern oceans, as if to preserve the

England's Disinclination to Spread

equilibrium of the nations of the earth spread around the globe as the greater constellations span those of the skies.

England has, however, developed in the seat of her strength and in the midst of her splendors a sentimentality of a statesmanship of erudite delicacy that is displeased with her material aggressiveness and would moderate her proportions and relax the evidences of her potentiality. This has been disguised in webs of misty but glowing eloquence in high places and supported by names that are famous, and jeweled phrases that shine afar. The meaning of the imaginative ostentation that would idealize the British Empire by indulgence in the smaller British policy is to depart from and desert the principle of the majestic phenomenal achievements of a destiny that, beginning with the architect Cromwell, has been accomplished in the long reign of Victoria.

England Saves the Boers from Barbarism

The Boers were oppressors of the natives that fought for their hunting grounds, and in 1877 occurred an uprising of the African tribes, dwelling in the promised land of the trekkers. In the angle of Natal, long the storm center of the Boer and British war, the Zulu King Cetywayo massed the forces of his gallant tribe of blacks, and the Boers were saved from exterminating war by British arms—indeed, saved from bankruptcy and barbarism; and the Transvaal was annexed to Her Majesty's dominions upon conditions, assented to by those most concerned, that answered the prescription of the Declaration of Independence—"the consent of the governed." There was almost an era of good feeling, and would have been altogether such an era, if it had not been for the personal force, egotism and ambition of Mr. Kruger. General Garnet Wolseley said, then, the Transvaal would be "British territory as long as the sun shines;" and in a proclamation he spoke in behalf of the British Government, "this Transvaal territory shall be and

continue to be forever, an integral portion of Her Majesty's dominions." In his character as High Commissioner representing the British Empire in South Africa, Sir Garnet said at a banquet given him at Pretoria, that under no circumstances could Britain "give back this country."

In 1880 Mr. Gladstone overthrew the Disraeli Government by the force of his wonderful persuasive eloquence, saying the British were in the Transvaal coercing "the free subjects of a Republic, and that in doing so we"—the British—"have chosen most unwisely, I am tempted to say, insanely;" and he attacked Disraeli, saying, "What is the meaning of adding places like Cyprus and places like the country of the Boers in South Africa to the British Empire?" He added that these places had been obtained by "dishonorable means," and for that reason he would repudiate them if they were "as valuable as they were valueless." These utterances were in Scotland in November, 1879. The following May (20th) Mr. Gladstone was at the head of the Government, and in the Queen's speech this passage appeared: "In maintaining my supremacy over the Transvaal with its diversified population, I desire both to make provision for the security of the indigenous races and to extend to the European settlers institutions based on large and liberal principles of self-government."

Mr. Gladstone's Position

Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, said: "The conclusion at which they (the Ministry) arrived after some hesitation and regret, but finally with no doubt whatever, was that whatever they might think of the original act of annexation, they could not safely or wisely abandon the territory."

Mr. Gladstone's Government telegraphed to South Africa at the same time, "Under no circumstances can the Queen's authority in the Transvaal be relinquished." Mr. Gladstone's explanation

of the change in currents in his policy was that it was "matter for much regret;" that it turned out after annexation that "a large number of the population of Dutch origin were opposed to the policy of annexation," and he added, "It is impossible to consider that question as if it were presented for the first time. We have to deal with a state of things which has existed for a considerable period, during which obligations have been contracted, though not exclusively, toward the native population, which cannot be set aside."

Gladstone Retains Control for Great Britain

This was in reply to a letter from Kruger and Joubert. We have heard in this connection the name of Mr. Chamberlain, and now we find President Kruger and General Joubert. Mr. Gladstone is the great character missing from the *dramatis personæ*. He proceeds to say, replying to the President and the military leader of the Boers:

"Looking to all the circumstances, both of the Transvaal and the rest of South Africa, and to the necessity of preventing a renewal of disorders which might lead to disastrous consequences, not only to the Transvaal, but to the whole of South Africa, our judgment is that the Queen cannot be advised to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal; but consistently with the maintenance of that sovereignty we desire that the white inhabitants of the Transvaal should, without prejudice to the rest of the population, enjoy the fullest liberty to manage their own affairs. We believe that this liberty may be most easily and promptly conceded to the Transvaal as a member of a South African Confederation." The words "South African Confederation" as here employed by Gladstone have significance. The logic of the change of judgment of Mr. Gladstone when he passed from opposition to administration was—Majuba Hill!—and the logic of that which followed was the Briton and Boer war of 1899-1900!

In January 1881, the Queen's speech contained this: "A rising in the Transvaal has recently imposed upon me the duty of taking military measures with a view to the prompt vindication of my authority, and has of a necessity for the time set aside any plan for securing to the European settlers that full control over their own local affairs, without prejudice to the interests of the natives, which I have been desirous to confer." This is not a heavy-hearted announcement of a serious war; indeed, it is somewhat jaunty; but it has none of that "humor" the London *Times* recently said was irrepressible in the utterances of Lord Salisbury. The passage we have just quoted from the Queen's speech was serious and official, and had the air of conscious sovereignty.

The Queen's Proclamation

The Secretary of the Colonies was Lord Kimberley, who instructed Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of the Cape: "It is useless to discuss arrangements which can only be practicable when the authority of the Crown has been vindicated and the maintenance of tranquillity is firmly assured."

After several affairs in which the British troops were worsted and General Colley killed at Majuba and Sir Frederick Roberts was sent, as nineteen years later, with reinforcements to pick up the British flag where it had fallen, a peace of irritation was patched up. While Roberts was at sea was arranged an armistice, and the Boers were placed in possession of the means to oppress both the aborigines and the Uitlanders and given an open door and an encouraging inducement in time of peace to prepare for war.

The lessons of the war are as important in a military as a political sense. The South African war has included in its wide sweep, racial elements, considerations of gigantic enterprises—the disposition of the greatest natural treasuries in the world—the rights of the rude natives of the soil, and the industrial representatives

of human progress; and also this war has been a school for all the military men and organizations, as well as all politicians and political economists on the earth.

There is to be considered an inconsistency between the higher types of humanity—cultivation, discipline, scientific accomplishment, the constraint of uniformity—and the profession of destructiveness, the business of The Destroyer—War. This is not that educated people lack soldierly capacity, taste and aptitude for arms, but because the advancement of men in the broader, smoother and better paths of life is not associated inseparably with the arts of destructiveness. A strong man, however advanced in the Schools, grows in the University of the Camp; but the world would have, if natural laws were followed, work always for all men to do and the unproductiveness of armies, the most awful of consumers, is a lamentable sacrifice of the usefulness of manliness, and is only permissible, is indeed unavoidable, because the conditions of life are artificial, and open perverse. The assassins should begin the abolition of capital punishment, by restraining themselves from murder, and the establishment of permanent peace must be founded on force.

A Lamentable But Unavoidable Sacrifice

Civilization, in order to be dominant over barbarism, must employ the highest mechanical skill and draw upon all the resources of science; that is to say, the civilized must be stronger than the barbarous, as the rifle with magazines and metallic cartridges is superior to the bow and arrow. It appears that armies must be drilled, mustered in swarms, that are dissolved with facility so that individuals are apart, though their activities are in common and for a plain purpose. In the battlefields of the present it is clear, and the evidence will be still clearer in the future, the order of battle is not to be massive formations or lines solidly and symmetrically arrayed. Armies

are to be trained to imitate savage hordes. The savages scatter and shelter themselves behind inequalities of the soil, regarding self-protection part of a soldier's duty, and holding it courageous to avoids sacrifices not indispensable. Much has been done in the few months of African war that takes this general direction, and it is obvious there are certain results fron African experiences that will be found revolutionary and many questions, near and far, to be taken into grave consideration. The problems involved in military changes are as surely in sight as anything in social organization or application of principles that the administration of government may be abreast with progressive intelligence.

Nothing is more difficult nowadays in war than the entangling alliances of the press with men of direct military responsibility.

Telegraphic Messages are an Important Factor

The wires that carry the news of all the markets, capitals and nations, and make it daily the common property of enlightened men, are each year visibly increased in numbers and connections, and the course of movement seems to be into greater facility in the communion of information. Though the Transvaal is without a seacoast, that state abuts on a Portuguese Colony, and there is a cable along the Eastern shore of Africa within easy reach of the seat of government, indeed connected by rail and wire, and this cable is the shorter channel of communication between the land systems of telegraphy that unite Europe, Asia and Africa. There is freedom for the circulation of the Boers' current history. Their version of what goes on in Africa is a regular and important part of the news service of the wired world, and nowhere is this information more eagerly sought than in England. The fact that wire touches wire and that the news of the day and the night has a specific value and is imparted in a telegraphic atmosphere amply justifies the exercise of a severe discretion by British generals in

restraining the diffusion of military purposes. It is not impossible that a despatch from a British camp to London may be returned to Pretoria within a few hours and communicated to the Boer army confronting the British from whose midst the intelligence was sent forth. The secrets of a plan of campaign can girdle the earth in such time that the fate of armies and of nations may depend upon intercepting their flight, or changing their purport so as to prevent the enemy from obtaining vital or fatal information. So swift and certain is the circulation of news that space, time and chance are computed and measurable. There are appearances that on both sides strategy of falsification is familiar. The manœuvres by Buller, coincident with the movement of Lord Roberts into the Orange Free State, appear to have been an elaborate case of putting up fiction, and giving countenance to rumor through words that must have had official origin, to impress the Boers that they had again to meet the British general on the Tugela. Whether this was underdone or overdone will some day be history. Now it is rather conjecture, but the knowledge that Boers were quickly served with British despatches was taking advantage of, and there were columns of British troops tramping, and cannonading resounding in the mountains, such as had accompanied other demonstrations. There are changes in the management of wars indicating that there are broader fields for tactitians and deeper mysteries for strategy, as the situations are, than in times when the whole world did not each day demand the confidence of commanding generals. Both Roberts and Buller misled the Boer commanders, and the two British armies were strictly at once columns of assault.

Space, Time and Chance Computed

Unquestionably there is conflict between military reserve and freedom of the press, and the alternative seems to be the most rigorous censorship, or a greatly enlarged freedom in transmission

to the people that which would interest them, with the exception of the refusal of all unofficial despatches when plans of changing positions are in course of execution. A purpose may be disguised by a competent commander permitting the extravagances or sensational inventions to counteract themselves by annihilating public confidence.

Fortunately, truth has a wonderful way of making itself known, and might—ought to go along with light and right. General Grant, at Fort Donelson, found in the haversack of a Confederate prisoner, three days' rations, and knew that meant that the army in Donelson were attempting to retreat. He acted at once upon this material information and the revelation of the purpose of the Confederates was influential in securing a national victory that won Western Kentucky and Central Tennessee. When General Jo Johnston saw in the shipping news of the New York *Tribune* that a cargo of hay had been landed at Newbern, N. C., he knew it was for Sherman and where Sherman was going as well as Sherman did, and delivered a dangerous stroke upon the left wing of Sherman's army.

The Press a Dangerous Factor

The problem of the transportation for armies increases with the extended possibilities of campaigning. When General Washington was compelled to retreat before the British from Brooklyn to New York, the superior force that confronted him was greater than any that had ever before crossed the Atlantic, but the miles it traversed were three times multiplied in the army the United States sent to the Philippines and twice as large. The British exceeded precedents in transporting to South Africa from the North Sea and the British and Irish Channels within three months 200,000 men. The Spanish Armada was not a great fleet compared with the British steamers that bore this immense array from zone to zone. The expedition of Napoleon to Egypt, the march of Alexander through Asia, the transportation of the reinforcements of the British

in India that suppressed the mutiny—sending by steamers the great French army that was in service in the Crimea allied with the British—the despatch from Spain to Cuba of more than 100,000 men assembled in that colony at one time, are instances of considerable armaments expedited on adventures beyond seas, but the men and supplies carried from England to the Cape to meet increasing emergencies, is an army and navy movement surpassing all examples. The requisite quays, steamers, coal stations and food, clothing and ammunition, supplied the British army in Africa, exceed all accomplished up to date in the stories of warring States and Empires.

A Record Breaker in Transportation

The Canadian, New Zealand and Australian contingents centering at the Cape of Good Hope to sustain the British Empire menaced there, is a marvel beyond the dreams of the Persians, Greeks and Romans. This transportation was made possible only by the extraordinary accomplishment of the mechanics of the age.

Associated with these manifestations of sea power and military mobility on a scale unparalleled, are the hospital ships and trains; the myriads of mules and horses from Australia and the Americas, as well as Europe; clothing adapted to hot days and cold nights; the armored trains, forts on wheels; ship guns, snatched from British men-of-war, landed, entrained and despatched to exchange business salutes with the big guns of the Boers on the mountains; the traction engines that draw strings of wagons and make haste with howitzers and lyddite shells to the front; the balloon observations, the most satisfactory in military utility—and the Boers and the British alike employed sky-scrapers for investigation of the military situations and heliograph literature was written with shafts of light on cloudy skies—the wireless telegraphy, that without sound or flash speeds

Nature's Resources Conquered

voiceless but luminous messages through the viewless air. These are the things that tell us in the midst of the barbarisms of warfare, that civilization has conquering resources, and that there is compensation in science that more than offsets in the grim games of war the rude forces inherent in the methods of barbarians.

The Modern Rifle

The range of the modern rifle issued to infantry is so great that it may be said one armed with it can shoot anything he can see. It takes very good sight to define the form of a man at the distance of a mile. With an arm of precision and an eye that detects a figure at the distance of a mile or more, so that it becomes a mark, and with a fine mechanism of sights for long range the zone of fire from the infantry rifle broadens beyond a mile, as there are many of the rifles, with which armies are equipped, effective at that and greater distances. Occasionally a generation ago there were reports of miraculous shots doing execution a mile away; but a musket, such as used in military organizations, was seldom found reliable beyond 200 or 300 yards. At the battle of Colenso, Colonel Long lost his batteries because he was rash enough, as it turned out, to rush at a gallop with his guns to a position within 800 yards of the River Tugela, and at that distance a rifle in the hands of a Boer marksman in a ditch beyond the river was a better weapon than a field piece in open ground.

If we take up the Napoleonic battles and make out the positions of the contending forces, it is clear that such combats as those conducted by Napoleon with such consummate skill would, with the modern equipments, be impossible. It is related that he used the money received from the United States for the million square miles of land he sold in providing his army with an improved musket; and that upon his urgency and under his keen supervision there was turned out a more formidable arm for the French infantry than was possessed by others. The new musket

gave the French fire a sweep over a broader field, and the balls were heavier and deadlier than those that contended with forces the Corsican commanded. The deadly range of the new weapon was made known in the Austerlitz campaign, especially in the great battle that closed it with remarkable distinction. **The Gun of Napoleon**

The Prussians were much indebted to the needle gun for the defeat of the Austrians at Sadowa, though the Austrian artillery was better at that time than that of the Prussians, and the Austrians, with their field guns, checked and staggered the first attack of the Prussian army.

In the Franco-Prussian war the Chassepot was a shade superior to the improved needle gun of the Germans, but the German artillery outranged and was of quicker fire, and in other respects stronger than the French field guns, and habitually gave a decisive impluse to the drift of destiny on the stricken fields.

In the war of the States and sections of that country, the National forces were, as a rule, better equipped than the Confederates, though not to a striking degree, but the difference was slight at the start and imperceptible at Gettysburg. The Confederates under Stonewall Jackson had a mobility as much greater than that of the National armies as the Boers have displayed over the British in their surprising facilities for dispersing when one fight was over and won, and concentrating somewhere else for another combat.

If at Waterloo such rifles as the Boers and British fought with in South Africa had been in hand, if the battle had opened with the troops placed as they were in the later and more momentous hours of the day, the fortunes of the day would have been decided one way or the other, and very possibly against the British, in the space of half-an-hour, for the fire line with magazine rifles, the Mauser, for instance, should have been fatal to nearly everybody; but we must understand that **The Battle at Waterloo**

there will necessarily be a total change in the management of troops on battlefields, and the lessons of the South African war will be regarded as the essential studies of all the military schools, and change the formations of battle lines and the entire mechanism of military engagements.

At the battle of Lutzen, the famous figure of Napoleon was in plain view of the glasses of the allies opposed to him, and his white horse and gray coat and cocked hat could be distinguished with naked eyes by many of the troops fighting him. If in this engagement the troops had been armed as they are now, there would have been mathematical and speedy certainty of Napoleon's death on the spot. A charge, corresponding to that of the Virginians at Gettysburg, would now terminate in the annihilation of the advancing column before it could move half way from the belt of trees from which it emerged to the stone wall that, though crossed for a moment by the spray of the grand rush, marked its failure.

Reflections on Modern Arms

The long range of the magazine rifles in the Boer-Briton war has been a factor in all the engagements, and the Boers have been the men who, at the opening of their campaign of aggressive resistance to the British, were educated to give the improved weapons the greatest possible scope and efficacy, while at the same time they neglected no reasonable device to take all the chances of safety. The rifle that at 1,600 yards will swiftly wither a charging battalion, makes the defence of a position selected by a competent commander almost invincible, if the defenders of the line have time to prepare entrenchments, so that they may be invisible. It was this iron wall of fate against which Sir Redvers Buller launched his squadrons, battalions and batteries, and it will probably be some time well comprehended that there was no ordinary generalship in his extrication of his columns with a loss that, though severe, was

not destructive of the organization of his army, but of the fact that there was a certain decline in the inherent energy of his columns as the various failures of his movement for the relief of Ladysmith occurred there is no rational question, though they won at last a costly triumph.

The British were able to hold out so long at Mafeking, Ladysmith and Kimberley, because they swept the surrounding country with their great and small arms, even including within their lines pastures for thousands of cattle and horses. One of the mysteries of the siege of Ladysmith that perhaps may lead to investigations of a rigorous character to discover its origin is that 3,000 cavalry, sorely needed for outside service, were held in the garrison of the town, and while they were an element that had quite a positive influence upon the Boers in restraining them from wild riding around the country and the close neighborhood of the city—it seems improbable that the 3,000 mounted men in a pen, however large, could not have been much better employed elsewhere. Still the range of the guns at Ladysmith—and those that were most serviceable were transferred from the warships at Durban just in time to be placed and associated with the navy guns with the cavalry mobility—was limited. There was so large an area defended that the bombardment was diffused and comparatively ineffective; and yet, when the Boers undertook to storm British entrenchments and made the effort with pertinacity and daring, striking the weaker points of the lines of defense, they were repulsed with heavy loss. The sieges, as well as the combats in the fields and among the mountains in this remarkable struggle, all go to show that hereafter the history of war and, one may add, the history of diplomacy also, will be largely changed, owing to the grave sense that those responsible for public affairs must have from the African experiences that are object lessons for

Advantages of the Besieged

the world of an unexpected and until now unheard of capacity for defense.

Aggression in war has manifestly become more difficult through the increased power of the weapons placed in the hands of soldiers. It was one of the lessons of the great war in the United States of the North and South that had in the later campaigns a plain influence upon movements that the soldier must use not only the rifle but the spade, and this is going back to the old Roman method of making war by fortifying encampments even though they are to be occupied only for a single night. Toward the last of the combats between the National and Confederate troops, the moment the day's march, if the situation was critical, was ended the men began to prepare defenses. They cut down trees and dug rifle pits and made ready to be secure from sudden assaults. If this line of precaution had been taken before the battle of Shiloh by the National army, there would have been but one day of the battle, and that closed in the defeat of the Confederates, because instead of breaking into the lines of the Union army at the first advance they could not have gained ground at any point, however gallantly they were led. Another lesson is that it is with Americans, or forces of equal hardihood and bravery a vain sacrifice of valor and waste of precious blood to assault a line of entrenchments.

The Spade with the Gun

The most remarkable incident illustrating this proposition, and it has become an elementary instruction, was the repulse of Grant at Cold Harbor. He frankly acknowledged the lesson. The most striking example of the teachings of the war in conducting military operations was that of the siege of Petersburg, the last struggle before "the surrender."

Lessons of the American War

There was another point of extreme interest and of most valuable suggestion in the American war, and that was the campaign of Sherman from Dalton to Atlanta. At Dalton, Sherman's army suffered in an attack, successful at first, that was pressed too far, and from that point until Sherman swung around Atlanta and won the city, he constantly "flanked," as he was enabled to by superior force, the Confederate army, under Johnston an equally capable commander, who knew just when he had to yield a position as well as Sherman did how to strike his enemy's flank and drive him. It is an axiom in weighing the chances of military adventure that the topography of the country must be taken into the highest consideration; and therefore it is proper to guard criticism of the British generals in their attacks on the lines of the Boers and not press too far the saving strategy of Sherman upon their attention, because the rivers between Chattanooga and Atlanta are not supplemented by extraordinary defensible mountain ranges as in Natal, where half-a-dozen serious mistakes apparently were called for, before the British generals understood that they should have started with a change of tactics as radical as had appeared in the soldier's equipments. Reverses were for a time the characteristic feature of the British aggressive movements—excepting in cases of sorties from the beleaguered towns. The rifle is the key to the stories of successful defenses of towns by the British as well as of the kopjes by the Boers.

An Important Axiom

Add to the wide area the rifle searches, the mobility of men on horseback, the training of whose lives has fitted them for the effective handling of modern arms, and it becomes evident that those on the defensive will inflict the penalty of death upon assailants, unless they can be so posted as to give them the benefit of shelter; and the more the subject is examined the greater the

increase of the impression that the new weapons are revolutionary in contributing immeasurably to the resources of national and personal self-defense. It may be—must be, added that henceforth until the nations learn war no more, the armies of the people of the highest civilization must adopt the fighting style of those of inferior cultivation in taking advantage of trees and stones and irregularities on the battlefields and meet the barbarians on terms of equality by the arts of native understanding of the protection of men whose lives are precious to their country and essential to the cause they are engaged in—and the officers, trained to chivalrous devotion and to the assertion of themselves as superior to precautions, must abandon the custom of promenading conspicuously before marksmen whose business it is to pick them off. Indeed, those who command and those who obey in military organizations in the wars of the future will have to take the advice Washington gave Braddock on the Monongahela. That was as good in South Africa the other day as it was in Western Pennsylvania, when the world was a century and a half younger.

The Key of Defence and Attack

CHAPTER XXV.

Equipment and Resources of Both Armies.

IT is not unusual for British armies to be badly provided and to suffer heavy losses in their far distant operations, especially in the first stages of campaigning, even when the soldiers are near the ships. The Crimean war afforded examples of the same deficiencies that have so largely given distinction to the South African war. The British troops lacked supplies in front of Sebastopol, in sight of fleets bearing the flag of England, and they were plunged in muddy camps with sorry subsistence, and sickened and perished with privations, the very relations of which by the great war correspondent Russell caused England to shudder with shame and to be heated with anger; and the charge of Balaclava was even a wilder blunder than the march of the Highland brigade into the trap prepared for them by the Boers, who were signalled with a lantern that the time for the slaughter had arrived, that the game had been lured to the shambles.

Deficiencies in Providing for the Troops

The people of the city of Johannesburg, having been disarmed and it is probably the first instance in which a great community of English-speaking people have been so corralled and "commandeered" that they have submitted to disarmament by those who were their declared enemies and knowing well the animosities and remorseless nature of the Boers abandoned their homes as the war storm darkened and burst. The fact is, the armed people banished

the unarmed. The military caste expelled the civilians, who were helpless though a vast majority. It is the most odious triumph of mere militarism known in modern times, and is itself the strongest testimony of the tyranny of the Boers. A correspondent who visited the deserted golden city early in the war tells of the conduct of the military minority, the domineering, vulgar, ruling caste in these terms :

"The Boers of Johannesburg have already come into possession. They have looted the Chinese shops, and poor John, having only British protection to look to, was badly treated. For the zarps, left nominally to protect the town, times are delightful. I heard of half-a-dozen of them who straightway got married, and began their honeymoon in some of the best villas."

It was apprehended that the Boers would do all in their power to make an end to gold mining in the Johannesburg district.

Boers Working the Mines

President Kruger has had prejudices in respect to British gold, and regarded the production of the precious metal on his domains to supply outsiders as the gravest form of offending his political sovereignty and pecuniary policy. Advices from Lorenzo Marques, January 28, 1900, declared : "The Transvaal Government are working the mines at great profit, and on the tonnage basis; the surplus over the outlay is quite up to the old level. The explanation is that the richest ore is crushed and that the natives are only paid £1 a head monthly against £3 formerly, while coal is obtainable for the mere cost of mining and transport. The skilled workmen employed are chiefly British, American, German and Swedish subjects. It is estimated that the Government already owe the mines over £2,000,000, yet the salaries of the chief officials have been reduced 80 per cent., and no goods brought or commandeered are any longer paid for."

The word "mobility" and also "immobility" have had a new force in the English language since the South African war developed. Mobility has had frequent application of a striking nature to the situation. The British armies in Africa got away from the commonplace precedents, as if there was, on the part of their commanders, an extreme reluctance to believe in anything new. The Imperialism of Great Britain has not mustered the whole of the male population into the army, so that they are not in the sense of the nations conscripted into the army, armed and hammered into hardihood by compulsory service. The British army in Africa had much to learn. The school has been expensive. They are in a country strange to nearly all of them, and there is a certain weirdness about the scenery, the air and color of the landscape. Queer mountains standing like enormous altars for the ceremonies of some awful superstition; rivers that are commonly obstructive, never navigable, and often not fordable; streams that become torrents that melt the land away, and astounding electrical phenomena, floods of lightning that flame around the sky. A soldier writes of a South African storm: "It began with a dust storm, when we were having an Alfresco mess. We retired hurriedly, for we were simply blinded by it. Then came rain drops the size of gooseberries. We had to hold on to the tent pole to prevent the tent from being blown away. The lightning was simply wonderful, huge flashes every few seconds, but not much thunder."

A South African Storm

The correspondent of the Toronto *Globe* with the first Canadian regiment in South Africa, speaks of the land as green with a "sterile shade ever running at close range into yellows and reds, and at a distance into a purple, which is not to be confounded with the shadows which envelop a tree-clad hill at home. A treeless land is the part we have seen, and often you may search the

whole horizon in vain for anything larger than a bush. Hill shapes stand out naked in the clear, bright air, and there again is unfamiliarity. I have already noted the strange uniformity with which the mountains are all flat-topped, like monstrous beheaded pyramids, and the kopjes are generally conical and boulder-studded, the two kinds of hill, the one kind of veldt and the one type of river-bed, dry and torrent-charged in alternation. What catches the eye here is the wonderful coloring. The veldt—pronounced 'felt' if you please—is bare and grassless, studded over with little bushes, sometimes a sort of sage green, sometimes thorny and of a light mauve, sometimes a species of thistle, a landscape of naked earth and rock, thirsty with the absence of running water, riven here and there into strange, yet ever-recurring shapes, flattened into plains of stark uniformity. A certain savage and impenetrable simplicity characterizes it. Here, in Belmont, the plain over which the British advanced is almost precisely of the appearance of powdered red brick of the coarser sort. The kopjes are covered with boulders of a stone which, red in texture, turns a dark purple when burned by the sun. The mountains are usually purple, but the railway from Cape Town to De Aar is bordered by towering mountains, which show some wonderful shades. One face of rock is a pearly grey, another is a marvelously lovely rose pink. The sun's rays, when low, often cast an exquisite rosy shade over the veldt, and to the colors of the soil and the rocks must be added the sunsets.

An African Landscape

"All is strange and there is something sinister in it, and remarkable creatures stalk about, ostriches and giraffs quite at home. Even the stars are strange. The earth is new and the heavens also."

The troops sent to South Africa in October in thirty-two steamers were men—and "men" included officers—28,793; horses,

3,690; machine guns, 32; field guns, 42. The passage from the ports of England to Cape Town occupied from 17 to 30 days—average trip 23¼ days. The troops shipped in November in 37 steamers, average about 22¾ days, were, men, 29,175; horses, 5,546; machine guns 22; field guns, 73. The total troops forwarded in December were 19,447; horses, 3,275; machine guns, 12; field guns, 48. During the first two weeks of January there were embarked from England, men 18,564; horses, 1,743; machine guns, 9; field guns, 19. The total of troops embarked from England and landed in South Africa between October 20, 1899, and January 10, 1900, were, men, 77,415; horses, 11,135; machine guns, 63; field guns, 156. These were conveyed in 84 ships, and 80 of the ships performed the voyage on an average of 22¾ days between the last port of call in the British Islands and Cape Town. The colonial contingent amounted in the middle of January to 1,650 infantry; 700 mounted infantry; 108 lancers; total, 2,458 men and 825 horses. On the 15th and 16th of January 4,000 men and 400 horses were embarked. The totals of troops landed from England in South Africa on January 10th were 79,873 men, 11,960 horses, 63 machine guns and 156 field guns. There was estimated in South Africa of regular troops, South African levies, naval brigades, 104,373 men, 17,960 horses, with 77 machine guns and 212 field guns. These were the figures on January 15, 1900; and at that time there were troops on the way to Africa 23,582; and besides there were volunteers and yeomanry, additional colonial contingents, cavalry and artillery amounting in all to 55,282 men. In round numbers in the British army were 160,000 men, 100 machine guns, 348 field guns, including those who were in Africa when the war commenced and that had arrived and that were on the way or already embarking, January 15th. They were organized into 65 battalions of regular

English Forces Sent to Africa

infantry, 7 battalions of militia and 9 of cavalry, with 37 batteries and 1 siege train. There were sent from Australia and Argentina 3,825 horses and 63,000 mules.

An Englishman, writing to the *Cape Times*, tells of the Boers in the districts of the colonies that they have overrun. "The Boers are gloatingly triumphant, and do everything to impress on the Britishers the notion that the latter are a conquered people and that their lives and property are at the disposal of the conquerors."

The *Cape Times* makes the following estimate of the Boer forces:

Transvaalers	40,000
Mercenaries	4,500
Uitlanders, naturalized since 1897	3,000
Uitlanders, naturalized before 1897	5,000
Total Transvaalers	52,500
Free Staters	27,500
Foreigners	2,500
Cape rebels	4,500
	34,500

This gives the Boers 87,000 men, but losses have to be deducted.

Mr. R. L. Tottenham, a gentleman who has been intimate with Boer and British colonists, soldiers and Transvaal politicians, and has informed himself of the numbers and military resources of the people of Oom Paul and the Orange Free State, and whose writings are accepted in London journals as highly intelligent, says that the Boer strength is 83,000 men heavily augmented by Cape Colonists, so that they have in war quite 100,000 fighting men, and no lines of communication to guard, and that the grass is good, the crops growing, vegetables plenty, cattle and sheep galore, game in many districts, and particularly in the Orange Free State, in any quantity.

Mr. Tottenham goes on to say that the Boers had in January 206 guns; 45 field guns in Natal, also 8 siege guns and 15 captured guns there, 4 siege guns at Laing's Nek, 4 guns of mountain battery captured, 18 guns at Kimberley, 18 at Mafeking, 16 at Stormberg, 24 in Pretoria forts, and 4 at Johannesburgh, altogether 206, of which 50 belong to the Free State Artillery. They have also many Maxims, Nordenfeldts and Hotchkiss guns. Their entire force, except a few camp care-takers and soldiers that are not expected to be mobile, are mounted infantry, and there is no derth of ammunition or explosives; the dynamite factory turns out magnificent nitro-powders, and there is no want of lead, iron, nickel, antimony, manganese, or of hands skilled in the fashioning of them, trained in continental foundries. Fuse, detonators, percussion caps, etc., can be turned out in millions. Small arms they have in enormous numbers.

Boer Forces and Resources

"They have sufficient skilled labor to replace damaged gun machinery, cast field guns, and do the work of any small-arm, repairs. The laths, as well as many of the artisans of the machine shops in Johannesburg and along the reef, are available.

"Pretoria is described as far the best fortified and supplied town in South Africa. Stores and ammunition for two years' siege, with 30,000 men within its limits, have been provided. Twenty-four heavy guns frown down from her forts, constructed by the best continental experts. These will be augmented from the guns now in the field, for it is not possible to presume that all these will have been taken, and it is only a question of how long the garrison will hold out. (Written in January.) The forts cannot be taken by direct assault. This is the task which has been set Great Britain through her even-handed clemency and the

The Forts of Pretoria

pernicious influence of the Little Englanders and hysterical sympathizers with conspirators against the British Empire. Even after all this has been done there is still a possibility of the Boers endeavoring to force a way to the north, aided by their Matabele allies, whom they have been secretly aiding for years. In the hope of European complications the Boer leaders will protract the struggle long after all hope of success has passed."

An American who has lived in South Africa, after stating that the Boers have no martial music in the ordinary sense, says they have martial music of the most impressive kind in the extraordinary sense, and remarks:

Boer Music and Rifle

"Each night before 'turning in' and each morning before breakfast, and also before going into battle, if there is opportunity, the entire army, with heads uncovered, join in singing 'Old Hundred.' Each note is prolonged six beats and the effect is solemn and even awful, so much of resolution, of stern and relentless resolve do they put into the singing."

This American says the Boers have a better gun than the Mauser, for many are armed with the sporting Mannlicher, and they can, with their knowledge of air currents, hit a small object almost every time at 4,500 yards.

"President Kruger has been buying these arms in large quantities ever since the Jameson raid and the practical failure of the British to punish the raiders. General Joubert took me into a storehouse at Pretoria filled with thousands of these rifles. 'Isn't it a beauty?' he said, picking up one of them and patting it affectionately. 'At twenty yards it will shoot through fifty inches of pine.'

"The Mannlicher bullet travels with a velocity of 2,000 feet per second. At 4,000 yards it will pierce two inches of solid ash and three inches of pine. At a thousand yards the bullet, if it

does not flatten, will bore a hole right through a bone without splitting. This rifle has a barrel thirty inches long and weighs eight pounds. Its calibre is thirty. It is hair-triggered, has a pistol grip, and the Boer carries it slung over his shoulder by a strap.

"In the last two years the countrymen have been putting away the old smooth-bore and providing themselves with the Mannlicher."

It is further stated that "once the British gain the almost level and almost open veldt over which the two Republics spread, the Boers have left two physical allies—famine and fire."

Water in South Africa is often as precious as gold, and sometimes infinitely more precious. "Every year witnesses a terrible drought in some part. One may journey 100 miles on the 'Karoo' and never find a drop of water. In Johannesburg the writer was glad to pay twenty-four cents for a quart. Nearly the whole city was drinking bottled and imported mineral waters at the time.

Scarcity of Water

"Scarcity of water is the curse of that country. Every farmer maintains a reservoir, but even these give out. There are only two or three large rivers in the whole country and in the dry season even they degenerate into shallow pools. These are called pans and serve to quench the thirst of wild animals. The Transvaal and Free State are high plateaus that the sun bakes to a crisp and where the water evaporates as it falls.

"The Boers, however, being thoroughly acquainted with the country, have a knowledge of the formation of the rocks and plants and know where to dig down a few feet and get water. In this way a commando can always secure enough water to make coffee—their only drink. With coffee, biltong and mealies the Boer can campaign forever.

"Coffee he drinks four times a day and so hot that if 'thrown on a dog it will take off his hair.' Biltong is a strip of meat, buffalo, ox, hartbeeste, dried in the wind or sun. It seemed to have peculiar nourishing properties. Mealies are like our Indian corn."

There has been more sensationalism in the English press than we could, upon the calculation of experiences, have anticipated. This has been more noticeable than in any of the wars of England from the Crimean to the Soudan. It appears in the frequency with which small affairs have been magnified and upon the immeasurable praise of the quality of the British soldiers. They are brave, certainly, but no more brave than their fathers or their cousins. Europe has more brains for war then are found in Asia or in Africa, but no better fighting blood, and the British Islanders have no advantage over several of the natives of the nations of the continent as fighting men. They are equal to any, but that is about the situation. There are brave men found on all the rivers. The sensationalism is most apparent in the frequent celebration of bayonet charges that are more or less imaginary. During the Civil war in the United States the range of the rifles in the hands of the troops on both sides was not more than one-fourth the present, and yet actual collisions, hand-to-hand fighting of masses of men occured but three or four times, and it is doubtful whether there was positively known a case in which men were killed with the bayonet. It is very rarely that the shock of cold steel is more than a dream and a demonstration. The stories of sticking the Boers with lances and bayonets and hurling them over the heads of the British soldiers were chiefly imaginary with the exception of two or three sorties from Ladysmith. And they were of a character so surprising that they should not be hidden in a fog of fancies.

The Brition as a Fighter

They are sufficiently memorable to be celebrated in a class by themselves. The Boers have no use for bayonets, and their field gun service is not out of the ordinary. They are marksmen, have plenty of ammunition, and more serviceable magazine guns than the British. The British magazine rifle has a magazine with ten shots in it as a reserve. When these shots are fired, the gun becomes a single loader. The Boer Mauser is fitted with clip blocks of five cartridges. The British idea is to keep the men from firing away too much ammunition and the ten shots to be used at "the supreme moment." There has been no case of supreme moment heard from. The Boers have a few heavy guns, such as the famous Long Tom at Ladysmith. It is their rifles, good at close quarters or at 1,600 yards that serve as a weapon always handy and the handling of which is easily taught. The army is one of simplicity. The British officers were not hasty to make themselves perfectly acquainted with rifles. They found out, however, more than ever, that the sword was a decorative weapon, that the strength of a column was measured by the number of rifles wielded. The sword and bayonet encumber rather than equip. Mr. Balfour was correct in his speech, attaching great importance to the fact that all the Boers are mounted and the fact that they began the war just at the time when the grass was good for their horses; add to this their familiarity with the surroundings and the natural fortifications astonishingly adapted to long range guns, the mountains scored with trenches, the rivers serving for ditches; and it is obvious that the advantages of those who were on the defensive were of a decisive character. The Boers started with a perfect understanding of the value of trenches, and were quickly instructed in the art of constructing rifle pits. The man with a horse, who is not bothered with a bayonet or sword can

An Equipment for S. Africa

carry a pick or spade, a few days' frugal rations, and a large supply of clips of cartridges.

The Boers appear to have had a system of concealing their losses in their many encounters with the British. One scheme has been to give official figures of the first returns and include only burghers who were so well known that the fact that they were hurt would become general information. That sustains their idea of veracity by giving first returns and not following them up, and they have taken great pains that nothing goes into their newspapers that would encourage the British by giving them intelligence of events disadvantageous or discouraging to the Boers. Renter's Agency at Rensburg, January 19th—and the Agency has the reputation for the use of figures accurately—said the following reports of Boer casualties were carefully compiled, and many items have been verified by persons who have arrived from the Republics. They are certainly rather underestimated than exaggerated.

Boer Causalties

"Up to the present the enemy's losses in killed and wounded have been :—Mafeking, 500; Kimberley, 300; Belmont, 400, Graspan, 250; Modder River, 400; Magersfontein, 700; Kuruman, 100; Douglas, 75; against General French, 300; against General Gatacre, 100; Glencoe, 300; Elandslaagte, 600; Ladysmith, 2,000; sundry, 400—total, 6,425."

The Boers have shown that they are quite well informed and aware of the publication of the Pretoria despatches in all of the important newspapers of the world; and they are also quite clever in writing up the Pretoria news so as to hit the British as hard as possible, because they know that what is sent out from the Boer capital is published in Great Britain, and around through the cables to the British camps. The Boers have used this circuit for their own purposes in a quiet and studied way, with the idea of imparing

the confidence of the British. One of the matters to which they have given their attention is to present their own losses as trifling and ridiculous. Repeatedly the despatches have announced tremendous bombardments carried on by the British artillery for many hours, and the result given as the wounding of one Boer. When the British perceive this fact, believing that they had slaughtered the enemy with lyddite shells, it is supposed they are disheartened, and if they credited the roundabout information they certainly would be disappointed.

The Boers are experts in the use of barbed wire to entangle the British when they charge for close work.

Corporal Bevan, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, writes :— "It was not fighting, it was suicide. Men were hung on the wire like crows and were simply riddled with bullets."

A young officer of the Highland Brigade states ; "We should have been 'done' if we had gone on the other day, I think ; three lines of trenches up a kopje and three lines of wire entanglement eight feet high in front of the lower one."

Barbed Wire Entanglement

Lieutenant R. B. Graham writes: "I do not think there is the least doubt we should have taken the position had it not been for this" (mistaken fire from comrades in the rear), "as also two wire fences we had to get over during our charge. We lost a great many poor fellows during our retirement, especially at these wire fences."

A marine (one of those who conquered at Graspan, where wire entanglement was not employed) speaks of the barbed wire now employed being "man high" and enormously increasing the difficulties of the attack.

The *Daily News* correspondent, again, says : "The accursed wires caught them round the legs until they floundered like trapped

wolves, and all the time the rifles of the foe sang the song of death in their ears."

The importance of this is that barbed wire is as certain to be used in the wars of the future as the long-range magazine rifles in the hands of the infantry and the quick-firing far-striking artillery. The war of the United States with Spain served notice on the nations of the efficacy of barbed wire, but the English did not have nippers to cut the steel strings in front of the rifle pits; and the garrison at Ladysmith did not have wire entanglements when the Boers assailed the entrenchments. A correspondent in the "public opinion" column of the London *Times* wanted to know whether British soldiers were forever to be sent to "hang themselves on the wire like crows, while the Boers, safe in their trench a few yards off, simply riddle them with bullets?"

Construction of Barbed Wire Entanglements

The construction of the barbed wire entanglements with which the Boers have made considerable success is placing upright stakes in the ground, projecting any distance from two to four feet, in regular rows from six to ten feet apart, the rows being at a similar distance. Wire—barbed wire is preferable—is then strung along the tops of the uprights and backwards and forwards from one row to another, also sometimes being tied, in addition, to the top of one post and the bottom of the next, and so on. This work is not a single row of wire barriers but a zone of them, a belt twenty or thirty feet wide, and it is arranged where the soil permits with shallow military pits—slight excavations some three feet square and a couple of feet deep, each with a sharp-pointed stake sticking up in the center, the earth taken out being used to make a little bank, sloping gradually towards the enemy, which serves the purpose of hiding the trap from his observation.

A 2nd Royal Scotch Fusilier writing from Cape Town, November 18th, drew this indictment: "We have arrived safe and sound here without further mishaps, but not without being half starved. I am sure I don't know how we shall be able to do our marching when we land. We are all as thin as skeletons and as weak as kittens. The food, etc., during the latter part of the voyage has been something ——able. If it had not been for us having a few shillings in our pockets, I am afraid it would have been a pure starving job. The meat we had was not fit for a pig to eat. In fact, when you went to the butcher for it you had no need to carry it. All it wanted was a piece of string tied around it. When cooked it was not fit for us to eat. Our meals consisted of—breakfast, bread or biscuits and tea without milk. Dinner, meat, salt and tinned and preserved potatoes, and soup twice a week. Tea, bread or biscuits, and tea without milk. Bread was issued twice a week. Again, the sleeping accommodation was disgraceful. There was only room for 780 hammocks to be slung. The rest had to make shift as well they could. There were 1,509 troops on board, excluding the staff officers and crew. We were packed up like a lot of dead sheep."

Transport

Food

CHAPTER XXVI.

Biographical Sketches of Leaders of Men.

IT was in August, 1880, that Lieutenant General Frederick Roberts made his immortal march, with 10,000 men, leaving Cabul, Afghanistan, August 9th, and emerging on the 31st of the month at Kandahar, the next day shattering the Afghan army posted there. There was no news from Roberts of his three weeks' and two days' march until after the day of the battle that closed the campaign and concluded the war. He was called home and arrived in England ill, November 16th, 1880. Her Majesty summoned him to Windsor Castle. London conferred on him the freedom of the City, Oxford its degree of D.C.L., Dublin its LL.D.

In India and Africa

But this brief period of festivity was sternly cut short in March, 1881, by the news of Majuba Hill, and Sir Frederick Roberts was immediately appointed Governor of Natal, with the command of the troops in South Africa. Peace having been concluded while he was on the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, he was recalled.

The next year Sir Frederick Roberts assumed command of the Madras army, and in four years his tours of military inspection aggregated 32,744 miles. From 1885 to 1893 he was Commander-in-Chief in India. In 1896 he took command in Ireland, and it was soon evident that the troops there were in the hands of a master in the art of war; and it was said of "Bobs"—whom Kipling says

has "eyes all down 'ees coat and a bugle in 'ees throat"—that he "put a fine edge on them."

The *Standard* says of his work in Ireland: "Military spectators of the Irish manœuvres, carried out this autumn by the troops whom Lord Roberts has carefully trained during his command of the army in the Sister Isle, reported on them in highest terms. The schemes, well planned by the generals, were admirably executed by the men. Throughout the force the spirit was excellent; the influence of the master mind had brought all arms into that harmonious co-operation, which on some occasions seems to have been absent in South Africa. All ranks were 'keen' as well as steady."

In Ireland

General Lord Roberts' only son was mortally wounded in the battle of Colenso, when trying to save the guns that were lost there, and the general was stricken with that bereavement when he sailed for South Africa. His only utterance was that he had confidence in the British soldiers. February 5th, at Cape Town, he replied to a joint despatch from President Steyn and Kruger dated Bloemfontein, February 3rd, saying:

"We learn from many sides that the British troops, contrary to the recognized usages of war, have been guilty of destruction by burning and blowing up with dynamite farmhouses, and devastating farms and goods therein, whereby unprotected women and children have often been deprived of food and shelter. This happens not only in places where barbarians are encouraged by British officers, but even in Cape Colony and in this State (Orange Free State), where white brigands come out from the theatre of war with the evident intention of carrying on general devastation without any reason recognized by the customs of war and without in any way furthering the operations. Lord Roberts said the charges were

Lord Roberts' Reply

vague and general without a specification. There had been such charges in the newspapers, but nothing substantiated." He added :

" Most stringent instructions have been issued to British troops to respect private property so far as it is compatible with the conduct of military operations. All wanton destruction and injury to peaceful inhabitants are contrary to British practice and traditions, and will, if necessary, be vigorously repressed by me. I regret that your honors should have seen fit to repeat the untrue statement that barbarians have been encouraged by British officers to commit depredations. There had been one case of a raid by native British subjects," Lord Roberts said, "but it was contrary to instructions, and the nearest British officers restored the women and children taken in the raid to their homes, and the presidents were reminded of the expulsion of loyal subjects of Her Majesty from their homes in the invaded districts because they refused to be commandeered by the invaders. It is barbarous to attempt to force men to take sides against their sovereign country by threats of spoliation and expulsion. Men, women and children had to leave their homes owing to such compulsion. Many of those who were formerly in comfortable circumstances are now maintained by charity.

Respect of Private Property

" That war should inflict hardships and injury on peaceful inhabitants is inevitable, but it is the desire of Her Majesty's Government and my intention to conduct this war with as little injury as possible to peaceful inhabitants and private property."

Cecil Rhodes.

Cecil Rhodes is many times a millionaire in pounds, and much more. He is not the discoverer of the diamond mines of South Africa in the sense of picking up the first diamond found on the

soil and going deep, after the surface indications were investigated. He is the organizer of the diamond business, and that means substantially the diamond markets of the world. He is a man of extraordinary capacities. His mind is keen, analytical, constructive and creative, with intellect that crowns imagination with mathematics; and he has been the architect and builder of his personal imperialism. His industry abides, and he does not grow dizzy as he rises in fortune. He never wasted energy in dissipation. As a beverage he prefers water to champagne, and the fuel of the fire that raises the the steam power that moves the machinery that gives the executive momentum in the enterprises that outline his ambitions, is simple food. One of the most effective of his weapons is a habit of telling the truth. His reputation for veracity —the evidence of sincerity in his arguments and the conviction his personality impresses that he is so far master of the subject or situation, that he is convinced he can succeed according to his declared purpose—is a lever that has enabled him to move the world.

Personal Habits and Characteristics

He is the son of an English curate and had to make the paths he has pursued passable. He arrived in Kimberley a young man with narrowly limited resources and in bad health. He was recommended to try the climate of Africa because threatened with early death from consumption, and he carried with him wide-open eyes and a busy brain, and did not disdain hard work, for his first occupation was that of pumping the mines. While doing that he studied the diamond question in all its phases, and after seeing possibilities invisible to others and securing a few claims and options giving him standing as his intelligence interpreted information, he returned to England, called upon the greatest of capitalistic money-makers, the Rothschilds, and with his truthfulness and business eloquence covered all the points of the case he presented.

He first interested them greatly and then astonished them by consenting to give but a few hours in which they must accept or decline his proposition. They accepted as he commanded. He had an irresistible way with him, and returned to Africa to gain the control of the production of diamonds. While he toiled at the pump, the nature of the blue clay that yielded the most precious of stones was revealed to him. His competitor for a time was Barnett Isaacs, better known as Barney Barnato, who explained later that Rhodes took possession of him by telling the truth. Barnato could have withstood any other assault but that of transparent truthfulness; that undermined him and he fell into the power of the colossus, Rhodes. Having become the master of the mines of Kimberley, the controller of the famous De Beers syndicate, with enormous money resources, he proceeded to undertake the conquest of the world from the Cape of Good Hope as the base of operations, the end of the earth, most hopeful for the path of empire he had marked out for himself due north, and he demanded money from the syndicate he had created to lay the foundations of the African Empire of which he dreamed. He is a man who has changed the maps with the boundary lines of new nations, and one enormous territorial possession, boundless in promise, is named Rhodesia.

Hard Work and Diamond Mines

When he had diamonds galore for the foundation of his fortunes, he called for money to develop Africa, and proposed to work north to do it. Barnato was worried, but presently, under the magnetic influence of the man of genius, he became philosophical, and remarked that some people fancied doing one thing and some another. Rhodes wanted money to go north, and Barnato added, "I suppose we must give it to him," and they did. Rhodes hired emissaries to visit the native monarch of the promised land, which was west and north of the Canaan of the Boers, to visit the native

monarch, a bloody monster named Lobengula, who had one great principle, which was that he was not willing to sell "grass and ground;" that is, he did not mean to give up his cattle and their pasture lands; but he was told that those who were dealing with him for certain landed privileges "were not Boers and didn't want anything except to milk the cows and to procure minerals." This subtle idea turned the flank of the dark demon, who had, as a king, the power to give a deed for the land, and he sold out for £100 a month, to be paid to him in gold, 1,000 Martini Henry rifles, 100,000 cartridges; and for a plaything, a little steamboat with which His Majesty could navigate the Zambesi River. This done, the Chartered Company, famous in every market in the world, with a record of gigantic successes without paying dividends, was created. It is a power. In the country selected by Rhodes the pastures were green, the soil rich, and there were wild animals good to eat, and fat cattle on a thousand hills. Rhodes, through his agencies, got the land and milked the cows and took possession of the minerals, as far as found. He was a man of extraordinary courage, and repeatedly put himself in the hands of those belonging to the tyrant Lobengula. His daring saved him. He had a perfectly clear conscience on the subject. If he had not grasped the land some one else would have taken possession. His Chartered Company spent $25,000,000 in the improvement of Rhodesia, and there are handsome towns where he found the wretched habitations of the natives. When questioned, in the formative period of this enterprise, the result of which is found in the land of Rhodesia, and remonstrated with for his liberality with the money of the Company, he said, looking across a portion of the country that was not at all cultivated and rather barren in appearance, he thought he "could see in the future shady streets in that direction." The

Pressing North

Rhodesia

spot where he had this vision is the city of Bulewayo, and Rhodes is the uncrowned king of that country. It is said that when Dr. Jameson telegraphed him that it was necessary to crush the old proprietor of Rhodesia, Rhodes replied, "Read Luke xiv: 31." The verse is: "Or what king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?"

Oom Paul pays Cecil Rhodes the compliment of hating him heartily, regarding him as the great mischief-maker in South Africa. There does not seem to have been much doubt during the years of controversy before the war broke out as to who were the great representative men of the conflicting forces in that part of the world. Oom Paul was one and Cecil Rhodes another; and there was no third to be included in the comparison. Mr. Kruger esteems Mr. Rhodes to be the personification of the British ambition in Southern Africa, and knows, therefore, that he is against the supremacy of the Boers; and that the Boers and the British had to fight out the question who was to be master, has been written in every line of history of Southern Africa that reflected current events; and the opinions and principles and purposes that are behind them ever since the destruction of the Zulu army by the British decided that the predominant influence would be perpetually found in people of European descent.

Supremacy of Boer or Briton

When the war of the Boers and Britons was duly on, Mr. Rhodes took the chances of personal hazard in the city of Kimberley, giving his individual attention to its defense, to the care of the people of the mines, and the discipline of those in charge of them, and the greater number who had been engaged in the mining industry were, under Mr. Rhodes' influence, enlisted as defenders of the

property. The presence of the most important man in Africa in the city was an inspiration of confidence and source of strength. The Boers threatened to capture Mr. Rhodes, cost what it might, so that they could have the pleasure of exhibiting him in a cage on the streets of Pretoria. There was a great interest in the fact of his identification with Kimberley during its bombardment, and he was heard from frequently during the siege, by heliograph and by runners, and always as cheering the troops, asserting that he felt as safe in Kimberley as he could be anywhere in the world. It has been many times asserted that hs had a balloon ready to take flight when the city was to be surrendered. If he actually had a balloon on hand it is not likely he proposed to use it for a personal purpose. He is a man too wise and brave to undertake a game at once so ostentatious and so selfish. If he had provided a balloon to save himself from a catastrophe, it would not have been of any more avail to him in a critical emergency than the possession of a private boat on a sinking ship would be assured to a passenger, because he happened to be a millionaire. Mr. Rhodes has on many occasions given proofs of cool courage, and few men have more frequently risked their lives in behalf of his fortunes than he. He was an intimate friend of "Chinese" Gordon, the martyr of Khartoum, where the life of the hero was sacrificed by the policy that has been slow to expand and swift to belittle Britain. Rhodes was strongly tempted to go with Gordon on his last expedition up the Nile, and Gordon was very anxious that he should go, but he declined because he thought there was greater work for him to do in Southern than in Northern Africa.

In Besieged Kimberley

Above all men, Rhodes is a promoter of the North and South Railroad through Africa, entirely projected and largely constructed from Cairo to Cape Town; and his purpose of Imperial improvement is the regeneration of the majestic central tropical country

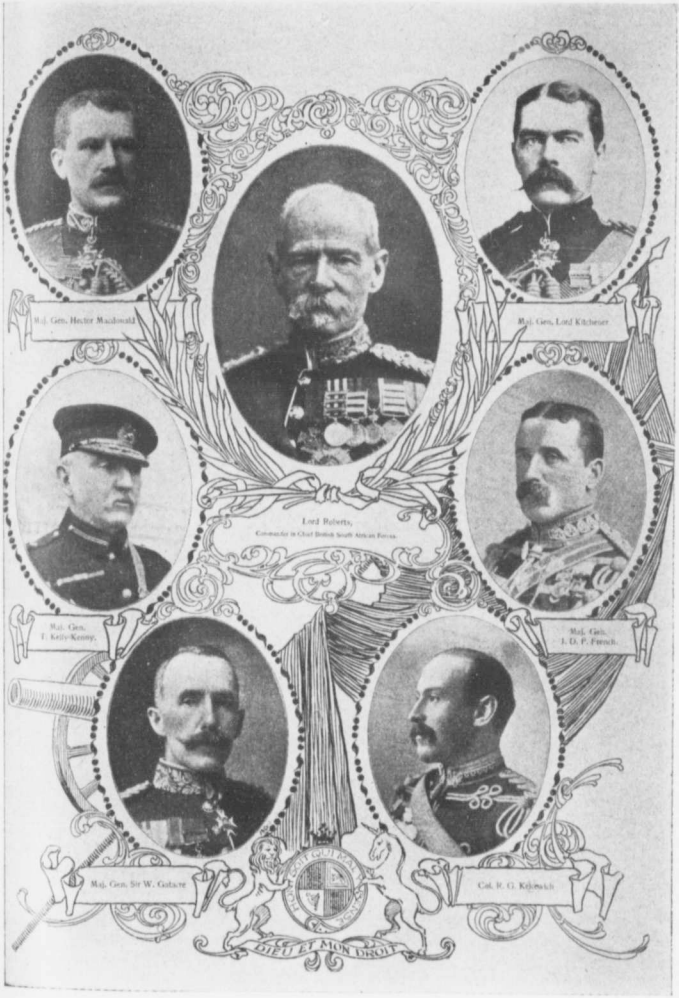
of the African continent. One of the stories written from the seat of war was that the campaign of Lord Roberts was devoted especially for the relief of Kimberley that Rhodes might be no longer a prisoner there. The circulation of such a report is evidence of the creative intensity of the literary faculty in Southern Africa. It is quite impossible that Lord Roberts should have made a campaign the object of which was personal to Mr. Rhodes, but that such a thing should be conjectured and put in print is significant of the conspicuity of the uncrowned King of Rhodesia and the masterful manager of the diamond market, who feeds the world with diamonds wanted for decoration or investment to the extent that the market will bear without breaking. There does not seem to be any limit to the quantity of African diamonds but there is evidence of the existence of a despotic discretion that regulates the supply specifically by the demand.

Rhodes a Masterful Manager

In a Kimberley letter, of January 22nd, Mr. Cecil Rhodes is mentioned as authority that the whole wage-earning force of the De Beers turned soldiers instead of diamond diggers, and are now receiving the same pay as before. The white population of Kimberley is 14,000. Of the employees, 6,000 are from Natal. The military authorities were thoughtful and wise and a very large amount of supplies was accumulated and so arranged that the absolute necessities of life were through the siege at normal prices, but eggs, fowls and vegetables and fruits are not considered necessities, and were at famine prices. Mr. Rhodes remained until he had the pleasure of entertaining Lord Roberts at dinner.

Joseph Chamberlain.

Joseph Chamberlain has earned and presumably enjoys the wrathful enmity of the British subjects who devote themselves as politicians to belittling the greatness of their country. There was



FAMOUS OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

FAMOUS OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

a time when Mr. Chamberlain was a favorite teacher in Sunday-schools and exceedingly interested the children who thronged to greet and hear him. He conducted an important private business with sagacity and good fortune. He took stirring and intelligent parts in public affairs, and was in a broad and clear sense a Liberal in politics, and charged with being a Radical. He was objectionable for some time in England as a disturber of the peace of the element in the governing society of the Empire, whose first and often last question about a proposed reformation is "Can't you let that alone?" He was like John Bright in being unable to understand Mr. Gladstone's policy of building up the popularity of the Empire in Ireland. That policy was indefinite when it touched the law-making point, and seemed to go too far towards humoring the Irish aspiration for a separate nationality. Mr. Chamberlain was for the unqualified maintenance of the Empire, with England the dominant factor of it. He has been accused of failing to understand the African questions that have resulted in war, but one who has followed him in the blue books and in Parliament, is aware that no one knew more about them than he did, and that no one was in manner and with methods more indulgent or better informed than he, in the negotiations with the Governments of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, while there seemed to be possibilities to preserve the peace.

A Sketch of His Policy

It has been charged that he sympathized with the Jameson raid. The only reason why he should not have done so is that the inadequacy of preparation forecast the inability of performance. The raid was the insufficient expression of a just cause. Sir William Harcourt, in his speech in the House of Commons, criticizing the war, said of the Jameson filibuster expedition:

"The First Lord of the Treasury said you were not able to remonstrate against them or to make preparations against them

Why? Because of the raid. (Cheers.) Yes, Sir, the curse of the raid hangs round us still. (Renewed cheers.) It has been one of the principal causes of this war. (Cheers.) The raid and its authors have been ever since the evil genius of South Africa."

The misfortune of the raid was that it was not strong enough to enforce the principle behind it, so as to make a respectable fight. At the same time, it was pusillanimous for the British Empire to permit the great English-speaking communities of the Transvaal to be treated as an inferior, cowardly and contemptible class—to allow the armed Boers to impose upon, oppress and degrade Britons, as was the old Dutch policy in dealing with the Kaffirs.

The London *Times* said of the speech of Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, reviewing the Opposition oration of Sir William Harcourt: "He lifted the whole question of the war high above the mists and the miasma of party strife, and into the serener air of Imperial statesmanship. His speech is conspicuous for dignity, candor, breadth of view, clearness of purpose, and silent disdain of the trivial sophistries wherewith little men prove their incapacity to treat great affairs. He put the raid and other things in their proper place when he said, 'the raid the Bloemfontein Conference, the franchise question, all these are not causes. They are only incidents and consequences of the disagreement that has been going on for a long time.' How long is the time and how profound the disagreement may be judged by the fact so steadily ignored by the Opposition that Mr. Gladstone, within three years of the Majuba Convention, was obliged to take all the risks of civil war, of Dutch opposition, and all of the other fearful results that pusillanimity can anticipate from the present war, by sending an expedition to compel the Boers to keep their engagements."

The Raid Unfortunately Weak

Mr. Chamberlain's peroration on this occasion was extraordinarily excellent. He said:

"Never before in the history of our Empire has it so realized its strength and its unity. (Hear! hear!) The splendid, and, above all, the spontaneous rally of the Colonies to the Mother Country affords no slight compensation even for the sufferings of war. (Hear! hear!) What has brought them to your side? What has brought these younger nations to Great Britain, induced them to spring to arms even before you called upon them? (Sir. J. Brunner. —'Liberal policy,' laughter.) It is that Imperial instinct which you deride and scorn. (Cheers.) Our Colonies, repelled in the past by indifference and apathy, have responded to the sympathy which has recently been shown to them. (Ministerial cheers.) A sense of common interest, of common duty, an assurance of mutual support and pride in the great edifice of which they are all members have combined to consolidate and establish the unity of the Empire; and these peoples, shortly—very shortly as time is measured in history —about to become great and populous nations, now for the first time claim their share in the duties and responsibilities as well as in the privileges of the Empire. (Cheers.) Accordingly you have the opportunity now that you are the trustees, not merely of a kingdom but of a federation, which may not, indeed, be distinctly outlined, but which exists already in spirit at any rate. You are the trustees; they look to you as holding the headship of your race; and we owe to them an infinite debt of gratitude for the moral as well as material support that they have given us. (Cheers.) This is a question in which their interest is indirect. They see it with clearer vision than we do. Their eyes are not distorted by party politics. Sir, I will never believe that these free communities would have given their support and approval to any

Mr. Chamberlain's Great Peroration

cause which was not just and righteous (cheers) and which was not based on the principles on which their own institutions have been founded. (Cheers.) Whatever may be the future, I say that we shall have to congratulate ourselves on the compensations as well as upon the evils of war. In Africa, these two races, so interesting, so admirable each of them in its own way, so different in some things, will now, at any rate, have learned to respect one another. (Cheers.) I hear a great deal about the animosities which will remain after the war. I hope I am not too sanguine when I say I do not believe in them. When matters have settled down, when equal rights are assured to both the white races, I believe that both will enjoy the land together in settled peace and prosperity. Meanwhile, we are finding out the weak spots in our armour and trying to remedy them; we are finding out the infinite potential resources of the Empire; and we are advancing steadily, if slowly, to the realization of that great federation of our race which will inevitably make for peace and liberty and justice."

His Promise for Equal Rights

The promise that Mr. Chamberlain made, speaking for the Government, as to the future South African question, was that, "So far as in us lies there shall be no second Majuba. Never again, with our consent while we have the power shall the Boers be able to erect in the heart of South Africa a citadel from whence proceed disaffection and race animosities. Never again shall they be able to endanger the paramountcy of Great Britain. Never again shall they be able to treat a Briton as if he belonged to an inferior race."

General Joubert.

The most distinguished of the Boers, after President Kruger, is General Joubert, of French stock, as his name tells. The rumor has been largely circulated in the United States that he was in this

country during the war of the States and Sections, and that his soldierly abilities and character gave him distinction on the Confederate side. This is an error. He is the great-great-grandson of one of the Huguenots, Pierre Joubert, who fled from religious persecution in France. The general was born in Cape Colony. He is a man of striking appearance, thin lips and keen eyes, intensely patriotic and a violent hater of the British. It is said of him that he has strong prejudices even against the Hollanders, and once when it was suggested that Holland might resume her South African sovereignty he "preferred to be under a mighty power like Britain" that he "could respect," and that it would not do at all to be slaves of such a nation as Holland. It is said that, on his return from England, where he accompanied President Kruger on a mission of adjustment, Joubert said that "England was a very mighty nation, but notalmighty." There are several cases of cruelty charged to him that possibly might not be proven if they were investigated. There are many evidences that he has decided military talents, and there is no question he manages Boers so as to get an astonishing amount of hard work and hard fighting out of them.

England Rather than Holland

Joubert and Kruger have not been the best of friends. "One who knows them" says the reason is Kruger admires Joubert's ability, shrewdness and education; Joubert envies Kruger his place, his power and his money.

Piet Joubert is nicknamed "Slim Piet," which he takes as a great compliment. Slim, in the common Dutch parlance, means something between smart and cunning; the American expression "cute" is the nearest equivalent. Joubert is an honest man according to his lights, but they are dim. He never has deliberately swindled any one; but being a man of business first, and a farmer

or a generalissimo afterwards, he takes the keenest delight in getting the best of a deal, whether it be in mining shares, gold claims, water rights or oxen. It is this pride in the conscious sentiment of "smartness" that is such a prominent feature throughout the Boer character.

One of Joubert's foibles is being photographed. Probably he is the most camera'd man in the Transvaal. Owing to this harmless little peculiarity his features are thoroughly well known, and may be critically examined as typical of the highest class of Boer intellect.

Personal Appearance

A broad, straight, furrowed brow, from which the whitening hair is carefully brushed back, overhangs a pair of powerful, clear and honest grey eyes, which look the stranger straight in the face, and are not shifty and furtive as are those in the head of the average Boer. The mouth is cold and hard, with no trace of a smile; the corners droop slightly, and the general expression is not amiable. The nose is the striking feature; it inspires respect, for it is built on strong, commanding lines, and broadens out at the base into powerful but sensitive nostrils. The face, as a whole, has dignity. There is a picture at The Hague of the States-General by Rembrandt, which shows a crowd of old burghers discussing war plans over a table. Among the heads are half-a-dozen Jouberts.

Joubert holds several high offices, and has twice been a candidate for the Presidency. It is said, the first time he ran he beat Kruger, and the second time he ran to divide the vote against Kruger. He has been suspected of believing war with England hopeless, and the man "who knows him" says: "he appears to be, or to have been, at the commencement of hostilities too Fabian in his operations to please the younger generation of Boers. They even petitioned Pretoria to replace him by Cronje, who, as a fire-eater, a

swashbuckler, and a noisy fellow has no equal in the Transvaal. But Joubert is too old and tried a patriot to be ousted by the noisy clamor of the young Boers.

General Sir Redvers Buller.

General Sir Redvers Henry Buller, V.C., P.C., G.C.B., K.C.M.G , K.C.B.; born 1839; entered 60th Rifles, 1858; Captain, 1870; Major, 1874; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1878; Colonel, 1879; Major-General, 1884; Lieutenant-General, 1891; General, 1896; served in China, 1860; with Red River expedition, 1870; in Ashanti war, 1874; in Kaffir War, 1878; and in Zulu war, 1878–79 (V.C.); was A.D.C. to Her Majesty, 1879-84; D.A.A.G. at Headquarters, 1874-8; Q.M.G. of N. British District, 1880; Local Major General and Chief of the Staff in Natal, 1881; D.A and C.M.G. of Intelligence Department, Egyptian campaign, 1882; second in command First Suakin Expedition, 1884; Chief of the Staff, Nile Expedition, 1884-85; A.A.G. at Headquarters, 1883-4; D.A.G., 1885-86; Under-Secretary for Ireland, 1886-87; C.M.G., 1887-90; A.G., 1890-97; appointed to command the Aldershot Division, 1898.

Military Career, Etc

Two anecdotes paint a better picture of the obstinacy and bluntness which are the chief features of Sir Redvers Buller's character than anything else. When he and Lord Charles Beresford were serving together in Egypt, a discussion arose between them as to the channel which a river steamer should take. Each obstinately defended his own opinion but finally that held by Buller was adopted. "You see, I was right—mine was the proper channel!" cried the general, triumphantly. "It was mine, too," coolly replied Lord Charles; "I only recommended the other because I knew that you would go against anything I said."

Two Characteristic Anecdotes

When the South African war began General Buller was hurried from London to the scene of strife. He reached Cape Town October 31st, and was Commander-in-Chief of the British forces until Lord Roberts arrived in January, 1900.

General Baden-Powell.

Military Career, Etc.

Colonel Robert Stevenson Smyth Baden-Powell, on special service in South Africa, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the 5th Dragoon Guards since 1897; educated at Charterhouse; joined 13th Hussars 1876; served with that regiment in India, Afghanistan and South Africa; served on the staff as Assistant Military Secretary 1886-87; operations in Zululand, 1888 (mentioned in despatches); Assistant Military Secretary, Malta, 1890-93; special service Ashanti, in command of native levies, 1895 (star, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel); Chief Staff Officer, Matabele Campaign; promoted from 13th Hussars to command of 5th Dragoons, 1897.

The hero of Mafeking is the "best chap" in the British army, one of the smartest officers, and one of the most loved. He is only 42, but he has been in the army for 23 years. Sir Henry Smythe made him his Military Secretary from 1888 to 1890, so that his knowledge of South Africa is extensive. He also knows how Matabeles and Zulus fight—and Boers; but he has a supreme contempt for bullets and shells, and Commandant Cronje. All his friends call him "B. D." Advanced to the rank of Major-General for his splendid defence of Mafeking.

Lord Kitchener, of Khartoum.

Horatio Herbert, first Lord Kitchener, of Khartoum, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., Chief of Staff; Sirdar of the Egyptian army; born 1850; educated R.M.A., Woolwich; entered Royal Engineers, 1871; Captain, 1883; Brevet-Major, 1884; Brevet-Lieutenant-

Colonel, 1885; Brevet-Colonel, 1888; and Major-General, 1896; served in Soudan campaign 1883-5 (frequently mentioned in despatches, medal with clasp, and 3rd Class Osmanieh); commanded troops at Handoub, 1888 (severely wounded, 2nd Class Medjidie); commanded a brigade of Soudanese troops at action of Gemaizah, Suakin, 1888 (mentioned in despatches, clasp); commanded mounted troops in action of Toski, 1889 (despatches, clasp C.B.); Dongola expedition, 1896 (despatches, Grand Gordon Osmanieh, Major-General); Nile expedition, 1897 (mentioned in despatches). Soudan campaign, 1898, recapture of Khartoum (Khedive's medal with five clasps, peerage, G.C.B.).

Military Career, Etc.

When the news of the appointment of Lord Kitchener as Lord Roberts' Chief of the Staff was made public, a sigh of relief went up from the British people, for though it is a year since they cheered and feted him, he is still their military idol and their faith in him remains as strong. Born in a barrack, he is a soldier to the last drop of his blood. Grim, hard, determined, the conqueror of Khartoum is far more feared than loved; yet as he always leads to victory, his men will follow him blindly, and his officers will obey his slightest wish. He may be a better organizer than a tactician, and it has been said that he would make a splendid director of the Army and Navy Stores, but as a matter of fact he would succeed in any task to which he put his hand. His is the nature that does not know defeat, and to achieve his purpose all must be moulded to his will. In the great Soudan expedition of 1898, he looked after every single detail, but though it was his campaign from first to last he gave credit where credit was due. Yet he has no "pals" and none who really love him. Even his intimates only call him "K" in strictest private; he is "The Sirdar" at any other time. He is a bachelor who believes in the celibacy of his officers, a man

who seldom smiles—and when he does, smiles grimly—a warrior of the finest type that even England can supply.

General Cronje.

General Pietrus Arnoldus Cronje, Commandant of the Boer army, is intensely religious. In the Boer war of 1882, he deliberately squatted in an exposed position while Krugersdorp was being shelled. "Come into a safe place, General," said a comrade. "Nay," replied Cronje, "if God means me to be taken, I shall be shot wherever I sit." It was Cronje who defeated "Dr. Jim," and it may be remembered that he gave the order to fire at the horses, as it would stop the column quite as well. The worthy general's people regard him as a demi-god, but as a matter of fact, he is a rough, tough, wily, good-natured Dutchman, with a big beard and an incessant pipe.

Characteristics

General Cronje has had the reputation of hating the British, but it was remarked when he came out of his laager to surrender to Lord Roberts he did not refuse a hearty breakfast and a good cigar. The scene is thus described by a spectator:

"After a few minutes' conversation, during which Lord Roberts was most considerate and courteous, Cronje ased for breakfast, and ate heartily and unconcernedly.

"'Look,' said a young officer, 'he gives us all this trouble, and is now wolfing our ham.'

"After breakfast he smoked a cigar—one of a few remaining choice ones with which the staff is supplied.

"He smoked with philosophic enjoyment. When it was finished he asked for another, as he was without his pipe."

There are many who regard Cronje as a man of kindliness. A British correspondent visited him before the war, and the general

struck him as an undersized, well-set-up, amiable, and keen-looking typical vestryman, not in any way the rough, uncouth Boer of whom one reads so much, but rather the sort of affable and genial individual who passes round the plate on Sunday, or who asks you to subscribe to a Sunday-school picnic, and he caressed his children and bandied nonsense with his wife as though he had not a care in the world.

"The dinner was a stew, potatoes, bread and cheese, and coffee. The dining-room was a long, low, bare room with white-washed walls, on which hung a few texts, and some pictures from the illustrated papers.

Home Life of General Cronje

" Cronje took his guest bird-shooting, and said the Uitlanders were a curse, and the Uitlander money had perverted the simple-minded burgher from his bucolic ways of peace and isolation. During our conversation, Cronje brought out a bottle of " square face," which is the Boer's favorite form of Holland gin. He pressed all his guests to drink with him, and I noticed that he was a very moderate drinker himself, one small glass sufficing for his needs. Of course he smoked incessantly, and told us that he grew his own tobacco, which his wife cured for him in the primitive manner whch had been handed down to her from her great-grandmother, from generation to generation. We filled our pipes from his pouch, and found it to be an extremely agreeable and mild-smoking tobacco.

" Gradually we all got sleepy, and asked to be shown to our apartments. Cronje personally conducted me to a door on the right of the sitting-room, and showed me into a very neat little room, with gleaming white-washed walls that were almost covered with text-cards.

"A candle stuck in an empty beer bottle was on a chair, and a very large Bible found a resting place on the window-sill.

"The night passed calmly enough, save for occasional interruptions of rats and mosquitoes.

"The general was very attentive. Shot at a mark—a bottle hung on a string—and was beaten by his nephew, and was amused by the antics of his guests bathing in the Mooi River, the banks of which were overhung with weeping willows."

It was to Cronje that Dr. Jameson and his followers surrendered, and he wanted to shoot the officers at once, but gave it up, when assured they would be more useful alive than dead. He once put down a rebellion. A Boer had cheated his Government and the natives at once, and there was a rising of the natives from whom the same tax was collected twice in one year, and an attempt to do it the third time resisted, and Cronje destroyed the rebels, men, women and children, in caves, with dynamite. He may have thought of that when sheltered in his laager under the fire of British lyddite shells. General Cronje lives on a farm of 12,000 acres, and a letter writer before the war gave this picture of him: "When he comes over to Johannesburg (which is seldom), or to Pretoria (which is frequent), he is not above indulging in a little high living. At Pretoria he puts up at the Transvaal Hotel, orders a dinner of the best, entertains a few Volks Raad members, and makes the whole building resound with his noisy laughter and anti-Uitlander bombast."

Cronje and the Jameson Raid

General Gatacre.

Major-General Sir William Forbes Gatacre, K.C.B., D.S.O., General Officer Commanding 3rd Infantry Division, Commanding the S. E. district since 1898; born 1843; entered 77th Foot, 1862; passed Staff College, 1874; instructor in surveying at R.M.C., 1875-79; Hazara expedition Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster-General (D.S.O. medal with clasp), 1888; Burmah, 1889; Chitral

1895 (mentioned in despatches, C.B. medal with clasp); commanded British troops in the Soudan during first advance on Atbara, 1898; commanded a British division at Battle of Omdurman, 1898.

Military Career, etc.

During the Soudan campaign Sir William Gatacre was one day going the round of the sentries. Stopping before one, he asked him what his orders were. "To keep a sharp look-out for the enemy and also for General Gatacre," was the prompt reply. "Do you know him by sight?" asked the general. "No, sir," answered the man, "but I was told that if I saw an officer fussing and swearing and rushing about, that that would be General Gatacre." This story is probably more *ben trovato* than *vero*, but General Gatacre is the most active man in the British army. He wants little or no sleep, and drill is meat and drink to him. His energy has made him very thin, and he has cut his moustache, which was once a thing of great beauty, down to close quarters. It was only four years ago that he was married—to a daughter of Lord Davey. The Sirdar loves him, but the "Tommies" call him "Backacher."

PRESIDENT STEYN OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

Personal Appearance, Etc.

President Steyn has a very long beard, which beats the redoubtable Joubert's hollow, and gives him the appearance of a man of 60, but he is not 40 yet. He is a person of much weight, for he turns the scale at fourteen stone and stands six feet high in his stockings, while his muscles are as thick as those of his neighbor, President Kruger. Unlike Oom Paul, he believes there is a greater world than even the Transvaal Republic, and he has dipped deep into books to some purpose. He was brought up as a farmer by his father, who was known as "Shiny Shoes," owing to his tidy appearance, but at the age of nineteen he went to Europe and studied law in England and

Holland for six years. On his return he worked as a barrister for six years more, with the result that he was first made Attorney-General, than Judge, and finally President of the Orange Free State. President Steyn is an able, unselfish man, and one of the most attractive Boers living.

When the Boer-British war became inevitable, President Steyn cast his and his country's lot in balance with that of his brethren of the Transvaal. During the war he spent a good deal of time in the Boer camps seeking to steady the men, appealing to them in speeches and sending for President Kruger when Lord Roberts advanced. The capture of Cronje was to him a personal blow on his heart and the harder to bear because his burghers blamed him for their ruin.

General George S. White

General Sir George Stewart White, V.C., G.C.I.E., G.C.B. G.C.S.I., J.P., D.L., born 1835; educated, Sandhurst; entered army 1853, and served in the Indian Mutiny (medal and clasp); Captain, 1863; Major, 1873; served in Afghan war, 1878–80 (medal and three clasps); Lieutenant-Colonel, Gordon Highlanders, 1881; Colonel, 1885; commanded Brigade in Burmah, 1885-86; thanked by Government of India, and promoted Major-General; commanded Zhob Field Force, 1890; Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India, 1893-98 Q.M.G. to the Forces, 1898.

Military Career, Etc.

Just before the beginning of hostilities in South Africa General White was despatched to that country. He arrived at Durban in the nick of time and took command of the British forces until the arrival of General Buller, October 31st. The story of General White's defense of Ladysmith during one of the most trying sieges of modern times will be found elsewhere in this volume.

Lieut.-General, the Hon. N. G. Lyttelton, C.B.

(Foreign Order: Osmanieh 4th Class.)

Neville Gerald Lyttelton, a brother of the present Viscount Cobham, was born Oct. 28, 1845, and gazetted to an Ensigncy in the Rifle Brigade when nineteen, a battalion of which he commanded from 1892 to 1894. His first war service was with his regiment in the Jowaki expedition of 1877. In 1882 he served as Aide-de-Camp to the Chief of the Staff in the campaign against Arabi. When a second British Infantry Brigade was sent to Lord Kitchener in 1898, Lyttleton, who was then Assistant Military Secretary at Army Headquarters, was appointed to command it, and in this capacity he served in the last phase of the Khartoum campaign. In addition to his war services, Lyttleton has been Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for War, Assistant Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar, Military Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, and A.A.G. and Assistant Military Secretary at Army Headquarters. He had just been appointed to command an infantry brigade at Aldershot when the African trouble arose, and was at once selected for the command of the Light Infantry Brigade of the First Army Corps. He has now been appointed to the command of a division.

Military Career, Etc

Besides personal decorations he wears: India Medal, 1854 (clasp "Jowaki 1877-78"); Egypt Medal, 1882, (clasp "Tel-el-Kebir"); Khedive's Bronze Star; Khedive's Soudan Medal, 1896 (clasp "Khartoum"); and Queen's Egypt Medal, 1898.

Lieut.-General Lord Methuen, K.C.V.O., C.B., C.M.G.

(Foreign Orders: Osmanieh 3rd Class, Red Eagle, Prussia, 2nd Class.)

Paul Sanford Methuen was born Sept. 1, 1845, and entered the Scots Fusilier Guards as Ensign and Lieutenant when nineteen.

His first war service was on special duty during the Ashanti campaign, 1873-74. In 1882 he was Commandant of the Headquarters Camp in the campaign against Arabi, and in 1884-1885 commanded the battalion of mounted infantry known as Methuen's Horse in Sir Charles Warren's Bechuanaland expedition. In 1897 he saw service in the arduous campaign against the Afridis on the Northwest Frontier of India, and was the officer told off for the duty of press censor at Headquarters. During his career Lord Methuen has held many important staff appointments. He was for five years Brigade-Major for the Home District; Military Attache at Berlin for over three years; A.A. and Q.M.G. Home District, 1882-84; D.A.G. in South Africa, 1888-90; and finally commanded the Home District from 1892 to 1897. When the first Army Corps was mobilized for service in South Africa, Lord Methuen was appointed to command the First Division.

Military Career, Etc.

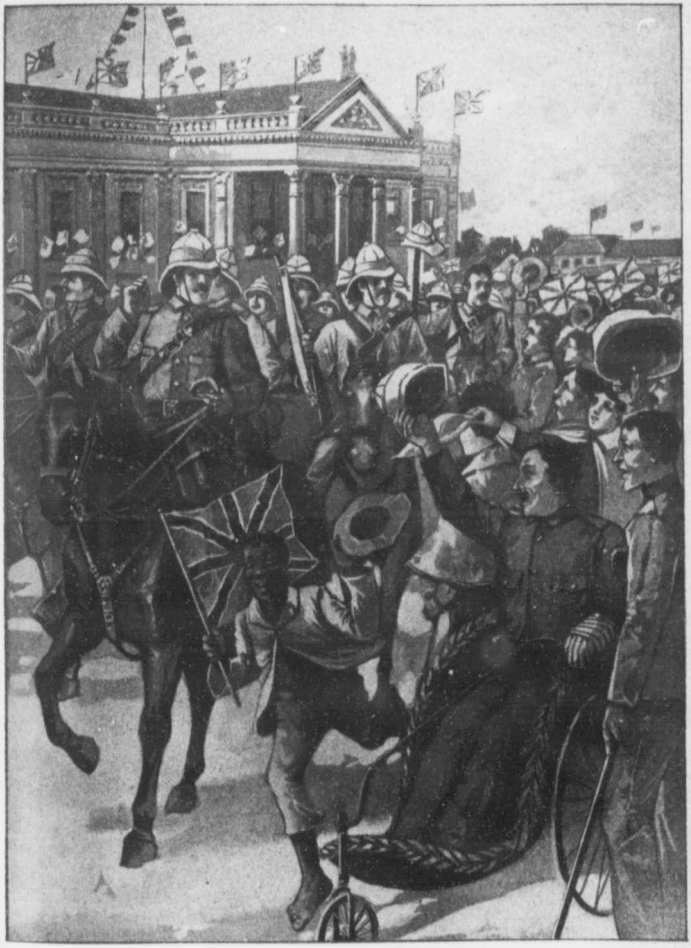
Besides personal decorations he wears: Ashanti Medal (clasp "Coomassie"); Egypt Medal (clasp "Tel-el-Kebir") Khedives' Bronze Star; and India Medal, 1895 (clasp "Tirah, 1897-98").

Lieut.-General Sir H. E. Colvile, K.C.M.G., C.B.

(Who commands the Ninth Division.)

Henry Edward Colvile, was born July 10, 1852, and was gazetted to the Grenadier Guards as Ensign and Lieutenant when a little over eighteen, the corps with which all his regimental career has been associated. During the Soudan campaign of 1884, Colvile served with the Intelligence Department and was present at both El Teb and Tamaai. He was also employed in the same department in the Nile campaign that followed, and after the retirement of the Gordon relief expedition was throughout 1885-86, A.A., and Q.M.G. Int. Det. to the Soudan

Military Career, Etc.



GENERAL FRENCH RELIEVING KIMBERLY.

LIEUT.-COL. SAM HUGHES, M.P.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. T. H. HUTTON, C.B.

Photo. by Bassano, London.

Frontier Field Force, and was present at the action of Giniss. He was from 1893 to 1895 employed in the Uganda Protectorate, and in 1894 commanded the Unyoro expedition. When the war broke out Colvile was commanding a brigade at Gibraltar, and was selected for the command of the Guards Brigade, which went out with the first Army Corps. Then the Ninth Division was created, and this Division, which has done such splendid service, he has led in all the operations in the Orange Free State.

His war medals comprise: Egypt, 1822 (clasps, "El Teb—Tamaai," "Nile, 1884-85"); Khedive's Bronze Star; Eastern and Central Africa, 1895; he wears also the Brilliant Star of Zanzibar, 2nd Class.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. T. H. HUTTON, C.B.
Photo. by Elsworth, London.

LIEUT.-COL. SAM HUGHES, M.P.

LIEUT.-GENERAL C. TUCKER, C.B.

(Who commands the Seventh Division.)

Charles Tucker was born Dec. 6, 1838, and entered the service as Ensign in the 22nd Foot, now the Cheshire Regiment, before he was seventeen years of age. He remained, however, fifteen years a Subaltern and it was not until 1860 that he received his company, transferring almost immediately to the 80th Foot, now the 2nd South Staffordshire, with which his regimental service was connected until he vacated the command. In it he first saw war service during the Bhootan campaign of 1865-6. As a Major he served in the South African campaigns of 1878-79, taking part in the operations against Sekukuni, the action at Intombi River, and the battle of Ulundi. He also served in Natal from 1891-95, first as Colonel of the Staff and afterwards as Brigadier-General. When the war commenced he was commanding a district in India, which he vacated to take command of the Division with which he has shared in all Lord Roberts' operations.

Military Career, Etc.

His war medals comprise: Indian, 1854 (clasp, "Bhootan") and South African (clasp, "1878-79").

Major-General R. A. P. Clements, D.S.O., A.D.C.

(Who led the force that marched from Norval's Pont to Bloemfontein)

Ralph Arthur Penrhyn Clements was born Feb. 9, 1855, and entered the South Wales Borderers when not quite twenty. He was Adjutant of this battalion 1882-86, and succeeded to the command in 1897, the position he was holding when he was selected for the command of the 12th Brigade of the South African Force. He served with it through the Kaffir and Zulu campaigns of 1877-8-9, being present at Neumarka and the Battle of Ulundi, and earning mention in despatches. His next war service was in Burma, where he served continuously from 1885 to 1889, being twice wounded—once severely—and twice mentioned in despatches. For his service he received his brevet as Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1891 the D.S.O., being in 1896 made Brevet-Colonel and A.D.C. to the Queen. His brigade, on arrival in Southern Africa, was sent to operate on the southern border of the Orange Free State, and it was the force under his command that was the first to enter the Orange Free State from this quarter, and has since been led by him to Bloemfontein.

Military Career, Etc.

His war medals comprise: South African (clasp, "1877-8-9"); India, 1854 (clasps, "Burma, 1885-87," and "Burma, 1887-89").

Lieut.-General Sir C. F. Clery, K.C.B.

(Who commanded the Second Division.)

Cornelius Francis Clery was born Feb. 13; 1838, and joined the 32nd Foot, the old Cornish Light Infantry, as an Ensign when twenty, and as a Subaltern was for five years adjutant of his battalion. He left regimental for staff employ early in his career and his

first war service was seen in special employ during the Zulu campaign in which he was present at both Isandhlwana and Ulundi, and earned his brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel. His next war service was in Egypt and as A.A. and Q.M.G. with the Soudan Force in 1884 he saw service both at El Teb and Tamaai, and earned his brevet of Colonel. After that he was in the Nile expedition of 1884-85 in the capacity of D.A. and Q.M.G. When the present war broke out Sir Francis Clery was filling the important post of Deputy Adjutant General to the Forces, and was selected for the command of a division, which, except for a brief space when incapacitated by illness, he has led, and with it shared prominently in the operations in Natal.

Military Career, Etc.

His medals comprise: South African (clasp "1879"); Egypt 1882 (clasps, "Suakim, 1884." "El Teb—Tamaai," "The Nile, 1884-85"); and Khedive's Bronze Star.

Lieut.-General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

(Who commanded at Spion Kop.)

Charles Warren was born Feb. 7, 1840, and was not quite eighteen when he joined the Royal Engineers. His intimate acquaintance with South Africa dates from a quarter of a century ago, for as far back as 1876 he was employed on the demarcation of the boundary line between Griqualand West, and the Orange Free State. During the native wars of 1877-79, he commanded first the Diamond Fields Horse, then in operations against the Bechuanas, and lastly the Northern Border expedition earning his brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel. In the Egyptian campaign of 1882 he was employed on special service under the admiralty in connection with the murder of Professor Palmer and his party. Finally in 1884-85 he led the Bechuanaland expedition, which is always associated with his name. When

Military Career, Etc.

the fifth Division was formed Warren was selected for its command and under his leadership, the two brigades of which it is composed played a specially prominent part in the operations that resulted in the relief of Ladysmith.

His war decorations comprise: South Africa (clasp, "1877-8-9"); Egypt, 1882; and Khedive's Bronze Star; he wears also the Medjidie of the 3rd. Class.

Major-General H. J. T. Hildyard, C.B.

(Who has commanded the "English" Brigade throughout Buller's Operations in Natal.)

Henry John Thornton Hildyard was born July 5, 1846, and passed his early years as Midshipman in the Royal Navy. When not twenty-one he was gazetted to the 15th Foot, but was almost immediately transferred to the 71st (now 1st) Highland Light Infantry, and within a few months was made its Adjutant, a post he held for seven years. In 1878 he went to Cyprus as Brigade-Major and commenced that long career of brilliant staff service which culminated in the command of an infantry brigade, from whence he was selected to the command of the 2nd, or "English" Brigade, which, with the "Guards'" Brigade, formed the 1st Division of the 1st Army Corps. Hildyard's previous war service comprises the Egyptian campaign of 1882, and he was present at El Magfar, Tel-el-Mahuta, Kassassin, and Tel-el-Kebir. Throughout the whole of Buller's arduous operations on the Tugela, Hildyard's Brigade has played an important part.

Military Career, Etc.

His war medals comprise: Egypt, 1882 (clasp "Tel-el-Kebir"); and Khedive's Bronze Star. He also is decorated with the Osmanieh 4th Class.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD-HUNTER, K.C.B., D.S.O.

(White's right-hand man during the Siege of Ladysmith.)

Archibald Hunter was born Sept. 6, 1856, and as a youth of eighteen joined the old "Fourth King's Own," a regiment with which his connection was unbroken until in 1884, when a captain of two years' service, he was seconded from it to be employed with the Egyptian army. And his record of fifteen years' service in that country has been an exceptionally brilliant one. From 1884 to 1889, "Archie" Hunter served in the Soudan being severely wounded at Giniss and again wounded at Toski. From 1892 to 1894 he was Governor of the Red Sea Littoral, and from 1894 to 1896 Governor of the Egyptian Frontier and it was only in the nature of things that he should have command of a Division of the Egyptian army—though not yet forty—when the **Military** Khartoum campaign commenced in 1896. **Career, etc.** Throughout this campaign he served with the greatest distinction, and on his return home was appointed to the command of one of the most important district commands in India, that of Quetta, When the First Army Corps was mobilized Hunter was chosen as "Chief of the Staff," and sailed at once for Natal, arriving in time to join Sir George White and share in the glorious defence of Ladysmith.

Besides personal decorations he wears; Egypt Medal (clasps, "Nile, 1884-85," "Toski, 1889"); Khedive's Bronze Star; Khedive's Soudan Medal, 1896 (clasps, "Firket," "Hafir," "Nile, 1897," "Aku Hamed," "The Atbara," "Khartoum"); Queen's Soudan Medal, 1898; Medjidie, 2nd Class; and Osmanieh 2nd Class.

MAJOR-GENERAL C. E. KNOX.

(Who was wounded at Paardeberg in command of the 15th Brigade.)

Charles Edmond Knox was born Sept. 29, 1846, and joined the old 85th Foot, now the 2nd Batt. Shropshire Light Infantry, as

an Ensign, when under twenty years of age. His service throughout was connected with that fine old corps, but his promotion was slow, for he was eleven years a Subaltern, seven years a Captain, and seven a Major before he rose to the command which he held for four years, from 1890-94. Five years before succeeding to the command, he had earned his brevet Lieutenant-Colonelcy by good service in Sir Charles Warren's Bechuanaland expedition, when he commanded a Corps of Pioneers. After vacating the command of the Shropshire Light Infantry, he was appointed to the command of the 32nd Regimental District at Bodmin, where he won a very high reputation for encouraging recruiting, and making Bodmin a pattern for all regimental depots. When the war broke out he was selected to command the 15th Brigade of the 7th Division. This brigade distinguished itself at Paardeberg, and the general himself was wounded, a wound from which he has happily now quite recovered.

Military Career, Etc.

Brevet-Major A. G. Hunter-Weston, R.E.

(By whose gallantry the rolling stock in Bloemfontein was secured.)

Aylmer Gould Hunter-Weston was born on Sept. 23, 1864, and joined the Royal Engineers as Lieutenant at the age of nineteen. Major Hunter-Weston, by an act of dashing bravery, was of the greatest service at the capture of Bloemfontein. When on March 12, General French seized the railway six miles south of Bloemfontein, this gallant officer, accompanied by ten men, passed through the enemy's lines, got to the northward of the town, and destroyed both the railway line and telegraph. By this act the Boers were prevented from carrying northwards the locomotives and rolling stock of the Orange Free State, the loss of which would have considerably increased Lord Robert's difficulties in re-opening communications with Cape Town. Major Hunter-

Military Career, Etc.

Weston has seen much service on the North-west frontier of India where he was slightly wounded, and in Egypt.

His decorations comprise: India Medal, 1854 (clasps "Samana, 1891," "Waziristan, 1894-95"), Khedive's Soudan Medal, 1896 (clasp "Ferket"); Queen's Soudan Medal; and the Medjidie of the 4th Class.

Colonel the Earl of Dundonald, C.B., M.V.O.

(Who led Buller's advance guard into Ladysmith.)

Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Cochrane, twelfth Earl of Dundonald, and a representative peer of Scotland, was born Oct. 29, 1852, and joined the 2nd Life Guards as Cornet and Sub-Lieutenant before he was eighteen. His whole regimental service has been connected with this regiment which he commanded from 1895 to 1899. Lord Dundonald's war service prior to the present campaign included only the Nile expedition, 1884-1885, but into that he compressed very varied experiences. He commanded the 2nd Life Guards' detachment of the Camel Corps and was the officer who carried the despatches to Korti announcing the capture of the Gakdul Wells. He fought both at Abu Klea and Al Gobat, twice acted as guide to night convoys from Gubat, and in the same capacity led reinforcements on the march from Gakdul. In the march to Metemmeh he commanded the transport and baggage of the Desert Column, an onerous and responsible task, and was the officer who returned from Gubat with the despatches announcing the fall of Khartoum. Going out to South Africa as a special service officer he has been the leader of Buller's cavalry in the recent operations for the relief of Ladysmith.

Military Career, Etc.

War Decorations: Egypt Medal, 1882 (clasps "Abu Klea," "Nile, 1884-85"); and Khedive's Bronze Star

Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Thorneycroft.

(Commanding Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry.)

Alexander Whitelaw Thorneycroft, who is junior Major of the 2nd Scots Fusiliers, but local Lieut.-Colonel in South Africa, was born Jan. 19, 1859, and entered his present corps when just twenty. With it he served as a Subaltern throughout the Zulu campaign, including the attack on and capture of Sekukuni's stronghold, and was one of the garrison that held Pretoria throughout the Transvaal campaign of 1881. At the outbreak of the present war Major Thorneycroft was sent as D.A.A.G. to Natal, and employed to raise that corps of mounted infantry which has won such renown for itself and its leader, notably at Spion Kop.

Military Career, Etc.

He wears: South African Medal (clasp "1879").

Captain the Hon. R. H. L. J. De Montmorency, V.C.

(Who raised, led, and died at the head of "Montmorency's Scouts.")

Raymond De Montmorency, eldest son and heir of Major-General Viscount Frankfort de Montmorency was born Feb. 3, 1867, and joined, at the age of twenty, the 21st Hussars, now the Empress of India's Lancers. His war service previous to that in South Africa had been confined to the Soudan campaign of 1898, and it was in the glorious charge that his regiment made at the battle of Khartoum that he earned the soldier's highest distinction. De Montmorency returned into the thick of the fray to assist a brother officer, Lieutenant Grenfell, who had fallen, and lay surrounded by Dervishes, but he only succeeded in cutting his way through to the spot to find his comrade dead. He got his troop in 1898, and on the outbreak of the present war was sent on special service to South Africa, where he raised and commanded the renowned corps

Military Career, Etc.

of scouts at whose head he fell at Schœman's Farm, Feb. 24, 1900.

His medals comprise: Khedive's Egypt Medal (clasp "Khartoum"); and Queen's Soudan Medal.

Major-General E. T. H. Hutton, C.B.

(Commanding 1st "Colonial" Brigade of the Mounted Infantry Division.)

Edward Thomas Henry Hutton was born Dec. 6, 1848, and joined the King's Royal Rifle Corps as an Ensign when eighteen. Of that corps he was successively Instructor of Musketry and Adjutant. Hutton's first service was in the Zulu campaign, and in it he shared in the Ginginhlovo action and the relief of Etshowe earning mention in despatches. In the Transvaal campaign of 1881 he also served, commanding the Mounted Infantry. Next year he went to Egypt as Wolseley's A.D.C., and had his horse killed under him at Tel-el-Kebir. He returned home to take up the appointment of Brigade-Major at Aldershot, only to vacate it almost immediately to accompany the Nile expedition of 1884-85, in which he commanded the Mounted Infantry. Besides being an experienced mounted infantry officer—for he originally organized our system of mounted infantry training—his close connection with the Colonies makes him a specially suitable officer for the post he has been selected to fill. For three years, 1893-96, he was Commandant of the New South Wales Colonial Forces, and since 1898 he has commanded the Canadian Militia, a post he resigned to go on special service to South Africa.

Military Career, Etc.

He wears: South African Medal (clasp "1879"); Egypt (clasps "Tel-el-Kebir," "Nile, 1884"); Khedive's Bronze Star, and also the Fourth Class of the Medjidie.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sam Hughes, M.P.

Was born in Darlington, County Durham, Ontario, J an. 8th. 1852. His father, John Hughes, a native of Tyrone, Ireland, was son of an officer in the Royal Bengal Regiment. His mother Caroline Laughlin was a daughter of an officer in the British Royal Artillery and grand-daughter of a Hugenot Cuirassier officer who served under Napoleon Bonaparte. Inspector J. L. Hughes, of Toronto and J. Hughes, of Clark, are his brothers.

He holds first and second class Military Certificates and also 1st Class A. Provincial, Public School Inspector's and Honor Certificates in English, French, German, and History from Toronto University.

Career

He was for ten years first English Master in Toronto Collegiate Institute and for 13 years Editor and Publisher of the Victoria Warden, Lindsay.

As an athlete he won the Champion Mile Race of Amercia in 1892 and has been Vice-President of the Toronto Lacrosse Club.

He married first, Caroline J., daughter of Major Isaac Preston of U. S. Loyalist family and secondly, Mary E., daughter of Harvey W. Burke ex-M. P. West Durham.

Col. Hughes is commanding officer of the 45th. Victoria Regiment and has been connected with the 45th. for over 30 years, is Vice-President of the Dominion Rifle Association, Ontario Rifle Association and a member of the Lindsay Board of Trade, Board of Education and several other local Societies. He was first returned to Parliament as Liberal Conservative Member for North Victoria in 1892 and was re-elected in 1896, has been awarded a medal for service at the Fenian Raid 1870, and recipient of a Diamond Jubilee Medal from Her Majesty Queen Victoria 1807. Col. Hughes has proved himself to be an efficient officer whileserving on the staff of Gen. Settle, A. A. G. and afterwards with Gen. Sir Charles Warren in South Africa.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Official Reports from the Front.

Lieut.-Col. Otter reports as follows:

In the field, 3 miles north of Paardeberg Drift,
23rd February, 1900.

"Sir, I have the honor to report this as the first opportunity I have had to report since leaving Belmont on the 12th instant, as the battalion has ever since been on the move and away from all but telegraphic (field) communication, and the greater part of the time entirely separated from its baggage and wagons.

"Leaving Belmont on the 12th instant, 895 of all ranks, the remainder being either ill or unfit to march, the battalion joined the 19th Brigade (Colonel Smith-Dorrien), 9th Division (Major-General Colvile), at Gras Pan, the same evening. I gave you the composition of the brigade and division in my last report.

"The 19th Brigade left Gras Pan at 5 a.m. of the 13th instant, in field service order, the great coats containing 1 shirt and 1 pair socks being carried on the wagons, one blanket per man and 1 waterproof sheet for each two men being also carried for the men. After a very trying march of 12 miles we reached Ram Dam and went into bivouac—the day was fearfully hot and water was very scarce, fully 50 men fell out, the transport was badly muled, heavily-laden and caused many delays.

"Moving again at 5 a.m. of the 14th instant, a good march of 12 miles was made to Waterval Drift, on the Reit River, but here great delay took place in the crossing of the transport, and as the battalion had to find all the duties for the day, large fatigues to assist in the crossing had to be furnished by it, notably 200 men for the two 4.7 guns in the crossing of which great credit was given for its work. It was 6 P.M. before the battalion crossed and the officers and men were dead tired. The Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Lord Roberts, joined the force here, and complimented the battalion on its physique and appearance as it passed him.

"I had to leave 14 men at Ram Dam unfit to march. On the 15th the battalion marched at 4 a.m., being the Advanced Guard to the brigade; 7 men were left as unfit to march. Wegrooe Drift on the Reit was reached

at 8.30 a.m., after a march of 9 miles, and the battalion furnished the outposts for 19th Brigade (whole battalion).

"On the 16th instant the day's march was begun at 8.30 a.m., and Jacobsdaal (5 miles) reached at 10 a.m.; leaving Jacobsdaal at 10 p.m., the battalion again forming the Advanced Guard, a very tedious night march began which ended at Klip Drift at 8.30 a.m., of the 17th instant.

"A force of the enemy under General Cronje from Magersfontein was said to be endeavoring to cross the River Modder on its way to Bloemfontein. An action had been fought with it yesterday near Klip Drift by the 6th Division.

"The battalion left Klip Drift as Rear Guard to the brigade at 5 p.m. and marched all night, reaching Paardeberg Drift at 6 a.m. The delays were frequent and the march very tedious. 21 miles were made during the night. On arrival it was learned that General Cronje's force was here, and fairly well surrounded by our forces, which apparently numbered some 40,000 men of all arms.

"Immediately on arrival the 9th Division was ordered to attack the Headquarters laager of the enemy's force which occupied a position on the north side of the river, about two miles from the Drift; the 3rd Brigade was detailed for the right attack, the south side of the river; the 19th Brigade for the left, north side of the river.

"At 7.15 a.m. (18th instant) the battalion moved to the Drift and crossed the river which was very rapid, 9 miles current, and deep, and as the men had to wade, the water was up to their arm-pits; they had to cross in parties of not less than four and strongly locked together. After crossing, each company was hurried forward to attack the enemy who occupied a bend of the river-bed some two miles from the Drift to the east."

"PAARDEBERG DRIFT, February 26, 1900.

"The companies as they crossed were pushed forward and at 9.30 a.m. 'A' and 'C' Companies were in the firing line at about 500 yards from the enemy—who occupied the woods along the near edge of the river, but were totally hidden from view—they also occupied a series of dongas enfilading our left flank, but this was not discovered until towards afternoon, when they disclosed themselves, although they were quietly 'sniping' from that direction all day. 'D' and 'E' Companies formed the support—while as 'B,' 'F,' 'G' and 'H' came up they formed the reserve.

"The remainder of the brigade was disposed of as under, the D. of C.L.I. on our right, the 'Gordons' and Shrops L.I. on our left, in the order named, but on the other side of the hill on our left and behind the

Artillery. The battalion, however, was practically alone and during the whole day received no orders or instructions from anyone, until about 4 p.m. as noted later on.

"In addition to the 19th Brigade the 3rd (Highland) Brigade was engaged on the south side of the river, besides Artillery and Mounted Infantry.

"Firing began at about 9.30 a.m. from the enemy's right and continued along their front towards the centre.

"The advance of the battalion took place over perfectly open ground somewhat undulating, and with no cover save the inequalities of the ground and a few ant-hills.

"The firing line attained a position from the enemy varying from 400 yards on the right to 800 yards on the left, where it remained until late in the afternoon. After the establishment of the firing line, the enemy's fire was for some time very severe, and Capt. Arnold, who at the time was doing most excellent service, was mortally wounded, and many others hit.

"During this time three or four men in the reserve ('H' Co.) were wounded at a distance of over 1,600 yards.

"At about noon 'D' Company reinforced the firing line and shortly afterwards 'E' and part of 'B' Company also reinforced, the remainder of 'B,' 'F' and 'G' Companies becoming supports, with 'H' still in reserve.

"Only one Maxim gun could be crossed and that was soon got into position by Capt. Bell, on the rising ground to the left, at a distance of some 1,000 yards, where it did most excellent service during the day, being in a position to keep down the fire of the enemy who occupied the dongas on our left. A battery of Field Artillery occupied the hill on our left rear and shelled the enemy's lines at intervals during the day. The fire discipline of the several companies engaged was excellent and perfect coolness as well as accurate shooting was maintained throughout.

"Throughout the day the fire was maintained, at times comparatively slack and then severe—the enemy evidently had the ranges marked, as their fire at certain prominent places was so accurate as to render them almost untenable by us. Interruption to our fire was occasioned several times during the day by the cry from *beyond* the right of our line to "stop firing on the left" as men in that part were being hit by the fire from our left. The fire complained of was, I am satisfied, from the dongas occupied by the enemy on our left and not from our own men.

"At about 4 p.m. three companies of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry under Lt.-Col. Aldworth came up, and this officer informed me that "he had been sent to finish this business," and "proposed doing so with

the bayonet"; he then asked for information respecting our own position and that of the enemy, which I gave him.

"One company of the Cornwalls was at once sent into the firing line, followed in half-an-hour by the other two, this reinforcement being received by a very heavy fire from the whole length of the enemy's front.

"At 5 p.m. Lt.-Col. Aldworth notified that a general advance would take place, and at about 5.15 p.m. the whole force, with the exception of parts of 'G' and 'H' Companies, which I held in reserve, went forward with a rush. The fire of the enemy became intense and after an advance of about 200 yards effectively stopped our men; and no further progress could be made. The loss to both the corps taking part in the charge was very severe. Lt.-Col. Aldworth was killed.

"The position gained was however held, and a continuous heavy fire maintained until darkness set in about 7 p.m., when I gave the order to collect the dead and wounded and withdraw to the bivouac at the Drift. The enemy also withdrew from their position at the same to the Boer laager some two miles up the river, leaving a few men in the dongas on our left who continued "sniping" our collecting parties until about 10 p.m.

"Many instances of individual bravery were displayed, as for example the case of No. 8110 Pte. Kennedy who led one of the ammunition mules right up to the firing line where it was instantly killed. The Company Stretcher Bearers exhibited great pluck and five of them were among the wounded; three were wounded in conveying Capt. Arnold from the firing line, the stretcher upon which he was being made a special object of attention by the Boer marksmen. In connection with this incident I must note the courage displayed by Surgeon-Capt. Fiset, who, when the stretcher upon which Capt. Arnold was being brought to the rear was stopped a short distance from the firing line, by the wounding of one of the bearers, went forward and attended to Capt. Arnold, and subsequently assisted as a bearer in bringing him to the rear. Capt. Fiset also attended to many others wounded under fire during the day.

"Lt.-Col Buchan was in charge of the firing line, which he directed and controlled in the coolest and most effective manner, while my acting adjutant, Lieut. Ogilvy, rendered excellent service in carrying my orders about the field. The following N.C. officers and men distinguished themselves during the day, viz., No. 6559 Sergt. Utton; No. 7117 Pte. Andrews; No. 7040 Pte. Dickson; No. 7043 Pte. Duncafe; No. 7376 Pte. Page; and No. 7806 Pte. Curphy.

"The collection of the dead and wounded of both our own battalion and

those of the D.C.L.I. was made by parties of the Royal Canadians and continued all night. The duty was a most onerous one and too much credit cannot be given to those who were engaged in it. By 7 a.m. of the 19th inst. all the dead of the battalion were buried besides many of those of the D.C.L.I., and the wounded sent to the rear. I must here place on record the great services rendered by the R.C. Chaplain of the battalion, the Reverend Father O'Leary, who was present in the field all day, and towards the end in the firing line, while during the night he was prominent in the search for the wounded, as well as officiating in the burial of the dead.

"Several of the officers accompanied these parties up to midnight, while No. 685 Q.M. Sergt. Reading, No. 7304 Sergt. Ramage, No. 7302 Sergt. Middleton, and No. 7253 Pte. Whingate were out all night on this duty.

"Another incident of coolness and pluck was that of No. 7347 Pte. Hornibrook, who at daylight in the morning of the 19th instant was down into the extreme right of the lines occupied by the enemy the previous day. He was unarmed and came suddenly upon an armed Boer, looking for a stray horse. With great presence of mind Hornibrook pretended to be armed with a revolver, and called upon imaginary assistance, at the same time demanding the man's surrender. The Boer at once submitted, and on being brought in proved to be one of General Cronje's adjutants and a most important officer."

PAARDEBERG, February 27, 1900.

"SIR,—I have the honor to report upon the operations upon which the battalion under my command was engaged upon the 20th instant, on which occasion four men of the corps were wounded.

"Following the retirement of the enemy from the position which he withdrew from on the evening of the 18th instant, the battalion was at 6 a.m. of the 20th instant detailed for the outpost line and advanced to within 1,000 yards of the trenches in front of the Boer laager, the Shropshire Light Infantry being on our right, the Gordon Highlanders on our left.

"The ground occupied by the battalion was quite open, and slightly rolling, but fairly covered with ant-hills.

"The men were served with tea and biscuits about 10 a.m.; the cook wagon and water cart being brought up to within 200 yards in rear of the reserve.

"An intermittent rifle fire was kept up all day until about 4 p.m., when that of the enemy increased, and their celebrated Vicars-Maxim gun "Pom-Pom" was turned upon us no less than five different times, but fortunately without loss to us. The moral effect of the gun, however, is very

great and infinitely more disastrous in that direction than any other arm we have experienced.

"The wounds received were entirely among men in the reserve, and from long range rifle fire, about 1,700 yards.

"The day was a trying one, being very hot, while owing to the enemy's fire it was almost impossible to get water forward to the men; it was the attempt to bring the water cart forward that first brought the 'Pom-Pom' to bear upon us.

"At 6 p.m. the battalion was withdrawn to its bivouac, thoroughly done out. The position occupied I have denoted on the sketch accompanying my report of the action of the 18th instant, and a list of the wounded is included in the general list."

PAARDEBERG, SOUTH AFRICA, March 2, 1900.

"SIR,—I have the honor to report on the action of the 27th ultimo in which the battalion under my command was engaged.

"In accordance with instructions received from the general officer commanding the 19th Brigade, 9th Division, on the previous evening, the following disposition of the battalion was made by 10 p.m., of the 26th instant.

"In the main trench running north and south from the river and beginning on the left were placed 'C,' 'D,' 'E,' 'F,' 'G,' and 'H' Companies while on the extreme right was a party of thirty engineers. This trench was about 240 yards long, the right of it resting within 25 yards of the river, and 500 yards from the nearest Boer trench. The force placed in this trench numbered 500 officers and men of the battalion. 'A' Company remained on the south side of the river, where it had been detailed for special duty on the morning of the 26th, and was posted just opposite the line of the main trench continued southwards, while 'B' Company, and a few details formed a reserve at the bivouac some 300 yards to the rear, and the wagons were fully 1,000 yards to the rear again.

"The continuation of the main trench from where it turned to the north-east was occupied by 200 of the Gordon Highlanders, and about 1,500 yards on our left was the Shropshire Light Infantry.

"The plan of attack was that our six companies in the main trench should advance on the Boer trenches at 2 a.m., the front rank of each company to move with fixed bayonets, with orders not to fire until fired upon by the enemy, while the rear rank carried shovels and picks with which to entrench, when the advance could go no further, the engineers on the right to give a base.

"At 2.15 a.m., the 6 companies with the engineers moved forward, a distance of 15 paces being placed between the ranks, and an interval of one pace between men.

"The brigadier was on the right, Lt.-Col. Buchan and Major Pelletier being in charge of the attack, the former on the left, the latter on the right, the officer commanding in rear on the left.

"The line advanced without interruption for about 400 yards, when it was met by a terrific fire from the enemy; the premature discharge of a couple of shots just before the general fusilade served as a warning to many of our men, who instantly threw themselves on the ground; but the effect of the fire was disastrous to us. 'H' Company being in the wood on the river bank did not suffer, but 'G' and 'F' Companies, being in the open, lost heavily, the former having 4 killed and 12 wounded, the latter 2 killed and 9 wounded. 'G' Company was within 65 yards, actual measurement, of the advanced trench of the enemy when fire was opened on them; the companies on the left, 'E' 'D' and 'C' being from 75 to 100 yards distance from a subsidiary trench in prolongation of the enemy's line.

"On receiving the enemy's fire the line at once laid down and returned it, while the rear rank generally began to entrench. The time was about 3 a.m.

"The trench on the right, begun by the party of the R. E., was 100 yards from the enemy's nearest trench, and, covered by 'G' and 'H' Companies made rapid progress, but those begun by the other companies did not advance very rapidly, and after the battalion had been for some 20 minutes under fire, some one unknown called in an authoritative tone to 'retire and bring your wounded,' in consequence of which the left company failed to establish themselves in the new trenches and retired on the old ones, leaving 'G' and 'H' Companies holding the ground on the right, Lt.-Col. Buchan being the last to retire, which he did by the right.

"Daylight found 'G' and 'H' Companies well entrenched, with the R.E. still pushing the work on.

"Firing continued on the right until about 5.15 a.m., when the enemy in the advanced trench made proposals to surrender—our men being doubtful of the genuineness of the proposition continued their work, firing for nearly an hour. At about 6 a.m., one of the enemy advanced with a white flag, when firing ceased, and the enemy began to come in by batches to the number of 200.

"General Sir Henry Colvile, commanding division, had come up about 6.15 a.m., and directed the disposal of the prisoners, sending forward an officer into the nearest part of the Boer laager to make terms of surrender, the result of which was the unconditional capitulation of General Cronje

and his whole force, numbering upwards of 4,000.

"Captains Stairs and McDonnell deserve great credit for their pertinacity in holding on as they did, the result of which undoubtedly had a material effect in hastening the final result achieved.

"The supporting companies of the Gordon Highlanders were not engaged although the trench which protected them was subjected to a fairly heavy fire from the enemy.

"The battalion of the Shropshire Light Infantry on our left fired volleys at long range for some time after our attack developed, and materially assisted us.

"All the wounded were brought in before daylight and sent back to the collecting station by our men, and the bearers of the N.S.W. Bearer Company, and Naval Brigade Bearers (H.M.S. 'Barrossa,') rendered us every assistance possible in the arduous service.

"The dead were buried close to where they fell at 7 a.m. by the Rev. Father O'Leary, R. C. Chaplain to the battalion.

"That the duty entailed upon the Royal Canadian Regiment was most difficult and dangerous no one will deny, and though the advance was not so successful at all points as was hoped for, yet the final result was a complete success and credit can fairly be claimed by the battalion for such, as it was practically acting alone.

"The night was starlight, with the moon in the last quarter at 4 a.m.

"The various actions beginning on the 18th and concluding on February 27th, have been denominated 'Paardeberg.'"

The following extracts from "Col. Otter's Diary" will be of interest.

"May 29—Very cold through night. Marched second in 19th Brigade till 12.30 to Klip Spruit. Enemy found posted on kopje to east of advance. Gordons and R. C. R. ordered to attack their left. Moved in four lines. At 2.30, at a distance of 4,000 yards from Boer position, came under heavy gun fire at once, and rifle fire at 2,000 yards. Very hot fire from front and left front. The advance soon had to be made over the burnt veldt, which marked our uniforms very much and offered good targets. Advance was very rapid until a Kaffir hut, surrounded by a stone wall, was reached, when more than half the battalion found shelter and kept up a strong return fire. An attempt was made to flank us on the right, which was soon checked by a Maxim. At 4.50, the Gordons having gained the Boer main position, our men were enabled to advance and occupy a position held by the Boers some 1,200 yards to the front, where the battalion was assembled and remained until 9 p.m., when ordered to join brigade on the main position taken by the Gordons. The loss of the latter was very great, viz., 20

killed and 76 wounded, while ours was only seven wounded. The capture of the position cleared the entry into Johannesburg and was very important. The brigade had to bivouac without water or food for the night.

"May 30—Under arms at 4.30 a.m., with wagons ready to move, but without food or water. Remained ready till 10 a.m., when the brigade marched to Florida, five miles, the enemy having left in the night, leaving Johannesburg clear. Got meat and groceries on arrival, but no biscuits were to be had. The whole supply of food and forage for the army was very short, men very tired and done out on arrival, though in very good spirits. Warm night.

Without Food.

"June 1—Marched six miles to Bramfontein. Order to march on Pretoria to-morrow countermanded for lack of supplies. Capt. Weeks, Lieutenants Pelletier and Stewart rejoined.

"June 2—In bivouac. Capture of three Boers by Sergt. Ironsides.

"June 3—Marched sixteen miles. Lord Roberts' force moved by main road, while 19th Brigade in northwest direction through heavy, rolling country.

"June 4—Just after leaving camp at 7 a.m. marching direction of column was changed on information being received of capitulation of Pretoria. At 1 p.m. marched to drift at Six-mile Creek. Heavy firing heard to right front, and it became evident that enemy were defending town. R. C. R. remained at drift as rear guard, and bivouacked close by for a quiet night.

"June 5—At Pretoria. Marched at 6 a.m. as advance guard to infantry, moved into precincts of town and waited five hours, then moved to within one mile of town limits and went into bivouac at noon at Skinner's Court. Had something to eat, and at 2 p.m. marched through town with brigade. Lord Roberts had taken possession in the morning.

Pretoria at Last.

"June 7—Parade state, 27 officers and 411 men. Ordered to join 19th Brigade and move south to intercept a force of the enemy hovering about.

"June 9—Acted as rear guard to Reitfontein, about six miles east of Johannesburg.

"June 10—Heavy fog and cold. Marched to Germiston. Battalion was advance guard from there to Elandsfontein.

"June 11—Orders stand fast. Lieutenants Hodgins and Armstrong, R. C. R., detailed on Imperial military railways from to-morrow. Surgeon-Captain Fiset rejoined from illness and being a prisoner for six days at Heilbron.

"June 13—Marched to Springs, thirteen miles. Col. Otter in command of the place.

"June 16—Administered oath of neutrality to railway people, mostly Hollanders. Five more Boers gave up arms. Sent out for cattle.

"June 17—Many cattle, goats and horses were brought in.

"June 18 to 22—Still at Springs. On the 19th captured young Kok, a Boer, who gave valuable information."

From Johannesburg, August 1, Col. Otter cabled: "The effective strength of the regiment is increasing, there are now 700 fit for the field"; whilst the report for June shows as follows: "June 1, sick and in hospital 544, on parade 445; June 7, sick 551, on parade 438; June 15, sick 551, on parade 425; June 22, sick 546, on parade 424."

The following telegram from the Field-Marshal commanding in South Africa to His Excellency the Governor-General with reference to the work done by the Canadian Mounted Rifles in South Africa will be read with much interest:

"I have much pleasure in bringing to your Excellency's notice the good work done by the 1st and 2nd Battalions Canadian Mounted Rifles, who have been repeatedly conspicuous for their gallant conduct and soldier-like instincts. During the attack by the Boers on Ratbosch on the 22nd June, a small party of Pincher's Creek men of the 2nd Battalion displayed the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty, holding in check a force of Boers by whom they were largely outnumbered. Corporal Morden and Private Kerr continued fighting until mortally wounded. Lance Corporal Miles and Private Miles wounded continued to fire and held their ground.

"On 10th June a party of 1st Battalion under Lieut. Young when operating with a force under General Hutton to north-west of Pretoria succeeded in capturing two of the enemy's guns and brought in a herd of cattle and several prisoners without losing a man. (Sgd.) ROBERTS."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Halt at Bloemfontein.

LORD Roberts found it necessary to halt six weeks at Bloemfontein in order to rest his men and horses and equip them anew, before he started on his long march to Pretoria. Enteric Fever which broke out at this time carried off many of the soldiers. The cause may be traced to the putrid water the men were obliged to drink while on the march to Bloemfontein.

Before Roberts could advance he was compelled to drive the Boers from a strong position at Karee Siding. This he succeeded in doing after a hot engagement in which the British lost 160 men, killed and wounded.

On March 18, Lord Roberts sent a detachment into the eastern part of the State, and not meeting with any resistance they occupied Thabanchu. Shortly after this Colonel Broadwood, while falling back on Bloemfontein, was led into an ambuscade at Sanna's Post, losing heavily before he extricated himself. By this success the Boers got possession of the Waterworks.

Sanna's Post Disaster

On the 4th of April the British met with another disaster at Reddersburg, five companies of infantry having to surrender. These disasters, following so soon after Paardeburg, encouraged the Boers to continue the struggle. But in this dark hour came the news that General Methuen had captured sixty Boers at Boshof. In this engagement Villebois, the leader, was killed.

Meanwhile Dewet began attacking the line of communications in the south-east. But Roberts considered these operations as of

only minor importance, and therefore he directed his attention to preparing his army for the great march before them.

Siege of Wepener

The first event of importance was the Siege of Wepener. The Boers, after several unsuccessful attempts to take the town, were compelled to withdraw. The British under a brave officer, Colonel Dalgety, were able to hold a very strong position at Jammersburg, north of Wepener, which was the centre of the Boer attack.

Lord Roberts laid a well-conceived plan to entrap the Boers in the south-east, but owing to the bad weather, the muddy roads, and the mobility of the Boers, the plan failed. The wily Dewet, by his skill and daring, slipped through the net as it was about to close on him. After repeated marches and skirmishes the enemy was driven out of the south-east of Orange River Colony which cleared the way for the advance of the British.

On May 1st, 1900, Roberts's great army about 50,000 strong left Bloemfontein to begin their march of 220 miles to Pretoria. On May 3rd, the main army was at Karee Siding having marched 20 miles. All the troops covered a front of 40 miles, the left flank consisting of Hutton's mounted infantry, while Ian Hamilton commanded on the right. The main column marched to Brandfort the first day. On the 5th of May it arrived at the Vet River. After a hot engagement the Australians and Hutton's men crossed the river and halted at Smaldeel.

Sand River Battle

On May 10th when the British arrived at the Sand River, they found the Boers occupying the opposite bank, but finding the British were not going to make a frontal attack, as in some earlier battles, they retired with slight losses on both sides. Next day Lord Roberts entered Kroonstad without meeting with any resistance.

Although the Boers had prepared to make a stand at the Vaal River, Lord Roberts's wide-sweeping movement prevented this. On 27th May the Vaal River was crossed, and this great army entered the Transvaal and continued its march northward till it arrived at Johannesburg, and took possession of the city of gold mines.

On the 31st of May, the army was now only 30 miles from Pretoria. After some minor engagements it entered the Transvaal capital on June 5th. The Union Jack was hoisted above the Parliament House amid shouts and cheers of the citizens and soldiers, and thus Pretoria passed into the hands of the British forever.

Roberts enters Pretoria

Renewal of hostilities in Orange River Colony.

While Roberts was halting at Pretoria, Dewet and other Boer leaders rallied the Free State forces, and began to attack the line of communications in the west. General Rundle was despatched to guard these, but the Boer chief was able to strike and retire and elude the British. Lord Roberts was not able to deal successfully, for he had Botha harassing him on the east with 15,000 men occupying a strong position at Pienaars Poort. Lord Roberts taking command of 16,000 men with Hamilton on the right and French on the left, moved out June 11th to attack the Boer position at a place called Diamond Hill. After two days' hot fighting, in which the casualties in both armies were heavy, the Boers were compelled to abandon the position, and retreat north. Rundle following up the enemy prevented them from moving south-east. He received a slight check at Biddulphsburg, but having joined forces with Brabant, Rundle captured a large number of Boers.

The first effect of Dewet's operations showed itself in capturing a British detachment under Colonel Spragge at Lindley. These men, after gallantly defending themselves for two days,

and sustaining heavy losses in killed and wounded, had to surrender. He next attacked Rhenoster Kopje. The British were taken unawares, but kept up a steady fire till they were forced to hoist the white flag. Dewet then made a sudden descent on Roodeval Station where several supply trains were standing. The militia refusing to surrender, the building was shelled, and the British, not being able to resist the attack, became prisoners. Dewet then burned the train, station, and dynamited the track for miles, but finding that Methuen was about to attack him he fled swiftly eastward, and appeared shortly after at Rhenoster Station where the British, who were repairing the damages, were able to hold him off. It was here that Lord Kitchener had a narrow escape of being captured. Dewet after moving eastward made a sudden assault on Horning Spruit Station. The Boers shelled the place, but such a noble defence was shown that they fled, and then attacked a post of Shropshires and Canadians who drove them off with heavy loss.

Meanwhile Buller had worked his way to Standerton, Hamilton was at Heidelburg, and shortly after the two forces united, thus preventing the Transvaal burghers from entering the Free State.

Seeing that the lines of communications were still in danger it was resolved to capture Dewet, Olivier and their men. For this purpose several detachments were ordered for the work. After converging their forces and capturing Bethlehem, the British were sanguine of capturing Dewet, but just as success seemed sure the skilful Boer slipped through the net and retired south of the Vaal. But notwithstanding Dewet's escape with 1,500 men, Prinsloo with over 4,000 men were taken prisoners, the terms being unconditional surrender. This disaster to the Boers prevented any further serious attacks

Surrender of Prinsloo

upon Roberts's lines of communications and thus enabled him to establish himself firmly at Pretoria.

While Lord Roberts was stationed at Pretoria, the country in the south and west of the Transvaal, although partly pacified, was still in a state of unrest round Johannesburg and Pretoria. On June 29th the Canadians drove off a party of Boers who attacked Springs.

The Boers under Botha, Delarey and Grobler, taking advantage of the weak state of Lord Roberts's army after its arduous march from Bloemfontein, planned several attacks. Early on the morning of July 11th, the first attempt was made by Delarey at Nitral's Nek. The men, after courageously defending the place till ammunition ran short, had to surrender. The British loss in this affair was 80 killed and 200 taken prisoners and two guns captured. On the same date Grobler entrapped some squadrons of Dragoons with a loss of several killed, wounded and taken prisoners. July 11th marks a day for British disasters, for at Dolverkrantz they met with another serious reverse.

Reverse at Dolverkrantz

Botha learning that Roberts had received fresh remounts, and was restoring his army to its former strength determined to strike a blow at once. The attack was delivered chiefly against Pole-Carew and Hutton's position, and the Boers were repeatedly repulsed, the casualties being heavy on both sides. Two brave Canadian officers, Borden and Birch, while advancing against a hot fire, fell mortally wounded.

Roberts having strengthened his army by fresh remounts prepared to cross swords with Botha. The British troops were extended along and on both sides of the Delagoa Railway, French, Hutton, Hamilton and Pole-Carew, being the chief generals. But just as they were ready to advance, news of fresh trouble in the Western

Transvaal caused a withdrawal of part of the forces to deal with this fresh outbreak under Delarey near Rustenburg. The Boers surrounded the town and called on the men to surrender which the soldiers refused to do, whereupon Delarey delivered a severe attack, but just as victory was in sight, the British were reinforced by Australians, and after a hot engagement, the enemy were driven off.

Attack on Rustenburg

On July 13th the Boers appeared again round Rustenburg, but Lord Methuen arriving forced them to evacuate a strong position. Methuen was then ordered to lay a net for Dewet.

At Eland's River the Australians made a noble defence. For eleven days this gallant band withstood the Boer attack of shot and shell. Finally, when all hope of being relieved was abandoned, and their casualties were rapidly increasing, Broadwood's mounted men appeared and brought the much needed relief. The Boers then turned their attention to attacking trains, which resulted in many deaths. Near Heidelberg, where the engineers were at work on a bridge, a violent assault was made, but they were driven off after reinforcements under General Hart had arrived.

Several places fell into the hands of the Boers, but these being only of minor importance, Lord Roberts directed his main operations against Dewet and Botha. The former, it will be remembered, had retired in July to the country south of the Vaal, where his movements were closely watched by Kitchener and Broadwood. Thinking that the British were about to close in upon him, he decided to leave his hiding place, and on August 7th he crossed the Vaal followed by the British; but Dewet, with his usual skill and mobility, was able to elude his pursuers, in spite of the determined efforts of Lord Methuen who now took up the chase, and following the Boer chief drove him from kopje to kopje. On the 9th of

August he fled northwards. All the passes were supposed to be blocked. Methuen, following, overtook him on the 12th. After a rear guard action covering 35 miles that day, Methuen abandoned the chase and struck for the Megato Pass, thinking by thus blocking the pass he could corner Dewet. But the agile Boer chief's knowledge of the country saved him once more; he escaped through Olifant's Nek, which had been unguarded, and crossed into the Free State.

Early in August a plot to kidnap Lord Roberts and staff was discovered. The leader, Hans Cordua, was arrested, tried and shot. Lord Roberts then issued a proclamation that all such crimes would be severely dealt with.

Plot to Kidnap Roberts

Lord Roberts having refitted his army by the addition of newly-arrived remounts, prepared to drive the Boers out of the Lyndenburg District. Buller, who had worked his way north, pushing the enemy steadily before him, was entrusted with these operations. Among his troops was a fine body of mounted men who had been recruited and equipped at his own expense by Lord Strathcona. These troops were known as Strathcona's Horse.

With his army covering a front of over 30 miles, Lord Roberts began his advance on Lyndenburg. French had command of the left flank, while Buller commanded the right. Buller made a violent attack on Bergendal, a strong Boer position. Buller's plan was to attack with artillery, and then follow up with infantry. The plan was well-conceived and proved successful, for the Boers were unable to stand the hot fire of the infantry as they advanced. The losses on both sides were heavy, but it taught the Boers that they were no longer able to resist the assaults of the British, and that it was a hopeless struggle. The defeat of the Boers at Berg-

endal enabled French to advance as far as Swartz kopjes. The enemy slowly retreated before him, and French entered Watervalonder on the 28th of September.

September 1st, Roberts issued his proclamation annexing the Transvaal to British territory.

While Buller was returning from his eastward march he met Botha's forces, but did not consider it wise to risk a frontal attack, although some of his soldiers were tried veterans of Colenso and Spion Kop. Ian Hamilton was dispatched with troops and drove the Boers from the position, thus clearing the road to Lydenburg for Buller. The Boers then took up a strong position north-east of Lydenburg, and offered resistance to Buller's advance, but it was useless, and it became manifest to the enemy that the British had secured a firm grip on the country.

Kruger Sails for Europe

Kruger, becoming alarmed that the British were getting too near, fled from the country, and arriving at Lourenzo Marques, sailed for Europe, thus leaving the burghers to their fate.

During the course of these events hostilities were revived in Orange River Colony by Olivier, who escaped when Prinsloo was captured. General Hunter, after some minor engagements, succeeded in taking Olivier and his three sons prisoners at Winburg.

Immediately following the capture of Olivier, another commando under Fourie made an attack on Ladybrand. The garrison resisted the Boers at every point till they were finally relieved by Bruce Hamilton and Major White.

A party of Boers in the Orange River Colony who attempted to cut the railway near Brandfort, were scattered by General

McDonald aided by Lord Lovat's Scouts, several being taken prisoners.

These guerilla operations were also carried on north of Pretoria; but a few skirmishes in which the British captured several Boers restored peace and order in this district. In the Western Transvaal the disturbance still remained, and a column of mounted men were nearly ambuscaded by Delarey.

Operations North of Pretoria

Early in September, Methuen, having refitted his troops, made a wide sweeping movement in conjunction with forces under Generals Douglas and Clements. These operations cleared the districts of Rustenburg and Krugersdorp, a number of Boers being captured.

The Boers still continued their destructive work, firing at trains, blowing up railway tracks, and otherwise endangering life. It was during one of these attempts that Theron, the noted Boer scout, was killed.

Towards the end of September Lord Roberts, thinking he had the enemy within his grasp, issued a proclamation in which he informed the burghers that it was a hopeless struggle, and that none of the Boer prisoners would be released till hostilities ceased.

Roberts's Proclamation

While the British troops were marching towards Komatipoort, Erasmus made an unsuccessful attack on Eland's River Station. Komatipoort was taken possession of by the British, September 24th, and it was then thought the war was at an end. But their hopes were blasted; for hostilities were renewed in the shape of guerilla warfare, Dewet being the chief spirit.

Since his escape in July, Dewet had been quiet, but about the middle of September he appeared again in the Transvaal. While marching along the Vaal River he met General Barton's troops.

A hot engagement followed near Fredericstad, lasting several days. A final charge scattered the Boers, leaving a number of dead and wounded on the field, while some were taken prisoners. The Boer chief then retreated across the vaal, closely followed by Knox and De Lisle. But they were unable to locate him. A small force under Le Gallais, a dashing cavalry officer, discovered his position near Bothaville. An action followed, during which Le Gallais was mortally wounded. The casualties on both sides were heavy, and a number of Boers fell into the hands of the British.

Following these events several towns in Orange River Colony were attacked by Boer raiders. At Jacobsdal a small garrison of Cape Highlanders were taken unawares by night and lost heavily.

In November Dewet, having been reinforced, captured Dewetsdorp, although the British offered a brave resistance. Becoming alarmed that British forces were near, he quietly withdrew, with General Knox in hot pursuit, who overtook him at Vaalbank.

Chase after Dewet

But the Boer chief escaped, and in December prepared to invade Cape Colony. After being headed off several times, crossing and re crossing rivers, the British at his heels, Dewet, with his burghers escaped through Springhaan Nek, followed by bullets and shells, and retired to Ficksburg. Thus all efforts on the part of the British failed to capture the guerilla chief the second time.

Lord Methuen, having abandoned the chase after Dewet in August, was subsequently engaged in clearing the districts round Rustenburg and Zeerust. During these operations several skirmishes occurred, stores and wagons were captured, and a number of Boer prisoners taken. Similar operations were carried on in the Eastern Transvaal, under Buller and Hamilton.

Early in December General Clements was despatched with troops to clear the district round Magaliesburg, where the Boers under Delarey occupied a strong position. While engaged in this work, the British were attacked by Delarey, at Nootigedacht, and though Clements had sufficient men to withstand an attack, yet he was not aware that the Boers had been reinforced by Beyers's troops. In the battle that followed, the British suffered a severe defeat, losing 602 men, killed, wounded and prisoners. Fresh troops having arrived, Clements made a successful attack on the Boer position and scattered their forces, thus pacifying the country round Magaliesburg.

Battle of Nootigedacht

The close of the year 1900 was marked by a number of attacks on British outposts along Delagoa railway, but these were only of minor importance. In the latter end of December, while British troops were scouring the district north of the Vaal, a reverse occurred at Helvetia. Part of the Liverpool Regiment lost about 250 men, killed, wounded and taken prisoners.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Lord Roberts Hands over the Command to Lord Kitchener.

In November several regiments, among which were the two Canadian Contingents and 600 Australians, were sent home.

Lord Roberts left for England about the same time, and Kitchener took command. Roberts, in his farewell address to his troops, praised their gallantry and endurance during the campaign.

During January, Lord Methuen was engaged in clearing the South Western Transvaal. He met the Boers under De Villiers at Hartebeestefontein. On February the 19th, a battle followed in which the enemy were driven from their stronghold.

Since the outbreak of the war a feeling of sympathy for the Boers prevailed in Cape Colony, which manifested itself very strongly after the two Republics had been annexed. A conference was held at Worcester, December 6th, and a resolution was passed demanding that the independence of the Boers be restored, which of course was not granted. Encouraged by this feeling, the Boers prepared to invade Cape Colony.

Two bodies were engaged in these operations. One on the west was commanded by Hertzog, the other by Kritzinger. Hertzog's forces entered Cape Colony near Colesburg, about the middle of December, and marching towards the western part reached a point south of Prieska. After Hertzog's forces entered Cape

Colony they met with several checks, notwithstanding he was reinforced by Cape rebels. However, the Boers succeeded in penetrating deeply into Cape Colony, cutting the railway line near De Aar, and capturing a few towns. Following the movements of these invaders southward we find them on January 15th, 1901, in the vicinity of Cape Town, in Calvinia district. But the British having been formed into small mobile columns were able to prevent any further invasion. Having extended their lines, they drove the Boers northward through Carnarvon, but on the 26th February they were reinforced by Dewet, who had just entered British territory.

Boers Near Cape Town

Kritzinger's invasion being carried on in the eastern districts where Dutch sympathy largely prevailed, his forces were frequently strengthened by the addition of recruits. So rapid were his movements, although meeting with some resistance and pursued by British columns, he succeeded in retreating north without being captured.

After Dewet had escaped through Springhaan Nek in December, 1900, he retired to Ficksburg, and recruited his troops for the invasion of Cape Colony. All his plans being matured, and learning of the success of Hertzog and Kritzinger, and the British reverse near Lindley, where a patrol of Kitchener's body-guard was led into a trap, losing half their men in killed and wounded, the rest being taken prisoners, Dewet proceeded to invade Cape Colony. With upwards of 2,000 men, which were recruited on the way, he struck south, and though meeting with some resistance, he reached Philippolis, being well in advance of the British columns. This was on February 9th. Two days afterwards he crossed the Orange River, and entered Cape Colony. His movements were so swift, that in spite

Dewet's Escape

of all the plans the British formed to capture him, he succeeded in eluding his pursuers and getting back to Orange River Colony, the last day of February, having sustained a loss of 300 men and a large number of horses. The British under Plumer and Bethune followed the Boer leader north, but had to give up the chase. As an aftermath of the invasion, part of Orange River Colony rose in rebellion, and the British had to sweep the country with several columns to pacify it, the operations resulting in the capture of 350 prisoners.

Lord Kitchener, finding that mounted troops were required to deal with guerilla war, organized several divisons with which he intended to sweep the country, and thus bring hostilities to a close. One division, part of which was raised in Canada, was known as the South African Constabulary Force. These operations resulted in the continued capture of Boers, arms, ammunitions, cattle, sheep and horses, thus slowly wearing down the resistance of the burghers.

Before beginning to deal with the enemy, Kitchener had under his command more than 50,000 mounted men. Seven columns, of 2,000 men each, under General French, made a wide sweeping movement in the Eastern Transvaal, in January, 1901. A number of Boer forces in this part were concentrated along the Delagoa and Natal Railways. French, with the object of cornering the burghers, spread out his columns covering a front of nearly 100 miles. As the net was gradually contracted, General Botha resolved to break through the cordon, and a night attack on Smith-Dorrien's divison was planned. But the Boer leader found that when he attempted to surprise the British, he was met with such a hot fire that he was forced to retreat.

Eastern Transvaal

A few skirmishes followed, but these did not hinder French in his clearing operations, and so thoroughly had the British columns done their work that at the end of February French's report showed a loss of 800 Boers in killed, wounded and taken prisoners. Besides a large number of rifles, horses, cattle and sheep were captured. In pushing further his operations, similar success was reported. The total loss to the enemy during this drive was over 1,000 men.

French having completed his work in the Eastern Transvaal, Babington was sent to drive Smuts and Delarey from the Magaliesburg district. A detachment of Babington's troops, the Imperial Light Horse, were suddenly attacked by the Boers in superior numbers. The British, after beating the enemy off, fell back on Babington's camp.

Babington, while pushing on a division of his army under Colonel Gray, came face to face with the enemy near Hartebeestefontein. It was here the British displayed their world-renowned courage. Spurring their horses forward, they dashed on, and completely routed the Boers.

A Hopeless Struggle

When we consider the foregoing successes, the wonder is that the Boers did not abandon the struggle, seeing that the operations were gradually weakening their forces, and leaving the country in a desolate state.

On February 27, 1901, Lord Kitchener and Botha met at Middleburg to discuss peace negotiations. No settlement was arrived at, as the burghers still demanded their independence. A second attempt to renew negotiations also failed, for Kruger and Steyn, when consulted, advised the Boers to continue the struggle.

During the winter of 1901 Kitchener introduced a new feature into his campaign. Several blockhouses, six-cornered buildings made of stone, covered with corrugated iron, with loopholes, were built along the railway lines. They were placed about 2,000 yards apart, and each contained from 6 to 30 soldiers. These acted as guards to the railways, and prevented the Boers from damaging the tracks.

Blockhouse System

Among the mountain fastnesses in the northern Transvaal, which afforded excellent shelter for the Boers, guerilla war still continued. The British forces moving along the Pretoria-Pietersburg Railway occupied town after town, leaving small detachments to garrison them, and finally arrived at Pietersburg. The sweeping operations carried on in the Roos-Senekal district resulted in the capture of a large number of Boers, notwithstanding that several of the enemy escaped through the net. The weekly reports showed a large number taken prisoners.

On May 26th, at Vlakfontein, in the Magaliesburg district, the British under General Dixon received a severe reverse with 180 men killed and wounded. The British then retired to Naawport, arriving there June 1st.

In May, Sir Bindon Blood with mounted troops swept the Ermelo, Bethel and Carolina districts where Botha and Viljoen were located. Botha succeeded in escaping and the British had, as their reward, only a few prisoners. On June 12, Viljoen's force, before crossing the Delagoa Line, made a sudden attack on a detachment of Colonel Beatson's column near Wilmansrust. The plan of assault was strategy itself. The Boers set fire to the veldt on the west side of the camp, and then advanced from the east; thus the enemy was quite invisible till they came within close range. The

Australians Defeated

brave Australians, 380 in number, displayed great courage, but lost about 50 in killed and wounded, while the rest surrendered.

Several British columns—in all about sixty—operated in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in June and July. They crossed and re-crossed the country, built lines of blockhouses, killed and captured a large number of Boers, besides taking cattle, sheep and horses. Although slight reverses occurred, yet the operations on the whole were a success, inasmuch as they were wearing down the Boer resistance. The extension of the blockhouse system aided materially in the work.

Among the events which occurred during these sweeping movements two need passing notice. On the morning of June 6th, Colonel Elliott attacked a Boer convoy near Reitz, and captured over 100 wagons and 45 prisoners. The British then took up a position in a kraal, and informed DeLisle of their success. Suddenly, they found themselves surrounded by 500 of the enemy under Dewet and Delarey. A hot engagement followed, resulting in heavy casualties to both sides.

The second event was the capture of the town of Reitz, and the narrow escape of Steyn. These operations extended into September. In August, Kitchener issued a proclamation in which he informed the burghers that all commandants, all field-cornets continuing in the field after the 15th of September would be banished from the country. The effect was to make the Boers more determined to carry on the war.

Kitchener's Proclamation

In our sketch of the invasion of Cape Colony we mentioned that the invaders had been driven out of the Western parts, but in the Eastern districts those who still remained formed themselves

into small roving bands, and spread over a large extent of territory.

Assisted by Disloyal Inhabitants

They were also helped in their warfare by the disloyal inhabitants, who supplied them with food, clothing, and gave them information regarding the movements of the British. So that it was difficult to deal with these bands of raiders. The commandos were under seven different leaders, the chief of whom were Kritzinger and Scheepers. The British, as in Orange River Colony and the Transvaal, were formed into several mobile columns under capable leaders.

The first success of the Boers was on May the 13th, at Maraisburg, when Malan's commando defeated the Midland Mounted Rifles. A number of the British were killed, wounded and taken prisoners, while a quantity of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors.

About the end of May, Kritzinger, who had been in Orange River Colony, returned with additional troops. This was the signal for the Boers to begin more active operations. On June the 2nd Kritzinger attacked Jamestown and captured supplies and horses; but becoming alarmed at the approaching British forces he escaped to the mountains. On June the 6th the British captured 20 prisoners in Barkly East district.

On June the 8th General French took command of the operations and under his directions very thorough work was done. After chasing the raiders through several districts for nearly two months,

Capture of Scheepers

he succeeded in rounding up the Boers and driving them northward with the exception of a few roving bands who broke through the cordon. The British captured several prisoners during these operations. Scheepers, who had been chased through the southern parts for

some months, was overtaken by sickness, and captured the 12th of October. He was executed in January, 1902.

The only engagement of importance was at Eland's River Poort, where on the 17th September, a commando rushed a squadron of Lancers, and inflicted a severe defeat.

The following is a detailed account:

"Smut's commando rushed a squadron of the 17th Lancers under Captain Sandeman on Tuesday morning, September the 17th. The squadron was posted at Modderfontein, guarding the southern exit from Elands River Poort and another pass towards the northeast known as Evans Hock, to prevent the Boers from coming southwest into the Cradock district. The surprise was due chiefly to the Boers being dressed in khaki and being thus mistaken for Colonel Gorringe's men, who were expected to arrive from Soude Nek during the course of the day. A mist which hung over the low ground till late that morning also favoured the approach of the enemy, as in the case of Colonel Scobell's capture of Lotter's commando. On receipt of a report that a small picket in advance of the camp had been rushed, a troop quickly mounted and rode towards the poort. The officer in command saw some khaki-clad men about two miles from camp, and, thinking that they were some of Colonel Gorringe's column, he rode forward to meet them. When about 200 yards distant, seeing them levelling their rifles, he shouted out, 'Don't fire. We are the 17th Lancers.' The only answer was rapid rifle fire, which emptied several saddles. During this time another body of the enemy had worked up the donga running past the camp and approached it from the rear. These men were dressed in khaki and were taken for friends. Major Nickalls was encamped at Hoogstude, about three miles distant, and, having been informed of the attack on

Captain Sandeman's camp, was coming up to its support. Consequently the order was given to fire on this party.

"The camp was placed on the southern slope of a gentle rise, which it encircles on the west by a spruit running generally north-west and joining the main river about two miles distant. About 300 yards from the spruit the ground on which the camp stood rises into a rocky kopje about 100 yards long at the crest. This was defended with great determination, and most of the casualties occurred here. The Boers, too, suffered very severely in their attack on this position, and it was not until the enemy attacked the hill from the rear that any impression seemed to have been made on the defenders. A perfect hail of bullets appears then to have been poured in from the rear, which killed or wounded all of its defenders. Finally Captain Sandeman tried to reach the kraals in the vicinity of the camp, but most of the men with him were shot down, and he himself was wounded. The Bores then rushed the camp, but not a single man surrendered; the enemy levelled their rifles and fired on any man they saw. Upon Major Nickhalls's squadron coming up, they retired quickly in the direction in which they had come. The Boers, on entering the camp, went straight for the supplies, but were able to take away only a few biscuits and hardly any ammunition, the Lancers having emptied their bandoliers, as the hundreds of empty cartridges found on the kopje eloquently testified. The enemy's casualties were extremely heavy. The dead and wounded were carried off by the commando when it retired."

CHAPTER XXX.

Lord Kitchener's Proclamation.

On September 15th Kitchener's proclamation came into force, but the Boer leaders instead of laying down arms became more active. Botha with a large force moved south through the Transvaal towards Natal. On the 15th September, near Scheeper's Nek he ambushed three companies of mounted infantry with three guns, commanded by Major Gough. After severe fighting the British were overpowered and lost their guns, first rendering them useless. Two officers and 14 men were killed, five officers and 150 men wounded, and 150 men were captured. Encouraged by this success, Botha, with a force of 1,500 Boers, made an all day attack on Fort Itala, on the border of Zululand, on the 26th September. The burghers were repulsed, but at heavy cost to the garrison, whose losses were 55, killed and wounded, and 63 missing. The Boers lost upwards of 500 men.

Attack on Fort Itala

After Botha defeated Major Gough at Scheeper's Nek, he determined at once to invade Natal and crossed the Zulu frontier, thinking, of course, that his way was clear to the Tugela River. Botha knew, however, that there were two small British outposts, Forts Itala and Prospect, from which he might expect resistance should he make an assault on them. Fort Itala had only a garrison of 300 men, with two 15-pounders and a Maxim gun. But

they were men of true British valor, and many of them were tried veterans of war. They were under the command of Major Chapman, of the Dublin Fusiliers. The Boer leader fancied that he could easily overpower this handful of men; but he reckoned without his host. Upon the 25th of September tidings reached the garrison that the Boers were marching to attack them. Immediately all preparations were made to give them "a warm reception."

Battle of Fort Itala

"An outpost of 80 men, under Lieutenants Kane and Lefroy, occupied the summit of the hill, out of sight of the main camp, which was on the slope of the hill. At about midnight six hundred Boers rushed the outpost. Their onslaught was so sudden and fierce that for twenty minutes only bayonets were used. Overwhelming odds soon decided the possession of the outpost. Lieutenant Kane fell dead, shouting, 'No surrender!' Lieutenant Lefroy was severely wounded, and the whole force was disabled. The main camp was thus reduced to 220 men. The Boers assailed from all sides. From about 1 a.m. throughout the remainder of the night, and all the following day, the little garrison withstood them, until seven in the evening, when the outlook seemed desperate. The British had been without water for many hours, the Boers having cut off their supply, and their ammunition was fast failing. Almost suddenly the Boer fire began to slacken, and soon after the attackers withdrew, either learning that General Bruce Hamilton was approaching, as one correspondent says, or, according to others, in sheer despair of succeeding. Their retirement opened the way for the wounded commander to withdraw his exhausted force, which reached N'Kandhla in the morning. Among the Boers killed were Generals Opperman and Schultz and Commandant Potgieter.

"According to a statement which reached Durban from N'Kandhla, a British military surgeon, who ascended Itala in the morning to attend the wounded there, was immediately made a prisoner by the Boers, who compelled him to attend their wounded. Consequently, the British wounded lay unsuccored during the day in the broiling sun, without water."

At the same time as the battle was going on round Fort Itala, Fort Prospect was also attacked by 600 men, under Emmett and Grobelaar. The fort had only a small number of men to defend it, but they were commanded by a brave officer, Captain Rowley.

Attack on Fort Prospect

"The attack on Prospect seems to have been only disastrous to the Boers. The camp was well situated for defence, and although the garrison numbered only 20 men, with one Maxim, they withstood all attacks, notwithstanding the dashing bravery of the assailants. The latter withdrew without achieving their purpose, and their dead were piled around the fort. The British loss was one killed and twelve wounded. The Boers have never hitherto displayed such reckless daring, and their defeat is the worst smash they have sustained. Major Chapman, commanding the British, seemed to bear a charmed life."

On September 30th Delarey and Kemp made a night attack on Colonel Kekewich's camp, at Moedwil, 75 miles west of Pretoria. After close fighting for two hours the Boers were driven back. Colonel Kekewich was wounded. The British casualties were 192 men.

"The fight at Magato Nek, where Kekewich was encamped, took place early in the morning. A patrol of yeomanry, who had proceeded beyond the pickets, rode into the Boer force and were driven back. The Boers followed them, rushed the pickets, and

gained a position commanding the camp. It was necessary to drive them from this position at all costs, and this was done by the Derbyshire regiment and the Scottish Horse, and the fighting was at such close quarters that the bayonets were used. This made the casualties heavy. The name of the Derbyshire regiment for staunch heroism under disconcerting circumstances was maintained, while the Scottish Horse also did excellent work."

From the day Kitchener's proclamation came into force till the end of September, the British casualties were upwards of 600 men, which showed that the enemy was far from being subdued.

On October 9th martial law was proclaimed in the districts of Cape Town, Winberg, Simonstown, Port Elizabeth and East London. This stringent measure was necessary in order to prevent the Boers from getting supplies through Cape Town.

In the guerilla war which still continued, Lord Kitchener's weekly "bag" showed a large number of Boers killed, wounded, captured and surrendered, together with stores, cattle, horses and sheep.

The Boers had made an unsuccessful attempt to raid Natal. But Botha's commandos brought into Vryheid district were forced back to Ermelo.

On October 24th the Boers, commanded by Delarey and Kemp, attacked the British near the Great Marco River, but after a hot engagement the enemy was driven off. The casualties on both sides were heavy.

Attack by Botha

Six days afterwards the British forces, under Colonel Benson, were surprised by Botha at Brackenlaagte, in the Eastern Transvaal.

"It appears that General Botha, who had been joined by another big commando, aggregating 1,000 men, attacked Colonel

Benson's rearguard on October the 30th, on the march, and captured two guns, but was unable to retain them. Colonel Benson fell mortally wounded early in the fight. Major Wools-Sampson took command, collected the convoy and took up a position for defence about 500 yards from the entrenchments prepared by the Boers. The captured guns were so situated that neither side could touch them. The Boers made desperate efforts to overwhelm the whole British force, charging repeatedly right up to the British lines, and being driven back each time with heavy loss. The defence was stubbornly and successfully maintained through the whole of the following day and the succeeding night, until Colonel Barter, who had marched all night from Bushman's Kop, brought relief in the morning of November the 1st. The Boers then retired. Their losses are estimated at between 300 and 400. Colonel Benson did not long survive. Not only did General Botha direct the attack, but he personally shared in the fighting."

During these guerilla operations the Boers frequently deceived the British by wearing khaki uniforms taken from prisoners. Kitchener had to adopt severe measures, and issued orders that captured Boers clad in British uniform were to be shot. The Boers felt the effect of these orders afterwards.

The work of clearing out the Boers in Cape Colony was necessarily slow. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country districts were sympathizers. The Boers were more mobile than the British, who had not sufficient horses.

About this time the British received help from an unexpected source. A number of Boers expressed a desire to bear arms against their countrymen. Several contingents of ex-burghers were enrolled, the latest corps being commanded by General Andries Cronje, a brother of the famous Boer leader. These

corps were known as the National Scouts, and aided materially in hunting down the Boers.

On November 14th the rear guard of Colonel Byng's column was attacked near Heilbron, Orange River Colony, by 400 Boers under Dewet. The fighting lasted two hours, the casualties on both sides being slight.

At Villiersdorp, on November 20th, the British met with a serious disaster. Major Fisher attempted to capture a ridge held by the Boers. The horses at the south end of the line stampeded, and the Boers during the confusion effected a lodgment on the ridge, and wounded Major Fisher and Captain Lanford dangerously, after capturing 300 prisoners whom they were forced to release when Colonel Rimington's column arrived. Among the Boer leaders captured was Commandant Buys, who had been wounded.

Serious Disaster

Notwithstanding that the British were attacked frequently, and met with slight reverses, yet Kitchener's great sweeping movements were beginning to show substantial progress. In confirmation of the foregoing we give a summary of the address of Mr. Broderick, Secretary of War, before the Carlton Club, in London, November 13th. In his remarks he stated that Kitchener had been proceeding on two lines. He had divided the country that was settled from that which was unsettled by means of a system of blockhouses. The blockhouse system enclosed an area of 14,700 square miles of the Transvaal and 17,000 in the Orange River Colony. Within the several enclosed districts the Boers could not exist. Outside these districts the enemy was being slowly hunted down by mobile columns. Continuing, the speaker showed the effectiveness of the blockhouse system in protecting the railway

The Blockhouse System

communications by which the British were able to carry supplies to the enclosed districts. Referring to the number of times the railway had been cut since October last year, he said that in October, 1900, the railway was cut 32 times, in November 30 times, in December 21 times, in January 16, in February 30, in March 18, in April 18, in May 12, in June 8, in July 4, in August 4, in September 2, and in October not at all. The important result was that 100 refugees a week were going up to resume work at Johannesburg. With reference to the number of Boers captured and put out of action up to date, the speaker, basing his remarks on the official reports, said that in the concentration camps, or in custody in the various islands, there were 42,000 Boers; that 11,000 more had been killed, wounded, had left the colony, or had taken parole, or were otherwise employed. He further added that the number in the field was about 10,000. The speaker also informed the audience the government was so convinced that this system of wearing down the enemy was making substantial progress that additional preparations were being made to supply Kitchener with fresh troops, in order to bring the war speedily to a close.

Substantial Progress

Owing to the stringency of the Censor, reports received at the War Office were very meagre. On December 2nd, Kitchener's report showed that since November 25th, 32 Boers had been killed, and 18 wounded, 250 had been captured and 14 surrendered. General French's column in Cape Colony had inflicted heavy losses on Myburg's forces. Kitchener reported, December 2nd, that over 400 Boers had been put out of the conflict, as a result of one week's work.

The further extension of the blockhouses in the Eastern Transvaal was enabling Kitchener for the first time to carry out system-

atic and continuous operations in the Ermelo, Bethel and Carolina districts. Columns had cleared the south-eastern districts of Orange River Colony and were now operating northward of the Thabanchu line. In the extreme west of Cape Colony the Boers, commanded by Maritz, were still active.

Sharp Fighting

During December some sharp fighting occurred in the Orange River and Transvaal colonies.

Near Beginderyn, 200 mounted infantry, while searching farms, were attacked by 300 Boers and 40 armed natives, under Commandant Britz. The Boers charged determinedly in overwhelming numbers. The British casualties were 10 killed and 15 wounded.

Important Capture

On December 3rd Colonel Spens surprised a Boer laager near Oshoek. Thirty Boers were captured, the rest escaping in all directions. Among the prisoners were several Bethel officials. This capture practically wiped out the remainder of the Bethel and Standerton commandos.

At Langberg, December 18th, Dewet attacked a British force commanded by Generals Dartnell and Campbell. The Boers charged bravely and fought desperately for several hours. Dewet was driven off with a loss of 20 men. The British casualties were 15.

Two days after, Botha, with 800 Boers, surprised Colonel Damant's advance guard at Tafel Kop, in Orange River Colony. The Boers rushed the kopje commanding the main body and the guns, but Damant rallied his men and drove the Boers from the hill. The British loss was considerable. Colonel Damant was dangerously wounded. The Boers left six dead on the field and dispersed.

"In the fight for Tafel Kop the Boers, dressed as British Yeomen, engaged in a splendid race with the British in the attempt to be first in gaining the crest of the kopje. The Boers gained the summit first, and opened a heavy fire on a single troop of Damant's Horse, which took part in the race. These troopers took advantage of all the small amount of cover available immediately below the Boers, and fought until all but four of them were killed or wounded. By that time reinforcements of Damant's Horse came up and charged and captured the kopje."

Tafel Kop

On Christmas Eve the British met with a serious reverse at the hands of that redoubtable enemy, Dewet. Colonel Firman's camp at Tweefontein was successfully rushed by a considerable force of Boers. The British loss amounted to 56 killed, and 150 wounded and taken prisoners. Lord Kitchener's account of the fighting showed that the column was encamped on the slope of a kopje, the southern side of which was precipitous. Outposts held the edge of the precipice. The position, naturally strong, had been well entrenched. The Boers appeared to have climbed the precipice, and mustering near the top, at 2 a.m. suddenly attacked the picket on the summit. Before the men could get clear of their tents, the Boers swooped through them shooting the soldiers down as they came out.

Serious Reverse

Most of the British officers were shot while trying to stem the rush. Lieutenant Harwich himself opened fire with "pom-poms," and was shot through the heart while firing. Lieut Watney was killed while leading a charge. All engaged did their best, but once the picket was overwhelmed the superior force of the Boers had all the advantage. A fifteen-pounder, after two rounds, became

jammed. The men composing the detachment stood by the gun and were shot round it.

The Imperial Light Horse arrived on the scene at 6.30 a.m. After breathing their horses, they galloped after the Boers, who succeeded in reaching the broken country, where the L.H. were useless against superior numbers.

Following this reverse came a minor success. At Bothaville the South African Constabulary, after raiding the town, captured 36 Boers.

"The revival of activity on the part of Dewet seems to have been dictated by a desire to break the chain of blockhouses before it closed round his place of refuge. He made his first sally at Heilbron and attempted to carry off Col. Wilson's convoy. Beaten off, he moved to the west of Lindley, and presently at Lanberg found himself in danger of three converging British columns. General Dartnell forced him into action. Both sides suffered severely, but badly as he had been hit, Dewet turned northward and met with complete success at Tweefontein, capturing two guns and large quantities of ammunition and stores."

Dewet Active

The results of Kitchener's sweeping movements in December can be best judged from his despatch to the War Office. We quote as follows:

"Monroe and Scobell, in the northern part of Cape Colony, have reduced Fouche's and Myburg's commandos to about 200 mounted men. Bentinck and Doran have driven Kritzinger's remaining followers from Cambodoo Mountains.

"Commandant Haasbrook was killed December 16th. His brother, a field-cornet, was killed December 19th.

"Methuen has captured 37 Boers.

"Col. Steele, on December 18th, surprised a laager west of Bamanskraal and took 32 prisoners, including Field Cornet Schooman.

"Colebrander has captured 62 Boers, including Commandant Nigel."

A very important capture was made on December 15th. Kritzinger, while attempting to cut the barbed wire fence connecting the block houses, near Middleburg in Cape Colony, was wounded and captured.

Boer Forces Reduced

With the dawn of the new year the war was still in progress. A résumé of Kitchener's work, from January 1st, 1901, showed the total reduction of Boer forces amounted to 21,800. So that since the beginning of the twentieth century the situation had certainly changed so much that the end of the war was in sight.

Reduction of Great Britain's Forces

It may be also interesting to note at this stage of the war that the total reduction of Great Britain's military force in South Africa from the beginning of the war till the end of December, according to authentic reports, amounted to 24,299; of this number 19,430 were actually killed or died.

On January 6th Lord Kitchener reported the occurrence of a number of skirmishes in various parts of the war field since the beginning of the New Year, resulting in many captures and surrenders of Boers.

In Cape Colony General French was able to report that the Boers were so far reduced in numbers as to require only an elaborate police system to keep them in check.

A Large Number of Boers

During the latter part of January, as the paring down process went on, Kitchener reported weekly a large number of captures and surrenders, especially by the columns of Bruce Hamilton. On January the 28th this general reported the important capture of General B. Viljoen.

A despatch from Lord Kitchener, dated January the 30th, reported that the camp of Colonel Dumoulin, near Koffytein, Orange River Colony, was attacked by Niewhoudt's commando, and after severe fighting the Boers were repulsed. In Cape Colony General French had captured 26 Boers belonging to Fouche's commando in the north-eastern part of Cape Colony, and the commando was completely scattered.

The British in their operations against Dewet, so far, had not been able to capture him. But Byng's column, while proceeding towards Liebenbergsvlei River, attacked and routed a considerable force of Boers under Commandant Wessels.

The following is a detailed account of these operations :—

Operations Against Dewet

"Colonel Garratt was in command of a New Zealand force and some South African Light Horse, and whilst near the Wilge River 100 men of Wessel's commando drove in the Light Horse rearguard. This led to an exciting incident, 70 Boers wearing British cavalry cloaks, in the rain and under cover of some Boers in a kraal, charging the Light Horse position, firing as they advanced, with the object of capturing a pom-pom. They failed to accomplish this, and broke and fled. It afterwards transpired that the attacking force was Dewet's bodyguard. Dewet, with six men, fled up the Liebenbergsvlei River.

"Colonel Byng then directed his operations towards Dewet's retreat, during which operation C Squadron of the South African Light Horse surprised Steyn's remount depot, and captured twenty of Steyn's own horses in splendid condition.

"On the afternoon of February the 3rd, Colonel Garratt saw what he then made out as a number of mule waggons and one gun, 2,000 yards away. He at once detached the New Zealanders, 120 strong, who, under a heavy fire, charged the Boers' rearguard, consisting of 60 men posted in a strong position, and then galloped on to the head of the Boer convoy.

"Simultaneously, the enemy ran into three of Garratt's detached sections previously posted ahead of the convoy. The Boers now turned from north to west pursued by our combined forces. The latter, after eight miles' hard galloping, captured one 15-pounder, captured by Dewet from Colonel Firman's column on Christmas Eve, two pom-poms, one of which had been used by the Boers from the beginning of the war, and large quantities of ammunition, besides 50 horses and 60 British Government mules --the Boers had from six to ten of these mules harnessed to each gun.

"Commandant Mears, with Captain Muller and four Boers, boldly attempted to recapture one of the pom-poms, but the firing of the New Zealanders was too good for them. After abandoning this attempt Mears himself had a lucky escape, but Captain Muller was captured. In taking the guns the New Zealanders had one man killed and two wounded. These were Colonel Garratt's only casualties."

Other despatches contained reports of several captures in Cape Colony and the Transvaal, and that in the Northern Transvaal, Beyer's commando was the only one remaining.

Continuing the account of the chase after Dewet, we find that a general advance of 23 British columns began on the night of February the 5th, the whole force moving from various directions and forming a continuous line of mounted men on the west bank of Liebenberg's Vlei, from Frankfort as far south as Fanny's Home, and thence to Kaffir Kop. The line then advanced to the west, and the following night the British entrenched, with their outposts fifty yards apart. They held the line from Holland, on the Heilbron-Frankfort blockhouse line, to Doornkloof, on the Kroonstadt-Lindley line, while the columns were also working in advance of the blockhouse lines to prevent Dewet crossing. The railway line was patrolled throughout the night by armored trains, equipped with powerful searchlights. The train lights were supplemented by stationary searchlights. But, notwithstanding that Kitchener personally superintended these operations, Dewet, with some burghers, succeeded in crossing the line. The following is a full report of the battle:

"The battle at Heilbron, Orange River Colony, raged from 9 o'clock Friday night until 2 o'clock on Saturday morning. Throughout the five hours a fearful ring of fire, from rifles, cannon and pom-poms, swept along the British lines from Louwspruit to Heilbron, southwest away to Lindley and Kroonstad, in holding Dewet's Boers, who made repeated attempts to break out of the circle of troops. From behind rocks and dongas the Boers kept up a vigorous fusilade. Simultaneously others charged, but again and again were the Boers repulsed, leaving dead, wounded and prisoners in the hands of the British.

"At the outset of the preparations the Boers realized that the operations were not merely an ordinary 'drive,' and Dewet assembled his whole force and discussed the situation with the

commanders, with the result that the Boers were split up into three forces. On Thursday night 500 Boers, headed by Van Collers, rushed a force of the Imperial Light Horse. About 100 Boers got through. The remainder, encountering a tremendous fire, were turned back. Friday night's conflict covered an area of forty to fifty miles, in which the long-hunted, harassed and desperate men endeavored to find outlets. The Boers at one spot got within thirty yards of the British firing line, but the barbed wire balked the burghers and forced them to retreat. Aided by the electric searchlights the British harrowed the surrounding territory with shrapnel shells and Maxim bullets.

Battle at Heilbron

"The northern section of the Boers also made a desperate effort to break through. Collecting a number of cattle, they drove them down on the British lines. Bending low in their saddles the Boers rode among the cattle, making it impossible to distinguish them in the darkness. The British pickets opened a terrible fire, and the Boers were everywhere met with a relentless hail of bullets. A long line of flame, crackling like burning wood, ran up and down the firing line, nearly thirty miles in length, as the armored trains flashed their searchlights over miles of country. The reports of the quick-firing guns along the entrenched line and the booming of the field guns and pom-poms sounded very deep amid the sharp crackling of the musketry, while Heilbron fort contributed to the universal din with the deep roar of its naval guns. This lasted for some twenty minutes, when gradually the rattle died down until only the crack of a single shot was heard. Then all was again quiet. The Boers' attempt to break the British circle had failed. A few of them had succeeded in crossing the line, and among them was Dewet."

All Kitchener's reports to the War Office during the month of February showed satisfactory progress. On February the 11th his despatch recorded as the result of one week's operations, 717 Boers put out of action. In Cape Colony the Boers had a slight success. They attacked and captured a convoy 30 miles from Fraserburg. Near Calvinia, Doran's column was rushed at night, the British losing 27 men.

"On February the 12th, while 150 Mounted Infantry were patrolling the Klip River, south of Johannesburg, they were led into a Boer trap. The British had surrounded a farm house, where they suspected Boers were hiding. A single Boer broke away, and the British started in pursuit of him, who climbed a kopje, the British following. Immediately a heavy fire was opened upon them from three sides. The British found themselves in a defenceless position. Eight of the officers made a gallant effort, and defended the ridge with carbines and revolvers, until they were overpowered. The British lost heavily before the force was able to fall back under cover of a blockhouse."

British Led Into a Trap

Another disaster to the British occurred at Klipdam. A detachment of Scotch Greys were cut up by the Boers. Major C. W. M. Fielden and Captain E. Usher were severely wounded. Two men were killed, six wounded, and 46 captured. The Boers subsequently released the prisoners.

Following this reverse came a despatch from Kitchener stating that Colonel Park, with 300 mounted National Scouts, recently surprised a Boer force at Nootigacht, Transvaal Colony, and captured 164, together with a quantity of munitions of war, and a number of horses and waggons. There were no British casualties.

On the night of the 10th of February, Dewet with 400 men

broke through a blockhouse line, 10 miles west of Lindley, Orange River Colony. The blockhouses opened fire on the Boers, two of whom were killed. The remainder got away to their old ground near Reitz.

Two events which occurred in the war field during the latter part of February demand passing notice. On the night of February the 23rd, 600 Boers, driving cattle before them, made a determined attack to rush the outpost line near Bothasberg, in the Transvaal Colony. They were led by Ross Hands and Manie Botha. When the Boers realized that their attempts to break through the wire fences were frustrated, they crouched beside the dead cattle, and from that defence poured a heavy fire on the British troops. The fusilade was steadily returned, and finally the Boers were driven off, leaving fifteen dead and six wounded on the field. The next event was the capture of a convoy by the Boers, near Klerksdorp, on February the 25th. In this disaster the British had 50 officers and men killed, 126 wounded, and a number taken prisoners.

Boers Rushed an Outpost

The following despatch from Lord Kitchener gives the details:

March 3.—In a despatch from Pretoria, dated to-day, Lord Kitchener sends details of the disaster to the escort of the convoy of empty waggons at Vondonop, southwest of Klerksdorp, Transvaal Colony. The British casualties in killed, wounded and men made prisoners reach the total of 632. In addition, the Boers captured two guns.

Lieut.-Col. Anderson, who commanded the British force and who has returned to Kraaipan, Cape Colony, with nine officers and 245 men, reports that when his advance guard was within ten

miles of Klerksdorp during the morning of February the 25th, the Boers opened a heavy rifle fire on the troops from the scrub. The burghers were driven off and the convoy resumed its march, when a more determined attack was made on the convoy's left flank, the Boers getting within a hundred yards and stampeding the mules harnessed to a number of waggons. The attackers were again driven off. At about 6.30 in the morning the rear guard was attacked by a strong force of Boers, and simultaneously another body of Boers boldly charged the centre of the convoy and stampeded the mules in all directions, throwing the escort into confusion, during which the Boers charged and recharged, riding down the separated British units.

Capture of a Convoy

"The fighting lasted two hours, during which the two British guns and a pom-pom almost exhausted their ammunition. A detachment of two hundred mounted infantry from Klerksdorp attempted to reinforce the British, but were held in check by the Boers.

"Lieut.-Colonel Anderson adds that the strength of the Boers was estimated at from 1,200 to 1,700. Commandants Delarey, Kemps, Celliers, Lemmer, Wolmarans and Potgieter were all present. Commandant Lemmer is said to have been killed."

It might be added that not since the disaster at Nootigacht, which occurred in December, 1900, had the British sustained so severe a reverse. The total losses on that occasion were 602.

But the effect of the Klerksdorp coup was nullified by the destructive results of Kitchener's sweeping drive south of the Vaal. The following is the British Commander's main despatch:

"Harrismith, Orange River Colony, Feb. 28th.—Yesterday the combined operations of the columns terminated in driving the

Boers against the Harrismith and Van Reenen blockhouse line. The River Wilge was held by the Leinster Regiment and Elliott's Mounted Infantry, from Harrismith, while the columns formed on the Frankfort and Botha's Pass blockhouse line and advanced south, holding the entire country between the Wilge and the Natal frontier.

"On the first night a very severe attempt to break through was made at a point between Rimington's and Byng's columns, and the New Zealanders behaved with great gallantry. The fighting was at close quarters and the Boers, as usual, drove a large herd of cattle in front of them. Manie Botha, the Boer leader, was killed, and 35 dead Boers were found on the ground. Over 100 horses were killed and six thousand head of cattle were left in our hands. Other small attempts to break out were made, and in two cases succeeded. On the last day four hundred and fifty Boers, with rifles and horses, were captured.

Results of Operations

"All the columns have not yet reported, and the operations have been very wide. But over six hundred Boers have been either killed or are prisoners in our hands, also 2,000 horses, 28,000 head of cattle, 200 waggons, 60,000 sheep, 600 rifles and 50,000 rounds of ammunition. The prisoners include General Dewet's son and his secretary, Commandants Meyer and Truther, and several field cornets. These satisfactory results are very appropriate on the anniversary of Majuba."

"A despatch received to-night from Harrismith shows that General Dewet and Mr. Steyn were within the net described by Lord Kitchener, but escaped before the line was completed. To-night's despatch from Harrismith also says that Colonel Rawlinson scored the biggest success of the drive. He succeeded in

completely surrounding a laager of four hundred Boers and gave them one hour in which to decide whether they would surrender or fight. The Boers, finding escape impossible, surrendered at discretion, and not a single shot was fired."

But, though the British columns inflicted a defeat on Delarey's forces, yet it was not decisive, for on March the 7th, at Tweebosch, Methuen's troops were badly handled by Delarey, and the General was taken prisoner. Kitchener's detailed account of the battle shows how serious the reverse was.

"At daybreak (about 5 a.m.) a heavy fire was opened upon the rearguard, and orders were given for its reinforcement from the front by two guns of the 38th Battery, a pom-pom, Ashburner's Light Horse, and a detachment of the 5th Imperial Yeomanry. The enemy also showed a disposition to gallop round from the rear and assail the flanks of the column as well.

"At 5.30 a.m. the ox convoy, then about a mile in advance, was ordered to halt, and the escort was disposed round it ready to repel attack; the mule waggons at this time were rapidly closing up towards the ox convoy.

"The Boers upon our right rear flank then developed a heavy attack which caused the sudden retirement and ultimate stampede of the mounted men, most of whom galloped past the left flank of the convoy in complete confusion. The section of the 38th Battery was thus left unprotected, but the detachment gallantly continued to serve the guns until every man, except Lieutenant Nesham, was killed or wounded. This young officer, so Lord Methuen is informed, was then summoned to surrender, and on his refusing to do so was also shot down.

"As the mounted screen was driven off the field the enemy advanced rapidly, intermingled with the fugitives, and pressed home

a vigorous and determined attack upon the convoy, the defence of which was maintained for some time by the Infantry, under Lord Methuen himself, supported by the two guns of the 4th Battery. Orders had, in the meantime, been sent for the mounted men to be rallied upon a commanding ridge 2,000 yards away, along the road to Leeuwkuil, and though few of them could be induced to hold their ground, a party of some 40 men, under Major Paris, established themselves in an isolated kraal about 800 yards from the convoy, from which they endeavored to support the Infantry to the best of their ability.

Methuen's Mishap

"The defence made by the Infantry and guns lasted until 9 a.m., by which time Lord Methuen had been seriously wounded, and Lieutenant Venning, Royal Artillery, and all the men at the guns shot down.

"Further resistance became useless and surrender inevitable. Those in the kraal held out until two guns and a pom-pom rendered their position untenable, when they, too, surrendered, having lost nine of their number killed and wounded in its defence.

"The Boer commanders present were Generals Delarey, Kemp, Vermaas, and Celliers, and Commanders Van Zyl, D. Botha, and Lemmer, who apparently had some 1,500 men under their orders. General Delarey treated Lord Methuen with kindness and consideration, and on the 13th of March sent him into Klerksdorp for better medical treatment.

"Our casualties in this unfortunate engagement were four officers and 64 other ranks killed, and ten officers and one hundred and eleven other ranks wounded, the number of unwounded prisoners remaining in the enemy's hands being 205. What the Boer losses were I am unable to say, but 20 of their number are

known to have been killed, and they probably had other casualties.

"The cause of the reverse is, I am afraid, to be found in the behavior of the bulk of the mounted troops, who offered a very feeble and ineffectual resistance, and then left the infantry and guns to struggle against superior numbers. I do not, however, intend this criticism to apply to the whole of the mounted men, for several parties held out to the last, notably the one at the kraal, commanded by Major Paris."

Kitchener's grinding down process was showing systematic work, and dynamic thoroughness, with which the combined forces swept everything against the blockhouse lines. His report, received March the 18th, showed that during the past week the Boer forces had been reduced by 302 men.

It may interest the reader to know the general situation of affairs in South Africa at this stage of the war as given by a correspondent of the London *Times*:

"In the Orange River Colony the enemy is split up into small groups, many of the Boers are dismounted and in hiding, while, because of the defection of Dewet, they are without a prominent leader.

"In the Eastern Transvaal, south of the Delagoa Railway line, there are still organized commandos, but none over 300 strong. All are continually hustled, and every month Commandant General Botha's influence grows weaker. North of the Delagoa line the Boers are more anxious to lead peaceful lives, and will embrace the first opportunity to discontinue hostilities without rendering possible a charge of cowardice.

General Situation in South Africa

"In the Western Transvaal," the correspondent goes on to say, "the Boers are supplied with guns and ammunition, and have un-

limited transport and a large amount of stock. Their numbers give them confidence, and the blockhouse system has not been extended sufficiently to alarm them. Because of their general insufficiency the British troops are unable to cope adequately with the Boer forces, all of the burghers in the Western Transvaal being fighting men. The waverers have been captured or have surrendered, and those in the field seem to have no intention of surrendering."

On March the 23rd a combined movement was made to capture Delarey, but the Boer chief successfully evaded Lord Kitchener's cordon at the outset. The effect of these operations will be readily seen from Kitchener's account:

Movement against Delarey

"At dusk on the evening of March the 23rd the combined movement against Delarey was undertaken by columns of mounted men, without guns or impedimenta of any sort. The columns started from Commando Drift, on the Vaal River, and travelled rapidly all night, and at dawn, March the 24th, occupied positions along the line from Commando Drift to the Lichtenburg blockhouse line. The troops moved rapidly eastward, keeping a continuous line, with the object of driving the enemy against the blockhouses or forcing an action. The result has not yet been fully reported. Kekewich's column, after the commencement of the action, captured three fifteen-pounders, two pom-poms, nine prisoners and a hundred mule carts and waggons. General W. Kitchener's column captured 89 prisoners, 45 carts and waggons, and a thousand cattle. The troops covered eighty miles in twenty-four hours. The total number of prisoners is 135."

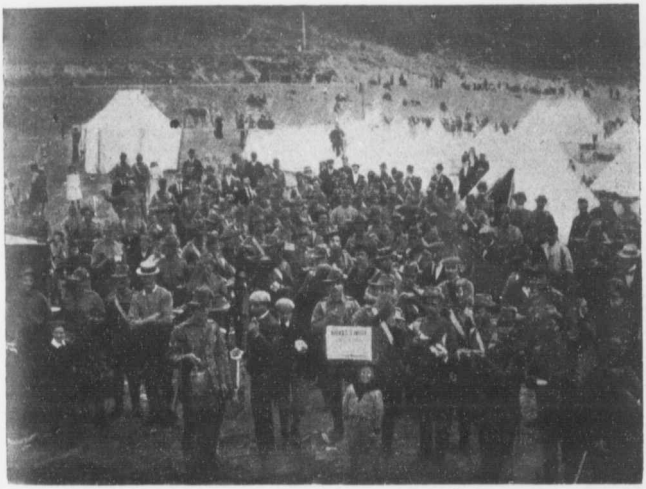
By a series of combined movements carried on simultaneously in the three colonies, Kitchener had so far reduced the Boer forces

that towards the end of March it became evident to the burghers they could not carry on hostilities much longer. Consequently, Schalkburger opened peace negotiations with Lord Kitchener.

One of the most important drives was that conducted on March the 23rd and 24th, against Delarey's commandos, by Colonel Kekewich, Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson and General Walter Kitchener. Lord Kitchener's account, which is here given, is full of significance :

" A movement upon the Schoonspruit blockhouse line, which had been strengthened for the time being by portions of the Cameron and Seaforth Highlanders, was then commenced, and, as our troops closed in, it was found that a considerable number of Boers were within the encircling cordon. Several parties unfortunately broke through, one of 300 men, who were materially assisted by wearing khaki clothing, escaping between the columns under Colonels Lowe and Keir before the latter could complete their extension in the early hours of the morning. Further to the north, about Leeuwfontein, Paardeplaats, and Buisfontein, some sharp fighting took place. Here the columns under Colonels Kekewich and Sir H. Rawlinson were in touch with a large body of Boers, who at first seemed inclined to risk an effort to break through the blockhouse line towards Lapfontein, and then made off south, eventually escaping under cover of the mist and darkness of the succeeding night. Colonel Kekewich's columns were able to recover three fifteen-pound guns, two pom-poms, and a considerable amount of ammunition which had been lost in the reverses to Colonel Von Donop's convoy and Lord Methuen. Eight Boers were killed, and our other captures included 165 prisoners, 71 horses, 1,600 cattle, and 103 carts and waggons."

Some "Diamonds in the Rough." 4th Contingent, Wellington, New Zealand



2nd Contingent, Newtown Camp, Wellington, New Zealand

Last meal in Newtown Camp, prior to embarkation for South Africa.

N. S. W. Mounted Infantry

Shipping Horses, S.S. "Aberdeen."

Towards the end of March New Zealand offered a tenth contingent for service in South Africa. Australia, following New Zealand, wished to despatch reinforcements of 2,000 men. Canada at the same time offered to recruit and send 2,000 mounted men. This patriotic action on the part of these colonies was gladly accepted.

Reference has already been made to the National Scouts. This corps of ex-burghers, acting in conjunction with British troops, captured a Boer leader, Cherry Emmett, Botha's brother-in-law, in the Western Transvaal. The Boer losses at the capture of Emmett's laager were 27 killed and wounded. Williams, a notorious train wrecker, fell into their hands during the recent operations.

Battle of Boschman's Kop

On the night of March the 31st, a detachment of Second Dragoons Guards, under Lieut.-Colonel Fanshawe, fought a sharp rearguard action near Boschman's Kop. The British, learning that a body of the enemy were hidden in a hollow close at hand, attempted to surround them. Almost immediately, they were received by a very heavy fire, and were compelled to retire. Close fighting then continued for several hours. The heavy firing called up Colonel Lawley and his troops, who drove off the Boers. The British losses were two squadron leaders, 10 non-commissioned officers and men killed, and 5 officers and 59 men wounded. The National Scouts also had one man killed and two wounded. The Boer casualties were 12 men killed and 40 wounded.

News of a severe battle with Delarey's forces at Kleinhart's River, on March the 31st, in which the Canadian Mounted Rifles took part, brought sorrow to many Canadian homes. The *Daily Telegraph*, in its editorial comment upon the engagement, says:

Hart's River Battle

"Above all, the Canadian Rifles, still proving themselves worthy of the renown of Paardeberg, stood their ground with heroic gallantry, one party, under Lieut. Bruce Carruthers, fighting until every single man was either dead or wounded." Others of the forces showed great steadiness, allowing the Boers to advance within two hundred yards of them, and repelling them with a steady rifle fire.

The following is a graphic account of the battle as given by an eye-witness:

"The engagement took place at Rooival, on the Brakspruit, about 60 miles to the west of Klerksdorp, and resulted in perhaps the most decisive check that the Boer general has met with during the whole course of his remarkable military career. General Walter Kitchener, who had left Klerksdorp at the head of a body of infantry and mounted troops, reached a camping ground forty miles to the westward on Monday morning, and at 2.30 despatched a mobile column, under the command of Colonel Cookson, to reconnoitre in the direction of Hart's River. The force consisted of about 1,700 men, all mounted on good horses. Colonel Keir was assigned the command of a portion of the column, composed of two 28th Mounted Infantry, the Artillery, Mounted Rifles, and the 2nd Regiment of Kitchener's Fighting Scouts. Under the personal direction of Colonel Cookson were the 2nd Canadian Mounted Infantry, Damant's Horse and the guns that accompanied the force—namely, two sections of the 7th Battery Royal Field Artillery, and three pom-poms. The supreme command, it should be again stated, was vested in Colonel Cookson.

"The expedition, which was not encumbered by unnecessary baggage, covered the ground rapidly, and shortly after daybreak lighted upon the spoor of the enemy's convoy. The trail was

closely followed up, and by about 9 o'clock the clouds of dust stirred up by the convoy were clearly visible ahead. A report was brought in to the effect that the escort consisted of about 500 Boers. Shortly afterwards the Mounted Infantry, who were moving at the head of the column, were ordered to advance at a gallop, and after covering eight miles at a good speed, came in touch with the enemy. They at once dismounted and entered into action. Both sides sustained a few casualties, but the Boers kept the convoy moving on steadily, and succeeded in getting it away over a ridge. The Mounted Infantry were restrained from a pursuit, as the information had been obtained that a further force of over 2,000 Boers, who had been marching considerably ahead of their convoy, were hastening back to the scene of the fighting.

"Colonel Cookson had by this time arrived at the front with the whole of the column. Orders were given for the men to halt and encamp on the Brakspruit, while outposts were thrown out to guard against surprise. A few minutes later, however, a shell from one of the three Boer guns, which had been moved up to a long low ridge 4,000 yards distant from the camp, dropped into the midst of our men. At the same time masses of Boers began to show on all sides, especially on the flanks of our column.

Boers on All Sides

"A general engagement ensued. The disposition of Colonel Cookson's force was, roughly, as follows: A mile and a half away from the camp, on the right flank, was a small body of men, composed of 24 Canadians and 45 Mounted Infantry. They were posted 500 yards in front of a belt of trees. On the left flank, about 1,000 yards from the camp, stood a farmhouse, which was held by two companies of the Artillery and Mounted Rifles. Along the line of the Brakspruit, in such a position that they could cover

the farmhouse, were the remainder of the Artillery Rifles. Next to them came the 28th Mounted Infantry, Kitchener's Fighting Scouts, the bulk of the Canadians and Damant's Horse. All the horses that it was possible to safeguard in that way were placed under shelter in depressions in the Spruit.

"As in his previous and more successful engagements, Delarey's object was to 'rush' the British defence by a coup de main. Shortly after his heavier guns had opened fire on the camp, a pom-pom was trained on our men, who were lying down along the Spruit. Simultaneously, 500 Boers, riding in lines, and in widely extended order, were launched from the ridge, and galloped straight for the farm-house, which was undoubtedly the key of our position. The enemy came on at a headlong pace, and did not draw rein until they were within 500 yards of the building. Volleys were directed at them from the house and its vicinity, and the Boers halted, and with the reins thrown loosely over their left arms, returned the fire from the saddle. The moment they came to a standstill our guns in that corner of the camp opened fire on them at a range of 1200 yards. Subjected to this cross shell fire and to the steady volleys from the farm-house, the Boers were compelled, after three or four minutes of a particularly warm time, to wheel about and gallop for cover under the ridge from which they had come.

"In the meantime the small band of Canadians and Mounted Infantry on the other flank found themselves opposed to a force seven times their own number. About 600 Boers advanced upon them, under cover of the belt of trees, and charged upon the thin line, calling upon them confidently to surrender. Lieut. Carruthers, of the Canadians, promptly sprang to his feet, and crying, 'No surrender!'

The Brave Canadians

shot down the foremost man with his revolver at a distance of fifteen paces. The men were not slow in emulating their gallant leader. There was absolutely no cover for them, except the short grass, but lying down in it at full length, they fired steadily and straight, and forced the Boers to bolt back to the screen of trees. The enemy, however, were determined to capture or annihilate the little band. While some of them climbed into the trees, and, from that position of advantage, fired down on to our men, the others extended their line, and quickly brought the defenders under a decimating cross-fire.

"But every man of the seventy proved himself a hero. For two hours, until all but fifteen of their number had been killed or wounded, they kept the 600 Boers at bay. It was not till then that the enemy ventured to make another rush, and succeeded in capturing the handful of survivors. The Canadians had 21 men out of 24 killed and wounded, and the Mounted Infantry lost 30 out of 45. Lieut. Carruthers was the only officer who was not either slain or seriously hurt. He had several flesh wounds and his clothes were perforated in many places with bullets, but he stoutly refused to go to the hospital. When he was taken prisoner some of the Boers wanted to kill him there and then; but they ultimately thought better of it, saying that he was 'too brave a man to die in that way.' Every one of the dead had been shot repeatedly, and most of the wounded were struck more than once. Surgeon Hooph, for instance, was hit twice in the wrist, as well as in the heel and the thigh.

Nearly Every Man Hit

"While the enemy had gained this small advantage on the right flank, they found it impossible to make headway elsewhere. The 500 men who had charged down from the ridge at the begin-

ning of the action, worked round towards one end of the farm house and made their way into a mealie patch. They, too, extended their line till it reached slightly to the rear of the farm, and tried to beat down the defence on that side by sheer marksmanship. On the other side a line of at least 1,000 Boers extended round from the belt of the trees almost to that point on the ridge where the enemy's guns were still busy shelling the camp. Our position was by this time practically surrounded. Generals Delarey and Kemp were directing the attack from a slight eminence close by, and were urging on the commandos to renew the charge, but our men were keeping up too active and spirited a defence. One of the pom-poms was brought down by Colonel Kier near to the farm house, and raked the outer shelter of the mealie field, while the guns posted both in the southwestern and northwestern corners of the camp continued to shell the enemy's artillery and to throw shrapnel wherever the Boers ventured to show themselves in any number.

"The practice made by the enemy's gunners had at first been good enough, but by this time their firing had become rather wild and irregular. In order to escape our shells they kept their guns on the move, and, as they were evidently unable to time the fuses aright, their shells fell either short or wide of the objective. By 4 o'clock the attack had been beaten at every point, and began to fail. Half an hour later Delarey withdrew, carrying with him such of his killed and wounded as he could manage to get away. The official statement of the Boer losses is 123, but those of our wounded, who, as they lay on the field had the opportunity to note the extent of their casualties, place them without hesitation at between 250 and 300."

Boers Beaten Back

Lieut.-Colonel Evans reports as follows :

" 31st March.—The 1st and 2nd columns marched at 3 a.m., carrying two days' rations and one blanket per man. The right wing marched with main body, and the left, under Major Cameron, acted as escort to the baggage convoy. The object of the march was a reconnaissance in force to the junction of Brakspruit and Hart River. The remainder of the division was to follow a few hours later, and to go into camp within reasonable distance of the above point. At about 10 a.m., Lieut. Callaghan and two scouts were sent to the right to look for tracks of the enemy. He struck their trail to the west of North from the direction in which we were going. He sent word back that he was on the trail of about 500 men and two guns, who could only be a few miles ahead. The column at once changed direction, and a few minutes later the enemy was sighted. I was ordered to hold the right wing back until Major Cameron came up with the convoy, which was to be brought forward as quickly as possible. The remainder of the column galloped forward. When the advanced party, composed of about 60 men, reached Lieut. Callaghan, they galloped up to get the guns. When this party had gone about three miles they were opened on by a strong Boer rear guard concealed in the bush about a farm house and clumps of bush to the right and left. The advanced party at once dismounted and opened fire, being largely outnumbered. Within five minutes this party had two men killed and nine wounded, and 15 horses killed. The main column then came in sight and the Boers' rear guard retired. The Boers' main body, when the main column galloped into view, showed up in great force, the lowest estimate being 2,500, and retired slowly towards the high ridges. They appeared to be contemplating an immediate attack on the portion of the column in view. About

this time, however, the convoy appeared in sight, and, as the waggons were moving across country in line, instead of in column on the road, its appearance with the right wing C.M.R. in advance and the left wing surrounding it, gave the effect of a very large additional body of troops, and I believe this, to some extent, deceived the enemy, as the convoy was enveloped in a cloud of dust, and its exact component parts were difficult to distinguish. On arrival at Boschbult Farm our force went into camp, had the waggons laagered, wired together, and we commenced entrenching. The enemy outnumbered us by at least 500. A post of Mounted Infantry, about 200, with a Colt gun, Maxim and Pom-Pom, were left at the farm, about 600 yards in our rear. Lieut. Carruthers, with the 3rd and 4th troops, 'E' Squadron, who formed the rear guard of convoy, instead of following the convoy into camp, remained near the post referred to, as an observation post, and sent into camp for orders. The enemy, now realizing our inferior strength, prepared to attack, and their two guns and pom-poms opened on the camp. From 2 p.m. until 5 p.m. the camp was subjected to a tremendous rifle and shell fire, concentrated from three sides, but every attempt to approach was driven back by the steady and well-directed fire of our rifles and guns. At about 5 p.m. the enemy withdrew. Their artillery fire, though well directed, inflicted comparatively little damage, as few of their shells exploded. Their guns were those taken from Methuen's column. The concentration of the rifle fire was very severe, and to this the casualties were chiefly due. While the camp was being attacked Lieut. Carruthers' party (about 21 men of 3rd and 4th troops, 'E' Squadron) had moved off to the right of the farm. Sergt. Hodgins, with another party of the 3rd and 4th troops, 'E' Squadron, was to the right of Lieut. Carruthers.

Still further to the right was a detached post of about 75 Mounted Infantry. Several hundred Boers swept down on this post on the right, stampeding the Mounted Infantry, who galloped through the line occupied by our men. Lieut. Carruthers, assisted by Sergt. Perry, Corporal Wilkinson, Lance-Corporal Bond and Private McCall, kept his men in hand, dismounted them, and formed in a half-moon shape to face the Boers. Sergt. Hodgins, whose men were being swept off in the stampede, rallied about ten of them and dismounted to meet the attack. The splendid stand made by Lieut. Carruthers' party, without cover of any kind and against overwhelming odds, was well worthy of the best traditions of Canada and the whole Empire. Before their ammunition was exhausted 17 out of the 21 were either killed or wounded. Sergt. Perry, although badly wounded, fought until he was killed. Corporal Wilkinson, shot twice through the arm and body, continued fighting until he was shot through the eye. He then threw the bolt of his rifle into the long grass to render it useless to the enemy. Private Evans, although mortally wounded through the bowels, exhausted his own ammunition, secured another bandolier, used it up, and as the Boers were making their final rush, he broke his rifle, rendering it useless. Private Evans died shortly after being brought into camp. Private Minchin, although wounded in six places, fired his last shot when the Boers were only 25 yards off, and threw his rifle bolt into the grass. * * * *

"I have mentioned a few individual incidents showing the spirit displayed by this party, but an equal invincible courage and devotion to duty was displayed by Lieut. Carruthers and every man of the party with him.

"The coolness and steadiness of the whole regiment in its first action was very remarkable, and the effect of the leavening of

tried men—about 25 per cent.—was plainly visible. Our total casualties were about 9 per cent. of our strength. The main attack of the enemy was first against the rear of the camp. Here the banks of the Spruit gave fair cover, and as the attack quickly enveloped the three exposed sides, it partly concentrated on the front, which offered no cover except the waggons. The trenches had only been commenced and were too shallow to afford cover. While under heavy fire, trip wires were put down in event of a rush, and all ranks acted with absolute coolness. As the rifle fire from the front, if too high, would strike the rear firing line, and vice versa, and the fire from the left infiladed the whole camp, the casualties both in men and horses were fairly numerous, but considering the strength of the enemy and concentration of his fire, the total losses in the column were very small. As my regiment occupied several very exposed points on the line, its losses were rather heavier in proportion than those of the other troops engaged.

"The total number of losses in the regiment for the day, during the engagement, were:

"*Killed*—8 N.C. officers and men.

"*Wounded*—3 officers, 39 N.C. officers and men.

"*Missing*—7 N.C. officers and men.

"*Horses*—Killed, destroyed, and lost, 121.

"*Mules*—Killed or destroyed, 22.

"The work of the Regimental Medical Staff and detachments of the 10th Canadian Field Hospital, now attached, deserves special mention. Surgeon-Major Devine was Acting Principal Medical Officer for the two columns, and the ambulances were situated toward the rear and about the centre of the two columns. In all, 200 casualties occurred in our force, and the wounded were dressed

and attended to under as severe a rifle fire and a heavier shell fire than any other portion of the camp was exposed to. One patient was killed while his wound was being dressed, and several others received flesh wounds. At least 20 shells fell within a radius of ten yards of the ambulances, and four of the mules of the Canadian Section were killed. Had the shells exploded the Field Hospital would have been blown out of existence. The work of Surgeon-Major Devine, Surgeon-Major Duff and Lieut. Roberts, and the excellent control and arrangement of the Field Hospital work for the two columns by Surgeon-Major Devine was specially noticed by the Officer Commanding Column.

"From my personal observation I know that, without food since 2 a.m., our Canadian Medical Officers worked continuously from 2 p.m. until midnight, after which hour they came, one at a time, to the regimental mess for a piece of biscuit, meat and a cup of tea, and then worked on through the rain during the whole night.

"After the enemy retired the whole force proceeded to dig trenches, stretch wire trip lines and prepare for a night attack. After darkness set in, a party consisting of one Intelligence Officer, one Intelligence man and Sergeant Lee, of 'A' Squadron, tried to get through to General Kitchener's column, but ran into a large party of the enemy. Sergeant Lee's horse was shot and the party returned to camp. The Intelligence man was shot by our own troops in trying to get back to camp. The enemy made no attempt to renew the attack through the night nor the following morning. Their losses, given by one of their surgeons, was about 250, and their ambulances were at work through the whole night and when we marched out the following day.

"April 1st.—At 11 a.m., in a heavy downpour of rain, I read the burial service over our gallant dead. We buried them at a well-defined spot in the garden of Boschbult Farm, just by the Hartefontein Road. Small crosses were placed at the head of each grave, and a rough carved tombstone inscribed 'To the memory of the Canadian Mounted Rifles who fell in action here on the 31st March,' surmounted by a maple leaf, was placed in the centre of the plot. At the foot of the stone a bottle enclosed a list of the dead and their position in the grave was placed. The situation of the graves is shown in the sketch herewith.

"About 12.30 p.m. the mounted men remaining with General Kitchener's Division appeared in sight, and as the enemy had apparently withdrawn through the night, the affair was over. A peculiar circumstance in this engagement was that the party of Mounted Infantry, referred to as stampeding, made its way to Drieknil, where General Kitchener had made his camp, a distance of twenty miles, and reported to him that our column had been cut up and captured. This report was given considerable credence, although not absolutely believed.

"The loss of so many of our best men is generally deplored by myself and the whole regiment, and the courage shown by them will always live in the memory of the regiment. The example shown by the wounded when brought into hospital is also worthy of special mention. The cheerful patience during a journey of twenty miles in the pouring rain, or while waiting in a Boer farm-house in the Boer lines occupied as a hospital—the women of which were not any too friendly—and with the younger Boers endeavoring to secure portions of their clothing, etc., being only prevented by the old burghers, deserves the highest praise. Both in fighting and suffering they showed equal pluck and spirit.

"The force we had come in contact with included the flower of the Boer army, the following leaders being present with their commandos: Delarey, Dewet, Kemp, Van Zyl, Potgeiton, Wolmorans, Maas, De Villiers, Liebenberg, and also Mr. Steyn. From information received they expected to have been in possession of our camp by 5 p.m., and their heavy loss apparently deterred them from making a further attempt. Had they made a night attack the camp was in every way prepared to meet and repel it.

"The available ambulances, including a number of the Canadian regimental light waggons, left for Kitchener's camp at 12 noon, and the column marched for the same destination at 3 p.m. Four troops, under Lieut. Kirkpatrick, with an ambulance, were sent out to search the woods to our left for wounded, but only found a couple of dying Boers, who were left at the first farm-house.

"The column marched across country, and within eight miles of camp our waggons stuck fast, being short of mules. I sent back a party of men and had a few of our light waggons pulled up to the regiment. Orders were received to halt at 8 p.m. for the night and stand by the horses till daybreak. The men and horses were very tired, having had only about ten hours' sleep during the previous four nights, and the rain poured down. At the regimental mess waggon we built a fire and provided tea, cold meat and hard-tack for General Kitchener and his staff, and Colonel Cookson and his staff, and all the officers of No. 1 column. We also gave them breakfast in the morning. As the men carried their rations on them, they were independent of the waggons.

"Lieutenant Bruce Carruthers, 2nd C.M.R., was in command of rear guard of convoy. Remained in rear of camp as observation post. His troop, which was extended, was enveloped by a large body of the enemy. He rallied and dismounted his

troop (composed of about 21 men) and they fought to a finish against large odds, their total casualties being 3 killed, 12 wounded and 3 missing. The latter are supposed to be dead.

"Private C. N. Evans, No. 175, 2nd C.M.R. (died of wounds). Exhausted his own ammunition after he was mortally wounded; secured another bandolier and used it up; then broke his rifle so that it would be of no use to the enemy, and died after he was brought into camp. Was of Lieut. Carruthers' party."

This body of troops, although called the Canadian Scouts, were not all Canadians, there being a few Australians, Americans, South Africans, and a number of loyal burghers. They had as their leader an old, experienced scout, Major Charlie Ross. As the war continued, the scouting corps found more scope to distinguish themselves, and they mostly worked quite independently of the main columns.

A few instances in which the Canadian Scouts rendered excellent service are worthy of record. In the month of July, 1901, they took an active part in the movements under General Barton, near Reitfontein, capturing 30 Boers and about 1,000 head of cattle. On the 1st of July a hot engagement was fought with Kemp's commando. The C.S., with one company of Mounted Infantry and one company of Imperial Yeomanry, drove them off. Major Ross had a narrow escape of being captured, but being a crack shot on a galloping horse, he succeeded in getting back to the main body. In the month of October, 1901, this corps took the chief part in the operations to the north-east of Pretoria. While scouting, an advance guard, with a 15-pounder and a Colt gun, suddenly came upon a hidden Boer force which was waiting to ambuscade the British. Immediately, Sergeant Sellwood, of the Canadians, with

Escape of Major Ross

a Colt gun swept the firing line of the Boers, and forced them to retreat with heavy losses.

On a subsequent occasion the Canadians, who were in the vanguard of a column, rushed the burghers at dawn, the result being 17 Boers killed or wounded, and 54 taken prisoners.

Before the outbreak of the war the Boers had established a supply station. A pamphlet published at the time indicated its hiding-place. This magazine was discovered about the 1st of March by the Canadian Scouts, commanded by Colonel Ross, in a cave northeastward of Reitz, O.R.C., and contained 310,000 rounds of ammunition, hundreds of shells and fuses, 200 pounds of powder, a Maxim gun, and a quantity of stores. The discovery of this magazine was very important, as it was to this district Dewet's burghers were constantly returning for fresh supplies of ammunition.

Discovery of Boer Magazine

Notwithstanding that peace rumors were in the air, sweeping drives still continued, resulting in heavy Boer losses. In the second week of April there was severe fighting in the Transvaal, in which about 200 Boers were killed, wounded, or captured. Among the Boer leaders killed was Commandant Poitgieter. In the Eastern Transvaal, Colonel Colebrander, after locating a Boer laager at Pzel Kop, moved his force along different routes in order to block all the lines of retreat. Fighting began April the 8th. The Inniskilling Fusiliers attacked Molipspoort, covering the enemy's position, and by night had seized the hill eastward of the Poort, resulting in slight losses to the British. The fighting still continued, with heavy Boer casualties. In the Western Transvaal Colonel Kekewich's force was attacked near Rooivaal. In the action that followed the Boers were repulsed, leaving on the field

44 men killed, and 34 wounded. Twenty of the wounded fell into the hands of the British.

A reverse occurred in O.R.C. A strong British patrol was overwhelmed by a force of Boers. An officer and two men were killed, 14 wounded, while the remainder were captured.

The 30th day of April was marked by the capture of Manie Botha, near Frankfort, O.R.C., by Colonel Barker's troops. This was regarded as important, as Botha was Dewet's ablest lieutenant.

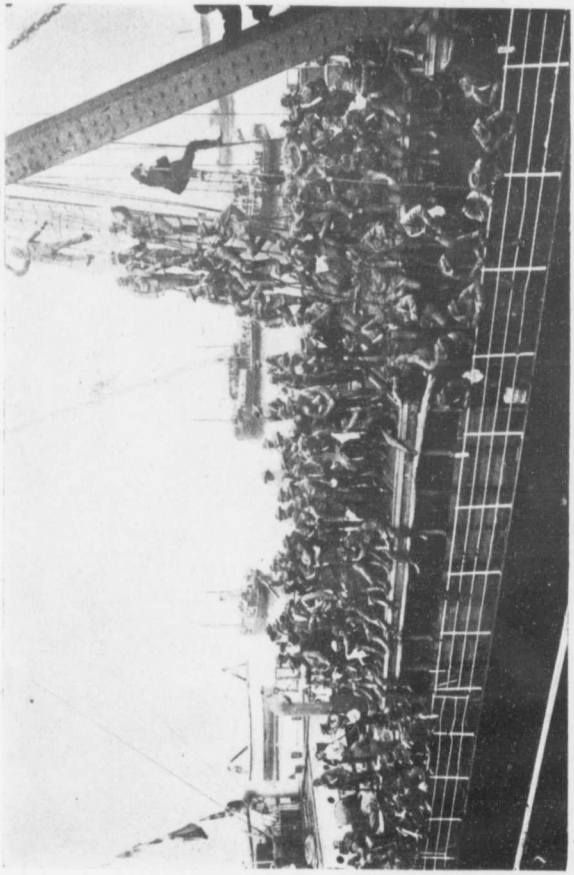
With the beginning of May—the last month of the war and peace terms still under discussion—Kitchener was able to report the result of a successful drive in the Lindley district, O.R.C. In these operations 208 Boers had been captured and ten burghers killed. The prisoners belonged to the most irreconcilable of Boers in O.R.C.

An examination of Kitchener's report, received May the 13th, showed that the Boers were fast losing ground. During the past week their forces had been reduced by 836 men, and General Bruce Hamilton, after sweeping the Lichtenburg district of the Southwestern Transvaal, bagged 357 prisoners, and practically all the waggons and stock of the commandos. In consequence of these drives Delarey had lost 860 men.

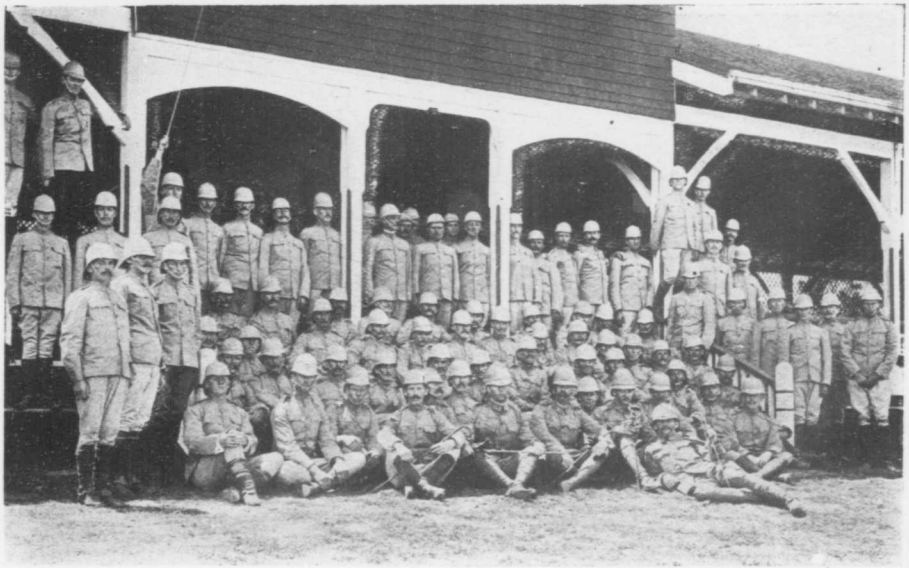
Boers Fast Losing Ground

Kitchener granted safe conduct to the Boer leaders and their immediate followers to the Vereenging conference, but he did not cease operations in any quarter. The British columns kept pushing the work more vigorously, and as a result, gathered in 400 prisoners, including Delarey's brother and several other commandants.

400 Prisoners Taken



DEPARTURE OF THE 1st CONTINGENT, WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND



OFFICERS AND MEN, N.S.W. AUSTRALIAN HORSE

On a preceding page reference has been made to martial law being proclaimed in Cape Colony. According to the blue book record up to December 31st, 1901, fifty-four rebels paid the death penalty.

In the Middleburg district, Transvaal, Major Collett, on May the 27th, with a detachment of mounted troops, came in touch with the enemy on the Repont Road. The action which followed lasted a long time; the Boers finally withdrew, leaving behind them, on the field, Commandant Malan, who was mortally wounded. The next report said that 200 Boers had surrendered at Frankfort, in the Orange River Colony.

On May the 31st, at 11 p.m., the welcome tidings reached the War Office announcing that peace had been declared in South Africa, and thus the long struggle which had lasted 31½ months came to a close.

Peace Declared

OFFICERS AND MEN, N.S.W. AUSTRALIAN HORSE

CHAPTER XXXI.

Peace Comes to South Africa After Terrible Cost.

Tabulated statement showing approximately the respective losses of the general divisions of the Empire:

	Wounded.	Killed and Died of Wounds.	Died of Disease and Accidents.	Total Killed and Wounded.
South Africa	3,402	1,395	1,796	4,797
Australia	654	286	280	940
New Zealand	201	76	106	277
Canada	285	92	91	377
India and Other Colonies.	18	9	7	27
Wales	512	161	375	673
Ireland	2,045	679	794	2,724
Scotland	2,434	824	908	3,258
England	10,066	3,215	6,468	13,281
Total U.K. and Colonies..	19,617	6,737	10,805	26,354
Imperial Yeomanry	1,612	648	1,037	2,260
Artillery, Engineers and Departmental Corps, and Other Units	1,113	363	1,961	1,476
Total Losses	22,342	7,748	13,803	30,090

The Victoria Cross has been gained by every division of the Empire except Wales and New Zealand. England claims 29, South Africa 10, Scotland 9, Australia 4, Ireland 2, Canada 4, and India one.

Prisoners at Ceylon, St. Helena, Bermuda and Cape 40,000
Cost in money to Great Britain (estimate) $1,250,000,000

Territory gained by Great Britain . . . . . 167,465 square miles
(An area equivalent to all the New England States, New York and Pennsylvaia.)
Population before the war (white) 350,000

STAGES OF THE WAR.

(a) Relief of British garrisons . . . . . October, 1899—May, 1900
Kimberley . . . . . Relieved February 15, 1900
Ladysmith . . . . . Relieved February 28, 1900
Mafeking . . . . . Relieved May 18, 1900
(b) Lord Roberts' march to Pretoria . . . . . Febuary, 1900—Juue 5, 1900
(c) Guerilla war and blockhouse campaign, under
Lord Kitchener . . . . . November, 1900—June 5, 1902

MEMORABLE INCIDENTS.

British "black week" disasters at Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso . . . . . Dec. 10–15, 1899
Sir Redvers Buller superseded by Lord Roberts as commander in chief, with Lord Kitchener chief of staff . . . . . Dec. 18, 1899
Spion Kop . . . . . Jan. 23–24, 1900
Cronje surrenders to Roberts at Paardeberg, with 4,000 men Feb. 27, 1900
Bloemfontein occupied . . . . . March 13, 1900
General Joubert dies . . . . . March 27, 19, 1900
Annexation of Orange Free State proclaimed . . . . . May 28, 1900
Pretoria occupied . . . . . June 5, 1900
Annexation of the Transvaal . . . . . Oct. 25, 1900
Surrender of Prinsloo with 3,000 Boers . . . . . July 30, 1900
President Kruger flies from the Transvaal . . . . . Sept. 11, 1900
Lord Roberts sails for home . . . . . Dec. 11, 1900
De Wet's raid in Cape Colony . . . . . Dec. and Jan., 1901
Unsuccessful negotiations for peace . . . . . Feb., 1900
Botha's unsuccessful raid on Zululand . . . . . Sept., 1901
Kitchener's big drives of De Wet and Delarey . . . . . Feb. and Mch, 1902
Delarey's capture of General Lord Methuen . . . . . March 3, 1902
Peace negociations begun . . . . . March 23, 1902
Death of Cecil Rhodes . . . . . March 26, 1902
Peace terms signed at Pretoria . . . . . May 31, 1902

CHIEF OFFICERS IN THE WAR.

British—

Sir Redvers Buller, succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by
Earl Roberts, British Commander-in-Chief who in 1900 handed over command to

Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, Commander-in-Chief in South Africa.
Sir George White, former Commander-in-Chief in India; defender of Ladysmith.
Generals Sir John D. P. French, Kelly-Kenny, Sir Archibald Hunter, Neville, Lyttleton, Sir Charles Tucker, Sir H. Rundle, Sir W. Gatacre, Sir Charles Warren, Sir H. Hildyard, Walter Kitchener, Hart, Bruce Hamilton, Ian Hamilton, Baden-Powell, Clements, Sir W. Knox, Sir J. G. Maxwell, and Kekewich.

Boers—

General Joubert, succeeded on his death by
General Louis Botha as Commander-in-Chief.
Commandants Cronje, De Wet, Lucas Meyer, Delarey, Koch, Erasmus, Kritzinger, Viljoen, and Schalk-Burger.

Peace Negotiations

A parliamentary paper, gives the correspondence preceding the peace agreement. From this it appears that General Schalk-Burger (acting President of the Transvaal) informed Lord Kitchener, March 12, that he was prepared to make peace proposals. A month later the Boer delegates submitted propositions. On April 13, the War Secretary, Mr. Brodrick, refused to entertain any proposition based on the independence of the Republics. Subsequently, President Steyn, of the Orange Free State, and Generals Schalk-Burger and Botha declared that the surrender of independence must be submitted to the burghers in the field. The British Government expressed surprise at this attitude, but announced its willingness to accept the Boers' surrender on the same terms that Lord Kitchener had previously offered General Botha, and to give facilities for a consultation of the Boer commands. On May 17, General Schalk-Burger and Mr. Steyn informed Lord Kitchener that the burghers assembled at Vereeniging had empowered a commission to negotiate peace terms, subject to ratification at Vereeniging.

Lord Milner, Lord Kitchener and the Boer Commission met May 19. The latter offered to surrender the independence of the

Republics, as regards foreign relations; to surrender part of their territory, and retain self-government under British supervision. These proposals were forthwith rejected. The same day Lord Milner, General Smuts and Judge Hertzog drew up a form of government, to be submitted to the conference at Vereeniging for a yea or no vote. This was very similar to the final agreement, and, with few alterations, was approved by Mr. Chamberlain, who, in giving notice of his approval, told Lord Milner he must inform the Boers that unless it was accepted within a fixed limit of time the conference would be considered ended and His Majesty's Government would not be bound in any way by the present declarations. The Boers asked to be allowed until Saturday night to give an answer, and the result was seen in the termination of the war.

At 10.30 P. M., May 31st, Lord Kitchener cabled from Pretoria as follows: "A document containing the terms of surrender was signed here this evening, at half-past ten o'clock, by all the representatives, as well as by Lord Milner and myself."

Full Text of the Terms of Peace

His Excellency Lord Milner, in behalf of the British Government, his Excellency Mr. Steyn, General Brenner, General C. R. Dewet, and Judge Hertzog, acting in behalf of the Orange Free State, and General Schalk Burger, General Reitz, General Louis Botha, and General Delarey, acting in behalf of their respective burghers, desiring to terminate the present hostilities, agree to the following terms:

First—The burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms and hand over all the guns, rifles and ammunition of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from further resistance and acknowledge King Edward VII. as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be

arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, assisted by General Delarey and Chief Commandant Dewet.

Second—All burghers outside the limits of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa, who are burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of his Majesty, be brought back to their homes as soon as means of transportation can be provided and means of subsistence assured.

Third—The burghers so returning will not be deprived of their personal liberty or property.

Fourth—No proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against any burghers surrendering or so returning for any act in connection with the prosecution of the war.

The benefits of this clause do not extend to certain acts, contrary to the usages of war, which had been notified by the Commander-in-Chief to the Boer Generals, and which shall be tried by court-martial after the close of hostilities.

Fifth—The Dutch language will be taught in the public schools of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, where the parents desire it, and will be allowed in the courts of law for the better and more effectual administration of justice.

Sixth—Possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for their protection, on taking out a license according to law.

Seventh—The military administration of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony will, at the earliest possible date, be succeeded by a civil government, and, so soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced.

Eighth—The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

Ninth—No special tax will be imposed on landed property in the Transvaal or Orange River Colony to defray the expenses of the war.

Tenth—So soon as the conditions permit it, a commission on which the local inhabitants will be represented will be appointed in each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony under the Presidency of a Magistrate or other official for the purpose of assisting in the restoration of the people to their homes, and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provide for themselves with food and shelter and the necessary amount of seed, stock and implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of the former occupants.

His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these commissions the sum of three million pounds sterling ($15,000,000) and will allow all the notes issued under the law of 1900 of the South African Republic and all receipts given up to officers in the field of the late republic, or under their orders, to be presented to a judicial commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable considerations they will be received by the first-named commissions as evidence of war losses suffered by the persons to which they were originally given.

In addition to the above-named free grant of three million pounds sterling, his Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances on loan for the same purposes free of interest for two years and afterwards, repayable over a period of years, with 3

per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to benefit under this clause.

After handing the Boer delegates a copy of the draft of the agreement, Lord Kitchener read them a statement and gave them a copy of it, as follows:

"His Majesty's Government must place on record that the treatment of the Cape and Natal colonists who have been in rebellion, and who now surrender, will, if they return to their colonies, be determined by the Colonial Courts and in accordance with the laws of the colonies, and any British subjects who have joined the enemy will be liable to trial under the law of that part of the British Empire to which they belong.

"His Majesty's Government are informed by the Cape Government that their views regarding the terms to be granted to British subjects in Cape Colony now in the field, or who have surrendered, or been captured since April 12, 1901, are as follows:

"'With regard to the rank and file, they should all, after surrender and giving up their arms, sign a document before the resident Magistrate of the district in which they surrender, acknowledging themselves guilty of high treason, and the punishment to be accorded them, provided they are not guilty of murder or acts contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, shall be that they are not entitled for life to be registered as voters, or vote in any Parliamentary or Provincial Council or municipal election.

"'With reference to Justices of the Peace, field cornets and all others who held official positions under the Government of Cape Colony, or who have been occupying a position of authority, or who have held commands in the rebel or burgher forces, they shall be tried for high treason before the ordinary courts of the country, or such special courts as may hereafter be constituted,

their punishment to be left to the discretion of such court, with the proviso that in no case shall the penalty of death be inflicted.

"'The Natal Government are of the opinion that the rebels should be dealt with according to the law of that colony.'"

The foregoing arrangements the Government approved.

At the concentration camp General Dewet addressed the people. Speaking first to the women, he heartily thanked them for the staunch support they had given to the Boer cause throughout the war, both on the veldt and in camp. Had the women, he said, not been so staunch, the burghers would have been obliged to give in long ago. He did not wish to belong to a nation whose women were not staunch, but while on the veldt he had heard from all the camps of their determined solidarity, and that had encouraged the burghers immensely. Even if all the burghers in the field had been killed in the course of the war it would have been the duty of the women to bring up their children to be as hardy as the burghers he had brought in that day. They were now under a new Government—only now and never before—and that was the British Government, and he had to explain to them that it was the thoroughly lawful Government to-day.

Under a New Government

"I say," he continued, "that our Government is the British Government, and I am now under that Government, as I fought till there was no more hope. However bitter it was, it was time to lay down our arms, and I advise you to be faithful to our new Government. Perhaps it is hard for you to hear from my mouth the announcement that we have a new Government, but God has decided thus, and we were obliged to part with our cause, which we had upheld for two years and eight months. As a Christian people God now demands us to be faithful to our new Govern-

ment. I heartily thank my sisters for their allegiance and faith in our cause. Let us submit to God's decision over myself and my people, and I beg you to serve our new Government faithfully with myself and burghers."

The ceremony connected with these surrenders has now become stereotyped. The places where the commandos are to surrender are arranged beforehand by the respective leaders, the spots chosen being always some little distance from the towns to which the commandos belong. Louis Botha, who has accompanied General Bruce Hamilton throughout this tour, joins the commando two or three hours ahead of the General in order to address the burghers and superintend the compilation by their officers of the lists of names. Innumerable questions are put to Botha relative to surrender, and when all are finally answered the proceedings usually terminate with the singing of a hymn and an address from the chaplain. On reaching the commando, General Bruce Hamilton makes a brief and appropriate speech, which has always elicited the warmest expressions of approval. The burghers then file past, depositing their rifles and ammunition on the ground, and at once proceed to partake of a meal which has, in the meantime, been prepared. The officers receive licenses to retain their private rifles and bandoliers.

Arrangements for Surrenders

Nothing could be more satisfactory than the manner in which all the burghers have behaved at these surrenders. The good-will shown on both sides augurs well for the future. With few exceptions the commandos have manifestly realized the momentousness of the occasion. Some tears have been shed when rifle and bandolier have been left on the ground, but there has been no murmuring and no hesitation, and before many moments have elapsed

the bitterness of surrender seems forgotten in the anxiety of each burgher for information which will help him to decide as to his immediate movements. His first question invariably is whether he can join his family at once in the concentration camps or bring them back to his farm. The grant of ten days' provision and tents for each family is fully appreciated, but it is doubtful whether the burghers realize the arduousness of the task of immediately transferring several thousands of people to difficult parts of the country. One can only hope that the officers and officials in the various towns, stations, and camps, who will be inundated for some time to come with urgent applications from burghers and their families, will possess themselves with unlimited patience and adopt a lenient attitude towards this simple-minded folk, in whose philosophy red tape is a thing undreamed of. Considerate treatment meted out to the burghers now on the first occasion of their coming into contact with British authorities would go a long way towards securing a peaceful and contented population hereafter, while the mannerisms of some officious subordinates might lay the foundation for years of disaffection.

The individual labors of Louis Botha in preparing the Boers for inevitable delay in rejoining their families and returning to their farms will tend to smooth matters in the Eastern Transvaal. The Commandant-General has been indefatigable in his efforts to make the surrenders complete and to ensure their being carried out with the most absolute loyalty. Addressing the burghers in Dutch at the conclusion of each surrender, he has impressed upon them the necessity of bringing in at once all arms and ammunition buried by themselves or known to have been buried by others, and exhorted them, assisted by the patient demeanor of the British authorities, to work in restoring the prosperity of the country.

Two guns which are in the possession of the Boers remain buried between Carolina and Ermelo. Botha has given instructions to dig them up and hand them over.

Judging from the appearance of the bandoliers given up by the Boers, the supply of ammunition had reached a low ebb. Botha's testimony does not confirm the reports that the Boers had large quantities buried. The last issue of ammunition took place when the Boer Government was at Machadodorp. The horses, too, in this part of the country were much exhausted.

A Distinct Surprise

The numbers of Boers still in the field come as a distinct surprise, but one must remember that the figures include boys from 12 to 16 and old men between 60 and 80. They possessed a rifle, it is true, but they were recognized by the Boers themselves as non-combatants. The strength of the Boer commandos when surrendering could never have been attained for the purpose of fighting, and possibly our estimates of their numbers were not far wrong. The total number of surrenders were 18,400.

Four hundred leading citizens of Johannesburg entertained Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner at a banquet in Johannesburg on the evening of June 18th, 1902, in honor of the former's conclusion of his work and of the civic head of the new State. The toast of Lord Kitchener's health referred to him as the man who had won the freedom of the new State. The citizens' speeches expressed the universal South African feeling of admiration for the courage and steadfastness of the Commander-in-Chief and his men. Only those who knew the nature of the country and the quality of their former enemies could understand the stupendous nature of the task. The Empire was never

stronger than in the war from which they had emerged, and they now welcomed their opponents as friends and fellow-citizens.

Lord Kitchener, in reply, said the Army had done its best to do its duty. He praised Johannesburg and the part its men had played in the war. He referred to the locally-raised regiments, and in the name of the Regulars, both officers and men, expressed admiration for these gallant troops. All had learned from the war. The Johannesburgers, who stood staunch in danger and held what they gained, had tasted the salt of life, and its savor would never leave them. They should keep horse and rifle ready and their bodies physically fit, and settle down to work for the Empire. Their opponents had shown the abilities and tenacity of purpose of the virile races, and they should be welcomed into the Empire. The chief lesson of the war was the knowledge that all Britons would fight shoulder to shoulder. Those who helped them now knew that they in South Africa and elsewhere would help their countrymen if needed.

Lord Kitchener's speech was received with enthusiasm. The completeness with which he understood and sympathized with the aspirations of the colonies came as a surprise to his hearers.

THE AMBUSHED HIGHLAND BRIGADE

December 11th, 1899.

Black Watch, Gordons, Argyles, Seaforths!—brave, strong,
Marched through the darkness of an Afric' night,—
Noiseless and slow, the tangled veldt along,
To charge the foe on Magersfontein Height!
Hark! A soldier falls—(the cursed barb-wire,
Treach'rous as a Boer)—traped in blood and pain—
Discharged his gun!—down came the Boer's red fire,
Upon the ambushed host, like deadly rain!

We think not less of the Highland Brigade,
That fell while attempting "a forlorn hope;"
They bravely faced death, as if on parade,
"Now, steady, men!—forward?"—cried brave Wauchope!
Search-lights and shells turned midnight into day,—
Baffled and blinded, charged the Highland host!
Brave Wauchope, foremost, fell amid the fray—
"Obeying orders,"—counting not the cost!

See yonder bloody field—dying and dead
Are strewn like autumn leaves before the blast;
While we sleep safely on our downy bed,
And dream of peace and victory at last!
Ah! friends at home! ye little know the cost
Our soldiers pay for Freedom's priceless gem;
How many valiant hero-lives are lost,
To keep intact Victoria's diadem!

Next day the sun set golden in the West—
A holy calm preceded by a storm;
A solemn sadness filled each Highland breast
As to the grave they trod in martial form;
The pibroch, wailing, wept in mournful strain,
Sounds, sighs and sobs,—too deep for human speech,—
For comrades ne'er to join in ranks again,
Who fell like heroes in the deadly breach.

Brave Highland chief! thy soldiers sleep with thee,
Who led them forth on many a bloody field;
Now take thy rest,—"the remnant" yet shall see
A day of victory, when thy foes shall yield!
Sleep on! sleep on! while loving friends at home,
With bated breath recite thy virtues o'er;
Life's battle fought, a meeting-time shall come,
When sundered hearts shall meet to part no more!

Oh! Scotland! mourn not for thy noble dead,—
Who die in Freedom's cause know not despair;
God's angels watch and ward their lowly bed,
Earth's heroes are His own peculiar care!
Whom God elects to serve His purpose wise,
He will protect their loved ones—far or near;
There is a home for such beyond the skies,
In His great heart of Love a place most dear!

Toronto, Canada. JOHN IMRIE.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Sketches of Important Events, Including the Battle of Magersfontein.

"During the night of December the 10th, 1900, it was considered expedient that the Highland Brigade, nearly 4,000 strong, under General Wauchope, should get in close embrace to the lines of the foe, to make it possible to charge the heights. At 12 p.m. the gallant but ill-fated men moved cautiously through the darkness toward the kopjes, where the Boers were most strongly entrenched. They were led by a guide, who was supposed to know every inch of the country, out into the darkness of an African night.

"So onward till 3 a.m., then out of the darkness a rifle rang sharp and clear, a herald of disaster. A soldier had tripped in the dark over the hidden wires laid down by the enemy. In a second, in the twinkling of an eye, the searchlights of the Boers fell abroad, and clear as the noonday sun on the ranks of the doomed Highlanders, though it left the enemy concealed in the shadows of the frowning mass of hills behind them. For one brief moment the Scots seemed paralyzed by the suddenness of their discovery, for they knew that they were huddled together like sheep within 50 yards of the trenches of the foe. Then clear above the confusion rolled the voice of the General, 'Steady, men, steady,' and like an echo to the vet-

A Herald of Disaster

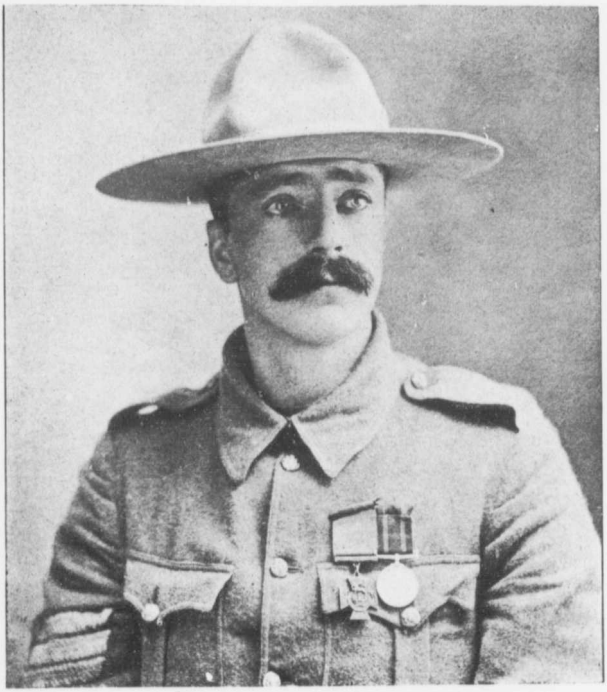
eran's voice came the crash of nearly 1,000 rifles, not fifty paces from them. The Highlanders reeled before the shock like trees before the tempest. Their best, their bravest, fell in that wild hail of lead. General Wauchope was down, riddled with bullets; yet, gasping, dying, bleeding from every vein, the Highland chief cheered his men forward. Men and officers fell in a heap together.

"The Black Watch charged, and the Seaforths and the Gordons, with a yell that stirred the British camp below, rushed onward to death or disaster. The accursed wires caught them round the legs till they floundered like trapped wolves, and all the time the rifles of the foes sang the song of death in their ears. Then they fell back, broken and beaten, leaving nearly a thousand dead and wounded, just where the broad breast of the grass veldt melts into the embrace of the rugged African hills; and an hour later the dawning came of the dreariest day that Scotland has known for generations past. Of her officers, the flower of her chivalry, the pride of her breed, but few remained to tell the tale, a sad tale truly, but untainted with dishonor or smirched with disgrace, for up those heights under similar circumstances even a brigade of devils could scarcely have hoped to pass. All that mortal man could do, the Scots did; they tried, they failed, they fell, and there is nothing left us now but to mourn them and avenge them.

Sang the Song of Death

"In vain, all that day, Methuen tried by every rule he knew to draw the enemy; vainly the Lancers rode recklessly to induce those human rock limpets to come out and cut them off. Cronje knew the mettle of our men, and an ironic laugh played round his iron mouth, and still he stayed within his native fastness; but death was ever at

Boer Trenches Ran Bloody



Sergeant Richardson, V.C., Strathcona Horse.

his elbow, for our guns dropped lyddite shells and the howling shrapnel all along his lines, till the trenches ran bloody and many of his guns were silenced.

"When, at 1.30 p.m. Tuesday, we drew off to Modder River to recuperate, we left 3,000 dead and wounded of grim old Cronje's men, as a token that the lion of England had bared his arm in earnest."

"Three hundred yards to the rear of the little township of Modder River, just as the sun was sinking in a blaze of African splendor on the evening of Tuesday, the 12th of December, 1900, a long shallow grave lay exposed in the breadth of the veldt. To the westward the broad river, fringed with trees, ran murmuringly; to the eastward frowned the heights still held by the enemy scowling menacingly; north and south the veldt undulated peacefully. A few paces to the northwest of that grave fifty dead Highlanders lay dressed, as they had fallen on the field of battle; they had followed their chief to the field, and they were to follow him to the grave. How grim and stern those men looked, as they lay face upward to the sky, with great hands clenched in the last agony, and brows still knit with the stern lust of the strife in which they had fallen. The plaids, dear to every Highland clan, were represented there, and, as I looked, out of the distance came the sound of pipes. It was the General coming to join his men. There, right under the eyes of the enemy, moved with slow and solemn tread all that remained of the Highland Brigade. In front of them walked the chaplain, with bared head, dressed in his robes of office. Then came the pipers with their pipes, sixteen in all, and behind, with arms reversed, moved the Highlanders, dressed in all the regalia of their regiments, and in the midst the dead General,

A Long Shallow Grave

borne by four of his comrades. Out swelled the pipes to the strain of 'The Flowers of the Forest,' now ringing proud and high until the soldiers' heads went back in haughty defiance and eyes flashed through tears, like sunlight on steel, now sinking to moaning wail like a woman mourning for her first-born, until the proud heads dropped forward till they rested on heaving chests, and tears rolled down the wan and scarred faces, and the choking sobs broke through the solemn rhythm of the march of death. Right up to the grave they marched, then broke away in companies, until the General lay in his shallow grave, with a Scottish square of armed men around him. Only the dead man's son and a small remnant stood with the chaplain and pipers, while the solemn service of the church was spoken.

The Flowers of the Forest

"Then once again the pipes pealed out, and 'Lochaber No More' cut through the stillness like a cry of pain, until one could almost hear the widow in her Highland home mourning for the soldier she would welcome back no more. Then, as if touched by the magic of one thought, the soldiers turned their tear-damped eyes from the still form in the shallow grave towards the heights where Cronje, 'the lion of Africa,' stood. Then every cheek flushed crimson, and strong jaws set like steel, and the veins on their hands that clasped the rifle stocks swelled almost to bursting with the fervor of the grip, and that look from those silent armed men spoke more eloquently than ever spoke the tongues of orators. For on each frowning face the spirit of vengeance sat, and each sparkling eye asked silently for blood. God help the Boers when next the Highland pibroch sounds! God rest the Boers' souls when the Highland bayonets charge; for neither death, nor hell, nor

Spirit of Vengeance

things above, nor things below, will hold the Scots back from their blood feud.

"At the head of the grave, at a point nearest the enemy, the General was laid asleep, his officers grouped around him, whilst in the line behind him, his soldiers were laid in a double row, wrapped in their blankets. No shots were fired over the dead men resting so peacefully. Only the salute was given, and then the men marched campwards, as the darkness of the African night rolled over the far-stretching breadth of the veldt."

The following detailed accounts of how four Canadians won the Victoria Cross will be of much interest to our readers:

Captain Agar Adamson, formerly of the G.G.F.G., writing from Spitzkop, September 21st, gives the following interesting account of how Sergt. Arthur Robert Lindsay Richardson, formerly of the Northwest Mounted Police, won his V.C. He says:

"I have just been pleased to see a telegram from the War Office awarding Richardson the Victoria Cross. Richardson came out with the main body of Strathcona's Horse, but fell down the hold of the ship at Durban, and was left in hospital with a sprained back. Coming through with my draft, I picked him up. We worked our way to Standerton, where we were attached to the S.A.L.H., and took our regular turn of duty, as a troop of 52 strong, our horses in fairly good condition. On July 5th the S.A.L.H. were ordered out by General Buller to round up a supposed small and scattered lot of Boers.

"About eighteen miles north-west of Standerton, we found the enemy on a small hill, behind which was a somewhat larger one, with fairly good cover. I was ordered to take my men and attack in front, and if not able to hold them, to return in a south-easterly direction, where we would find two squadrons of the

S.A.L.H. hidden, waiting to receive them, the remainder having gone round with the intention of making a left flank movement. They, however, found their hands full flushing the enemy on the left. I extended my men and divided them into an advance line and supports. The Boers, contrary to their usual mode of warfare, attacked us in the open. The advance held them for awhile, and bringing up my supports on their right flank, we drove them off the hill and up the next one, when a reinforcing party galloped up, dismounting, and opened a heavy cross fire on our right flank, the enemy increasing in numbers on the hill. By that time three of our men were down and several horses hit. The fire was very heavy and explosive bullets were being used freely. Seeing it was impossible to hold them, I ordered a retirement in the direction ordered. It was at this point that Richardson, who saw Alex. McArthur wounded and his horse shot, galloped up in face of a heavy cross-fire, picked him up, and, putting him on his horse behind him, carried him out of the range of fire. His horse, a small one, could only go slowly.

McArthur Shot Through the Arm and Thigh

"Sergt. Buchanan and six men covered his retreat, among them George Sparks, who, though shot through the neck at the time, dismounted and covered the retreat. Unfortunately Sergt. Stringer and Colin Isbester, whose horses had been shot, were captured. It was impossible to help them, as the enemy were about 300 strong and swarming over the hill, and we were only 40 strong.

"The two squadrons of S.A.L.H. had been called out of their hiding to assist the others, or we might have caught them in a well-laid trap. After getting out of range and under cover, holding them off, we discovered, besides Sparks, that Gladwyn MacDougal was shot through the knee and McArthur through arm and

thigh. We came up with the S.A.L.H., who had a hot engagement and had driven the enemy off. We sent into Standerton, 18 miles off, for the ambulance, leaving the wounded men in a cottage in charge of Corp. Blakemore and Corp. T. Campbell. The ambulance arrived about 11 o'clock, and at 4 a.m. Dr. Keenan, of the S.A.L.H., Blakemore and Campbell went over the ground to look for Stringer and Isbester.

"Meeting the Boer outposts, they advanced unarmed, with a white flag, and were informed that neither of the prisoners were wounded.

"I reported Richardson's action to General Buller, who forwarded it to the War Office, with the most satisfactory results. He is an excellent chap, quiet and very modest, and I have seen him on many occasions since under fire and in tightest of places, always quiet and cool."

The action in which three Canadians won the V.C. was fought at Komati River, on November the 7th, 1900. The following is a description:

"The rear guard, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Lessard, consisted only of Royal Canadian Dragoons, with a Colt gun, and two guns of 'D' Battery, Royal Canadian Artillery, and soon it became most closely pressed by the enemy, the Boers showing themselves everywhere, and coming on with the greatest determination. The Canadian guns were continually in action against parties of the enemy, at times, owing to the necessity of having to work singly, a mile or two apart. At 10.40 a.m., seeing that the baggage and infantry were at a safe distance, the rearguard began to fall back, and as they did so the Boers became more and more aggressive; but the accurate and steady fire from the guns, and the bold front

Closely Pressed

of the Dragoons, kept them at a distance. The accurate knowledge of the country and folds of the ground which the Boers have all through the war been acknowledged to possess, stood them in good stead on this occasion, for some hundreds of them, taking advantage of a dip in the ground running up from Komati, had collected directly behind our rearguard, and thinking their opportunity had arrived, galloped out, firing wildly from their horses as they charged, their object being to capture the guns. It was at this juncture that the greatest gallantry was displayed by the Canadians. The guns rapidly fired some half a dozen rounds at the advancing enemy, then limbered up and retired as their now thoroughly tired horses would allow them, and two troops under Lieut. Cockburn and Sergt. Builder covered their retirement, sacrificing themselves by fighting till those who were not killed or wounded were captured by an overwhelming force. By this action the Canadian cavalry saved the Canadian guns.

Greatest Gallantry Displayed

" For the next two hours a running fight was kept up till 1.30 p.m. The Boers made a most dashing and determined effort to secure our guns, galloping to within 200 yards of them, but only to be driven off by a squadron of Royal Canadian Dragoons, under Lieutenant R. E. Turner. Just at this time the Colt gun, which had been doing most excellent service in covering the retirement of the field guns, was almost surrounded by the enemy. The gun was in action up to the last moment, and the horses were so played out that to attempt to retire with the gun and carriage would have been useless, so, with great presence of mind and coolness, Sergt. Holland, of the Royal Canadian Dragoons, who had charge of the gun, detached the barrel from the carriage, placed it under his arm, and, mounting his horse, rode off with it, under a hail of Boer bullets."

Great Presence of Mind

Officers of the Second Canadian Contingent for Special Service in South Africa.

THE CANADIAN MOUNTED RIFLES, 1ST CONTINGENT

Commanding Officer.

Lessard, F. L (Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Canadian Dragoons).

Majors (2nd in Command)

Evans, T. D. B. (Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Canadian Dragoons).

Commanding Squadrons.

Williams, V. A. S. (Captain Royal Canadian Dragoons).
Forester, V. (Captain Royal Canadian Dragoons).

Captains.

Greenwood, H. S. (Lieutenant-Colonel 3rd Dragoons).
Pearse, C. St. A. (Captain Royal Canadian Dragoons).

Lieutenants.

King, A. H. (Major 1st Hussars).
Borden, H. L. (Major K. C. Hussars).
Turner, R. E. W. (Captain, Q. O. C. Hussars).
VanLuven, R. M. (Captain 4th Hussars).
Cockburn, H. Z. C. (Captain G. G. B. Guards).
Van Straubenzie, C. T. (Lieutenant Royal Canadian Dragoons),
Elmsley, J. H. (Lieutenant Royal Canadian Dragoons).
Young, F. V. (2nd Lieutenant Manitoba Dragoons).

Adjutant.

Nelles, C. M. (Captain Royal Canadian Dragoons).

Quartermaster.

Wynne, J. A. (Captain 2nd Regiment C. A.)

Medical Officer.

Duff, H. R. (Surgeon-Major 4th Hussars).

Transport Officer.

Harrison, C. F. (Captain 8th Hussars).

Veterinary Officer.

Hall, W. B. (Veterinary-Major, Royal Canadian Dragoons).

The above Officers are distributed as follows, for purposes of organization. It will rest with Command-Officers to allot them after embarkation, as necessity requires:

THE CANADIAN MOUNTED RIFLES, 2nd BATTALION.

Commanding Officer.

Herchmer, L. W. (Commissioner N. W. M. P.)

Major (2nd in Command).

Steele, S. B. (Superintendent N. W. M. P.)

Commanding Squadrons.

Howe, J. (Superintendent N. W. M. P.)
Sanders, G. E. (Superintendent N. W. M. P.)

Captains.

Cuthbert, A. E. R. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)
Macdonald, A. C. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)

Lieutenants.

Chalmers, T. W. (Lieutenant Reserve Officers).
Moodie, J. D. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)
Begin, J. V. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)
Davidson, H. J. A. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)
Wroughton, T. A. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)
Inglis, W. M. (Late H. M. Berkshire Regiment).
Taylor, J. (Lieutenant Manitoba Dragoons).
Cosby, F. L. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)

Machine Gun Section.

Howard, A. L. (Lieutenant Unattached List).

Adjutant.

Baker M. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)

Quartermaster.

Allan, S. B. (Inspector N. W. M. P.)

Medical Officer.

Devine, J. A. (Surgeon-Lieutenant 90th Battalion).

Transport Officer.

Eustace, R. W. B.

Veterinary Officer.

Riddell, R.

BRIGADE DIVISION, FIELD ARTILLERY.

Commanding Officer.

Drury, C. W. (Lieutenant-Colonel Royal Canadian Artillery, or A.D.C. to H. E. the Governor-General.

Majors.

Hudon, J. A. G. (Major, Royal Canadian Artillery).
Hurdman, W. G. (Major, 2nd Field Battery, C.A.)
Ogilvie, G. H. (Major, Royal Canadian Artillery).

Captains.

Costigan, Q. (Major, 3rd Field Battery, C.A.)
Panet, H. A. (Captain Royal Canadian Artillery).
Eaton, D. I. V. (Captain, Royal Canadian Artillery).

Lieutenants.

Irving, L. E. W. (Captain, Reserve of Officers).
Good, W. C. (Captain, 10th Field Battery, C. A.)
King, W. B. (Captain, 7th Field Battery, C. A.)
Van Tuyl, T. W. (Captain, 6th Field Battery, C. A.)
McCrea, J. (Captain, 16th Field Battery, C. A.)
Ogilvie, A. T. (Lieutenant, Royal Canadian Artillery).
Morrison, E. W. B. (Lieutenant, 2nd Field Battery, C. A.)
Leslie, J. N. S. (Lieutenant Royal Canadian Artillery).
Murray, W. P. (Lieutenant, 9th Field Battery, C. A.)

Attached for Duty.

Mackie, H. J. (Captain, 42nd Battalion, late 2nd Field Battery).

Adjutant.

Thacker, H. C. (Captain, Royal Canadian Artillery).

Medical Officer.

Worthington, A. (Surgeon-Major, 53rd Battalion).

Veterinary Officer.

Massie, J. Veterinary-Major, Royal Canadian Artillery).

Medical Staff for General Service.

Lieut. F. Vaux, Canadian Army Medical Service.

Nurses.

Miss D. Hercum, Senior Nurse.
Miss M. Horne, Q.
Miss M. Macdonald.
Miss M. P. Richardson.

Chaplains.

Reverend W. G. Lane.
Reverend W. J. Cox.
Reverend J. C. Sinnett.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
51	S.S.M., Widgery, J.	"A." Royal Can. Dgns	Mrs. A. Widgery.	44 Clifford St., Toronto.
52	S.Q.M.S., Hunt, B.	"B," "	Mrs. J. Hunt.	103 Walnut St., Toronto.
53	Sgt., Rhoades, W.	"A," "	J. Rhoades.	Nottingham, Eng.
54	" Fuller, H. F.	" "	Mrs. H. Fuller	116 Strachan Av., Toronto
55	" Hudson, G.	" "	Mrs. Hudson.	2 Prutham Place "
56	S. Farr., Harraden, C. F.	" "	Mrs. C.F. Harraden	421 College St. "
86	Sgt., Smith, W. T.	" "	Mrs. J. Perry.	33 Charles St., Stratford.
87	" Till, L. A.	" "	E. Till	287 Crawford St., Toronto
83	" Steer, E. A.	" "	A. Steer	Turtle River, Manitoba.
151	" Purdon, E. L.	7th Hussars.	(M) A. S. Purdon.	12 Up. Leeson St., Dublin, Ire.
153	" Terrill, W. H.	3rd P.W.C.D.	(W) E. Terrill.	Wellington, Ont.
202	Corpl., O'Connell, M.	R.C.R	(M) E. O'Connell.	London, Ont.
203	" McDonald, A. A.	1st Hussars.	D. McDonald	Kingsville, Ont.
76	" Latremouille, S	"A," R.C.D.	Mother	101 Walnut St. Hamilton.
25	" Bennett, J.	2nd Dragoons.	(D) J. Bennett	1st Suffolk Regt., South Front, Kent, Eng.
11	" Cartwright, J. W.	"	(F) A. Cartwright.	Halifax, N.S.
172	" Price P. R.	3rd P.W.C.D.	S. R. Price.	Peterboro,' Ont.
154	" Willoughby, A. G.	"	(M) B.S. Willoughby.	759 President St., Brooklin.
63	" Callahan, M. J.	"A," R.C.D.	J. A. Callahan	28 Mansfield Ave., Toronto.
93	Corp. S.S., Lovegrove, A.J.	G.G.B.G.	(M) J. Lovegrove.	Horton, Bucks, Eng.
17	Pte., Agassiz, R. H. G.	2nd Dragoons	Mrs. J. Agassiz	London and Western Bank, Lothbury, London Eng.
223	" Allen, E. B.	Windsor, Ont.	H. W. Allen.	Windsor, Ont.
48	" Allum, D.	2nd Dragoons.	D. Allum.	Homer, Ont.
101	" Anderson, C. E.	"A" R.C.D.	T. Anderson	61 Cathcart St., Hamilton.
57	" Anderson, C. H.	9th Field Batt	Wm. Anderson.	236 Carleton St., Toronto.
49	" Anderson, W. L.	Ayr, Ont.	John Anderson.	Ayr, Ont.
102	" Anderson, W. J.	13th Battn.	J. Anderson.	149 York St., Hamilton.
209	" Ardiel, E.	1st Hussars	Mrs. Ardiel	London, Ont.
22	" Baldwin, E	2nd Dragoons	M. H. Baldwin.	Oakland, Ont.
99	" Bates, E	"A" R.C.D.	Ira Bates.	Norway, Ont.
145	" Baxter, J.	G. G. B. G.	Mrs. W. Baxter	33 Kensington Ave., Toronto.
45	" Beaton, A.	No. 2 Co., R. C. R. I.	Mrs. A. Beaton	Stanley Barracks, Toronto.
36	" Beers, L. M.	Queen's O. Rifles	Col. Beers	20 Prince Arthur Ave., Toronto
161	" Bishop, W. G.	Montreal.	Mrs. M. Bishop.	163 Stanley St., Montreal.
60	" Bragg, W. Q.	"A" R.C.D.	Wm. Bragg.	367 Sackville St., Toronto.
61	" Brown, A. W.	"	L. Brown.	Langham Hotel, London, Eng.
104	" Brown, F.	G. G. B. G.	D. Brown.	188 Lansdowne Ave., Toronto.
164	" Brown, J. B.	3rd Dragoons.	Hiram Brown.	Colborne, Ont.
163	" Bouchard, A.	Quebec.	Mrs. C. Bouchard	40 St. Marguerite St., Quebec,
40	" Bowman, N.	38th Bn	W. F. W. Tisdale.	Brantford, Ont.
105	" Builder, V. D.	"	J. Builder.	17 Scarf Ave., Brantford.
106	" Burnett, S	G. G. B. G.	S. Burnett.	253 Sackville St., Toronto.
34	" Burritt, J. W.	Toronto	Dr. H. C. Burrit.	86 Wellesley St., Toronto.
160	" Butler, A.	1st P. W. R. F.	Thos. Page Butler.	88 Shuter St., Montreal.
62	" Butterfield, W. J.	"A," R. C. D	Mrs. A. Midgley.	64 Cork Road, Sbowfield, Keighley, Eng.
186	" Campbell, G	22nd Bn	Mrs. M. Campbell	Gainsbridge, Ont.
228	" Campbell, J. E.	Orangeville.	Mrs. J. B. Campbell	Orangeville. Ont.
372	" Cameron, H. P.	3 P. W. C. D.	Mrs. M. Cameron.	Colbourne, Ont.
108	" Chambers, E	10th Battn.	F. Chambers.	500 Franklin St., Buffalo, N.Y.
64	" Clark, J	"A," R.C.D.	Thos. Clark.	83 Wilton Ave., Toronto.
18	" Clendenning, G. M.	2nd Dragoons	Mrs. H. L. Clendenning	St. Catharines, Ont.
222	" Cline, S.	25th Battn.	J. Cline	Orwell, Ont.
183	" Collins, G. H. A.	P. L. D. G.	Mrs. J. Collins.	Cummings' Bridge, Ont.
65	" Cook, C.	"A" R.C.D.	W. H. Davis	3 Grosvenor Cres., Tottenham, London, Eng.
66	" Cooper, C.	"	J. Cooper.	674 Euclid Ave., Toronto.
110	" Cordingly, W. E	G. G. B. G.	W. W. Cordingly.	Davisville, Ont.
216	" Crowe, D. J.	27th Bn	W. Crowe	Sarnia, Ont.
226	Pte., DeLisle, C. D.	48th Bn	Mrs. C. A. DeLisle	128 Winchester St., Toronto.
96	" De Rochejoequelain, A.	Cleveland.	Mrs. Davis.	88 Newell St., Cleveland, Ohio.
157	" Dougall, W.	D.Y.R.C. Hus.	J. W. Dougall	Witness Office, New York.
38	" Daoust, D.	G. G. B. G.	D. Daoust	Lucas House, Toronto.
111	" Duguid, J. F.	48th Bn	Mr. W. S. Duguid	226 Major St., Toronto.
67	" Dunsmore, R. J.	"A," R.C.D.	W. S. Dunsmore.	174 Queen St., Hamilton.
68	" Eagleson, E.	"	D. Eagleson	Lindsay, Ont.
158	" Elliott, W. V.	D.Y.R.C. Hus.	Cecilia Elliott	24 Overdale Ave., Montreal.
19	" England, G.	2nd Dragoons.	Mrs. M. England.	London, Ont.
182	" Evans, W. L.	P. L. D. G.	Hy. Evans	Billings' Bridge, Ont.
112	" Farrell, J.	G. G. B. G.	Rd. Farrell.	Hazzard's Corners, Ont.
26	" Filson, E. A.	Amherst Islands, Ont	H. W. Filson	Stella, Ont.
69	" Fitzgerald, E.	"A," R.C.D.	D. Fitzgerald.	9 Homewood Ave., Hamilton.
165	" Flemming, G. E.	3rd Dragoons.	D. Flemming.	Cobourg, Ont.
214	" Forbes, G. A	1st Hussars.	J. C. Forbes	Kingsville, Ont.
217	" Fraser, J. E.	26th Battn.	J. H. Fraser	London, Ont.
9	" Gifford, T. A.	34th Bn	Mrs. M. Gifford	6 Clarence Sq., Toronto.
207	" Glover, W. M.	1st Hussars.	R. A. Glover	Dover Center, Ont.
184	" Gold, W. S.	Scotland.	Mr. D. Gold.	Erchliss Castle. Beauly, Scotland.
173	" Graham, G. C.	P. L. D. G.	Mrs. J. Judge	143 Albert St., Ottawa.
114	" Gurnett, E.	Q. O. Rifles	Mrs. J Gurnett.	3 Parkview Ave., Toronto.
166	" Hall, A. J.	57th Batt	Thos. Hall	Peterborough, Ont.
169	" Hampton, W. J	3rd Dragoons	W. Hampton.	Norwood, Ont.
115	" Harbottle, F	Toronto	Mrs. E. Harbottle.	196 Avenue Rd., Toronto.
116	" Harman, J. W	"	Mrs. E. Harman.	38 Mission Ave., Toronto.
118	" Hartman, F	12th Batt.	R. J. Hartman	Dawson City, Y.T.
19	" Harper, J. S	41st Batt	J. Harper	Brockville, Ont.
381	" Hagen, J.	10th Batt.	Mrs. G. Hagen	92 McGill St., Toronto.
142	" Henry, A.	Toronto	Mrs. Henry.	215 Beverley St., Toronto.
15	" Heron, J. B.	9th Fd. Batt	A. Heron	Scarboro Junction, Ont.
156	" Hiam, H.	D.Y.R.C. Huss	Mrs. G. Hiam	109 University St., Montreal.
163	" Hillyard, A. E.	3rd Dragoons.	Mrs. M. Hillyard	79 Czar St., Toronto.
70	" Hibbett, J.	"A" R.C.D.	E. Hibbett	Windsor, Ont.
71	" Hodgson, W.	"A" R.C.D.	A. W. Hodgson	465 Guy St., Montreal.
72	" Hopkins, J. A	"A" R.C.D.	T. Hopkins	58 Robinson St., Toronto.
176	" Holland, E. J	P.L.D.G.	Marg. Holland.	141 Maria St., Ottawa.
229	" Horner, H	R.C.R.I	Mrs. L. Horner.	London, Ont.
177	" Hull, M. A	P.L.D.G	Joseph Hull	Billings Bridge, Ont.
406	" Hubbard, J	30th Batt.	A. Hubbard	Uxbridge, Ont.
73	Tpr., Hughes, N.	"A" R.C.D.	Mrs. Hembrick.	Stratford, Ont.
14	Pte., Hullett, A	2nd Dragoons	W. Hullett.	St. Catharines, Ont.
74	" Inglis, A. G.	"A" R.C.D.	Mrs. C. D. Inglis.	907 King St., Toronto.
230	" James, M.	7th Batt.	W. James	London, Ont.
23	" Jefferson, J.	2nd Dragoons.	J. Jefferson	Paris, Ont.
24	" Jenkins, V.	Scotland.	Mr. S. Jenkins.	52 High St., Edinburgh.
120	" Johnson, I.	G.G.B.G.	T. Johnson.	239 Booth Avenue, Toronto.

228	"	Campbell, J. E.	Orangeville	Mrs. J. B. Campbell	Orangeville, Ont.	220	"	James, M.	7th Batt.	Mrs. C. D. Ingus.	907 King St., Toronto.
372	"	Cameron, H. P.	3 P. W. C. D.	Mrs. M. Cameron.	Colbourne, Ont.						
108	"	Chambers, E	10th Batts.	F. Chambers	500 Franklin St., Buffalo, N.Y.	23	"	Jefferson, J	2nd Dragoons	W. James	London, Ont.
64	"	Clark, J	"A," R.C.D.	Thos. Clark	83 Wilton Ave., Toronto.	24	"	Jenkins, V	Scotland	J. Jefferson	Paris, Ont.
						120	"	Johnson, T	G.G.B.G	Mr. S. Jenkins.	52 High St., Edinburgh.
										T. Johnson	239 Booth Avenue, Toronto.

170	"	Johnston, R. G	3rd Dragoons	W. B. Johnston	Peterborough, Ont.	107	"	Semple, W. C	16th Fd. Battery	John Semple	Tottenham, Ont.
28	"	Jordan, J	Q.O.R	C. Jordan	215 Jarvis St., Toronto.	212	"	Shaw, C. E	R. C. R. I	H. Shaw	Hully, Ont.
79	"	Keohler, C. H	"A," R.C.D.	Wm. Keohler	295 Queen St., Ottawa.	82	"	Shipp, T. P	"A," R. C. D	T. P. Shipp	18 Northbrook Rd., Lee, Kent, Eng.
185	"	Kinsley, W. A	37th Batt.	Mr. H. Kinsley	Selkirk, Ont.	179	"	Slater, N. J	P. L. D. G	Mrs. Annie Slater.	412 Sparks St., Ottawa.
178	"	Landels, A. F	P.L.D.G	A. Landels	520 Bay St., Ottawa.	187	"	Smart, D		Mrs. Fraser	15 Claremont St., Glasgow, Scot.
208	"	Loosemore, A. J	Q.O.R	Rev. Canon Loosemore	Canterbury, Eng.	27	"	Sparks, J	Hamilton, Ont.	R. E. Sparks	132 Union Ave., Kingston.
				"	"	32	"	Spence, D. M	57th Battalion	F. S. Spence	Toronto.
42	"	Loosemore, H. H	Toronto	"	"	135	"	Spicer, R. W. E	Toronto	Mr. J. Spicer	Schiller House, Toronto.
218	"	Lougheed, D	1st Hussars	T. Lougheed	Wingham, Ont.	109	"	Spink, W. B	Q. O. Rifles	Wm. Spink	Deer Park, Toronto.
77	"	Low, J. W	"A" R.C.D.	J. W. Low	692 St. Antoine St., Montreal.	133	"	Smith, G	G. G. B. G.	Mrs. A. Smith	116 Soraneen Ave., Toronto.
122	"	Lyon, H. H	G.G.B.G	B. Lyon	Toronto P.O., Ont.	134	"	Smith, H		Mrs. V. Smith	Bratts Avely, Essex, England.
143	"	McCarthy, P	G.G.B.G	H. McCarthy	177 Sparks St., Ottawa.	35	"	Stewart, M. E		H. H. O'Reilly	Niagara Falls, Ont.
125	"	McCulla, J. W	N.W.M.P	W. A. McCulla	Brampton, Ont.	244	"	Stonor, A. F		C. J. Stonor	Ascott, England.
47	"	McCusker, F	2nd Dragoons	H. McCusker	1st Bn. Lanc. Regt., Waterford, Ireland.	155	"	Sully, W. P	D. Y. R. C. Hus	Geo. Sully	25 Stayner Ave., Westmount, Montreal.
80	"	McGahey, J. W	"A" R.C.D.	J. McGahey	129 Palmerston Ave., Toronto.	12	"	Taylor, H. J	2nd Dragoons	Saml. Taylor	Guelph, Ont.
181	"	McGee, C. E	P.L.D.G	J. J. McGee	185 Daley Ave., Ottawa.	153	"	Terrill, W. H	3rd "	Mrs. Effie Terrill.	Wellington, Ont.
126	Pte.,	McIlroy, F	Toronto	J. McIlroy	335 Dovercourt Rd, Toronto.	88	"	Thornton, F	"A," R. C. D.	Mrs. J. Thornton.	Metcalfe, St., Oshawa.
31	"	McIntosh	41st Batt	J. B. McIntosh	Brockville, Ont.	162	"	Thompson, E		Jos. Thompson	Deloraine, Man.
81	"	McIver, M	"A "R.C.D.	K. McIver	Fairhall, Man.	201	"	Tilley, W	1st Hussars	J. E. Tilley	Cotham, Ont.
127	"	McKibbin, D. M	G.G.B.G	Mrs. M. E. McKibbon	135 Huron St., Stratford.	213	"	Tripp, E. H	1st "	M. E. Tripp	Pickering, Ont.
128	"	McRae, G. A	Toronto	D. McRae	598 College St., Toronto.	137	"	Townley, W. J	G. G. B. G	Mrs. W. J. Townley	38 Wood St., Toronto.
204	"	Marsh, C. S	1st Hussars	M. A. Marsh	Gloucester, Eng.	171	"	Trusler, A	57th Battalion	Sophie Trusler	Sandhurst Berks, England.
152	"	Marshall, H. W	N.W.M.P	Eliz. Dotty	Montreal.	1	"	Turner, A. W	3rd Dragoons	(F.) J. J. Turner.	Peterboro', Ont.
211	"	Maycock, W. R	1st Hussars	M. Maycock	Leamington, Ont.	20	Pte.,	Van Every, C. P	2nd Dragoons	A. Van Every	St. Catharines, Ont.
85	"	Mayne, Jos	"B" R.C.D	J. Merritt	Twickenham, London, Eng.	89	"	Vine, J	"A," R. C. D.	Mrs. J. Storey	St. Mary's, Ont.
30	"	Metcalfe, F	Kingston	J. H. Metcalfe	Kingston, Ont.	90	"	Vizard, A. H	"	A. W. Vizard	137 The Grove Ealing, Lon., Eng
227	"	Miles, F	R.C.R.I	J. A. Groves	Carp, Ont.	144	"	Walker, J. H	G. G. B. G.	Mrs. T. Walker	15 Draper St., Toronto.
46	"	Middleton, J	Toronto	Mrs. J. Middleton	16 Collier St., Toronto.	91	"	Wandley, E	"A," R. C. D.	Mrs. Mulany	49 Chester St., Hulme, Manchester, Eng.
78	"	Mitchell, W	"A" R.C.D.	Mrs. A. Mitchell	200 Hunter St. W, Hamilton.	32	"	Warren, D. J	G. G. B. G.	Dr. G. M. Warren	205 Gerrard St., Toronto.
13	"	Moluskey, W. E	2nd Dragoons	R. Moluskey	Listowel P.O., Ont.	167	"	Wasson, P	3rd P. W. R. F.	Mrs. J. Wasson	Norwood, Ont.
123	"	Morrison, W. J	12th Batt.	A. Morrison	428 Euclid Ave., Toronto.	139	"	Wheatley, W. J	G. G. B. G	Mrs. A. E. Pickwith	269 Victoria St., Toronto.
124	"	Morrison, W. T	G.G.B.G	J. Morrison	12 Sullivan St., Toronto.	210	"	Wigle, M. S	1st Hussars	S. Wigle	Kingsville, Ont.
175	"	Mullov, L. W. R	P.L.D.G	Martha Reid	Winchester, Ont.	206	"	Wigle, L	1st "	L. J. Baltzee	"
79	"	Muir, W. B	"A "R.C.D.	Mrs. J. Muir	83 Huron St., Toronto.	154	"	Willoughby, A. G	3rd P. W. C. D.	Bertha Willoughby	759 President St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
205	"	Munroe, J. H	R.C.R.I	J. Munroe	London, Ont.	92	"	Winyard, W	"A," R. C. D	Mrs. W. F. Vickers	6 Byron St., Sussex, Brighton, England.
39	"	O'Brien, J. J	G. G. B. G	J. O'Brien	42 Bellone Ave., Toronto.	140	"	Wyatt, F	"	Mrs. E. Wyatt.	38 Hazleton Ave., Toronto.
43	"	Palmer, G. D	2nd Dragoons	Capt. Palmer, R.N.	18 Bellevedere Rd., Upper Norwood, London, Eng.	221	"	Wright, W	1st Hussars	Wm. Wright	London, Ont.
130	"	Pearce, W	"A," R. C. D.	Mrs. S. Pearce	Bradford, Ont.	141	"	Young, D. D	G. G. B. G	Major Young	Toronto, Ont.
180	"	Pelton, R. J	P. L. D. G.	J. E. Pelton	Billings Bridge, Ont.						
219	"	Peck, F. C		F. Peck	Jeannette's Creek.						
74	"	Potts, J	(Civ.)	Mr. T. Potts	Bella Bay, Ireland.						
172	"	Price, P. R	3rd Dragoons	S. R. Price	Peterborough.						
151	"	Purdon, E. L	D. Y. R. C. Hus.	Mrs. A. S. Purdon	12 Upper Leeson St., Dublin, Ireland.						
21	"	Ratcliffe, A	2nd Dragoons	Mrs. A. Ratcliffe	St. Catharines, Ont.						
215	"	Reynolds, R. H	1st Hussars	P. Reynolds	Warwick, Ont.						
132	"	Richardson, A. M	"A," R. C. D.	Mrs. E. Richardson	Walsinghan Centre.						
189	"	Robinson, R. R	Toronto	Mrs. M. Robinson	Consecon, Ont.						
188	"	Robinson, R. S	"	Mrs. J. Robinson	103 Augusta Ave., Toronto.						
174	"	Roche, H. E	G. G. F. G.	Mrs. Emile Roche	148 Eccles St., Ottawa.						
136	"	Ross, A	14th Battalion	A. Ross	Cooden, Ont.						
220	"	Richardson, G	R. C. R. I	A. Richardson	London, Ont.						
....	"	Richardson, J	1st Hussars	J. Richardson	"						
138	"	See, D	9th Fd. Battery	Mrs. S. See	174 Duke St., Toronto.						
150	"	Scott, C. D	D. Y. R. C. Hus.	C. R. Scott	32 Overdale Ave., Montreal.						

"B." SQUADRON.

231	S.S.M.,	McMillan, Alex	"B." R. C. D.	H. McMillan	Carlerry, Man.	
3	S.Q.M.S.,	Sparks, J. R	" "	J. R. Sparks	26 Vernon Road, Romford Road, Stratford, London, Eng.	
232	Sergt.,	Dyer, W. A	" "	Mrs. Pearson	Minnedosa, Man.	
233	"	McLeod, W	" "	Mrs. McLeod	Argyle, Man.	
234	"	Allison, H	" "	Mrs. Allison	229 Colony St., Winnipeg.	
351	"	Bisset, W	Q.O.C., Hussars.	Jas. Bisset	Charlesburg, P.Q.	
352	"	Hayward, G. F	3rd Dragoons	Emma Hayward	Lakefield, Ont.	
410	"	Ryan, R. H	Res've of officers	J. D. Ryan	Kentville, N.S.	

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
434	" Arnold, R. H.	8th Hussars	G. R. Arnold	Sussex, N.B.
307	" Bradner, Jos.	Brandon Inf. Cy.	J. Bradner (Mrs.)	Brandon, Man.
328	Sgt. Farr., Spencer, Jas.	Manitoba Drgns.	Mrs. C. Spencer	Oak Lake, Man.
253	Corpl. Squarra, Harold	" B " R.C.D.	S. S. Square	Kingsbridge, S. Devon, Eng
259	" Whitlow, F.	"	Mrs. F. Whitlow	The Limes Wakefield, Eng.
329	" Harriot, J.	Manitoba Drgns.	J. Harriot	Souris, Man.
301	" Carter, A.	"	Mrs. H. Carter	Carrigadrohi, Co, Cork, Ire.
354	" Holliday, W. J.	Q.O.C. Hussars	Mrs. J. Holliday	36 D'Aiguillon, Que.
353	" Pope, H. B.	"	Mrs. E. Pope	St., Peter St., Que.
432	" Parks, J. H.	8th Hussars	Major Parks	St. John, N.B.
416	" Markham, R. J.	"	Lt.-Col. Markham	
256	" S.S., Warrian, J. S.	Winnipeg, Man.	W. Warrian	Blairhampton, Ont.
Pte.	Allen, Cecil Crowder	" B " Squadron, R.C.D.	Arthur Allen	Qu'Appelle, N.W.T.
"	Arnold, Archibald F.	Yorkton, N.W.T	Mrs. Arnold	Yorkton, N.W.T.
"	Armstrong, B. R.	3rd Regt. C.A.	Lt-Col. Armstrong	St. John, N.B.
"	Ault, Alfred Ernest	Aultsville, Ont.	Mrs. M. A. Ault	Aultsville, Ont.
"	Baker, Sydney Chas.	" B " Squadron R.C.D.	Fred Baker	London, England.
"	Barton, Percy		Francis Barton	Westmount, Montreal.
"	Beckwith, B. M.	Halifax, N.S.	Mrs. Beckwith	Camperdown, Halfway Tree, Jamaica.
"	Bell, W. H.	8th Hussars	Chas. H. Bell	St. John, N.B.
"	Bellamy, Geo. A.	Man. Dragoons	R. Bellamy	Virden, Man.
"	Bettle, F.	62nd Battalion	S. T. Bettle	St. John, N.B.
"	Berg, Frederick		Amelia Berg	165 St. Felix Street, Montreal.
"	Bing, Andrew Blyth	Medical College, Win'peg, Man.	Mrs. Bing	Searcliffe 'Chesterfield, Derby, England.
"	Boulton, D'Arcy Everard	Russell, Man.	Mrs. Boulton	Russell, Man.
	Brand, Wm. Elliott	Rat Portage, Ont	W. T. F. Brand	7 Luxton Road, Ilfracombe, Devons.
Pte.	Brown, John J.	Man. Dragoons	R. M. Brown	Clarksburg, Ont.
"	Carter, Gerald St. Leger	" "	Mrs. H. L. Carter	Carrigadroad Co., Cork,
"	Church, J.	Toronto, Ont.	Mrs. E.A. Phillips	Gorevale Park, Toronto.
"	Clarkson, Jos. Stone	Brandon Infantry Co'y	C. Clarkson	Gladstone, Man.
"	Cope, Edgar Cuthbert	Man. Dragoons	H. Cope	Carberry, Man.
"	Cummings, Hugo M.	Q.O.C.H.	Marshall Cummings	Pinecroft, Magog, P.Q.
"	Currie, Claud Vernon	Winnipeg, Man.	Dr. Currie	27 Eastbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, London.
"	Dease, J. W.	Halifax	Mrs. David.	Halifax, N.S.
"	Danby, Ed. Sherman	Winnipeg, Man.	E. T. Danby	63 Cornhill, London, Eng.
"	Dawson, William	" B " R.C.D.	James Dawson	Lisburn, Ireland.
"	de Balinghard, J. C.	Yorkton, N.W.T	Major de Balinghard	Brandon, Man.
"	Dill, C. E.	Toronto	Mrs. R. A. Dill	270 Adelaide St., Toronto.
"	Dix Macnamara Henry	Winnipeg, Man.	Hon. T. H. Dix	Castries, S. Lucia, W. I.
"	Dixon, Jas. Albert	86th Battalion	Margaret Dixon	87 Park Avenue, Montreal.
"	Douglas, Henry Sholto	Winnipeg, Man.	C. R. Douglas	Brampton, Oxford, Eng.
"	Doyle, F. L.	74th Battalion	James Doyle	Moncton, N.B.
"	Drought, Thomas	Morris, Man.	Mrs. J. H. Drought	Morris, Man.
"	Drummond, Leopold	" B " R.C.D	Mrs. Drummond	Oakland, Groombridge
"	Elmhurst, Fred Jas.		P. W. Elmhurst	Peterborough, Ont.
"	Findley, John		J. M. H. Findley	Cape Town, S. Africa.
"	Fraser, James Ross	D.Y.R.C. Hus	D. Fraser	Lancaster, Ont.
"	Fowler, James	5th Dragoons	Joseph Fowler	Blantyre, Lanarks, Scotland.
"	George, John Martin	" B " R.C.D.	John George	90 Hilldrop Crescent, Camda Road, London, N.
"	Gray, Arthur Wellington		Mrs. A. Gray	Dublin, Ireland.
"	Hagen, T.	Toronto	George Hagen	92 McGill St. Toronto.
"	Harvey, John Jas.	Man. Dragoons	A. T. Harvey	Oak Lake, Man.
"	Hawkins, J. F.	71st Battn.	Mrs. C. McPherson	Fredericton, N.B.
"	Hayden, Daniel	" B " R.C.D.	Mrs. F. Hayden	Gagetown, N.B.
"	Head, Wilfrid Robt.	" "	Robert T. Head	Balsham, Cambridge, Eng.
"	Hawkins, Wm. Jas.	Man. Dragoons	Mrs. S. Button	Humber, York Co., Ont.
"	Hilder, Albert Ed.	" "	G. Hilder	Brandeston, Norwich, Eng.
"	Hobbs, B.	" B " R.C.D	Mrs. M. Hobbs	Eastbridge, England.
"	Hood, Alex. Young	Winnipeg, Man.	W. Hood	County Sligo, Ireland.
"	Hoy, Chas. Norman	D.Y.R.C. Hus'rs	Margaret Hoy	Orillia, Ont.
"	Hubbard, Fred. W.	Canning, N.S.	J. W. Hubbard	Canning, N.S.
"	Hyry, Peter	" B " R.C.D.	Mr. Hyry	92 Notre Dame St., Winnipeg.
"	Irvine, Jo., Hume	Man'ba Drag'ns.	Mrs. C. Irvine	Ottawa, Ont.
"	Jay, Wm. James	5th Dragoons	James Jay	London, England.
"	Kaven, John.	Winnipeg, Man.	J. Kaven	8 Cedar Place, Glasgow, Scotl'd.
"	Keiller, James	Man'ba Drag'ns.	P. Keiller	36 Peter St., Toronto.
"	Kelly, W. D.	Toronto	D. B. Kelly.	199 Berkeley St., Toronto.
"	Key, Walter	Winnipeg, Man.	Mrs. E. Key	7 Pardray St., Birmingham.
"	Kingsley, Alex. R.		Mary Kingsley	36 Fort St., Montreal.
"	Lawson, F. W.	8th Hussars	S. L. Lawson	Amherst, N.S.
"	Leavitt, A.	62nd Battalion	M. Tapley	St. John, N.B.
"	Linden, Thos. E.	" B " R.C.D.	Mrs. Linden	London, England.
"	Little, Andrew	" "	A. Little	Heatherbrae, England.
"	Lobbin, John M.	Montreal, Que.	Mrs. Mary Lobbin	Montreal.
"	Lockhart, J. H.	74th Battalion	D. H. Lockhart	Moncton, N.B.
"	Lord, John Wm.	" B " R.C.D.	Mrs. M. Lord	Winnipeg, Man.
"	Macafee, Thos. R.	" "	T. Macafee	Douglas, County Down, Ireland.
"	MacCaffrey, John J.	Kentville, N.S.	Mrs. M. MacCaffrey	Brockville, Ont.
"	Mackay, John D.	" B " R.C.D.	W. Mackay	Shercocke, Que.
"	Mackintosh, A. C.	Brandon Inf. Co.	Mrs. B. Mackintosh	6 Crown St., Croeshill, Glasgow.
"	McMillan, L. C.	93rd Battalion	Mr. J. McMillan	Springhill, N.S.
Pte.	McCulley, J. R.	8th Hussars	Lt.-Col. McCulley	Chatham, N.B.
"	McIntosh, A. L.	62nd Battalion	M. D. McIntosh	St. John, N.B.
"	McIntyre, R.	" "	J. McIntyre	
"	McClintock, Guy	" B " Sqd. R.C.D.	Mrs. E. H. F. McClintock	Bournemouth, England.
"	McGregor, Sam. J.	Brandon Inf. Co.	P. McGregor	Brandon, Man.
"	McKelvey, Albert	Man'ba Drag'ns.	W. McKelvey	Gladstone, Man.
"	Merchant, E.	Lewisham, Kent	T. H. Merchant	100 Loampit Vale, Lewisham, Kent, England.
"	Mallory, A. P.	62nd Batt.		St. John, N.B.
"	Marriott, Thos. H.	Man. Dragoons	T. Marriott	Ashover, Derbyshire, England.
"	Marshall, Herbert N.	D.Y.R.C. Huss	Rose A. Marshall	Gypsey Hill, Upper Norwood, London, Eng.
"	Massie, J. O.	Sweetsburg	Miss Massie	Sweetsburg, P.Q.
"	Metzler, H.	74th Batt.	W. A. Metzler	Moncton, N.B.
"	Miller, L. R.	Lawrencetown, N.S.	Mrs. A. Miller	Lawrencetown, N.S.
"	Moody, H. D.	Toronto	D. Moody	218 McCaul, Toronto.
"	Morrison, D. A.	8th Hussars	Miss H. M. Mor-	

No.	Rank and Name	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
			rison	St. John, N.B.
"	Morrison, F. T	" "	Miss M. S. Morrison	Chatham, N.B.
"	Moorehouse, A. H	74th Batt.	Father	Bristol, England.
"	Mortimore, E. A		Alex. Mortimer	Catford Bridge, London, Eng.
"	Newton, C. R. R	D.Y.R. C. Huss.	Thos. B. Newton	Orillia, Ont.
"	Nilant, J	62nd Batt.	J. Nilant	Boston, U.S.A.
"	Othern, Chas. R	Bran. Infty. Co.	Mrs. M. Othern	St. Mary's, Ont.
"	Owen, Clarence C	5th Dragoons	E. Owen	Stanstead, Que.
"	Palmer, Henry	"B." R.C.D.	Mrs. Palmer	44 Greyhound St., London, Eng.
"	Pawsey, Alfred J	Gore, N.S.	Mr. A. Pawsey	Gore, Hants Co., N.S.
"	Pickworth, A	Toronto	Mrs. Wheatley	479 Huron St., Toronto.
"	Ramsay, David Law	"B." R.C.D.	Miss M. Ramsay	4 Belhaven Crescent, Glasgow.
"	Rae, John Graham	6th Hussars	David Rae	Montreal.
"	Rea, Louis Aytoun	Winnipeg, Man.	Charles Rea	Bath, England.
"	Reid, W. J	Holland Landing	J. H. Reid	Holland Landing, Ont.
"	Reid, George	Toronto	J. H. Reid	" " "
"	Ridley, Thomas	"B." R.C.D.	Annie Ridley	7 Nelson St. London, Eng.
"	Roberts, Arthur H	Man. Dragoons	J. P. Roberts	Surrey, England.
"	Roberts, Percy C. F	D.Y.R.C.Huss.	Mrs. M. Roberts	29 Hermine St. Montreal.
"	Robinson, Geo. M		W. H. Robinson	Como, Que.
"	Rodger, Wm. D	"B." R.C.D.	Mrs. Russell	12 Rothsay Gds., Glasgow.
"	Rose, Edward Percy	Medical College Winnipeg	A. Rose	Old Cottage.
"	Russell, Richard	5th Dragoons	Sam. Russell	East Angus, Que.
"	Ryan, J. T	8th Hussars	A. Moss	Rothsay, N.B.
"	Ryan, Bertram	Man. Dragoons	His Honour, Judge Ryan	Portage la Prairie.
"	Ryan, W. Cuthbert	" " "	"	"
"	Ryerson, C. E	Toronto	W. E. Ryerson	215 Bathurst St., Toronto.
"	Sanford, E. A	Canning, N.S.	Mrs. E. R. Webster Barbara Shea	Canning, N.S. Pendleton, Ont.
"	Shea, Isaac		G. E. Simpson	Morrisburg, Man.
"	Simpson, John	Yorkton, N.W.T.	R. Sinclair	Yorkton, N.W.T.
"	Sinclair, James	Berwick, N.S.	Ernestine Andrews	Berwick, N.S.
"	Snyder, Wm. H	8th Hussars	J. Stevenson	Richibucto, N.B.
"	Stevenson, H. T	"A." R.C.D.		
"	Stevens, C	Halifax	Mrs. A. Sturritt	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
"	Sturritt, J. S	"B" R.C.D.	A. Thompson	Thompsonville, Ont.
"	Thompson, John	Winnipeg, Man.	Mrs. J. Thompson	39 Assiniboine Ave., Winnipeg.
"	Thompson, S. H	Oxford, N.S.	Mrs. M. Thompson	Oxford, N.S.
"	Thompson, T. A	Man. Dragoons	J. Trehill	High Bluff, Man.
"	Treadhill, James	5th Dragoons	Eliza Todt	Cookshire, Que.
"	Todt, Theodore F	"B" R.C.D.	Mrs. C. Turner	11 Hockley Rd., Stockland Green, Birmingham, Eng.
"	Turner, Albert			
"	Tylor, Montague H	"	Harold Tylor	Galt, Ont.
"	Venning, W. E	62nd Batt.	Mrs. J. A. Venning	St. John, N.B.
Pte.	Wallace, F. W	Man. Dragoons	W. G. Wallace	Souris, Man.
"	Ward, William H	Brandon In. Co.	Mrs. L. Franklin	Brandon, Man.
"	White, J. N	Toronto	H. J. White	Norwood.
"	White, Henry B	Waterville, N.S.	Charles White	Waterville, N.S.
"	Wilkinson, Thos	Man. Dragoons	J. Wilkinson	Darlington, P.O.
"	Wood, John T	" "	Mrs. A. Wood	Rannoch, Perth Co., Ont.
"	Woods, Robert A	"B" R.C.D.	Mr. Lee	Detroit, Mich. U.S.A.
"	Wurtele, G. E	Q. O. C. Hussars	Mrs. E. T. Wurtele	Sorel, P.Q.

2ND BATTALION

Reg. No.	Rank and Name.	Corps, If not belonging to any Corps, Post Office Address.	Next of Kin.	P. O. Address of next of Kin.
	Adams, David Egerton	Edmonton	(F) Thomas Adams	Georgetown, Ont.
	Aston, Geoffrey Haredale	N.W.M.P.	(S) Mrs. Blaney	Nelson, B. C.
	Aspinall, Alfred	"	(F) G. G. Aspinall	Keighley, Yorkshire, Eng.
	Avery, Walter	Maple Creek	(F) J. Avery	School Cottage, Godersham Rd., Cumberland, Eng.
	Ayres, Charles	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Turner	Chedoke, Hamilton, Ont.
	Aylesworth, John Emerson	"	(B) C. F. Aylesworth	Madoc, Ont.
	Bagshawe, Maurice Jos	N.W.M.P.	(F) F. G. Bagshawe	Leonard House, Bognor, Sussex, Eng.
	Baines, Harry Hewitt	Calgary	(F) R. Baines	Common Gardens St., Lancaster, Eng.
	Barker, Joseph Martin	"	(F) W. Barker	Toynton All Saints, Lincolnshire, Eng.
	Barry, John	Moosomin	(F) J. Barry	Rat Portage, Ont.
	Baldwin, Hy. Yardwood	Regina	(B) Robert Baldwin	Not known.
	Ballantine, Jas. Alexander	N.W.M.P.	(F) Ballantine	5 Sandyford Place, Glasgow, Scotland.
	Ball, John Everett	Edmonton	(F) John Ball	Strathcona, Alta.
	Bassett, Percy	Calgary	(M) Mrs. Bassett	Cochrane, Alta.
	Bell, Walter Maitland		(B) J. Bell	Clifton Hall, Ratho, Scotland.
	Bell, Campbell	Maple Creek	(B) A. Bell	Bank of England, Burlington Gardens.
	Beyts, Stanley Buxton	N.W.M.P.	(F) C. Beyts	16 Drummond Rd., Bournemouth, Eng.
	Beyts, Walter James	"	"	"
	Biddell, Percy James	Calgary	(F) G. Biddell	Graya, Essex, Eng.
	Birney, John Andrew	"	(F) Wm. Birney	Calgary, Alta.
	Bird, Arthur Lewis	N.W.M.P.	(B) W. Bird	Prince Albert.
	Bird, Thomas Albert	Prince Albert	(W) Mrs. Bird	"
	Biscoe, Vincent Henry	N.W.M.P.	(F) Col. Biscoe	Halifax, N. S.
	Blake, James Augustus	"	(S) Miss Blake	14 Clare St., Dublin, Ireland.
	Border, John Wesley	Regina	(F) — Border	Nassagaweya, Ont.
	Bourne, Lutwidge Edw	Macleod	(F) — Bourne	Cobham St., Gravesend, Eng.
	Bolster, George	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Bolster	Orillia, Ont.
	Bolt, Herbert George	Calgary	(F) G. Bolt	Calgary P. O.
	Bradley, Arthur William	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Bradley	Markdale, Ont.
	Brodin, Henry Hall	Calgary	(M) Mrs. Bredin	Winnipeg, Man.
	Brodin, Andrew Noble	N.W.M.P.	(F) Col. Bredin	Kill o' the Grange, Monkstown Co., Dublin, Ireland.
	Brewster, John Nipissing	Macleod	(F) J. Brewster	Sunderland, Ont.
	Brindle, Herbert James	N.W.M.P.	(F) W. Brindle	Cardinal, Ont.
	Brinkworth, Geo. Walter	"	(F) H. Brinkworth	Stroud, Gloucestershire, Eng.
	Brown, George A	Regina	(S) Mrs. F.L. Karney	Winnipeg, Man.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Brown, Hector John	N.W.M.P.	(F) W Brown	Aberdeen, Scotland.
	Brown, Thomas	B.C. Volunteers	(F) J. Brown	1038 St. Lawrence St., Montreal, P.Q.
	Brown, Arthur Herbert	Calgary	(S) Miss L. Brown	15 Cork St., Eccles, Kent, Eng.
	Brown, Villiers Sidney	Calgary	(F) G. V. Brown	Browboro, Birkenhead, Eng.
	Brown, John Henry	Moosomin	W. Brown	Hillburn, N. W. T.
	Bruce, Edgar Francis	N.W.M.P.	(S) Miss P. Bruce	Stoneleigh, Warwick, Eng.
	Bryans, Thomas	30th Batt. C Mil.	(M) Mrs. J. Bryans	Elora, Ont.
	Burke, James Alexander	N1W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Burke	Battleford, N. W. T.
	Burke, Patrick	"	"	"
	Butler, Arthur Charles	Macleod	(B) F. A. Butler	Rosaland, B.C.
	Burke, William Henry	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Burke	Battleford, N. W. T.
	Brennan, Robert James	"	(F) D. Brennan	Halifax, N. S.
	Callaghan, Thomas	Maple Creek	(F) M. Callaghan	143 Withrow Ave., Toronto.
	Camies, Ernest Joseph	N.W.M.P.	(W) E. Camies	Macleod, N. W. T.
	Campbell, Aaron William	Edmonton	(W) Mrs. Campbell	Ft. Saskatchewan.
	Carson, Thomas Edgar	N.W.M.P.	(B) A. Carson	Toronto.
	Carter, William	Regina	(F) R. Carter	Lansdaje House, Cheltenham, Gloucesters, Eng.
	Carter John	N.W.M.P.	(F) J. Carter	Queen's Terrace, Fleetwood, Eng.
	Charlton, Henry Lyons	"	(F) Rev. H. Charlton	Stranraer, Wigtonshire, Scotland.
	Champion, Albert	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Champion	1 Queen's Road, Battersea Park, London, Eng.
	Charles, Allan Hughes	"	(F) D. Charles	Galt, Ont.
	Church, Frank	"	(W) Church	Barracks, Regina.
	Clarke, Douglas	Prince Albert	(M) Mrs. Clark	Prince Albert.
	Clark, Edward Douglas	Edmonton	T. Clark	Moncton, N.B
	Clendinnen, Bertram William	N.W.M.P.	(C) Rev. G. S. Clendinnen	Brockville, Ont.
	Colbert, James Alfred	"	(F) W. Colbert	Louise Bridge, Man.
	Courtney, Thomas Jas	Halifax	(W) Mrs. Courtney	2 Cornwallis St., Halifax, N.S.
	Crawley, Alfred William	Pincher Creek	D. M. Crawley	Brook St., Luton, Eng.
	Cudlip, Albert James	"	(S) Miss Cudlip	St. John, N.B.
	Cunningham, Wm. Percy	N.W.M.P.	(M)Mrs Cunningham	Villa Rivière, St. Servair, Ille et Villance, France.
	Clements, Harry Hammond	"	(F) —. Clement	Cecil House, Waltham,Herts,Eng.
	Davies, Henry Bromley	Calgary	(S) Mrs. Poyser	Wicklowe, Derby, Eng.
	Davies, Jefferson	"	(B) J. Davies	Macleod, Alta.
	Davy, George Allastair	Edmonton	(F) G. B. Davies	Spean Lodge, Spean Bridge, Scotland.
	Davidson, Frank	N.W.M.P.	(S) H. M. Davidson	Selkirk P.O., Ont.
	Des Barres, Hermann	"	(M) Mrs Des Barres	1 Wilhelm Platz, Charlottenburg, Berlin.
	DeRossiter, Walter Wrixon	"	(F) —. Rossiter	Dundrum, Co. Dublin, Ireland.
	Dewey, John	Calgary	(B) J. Dewey	Calgary, Alta.
	Dennis, Oliver George	Edmonton	(B) J. S. Dennis	Regina, Asa.
	Dean, Albert	Regina	(B) W. Dean	Edenwold, Asaa.
	Dill, Frank Brown	Moosomin	(F) J. W. Dill	Bracebridge, Ont.
	Dickson, Robert Thomas	Pincher Creek	(S) Mrs. J. Black	Youngstown, New York.
	Dodd, Victor	Regina	(M) Mrs. Pierce	475 St. Mary's Ave., Winnipeg, Man.
	Donovan, Daniel	N.W.M.P.	(S) Mrs. Donovan	Liscordane House, Ardagh, Co. Limerick, Ireland.
	Doolan, John Thomas	Edmonton	(F) T. Doolan	St. Albert, Alta.
	Donnelly, John Austin	Pincher Creek	(F) P. Donnelly	Montreal.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Dore, Geo. Launchberry	"	(F) R. Dore	Billings Bridge, Ont.
	Dowler, Thomas	Macleod	(S) S. Dowler	Coply Mound, Blundell Sands, Liverpool, Eng.
	Drury, Percival Stratton	Maple Creek	(M) Mrs. Brown	Maple Creek.
	Duxbury, Thomas	Pincher Creek	(F) T. Duxbury	Elkhorn. Man.
	Durrant, Wm. Francis	Macleod	(F) Major Durrant	Junior Service Club, Charles St., London, Eng.
	Durie, James Douglas	Calgary	(F) G. Durie	Seaforth, Ont.
	D'Easum, Basil Chichester	Edmonton	(B) Rev. G. C. D'Easum	Fort Saskatchewan.
	Eaton, Robert Barry	Calgary	(F) J. K. Eaton	Truro, N.S.
	Eddy, James Harden	Macleod	(F) B. M. Eddy	Colborne, Northumberland Co., Ont.
	Egan, Peter	N.W.M.P.	(F) J. Egan	Halifax, N.S.
	Elkington, Alfred Joseph	"	(M) Mrs. Elkington	Olderbrook Road, London, Eng.
	Ellis, Percy	Regina	(F) Capt. Ellis	Oriental Club, Hanover Square, London, Eng.
	Ermatinger, Chas. Percy	N.W.M.P.	(F) Judge Ermatinger	St. Thomas, Ont.
	Erwin, Milton	McLeod	(M) Mrs. C. A. Erwin	Lyndon P.O., Alta.
	Eson, Charles	"	(M) Mrs. Eson	Hillhead, Aberdeen, Scotland.
	Ferguson, George	Edmonton	(W) Mrs. Ferguson	Fort Saskatchewan.
	Ferries, Charles Henry	Calgary	(M) Mrs. Ferries	Mingo, Man.
	Fisk, Charles Edward	"	(F) E. Fisk	High River, Alta.
	Fisher, James	"	(S) Mrs. Manley	105 Maitland St., Toronto, Ont.
	Fitzgerald, Francis Jos.	N.W.M.P.	(F) —. Fitzgerald	Halifax, N.S.
	Fletcher, James	Calgary	(S) Mrs. Griffiths	Caldwell, Idaho, U.S.A.
	Flynn, William Bernard	Maple Creek	(C) Miss E. Mills	Bideford, Devon, England.
	Foran, Charles Joseph	Macleod	(M) Mrs. Foran	St. John's, Newfoundland.
	Forbes, Lestock Reid	Calgary	(M) Mrs. Forbes	In care of Bullock Bros., 13 Fenchurch Ave. London.
	Fortune, Andrew Park	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Fortune	Whitelaw, Edrow, Scot.
	Foster, William Wallace	Maple Creek	(F) W. Foster	Hamilton, Ont.
	Fotheringham, David Hetherington	N.W.M.P.	(F) A. Fotheringham	Grenfell, Asa.
	French, Frederick	Spl. "	(M) Mrs. French	Eccles, Manchester, Eng.
	French, John Poyntz	"	(M) Mrs. French	Mrs. Maloney, Fort Qu'Appelle, Assa.
	Frost, Walter	Calgary	(B) E. Frost	Crieff, Perthshire, Scotland.
	Galwey, Richard Morris	Pincher Creek	(B) R. Galwey	Newagh, Tipperary, Ireland.
	Geoghegan, John	N.W.M.P.	(W) Mrs. Geoghegan	Fort Macleod, N.W.T.
	Giles, William A	Edmonton	(W) Mrs. Giles	Carleton, Saskatchewan.
	Gladwin, James Muir	N.W.M.P.	(F) A. S. Gladwin	285 Cobourg Rd., Birmingham, Eng.
	Glover, Fredk. Stanley	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Glover	Cottom, Lincoln, Eng.
	Goodfellow, George	Maple Creek	(F) Geo. Goodfellow	Prince Albert.
	Gordon, George Fredk	N.W.M.P.	(B) A. W. Gordon	Liverpool, Eng.
	Goodman, Theodore	Regina	(C) Rev. E. Hopper	Yorkton, Asa.
	Gould, Goodwin Norris	Pincher Creek	(C) Mrs. Mundall	Exeter, Devonshire, Eng.
	Gow, Alexander Murray	Moosomin	(F) G. Gow	Moosomin, Assa.
	Gray, William	N.W.M.P.		Not known.
	Gray, John	Macleod	(F) — Gray	269 Simcoe St., Toronto.
	Greenall, Frank	Calgary	(F) Mrs. Greenall	Longner Hall, Shewsbury, Eng.
	Green, Herbert Frank	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Green	Pincher Creek.
	Green, Girshorn Wilson	"	"	Not known.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.

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Doolan, John Thomas	Edmonton	(F) T. Doolan	Limerick, Ireland.	
Donnelly, John Austin	Pincher Creek	(F) P. Donnelly	Montreal.	
Gray, John	Macleod	(F) — Gray	Not known.	
Greenall, Frank	Calgary	(F) Mrs. Greenall	260 Simcoe St., Toronto.	
Green, Herbert Frank	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Green	Longner Hall, Shewsbury, Eng.	
Green, Girshorn Wilson	"	"	Pincher Creek.	
			Not known.	

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Green, Arthur Esmer Carteret	N.W.M.P.	(F) Rev. Green	Mobbury Vicarage, Devonshire, Eng.
	Griesbach, William Antrobus	Edmonton	(F) Supt. Griesbach	Fort Saskatchewan.
	Groat, Forbies	"	(F) Malcolm Groat	Edmonton.
	Gunn, Henry Aitken	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Nash	Livingstone, Alta.
	Haddock, Alexander Gardener	N.W.M.P.	(T) Mrs. Jones	Glenalough, Balleyholme Road, Bangor Co., Down, Ireland.
	Hammond, William Henry	Regina	(F) M. Hammond	Logan, Utah, U.S.A.
	Hanna, William Henry	Edmonton	(F) R. Hanna	Bellwood, Ont.
	Harris, William James	St. Charles P.O.	(F) A. B. Harris	Birtle, Man.
	Harley, Thomas	Calgary	(B) E. P. Harley	28 Queen's Road, Wheatley, Doncaster, Eng.
	Hayne, Murray Henry Edward	N.W.M.P.	(F) L. J. Hayne	34 Elphinstone Road, Southsea, Hants, Eng.
	Head, Henry Arthur	"	(F) T. Head	Dundas, Ont.
	Healy, John May	"	(M) Mrs. L. Healey	Margate, Kent, Eng.
	Hendren, George Grant	"	(F) Thomas Hendren	Lakefield, Ont.
	Henry, William Alexander	Macleod	(B) C. Henry	Antigonish, N.S.
	Herchmer, Sherwood	Regina	(F) L. W. Herchmer	
	Hertzog, William	N.W.M.P.	(F) W. Hertzog	17 Kraiser Strasse, Magdelburg, Germany.
	Hewetson, John S	Pincher Creek	(F) Dr. Hewetson	Pincher Creek.
	Higinbotham, William Bruce	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Higinbotham	16 Boswell Ave., Toronto, Ont.
	Hilling, Thomas James	"	(M) Mrs. Hilling	99 Blenheim Road, Reading, Eng.
	Hilliam, Edward	"	(W) Mrs. Hilliam	Spalding, Lincolnshire, Eng.
	Hobbins, Samuel	Calgary	(F) W. Hobbins	Oxboro, Norfolk, Eng.
	Hodgkiss, Sidney Harry	Edmonton	(F) W. Hodgkiss	Stapleton House, Harborne, Birmingham, Eng.
	Houlgate, Henry Laurie	Calgary	(F) W. Houlgate	Whitehaven, England.
	Howden, Gordon Thompson	N.W.M.P.	(S) Miss Howden	287 Mountain St., Montreal, P.Q.
	Huckell, Benjamin William	Halifax	(S) K. Huckell	95 Henderson Ave., Ottawa.
	Hughes, Thomas Price	N.W.M.P.	(F) E. Hughes	Treasury Department, Quebec.
	Hughes, Louis Campbell	Calgary	(M) Lady Hughes	Dunley, Bovey Tracey, Devonshire, Eng.
	Hughey, John	Regina	(F) J. Hughey	Oak Rides, Ont.
	Hutchinson, Charles Edward	Calgary	(M) Mrs. Hutchinson	Care of Bank of Montreal, Montreal, P.Q.
	Jackson, Frank Andrew	Edmonton	(B) W. Jackson	Pueblo, Colorado, U.S.A.
	Jamieson, Frederick Charles	"	(M) Mrs. Jamieson	Lacombe, Alta.
	Jarvis, Arthur Byron	N. W. M. P.	(M) E. Jarvis	Bloomer, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
	Jeffery, Nichol	"		
	Jenkins, Horace	Regina	(M) Mrs. Jenkins	Dunmore, Asa.
	Johnson, Norman Spencer	Pincher Creek	(F) Capt. Johnson	Pincher Creek, N.W.T.
	Johnston, Douglas Farquhar	" "	(F) J. Johnston	Glen Ascot, Berks, England.
	Johnstone, Andrew	N.W. M. P.	(M) Mrs. Johnston	Felpham House, Felpham, Bognor, Sussex, England.
	Kelly, Percy Herbert	"A" Troop Manitoba Dragoons	(S) Mrs. Litchfield	7 Winnstay Gardens, Kensington W., England.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Kerrigan, Michael	N. W. M. P.	(B) J. Kerrigan	72 Montcalm Street, Montreal, P.Q.
	Kerr, Graham	Moosomin	(B) J. Kerr	Moosomin, Assa.
	Kerr, Robert John	Pincher Creek	Alfred Wilson	Pincher Creek.
	Kibby, Albert	Macleod	(F) — Kibby	Tiverton Devon, England.
	King, Raymond Spencer	Edmonton	(F) Robt. King	Welbourne Hall, Lincolnshire, England.
	King, George	Maple Creek		None to his knowledge.
	King, John Edward	N. W. M. P.	(S) Mrs. Davies	Bull Wooler, Ont.
	Kirwan, Henry John	Calgary	(M) Mrs. E. Kirwin	29 Aylesbury Road, Donnybrook, Co. Dublin, Ireland.
	Knight, Reginald Spencer	N. W. M. P.	Chas. Knight	South Park, Reigate, Surrey, Eng.
	Krag, Carl	Regina	(W) Mrs. Krag	Whitewood, Assa.
	Lane, Harry Goldney	N. W. M. P.	(F) Rev. F. Lane	33 Eardley Crescent, Earl's Court, London, England.
	Laroque, Joseph Arthur	"	(F) D. J. Laroque	Quebec, P.Q.
	Lawe, Alexander Wrightson	Regina	(F) F. Lawe	The Fountains, Glenmire, Co. Cork, Ireland.
	Laws, Burnett	Macleod	(F) J. Laws	Carterway Heads, Spotley Bridge, Durham, England.
	Leach, Richard	N. W. M. P.	(F) R. Leach	Sheriton, Fitzpaine, Devon, Eng.
	Leach, Frank Easton	Macleod	(F) — Leach	175 Stanley Street, Montreal, P.Q.
	Lee, Hugh	Calgary	(S) Mrs. Coombe	Bridport, Dorset, England.
	Leggat, Matthew	St. Charles, P.Q.	(F) James Leggat	Birtle, Man.
	Lett, Henry	N. W. M. P.	(F) S. Lett	25 Percy Street, Princess Park, Liverpool, England.
	Lett, Richard	"	(F) R. Lett	Wakefield, Yorkshire, England.
	Lindsay, John	Edmonton	(F) John Lindsay	White Lake, Ont.
	Lloyd, Benjamin Harry	Calgary	(F) B. S. Lloyd	Calgary, Alta.
	Long, John Franklin	"	(F) D. Long	Chespside, Ont.
	Long, Arthur Tilney	Regina	(F) J. W. Long	31 Finsbury Square, London, Eng.
	Long, James Patrick	"	(B) E. Long	Halifax, N.S.
	McArthur, John	Macleod	(B) A. McArthur	Johnson, Ont.
	McCallum, Archibald Duncan	Regina	(M) Mrs. McCallum	Regina, Assa.
	McCall, Wallace	Maple Creek	(S) B. McCall	Medicine Hat.
	McCallum, Louis	Calgary	(B) J. McCallum	Leduc, Alta.
	McCauley, Alex. James Henry	Edmonton	(F) M. McCauly	Edmonton, Alta.
	McClelland, William	N. W. M. P.	(M) Mrs. McClelland	24 Nelson Street, Trales, Co. Kerry, Ireland.
	McCulloch, David	" "	(F) J. McCulloch	Sundridge, Ont.
	McDougall, Duncan	" "	(F) R. McDougall	Alexandria, Ont.
	Macdougall, Harold Valdimir	Macleod	(F) Hon. Wm. MacDougall	Ottawa, Ont.
	McGeachy, Thomas	Edmonton	(S) Minnie McGeachy	28 Hazleton Ave., Toronto, Ont.
	McKay, Charles Tossell	Calgary	(M) Mrs. J. McKay	Kingston, Ont.
	McKen, William	Regina	(F) J. McKen	Yorkton, N.W.T.
	Mackenna, Robert Jos	N. W. M. P.	(M) E. Mackenna	7 Holland Road, Brixton, London, England.
	McKinly, Alexander	Edmonton	(F) J. McKinly	Thornburg, Ont.
	McLaughlin, Stanley	N. W. M. P.	(F) U. H. McLaughlin	Brighton, Sussex, England.
	McLaughlin, Sidney	"	(B) Percy McLaughlin	Maple Creek.

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	McLaughlin, Percy Jas. Scotland	Maple Creek	(F) — McLaughlin	Marine Villas, Hove, Sussex, Eng.
	McLeod, Wm. Baldwin	N.W.M.P.	(B) M. McLeod	Pincher Creek, Alta.
	McLeod, Robt. William	"	(F) R. McLeod	Moosomin.
	McMillan, Charles John	Regina	(B) W. McMillan	Chelthan, Ont.
	MacNeil, Alfred Chester	Prince Albert	(F) J. MacNeil	Boston, U.S.A.
	McNeill, James	Calgary	(A) Miss J. McCullough	Falkirk, Scotland.
	McNeil, Malcolm Reid	Moosomin	(F) Malcolm McNeil	Moosomin.
	McNicol, John	Regina	(F) A. C. McNicol	Yorkton, N.W.T.
	McNicol, Peter Hector	"	(F) "	"
	Maloney, Joseph Daniel	Edmonton	(F) D. Maloney	St. Albert, Alta.
	Marchand, Chas. Hilliard	"		Not known.
	Marshall, Edward	Calgary	(F) A. Marshall	Calgary, Alta.
	Martin, Harry James	N.W.M.P.	(B) A. Martin	Milton House, Hursbourne Road, Forest Hill, London.
	Manson, James Reid	"	(F) — Manson	Not known.
	Mead, Clement Gawler	Pincher Creek	(F) R. G. Meade	Pincher Creek.
	Miller, Hugh	Regina	(F) — Miller	Queensgate, Inverness, Scotland.
	Miles, Thomas Routledge	Pincher Creek	(S) Miss Miles	Keene, Bideford, Devon, Eng.
	Miles, Henry Vere Webb	"	"	" " "
	Millie, Samuel Bouchier	N.W.M.P.	(S) L. Millie	Geashill, King's Co., Ireland.
	Moloney, Albert Charles	Edmonton	(B) Dr. E.C. Maloney	Jackman, Maine, U.S.A.
	Mongeon, Joseph	Pincher Creek	(F) J. Mongeon	Pincher Creek.
	Mooney, John	Prince Albert	(W) Mrs. Mooney	6 Portea St., Liverpool, Eng.
	Morden, James Frederick	Pincher Creek	(F) A. M. Morden	Pincher Creek.
	Morrison, Alfred Samuel	Cal. Sgt. 90th Batt. Winnipeg	(F) — Morrison	1 Beechwood Cottages, Sandford Lane, Stoke, London. S. E.
	Morrison, Donald	Regina	(F) P. Morrison	Dunleath, N.W.T.
	More, Peter James	N.W.M.P.	(F) Walter More	Not known.
	Mullen, William James	Edmonton	(F) W. J. Mullen	Barrie, Ont.
	Napier, William Hugh	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Napier	Care of Bank of Montreal, Peterboro, Ont.
	Near, Benjamin	Regina	(F) H. Near	St. Mary's P. O., Ont.
	Nettleton, Thorn	Moosomin	(F) C. Nettleton	Hotel keeper, Copenhagen, Denmark.
	Nevile, Herbert Sandford	"	(F) Cavendish Nevile	Wopella, Ont.
	Northway, Richard John	Calgary	(B) R.J.S. Northway	Bellwood, Boscombe, Bournemouth, England.
	Nunneley, Edward	Edmonton	Mother	In New Zealand. Not known.
	O'Grady, Samuel Cecil Harvey	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. O'Grady	160 Rathgor Road, Onolin, Ireland
	O'Kelly, Andrew Nolan	"	(F) E. O'Keelly	17 Clare St., Dublin, Ireland.
	O'Kelly, Gerald Michael	"	"	" "
	Oliver, Walter Reginald	"	(F) C. Oliver	Plymouth, Eng.
	Olsen, James Adams	"	(S) M. Olsen	Prince Albert, N.W.T.
	Ouimet, Telesphore Oscar	N.W.M.P.	(F) T. Ouimet	St. Rose, Laval, Que.
	Paling, Ernest John	Calgary	(F) R. Paling	Pine Creek, Alta.
	Parker, Frank Edward	Regina	(F) Col. Parker	Col. Parker, Court House, Malvern, Eng.
	Patterson, Francis David	Calgary	(B) Geo. Patterson	Calgary, Alta.
	Paterson, John Alexander	Macleod	(B) D. Paterson	Maple Creek.
	Patteson, Thos. Edward	"	Children	Not known.
	Peebles, Herbert Walter	Edmonton	(F) Col. Peebles	Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, Eng.
	Perry, Frank	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. E. Perry	Stafford, Eng.
	Peters, Christopher Richard	"	(S) Mrs. Belcher	Regina, Assa.
	Petersen, Charles Frank	Regina	(F) G. Peterson	Yorkton, N.W.T.
	Pierson, Alan	Edmonton	(B) A. Pierson	S. Edmonton, Alta.
	Piper, Somerton F.	Regina	(B) E. A. Piper	Chadburn, N. C., U.S.A.
	Piper, William Warren	N.W.M.P.	(F) W. M. Piper	16 The Walk, Hertshire, Eng.
	Pointer, Francis	" Sp. Con.	(F) John Pointon	Not known.
	Pope, Harold William	"	(B) R. Pope	18 Upper Woburn Place, Tavertock Squ., London, S.W.
	Porter, William Tom	Calgary	(M) Mrs. Porter	9 Whitley Crescent, Reading, Berks, Eng.
	Pratt, Frank Edward	Regina	(F) Mr. Pratt	Bath, Somersetshire, Eng.
	Quinn, David George	N.W.M.P.	(W) Mrs. D.G. Quinn	Whitewood, N.W.T.
	Ramsay, Thomas Morton	Pincher Creek	(W) Mrs. Ramsay	Pincher Creek, Alta.
	Randall, Reginald Chadd Sylvester	Regina	(W) Mrs. Randall	Regina, N.W.T.
	Raper, Arthur Clements	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Raper	Exeter, Eng.
	Reeve, George Hepworth	N.W.M.P.	(F) Chas. Reeve	Grenfell, N.W.T.
	Redpath, John Reginald	Pincher Creek	(F) Peter Redpath	Montreal, P.Q.
	Reichert, Edward	N.W.M.P.	(F) E. Reichert	Mannheim, Baden, Germany.
	Reid, William Archibald	Edmonton	(F) G. A. Reid	Lacombe, Alta.
	Ritchie, James	N.W.M.P.	(S) Mrs. John Smith	
	Robertson, Alistair Irvine	Macleod	(F) J. Robertson	Blair, Athol, Scotland.
	Robertson, John	N.W.M.P.	(F) W. Robertson, M.D.	Granton, Northumberland, Eng.
	Robinson, Chas. Wilson	Regina	(F) R. Robinson	Broadview, N.W.T.
	Rochfort, Cowper Fred. Wallarton	"	(F) — Rochfort	Grenfell, N.W.T.
	Rodgers, Edmund Harper	Calgary	(B) H. Rodgers	Sheep Creek, Alta.
	Ross, Arthur	N.W.M.P.	(F) W. Ross	Banchory, Kincardineshire, Scot.
	Ross, Grant Allan	Regina	(F) G. H. Ross	Stuttgart, Germany.
	Rubbra, Frank Horace	N.W.M.P.	(F) A. Rubbra	Montreal.
	Rubbra, Theodore Chas.	Macleod	"	"
	Ruck, Lawrence	"	(F) Arthur A. Ruck	Carnarvon, N. Wales, Eng.
	Russell, John	Edmonton	(M) Mrs. W. Russell	Edmonton, N.W.T.
	Ruth, Frederick Cuthbert	N.W.M.P.	(F) A. Ruth	Carman, Man.
	Salmon, George Francis	Moosomin	(B) A. Salmon	Unknown.
	Sargent, John Beresford	Regina	(F) J. P. Sargent	Qu'Appelle Station.
	Schell, Joseph John	Edmonton	(W) Mrs. Schell	Spruce Grove, Alta.
	Scott, Thomas	Macleod	(B) Jas. Scott	Macleod, N.W.T.
	Sexton, Frank	N.W.M.P.	(F) Jas. Sexton	Bedworth, Warwickshire, E.
	Shobbrook, Heber	Moosomin	(F) Richd. Shobbrook	Unknown.
	Sharp, Lewis	Edmonton	(F) S. Sharp	North Bend, B.C.
	Sharpe, Stanley Lancelot	Moosomin	(M) Mrs. Phil. Sharpe	Winchfield, Hants, Eng.
	Sharpe, George Grinley	Regina	(F) S. B. Sharpe	Care Mrs. Cove-Brown, Burnage, Streatham Common, London, S. W., Eng.
	Sheppard, Walter Festing	N.W.M.P.	(F) W. F. Sheppard	21 Hogarth Road, Earl's Court London, Eng.
	Sheppard, Reginald Hy.	Regina	"	"
	Shunn, Abner	N.W.M.P.	(S) Miss Shunn	Holland Centre, Ont.
	Simms, John	Calgary	(S) Mary Simms	18 Olivia St., Bootle, Liverpool, Eng.
	Stewart, John Foster	Macleod	(S) Miss Alice Mary Stewart	5 Ogle Terrace, South Shields, Eng.
	Skeet, Ronald George Stewart	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Skeet	The Limes, Blaxhall, Suffolk, Eng.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Skinner, William Paxton	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Skinner	Ottawa, Ont.
	Slack, Charles John	Calgary	(B) A. Slack	Shepreth Hall, Cambridge, Eng.
	Westhead, Charles Geo.	Edmonton	(W) — Westhead	Lewiston P. O., Buffalo Lake.

Peebles, Herbert Walter	Edmonton	(F) Col. Peebles	Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, Eng.	Skeet, Ronald George Stewart	(S) Miss Alice Mary Stewart	5 Ogle Terrace, South Shields, Eng.
Perry, Frank	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. E. Perry	Stafford, Eng.	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Skeet	The Limes, Blaxhall, Suffolk, Eng.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Skinner, William Paxton	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. Skinner	Ottawa, Ont.
	Slack, Charles John	Calgary	(B) A. Slack	Skerweth Hall, Cumberland, Eng.
	Smart, James	Maple Creek	Unknown	Unknown.
	Smith, Reuben	Prince Albert	(B) G. Smith	Nelson, Man.
	Smith, Henry Daniel	Edmonton	(B) Arthur Smith	Butler's Farm, Harefield, Middlesex, Eng.
	Smith, James Alpin	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. S. Gourlay	Sheet Harbour, Halifax Co., N.S.
	Smith, Gavin Graham	Regina	(F) C. A. Smith	7 Gourlay St., Glasgow, Scotland.
	Smith, Ovida	Pincher Creek	(F) E. Smith	St. Flavis, Que.
	Smith, Wm. Cunningham	Regina	(F) A. B. Smith	Amulree, Ont.
	Soper, Fred. Percy Watson	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Soper	13 St. Stephen's Gardens, Richmond Bridge, Surrey, Eng.
	Soubé, Angus	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. B. Soubé	Dalhousie Mills, Glengarry County, Ont.
	Spreadbury, Alfred	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Spreadbury	Silkstead, Hampshire, Eng.
	Sprott, William	Edmonton	(M) Mrs. Sprott	Miami, Man.
	Stayner, Rich. Winslow	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Stayner	Campania, Newton Abbot, Eng.
	Stephens, Reg. Herbert	Regina	(F) John J. Stephens	Teeswater, Ont.
	Stevens, R. Carolus Hunt	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Stevens	137 Stratton Road, Finchley, London, Eng.
	Storey, Arthur	N.W.M.P.	(F) R. R. Storey	Cardigan, Ont.
	Strong, Harold	"	(M) Mrs. Strong	Alameda, Assa.
	Talbot, Milton Smith	Regina	(M) Mrs. Talbot	Qu'Appelle Station, Assa.
	Taylor, Sydney	Calgary	(F) S. Taylor	Birmingham, Eng.
	Taylor, John Howard	Macleod	(W) Mrs. J. E. Taylor	Portland, O., U.S.A.
	Taylor, Frank Joseph	Edmonton	(M) Mrs. Mary Taylor	The Cottage, Sandhills, Walsall, Eng.
	Taylor, Joseph Robert	N.W.M.P.	(S) Miss Taylor	Calgary, N.W.T.
	Thackwell, Edw. Hillyar	Calgary	(B) W. Thackwell	Hyhasia Hall, Cork, Ireland.
	Threadkell, Frank	N.W.M.P.	(F) F. Threadkell	London, Eng.
	Thevenet, Marcel Raoul	"	(M) Mrs. Thevenet	98 rue Somerstine, Brussels, Belgium.
	Tracey, Augustus Warren	"	(F) A. C. Tracey	Sherbrooke, Que.
	Travers, Oliver	Edmonton	(F) John Travers	15 Whitley Road, Upper Holloway, London, Eng.
	Tryon, Charles Robert	Regina	(B) H. Tryon	Rowdyford House, Devizes, Eng.
	Tucker, Henry Walter	Pincher Creek	(M) Mrs. R. Tucker	5 Albert Terrace, King's Road, Teddington, Middlesex, Eng.
	Uniacke, Andrew Gore	Calgary	(F) Col. Uniacke	4 Alhambra Road, Southsea, Eng.
	Vernon, Walter Granville Harcourt	N.W.M.P.	(B) H. E. Vernon	16 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ont.
	Villebrun, Peter	Regina	(F) Daniel Villebrun	Battleford, N.W.T.
	Waite, A. Stanley	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. M. J. Waite	Campbelltown, Scotland.
	Waldy, Edw. Fielding	Calgary	(M) Mrs. Waldy	Chenetoke Rectory, Bristol, Eng.
	Waller, Pitt	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Waller	Londonderry, Ireland.
	Walsh, Robt. George	Regina	(F) Mr. T. Walsh	Moosejaw, N.W.T.
	Wolters, Paul	N.W.M.P.	(B) Louis Wolters	Leipsic, Germany.
	Walton, Joseph	Prince Albert	(W) Mrs. J. Walton	Prince Albert, N.W.T.
	Warene, Harry Thomas	N.W.M.P.		Unknown.
	Weatherald, Charles Ed.	Moosomin	(F) T. Weatherald	Goderich, Ont.
	Weaver, Oswald James	Regina	(M) Mrs. Weaver	Clifton, Bristol, Eng.
	Weir, Robert Henry	N.W.M.P.	(F) — Weir	Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, Ireland.
	Westhead, Charles Geo.	Edmonton	(W) — Westhead	Lewiston P. O., Buffalo Lake, N.W.T.
	Wetzell, Olaf	N.W.M.P.	(M) Mrs. Wetzell	Stockholm, Sweden.
	Whittaker, John	"	(M) Mrs. Whittaker	39 Melton St., Manchester, Eng.
	Wildman, George Ed.	"	(M) Mrs. Kingham	Regina, Assa.
	Wilkie, William	Edmonton	(M) Mrs. Wilkie	3 Upper Caltoridge Terrace, Edinboro', Scotland.
	Wilson, Maurice Studdert	Macleod	(F) Capt. T. G. Wilson	Livingstone, Alta.
	Wilson, Thos. Goodrick	Pincher Creek	(F) "	"
	Wilson, George Peter	N.W.M.P.	(F) Mrs. Wilson	Patston, Cornwall, Eng.
	Willson, Justus Duncan	Regina	(S) Mary Willson	Battleford, N.W.T.
	Winfield, Harry	Calgary	(F) John Winfield	8 Dawlish Road, Bournebrooke, Birmingham, Eng.
	Wood, William	Edmonton	(F) J. C. Wood	Tofield, Beaver Lake, Alta.
	Wood, Percy Amble	Macleod	(F) R. Wood	3 Woodsmith Terrace, Leeds, Eng.
	Woollcombe, John	Edmonton	(F) W. J. Woollcombe	Plympton, Devonshire, Eng.

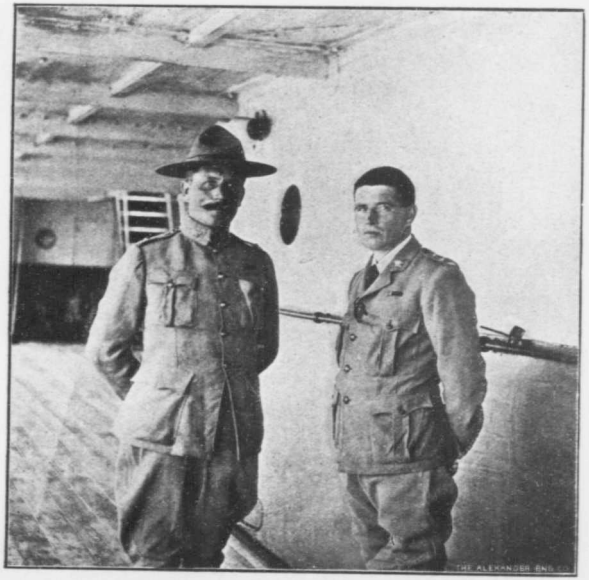
BRIGADE DIVISION, ROYAL CANADIAN ARTILLERY

"C" FIELD BATTERY.

Reg. No.	Name.	Corps. If not belonging to any Corps, Post Office Address.	Next of Kin.	Post Office Address of Next of Kin.
	B. Sgt. Maj., Gimblett, W. H	R.C.A.	Mrs. Gimblett	Kingston, Ont.
	Q.M.S., Bramah, W	"	Mrs. Bramah	The Barracks, Kingston.
	Sgt., McCully, A	"	Mrs. A. McCully	27 Rideau St., Kingston.
	" Shipton, W. J	"	Mrs. W. J. Shipton	18 Place d'Armes St., Kingston.
	" Graham, R. W	"	Mr. J. Graham	734 Kiowa St., Colorado Springs, Col., U.S.A.
	" Slater, S	"	Mr. W. J. Slater	102 Robert St., Toronto.
	" Kiely, W	13th Fd Battery	Mrs. W. Kiely	Plumstead, Woolwich, Eng.
	Far. Sgt., Harper, S	"	Mrs. M. Davidson	Moulton, Ont.
	Corp., Wherry, M. E	R.C.A.	Mr. R. Wherry	Knowlton, Que.
	" Gray, E	"	Mrs. L. E. Gray	Kingston, Ont.
	" Hilton, A	"	Mrs. Hilton	60 Bagot St., Kingston.
	" Aldcroft, G	"		
	" Higginson, J	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. M. Higginson	Dundas, Ont.
	Bomb., Barnard, W	4th "	Alfred Barnard	Hamilton, Ont.
	" Boyle, R	7th "	J. H. Boyle	St. Catharines, Ont

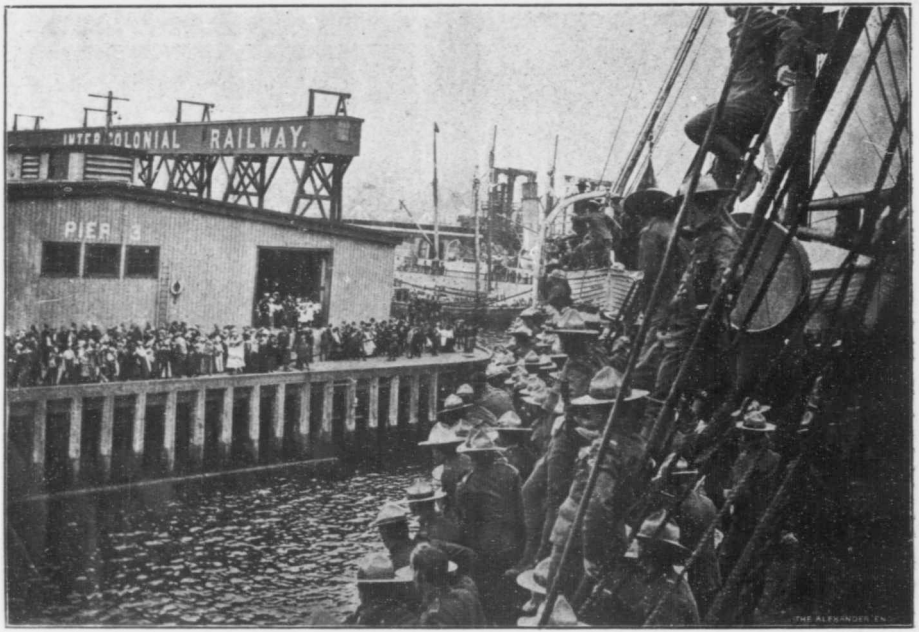
No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Bomb., Hope, R. S.	20th Battalion	John Hope	Hamilton, Ont.
	" Tennant, W. H.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Tennant	639 Yonge St., Toronto.
	" Marling, B.	7th "	J. W. Marling	2740 St. Catharines St., Montreal.
	" Williams, O. V.	R.C.A. "	Mrs. Williams	10 St. Leonard's Terrace, Weymouth, Eng.
	Trptr., Robert, E.	"	Mrs. Robert	24 St. George's Hill, Quebec.
	Allan, Wm	77th Battalion	James Allan	Ancaster, Ont.
	Anderson, A.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. A. Anderson	414 Logan Ave., Winnipeg.
	Andress, B.	"	Mr. F. Andress	Belleville, Ont.
	Andrews, Wm	4th Fd. Battery	Rev. J. W. Andrews	Grimsby, Ont.
	Armstrong, A	"	Mr. G. Armstrong	Tweed, Ont.
	Baird, S. A.	"	Mrs. J. Baird	Ridgetown, Ont.
	Barker, H. A.	13th Battalion	H Barker	Hamilton.
	Bell, P.	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Bell	"
	Bell, Wm.	4th "	Eden Bell	"
	Bellamy, R. E	"	H. A. Bellamy	Brockville, Ont.
	Benson, W.	R.C.A.	Mrs. A. Benson	26 Dufferin St., Kingston.
	Birch, C. E.	"	S. Birch	Kingston, Ont.
	Black, J	St. Catharines	J. Black	St. Catharines.
	Blackeley, F	4th Fd. Battery	J. Blackeley	Kepworth, Ont.
	Blackeby, A. E.	"	Mrs. F. H. Blackeby	Kingston, Ont.
	Bond, J. C.	Toronto	J. P. Bond	Toronto.
	Bradford, A	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. W. Bradford	Hamilton.
	Burton, W	"	Dr. A. Lockhart	Harrismith, Ont.
	Chandler, G	9th Fd. Battery	G. Chandler	Toronto.
	Clarkson, L.	9th "	F. Clarkson.	"
	Cobb, R.	13th Fd. Battery	Father	Torquay, Devonshire England.
	Coffey, G.	"	W. Coffey	Kingston, Ont.
	Cosby, N. W	48th Highlanders	Lt.-Col. Cosby	Toronto.
	Davenport, J	"	S. J. Davenport.	Northport, Ont.
	Derwent, F. C.	"	} William Derwent.	Croydon, England.
	Derwent, W. R.	"		
	Eastwood, W.	"	Mrs. Eastwood	Gananoque, Ont.
	Evans, H. C	Toronto	Alice F. Evans	St. Catharines.
	Eby, — F	"	Mr. J. Eby	Kingston, Ont.
	Fuller, C. B.	Q. O. Rifles	J. R. Fuller	Toronto.
	Gare, E. C.	St. Catharines	E. G. Gare.	St. Catharines.
	Garry, James	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Garry.	Hamilton.
	Glenn, M.	"	Mrs. E. Glenn	Fort Henry, Kingston.
	Goodbrand, A.	77th Battalion	Mrs. E. Goodbrand	Dundas.
	Genge, R.	"	Mr. J. Genge	Gananoque, Ont.
	George, Wesley	13th Fd. Battery	Father	Maynooth, Hastings Co., Ont.
	Gillen, J. W.	"	Mrs. Gillen	18 Lady Lane, Paisley, Scotland.
	Gillespie, W	"	Mrs. C. Gillespie	Plainfield, Ont.
	Gordon, Hugh	13th Fd. Battery	Mr. A. Gordon	Winnipeg, Man.
	Gowdie, J.	"	Mr. J. Gowdie	Kingston, Ont.
	Gray, J. W	"	Mrs. A. A. Gray	Kingston Lower Station.
	Grant, J. A.	"	Mrs. Grant.	Gananoque, Ont.
	Green, J. F.	St. Catharines	W. F. Green	St. Catharines.
	Greenfield, J. K	16th Fd. Battery	J. Greenfield	Niagara Falls, N. Y.
	Guest, J. W.	"	M. J. S. Guest.	Picton, Ont.
	Hamill, Wm.	13th Battalion	W. J. Hamill	Hamilton.
	Hamilton, —	"		
	Hammond, D. B	31st Battalion	R. Hammond	Owen Sound.
	Hanson, C.	"	Mrs. Hanson	Cobourg, Ont.
	Harrison, E.	"	Mrs. Harrison	Napanee, Ont.
	Higginson, Jos.	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. M. Higginson	Dundas, Ont.
	Holbrook, Geo.	"	Mrs. M. Holbrook	Greenwood, B.C.
	Holmes, W.	"	Mrs. Holmes	Alcester R'd, Bromsgrove, Kent, E
	Hopson, E. H.	9th Fd. Battery	C. H. Hopson	Halifax, N.S.
	Hopkinson, Wm.	4th Fd. Battery	J. Hopkinson	Hamilton.
	Howe, G	"	Mr. R. Howe	Toronto, Ont.
	Hudson, E. A. P.	4th Fd. Battery	E. A. Hudson	Shepherd's Bush, London, Eng.
	Hudson, H. J.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. H. J. Hudson	69 King St., Winnipeg.
	Hughes, Charles	13th "	Father	Columbus City, Ind., U.S.A.
	Hughes, E.	"	Miss Hughes	Wolfe Island, Ont.
	Irving, C. H.	Toronto	A. Irving.	Toronto.
	Irwin, J. F.	7th Fd. Battery	R. Irwin	St. Catharines.
	Isbister, M. L.	13th "	J. Isbister	Hamilton.
	Jackson, W.	9th "	J. Jackson	Clinton, Ont.
	Johns, J. C. M	Burlington, Ont.	E. Johns	Chiswick, Eng.
	Johnson, A. S	9th Fd. Battery	Wm. Johnson.	Toronto.
	Johnson, E.	"	Mrs. M. Johnson	Vanick Hill, Ont.
	Kenny, E. L.	"	Dr. R. T. Kenny	Brockville, Ont.
	Laird, G. A	"	Mrs. W. Laird	Irlaw, Manchester, Eng.
	Laidlaw, W. C.	"	Mrs. A. Laidlaw	Barrie, Ont.
	LaValle, James	13th Fd. Batt.	Mrs. Jas. LaValle	Menomenee, Mich., U.S.A.
	Letten, James	13th Bn	"	
	Loosemore, R.	7th Fd. Batt.	R. Loosemore.	St. Catharines.
	Maulthouse, H.	"	Mrs. Edwards	Niagara Falls, Ont.
	McCalla, G. B.	16th Fd. Batt.	F. M. S. McCalla.	St. Catharines.
	McCamis, H.	13th Bn	A. McCamis	Hamilton.
	McCullough, J. A	4th Fd. Batt.	J. McCullough	Hamilton.
	McCollum, W	Royal Artillery	R. McCollum	Fort William, Ont.
	McCoy, A. L.	42nd Bn	Mrs. J. McCoy	Cobden, Ont.
	McDonald, W. E.	4th Fd. Batt.	D. McDonald.	Hamilton.
	McDonald, A.	"	Mrs. Macdonald	Gananoque, Ont.
	Macdonald, W. J	9th Fd. Batt.	Rev. D. B. Macdonald	Bendale, Ont.
	Macdonald, F. C	"	"	"
	McEachern, C. E.	Q. O. Rifles	D. McEachern	Kincardine, Ont.
	McGregor, D. J	14th Fd. Batty.	R. McGregor	Toronto.
	McIntyre, W.	"	Mrs. R. McIntyre	Fort William, Ont.
	McKnight, W. I	7th Fd. Batty.	J. McKnight.	Downsview, Ont.
	McKenzie, K.	13th "	Mr. A. McKenzie	Lucknow, Ont.
	McLean, James.	4th "	T. B. McLean	Hamilton.
	McNabb, J. A.	13th Bn	Alex. McNabb.	"
	McQuarrie, A	13th Fd. Batt.	Mr. H. McQuarrie	Blythe. Ont.
	Marling, T. W. B.	7th "	J. Marling	St. Catharines.
	Marsden, A	7th "	Miss H. McCullough	Toronto.
			Miss R. A. Ward.	Springfield, Mass.
	Marshall, G	"	Mrs. M. Marshall.	Kingston, Ont.
	Martin, Jas.	St. Catharines	Mrs. Mary Martin	Birkenhead, England.
	Martin, T	"	Mr. G. Martin	Boyne, N. F. L.
	Mathias, C.	13th Fd. Batt.	Mrs. J. Mathias	Cumberland St., Winnipeg.
	Miller, J. W.	"	Mrs. E. Fletcher.	Manchester, Eng.
	Moore, A.	St. Catharines	A. J. Moore	Tyrone, Ireland.
	Moffat, J. N.	"	Mrs. Moffatt.	Valencia P. O., Ont.
	Munsie, H. S.	"	Mrs. S. Munsie.	1,476 Lexington Ave., New York.
	Murray, H	"	Mrs. M. J. Murray.	338 Victoria Ave., Montreal.
	Newdick, N	Stouffville	Jos. Newdick.	Stouffville, Ont.
	Newnham, T. F.	"	Mrs. Newnham	Kingston, Ont.
	Newton, S.	7th Fd. Batt.	F. Newton	St. Catharines.
	Norwebb, S. H. S.	"	Miss Norwebb	West Bridgeford Road, Nottingham, England.

Greenfield, J. K.	16th Fd. Battery	J. Greenfield	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Moore, A.	St. Catharines	A. J. Moore	Tyrone, Ireland.
Guest, J. W.		M. J. S. Guest	Picton, Ont.	Moffat, J. N.		Mrs. Moffatt	Valencia P. O., Ont.
Hamill, Wm.	13th Battalion	W. J. Hamill	Hamilton.	Munsie, H. S.		Mrs. S. Munsie	1,476 Lexington Ave., New York.
Hamilton,				Murray, H		Mrs. M. J. Murray	358 Victoria Ave., Montreal.
Hammond, D. B.	31st Battalion	R. Hammond	Owen Sound.	Newdick, N	Stouffville	Jos. Newdick	Stouffville, Ont.
Hanson, C.		Mrs. Hanson	Cobourg, Ont.	Newnham, T. F.		Mrs. Newnham	Kingston, Ont.
Harrison, E.		Mrs. Harrison	Napanee, Ont.	Newton, S.	7th Fd. Batt.	F. Newton	St. Catharines.
Higginson, Jos.	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. M. Higginson	Dundas, Ont.	Norwebb, S. H. S.		Miss Norwebb	West Bridgeford Road, Nottingham, England.



Lieut. Bruce Carruthers, the Hart's River Hero, to left of picture. Captain Jack Leckie, decorated with Distinguished Service Medal for his work with Strathcona Horse.

LIEUT.-COL. R. E. W. TURNER, V.C.



Steamship Winifredian's Arrival in Halifax Harbor with 2nd C.M.R. on Board, July 22, 1902.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.	No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.

Steamship Winifredian's Arrival in Halifax Harbor with 2nd C.M.R. on Board, July 22, 1902.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	O'Neill, R.		Thos. O'Neill	St. Catharines, Ont.
	O'Reilly, J. A	77th Batt.	J. O'Reilly	Ancaster, Ont.
	Paget, G. E.		Mr. Paget	Marmora, Ont.
	Patton, Wm.	4th Fd. Batt.	Mrs. A. J. Patton	Hamilton.
	Peasnell, A.	13th "	Mrs. A. Peasnell	540 Fonseca St., Winnipeg.
	Porteous, Wm.	Hamilton	Mrs. Porteous	Holytown, Scotland.
	Powell, G.	Q. O. Rifles	Wm. Powell	Toronto.
	Price, J. R.		Mrs. A. Price	Brockville, Ont.
	Raynor, H.	Toronto	M. Raynor	Toronto.
	Richardson, J. R.	10th Battalion	J. Richardson	"
	Robertson, W. J.	4th Fd. Battery	Wm. Robertson	Hamilton.
	Robertson, W. A.	37th Battalion	Mrs. Robertson	Seneca, Ont.
	Robinson, A.		A. Robinson	Kingston, Ont.
	Robinson, G. F.		C. E. Robinson	Brockville, Ont.
	Ryder, F.		Mrs. J. Ryder	Kingston, Ont.
	Schell, Geo.	9th Fd. Battery	Chris. Schell	Elgin Mills, Ont.
	Seward, F. W.	13th "	Mrs. C. Seward	Care of J. E. Price, Toronto, Ont.
	Shaw, John.	Toronto	S. Tyler	Norway, Ont.
	Shaw, E.		Mrs. Shaw	Gananoque, Ont.
	Shaw, E.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Shaw	"
	Shedd, F.		Mrs. Cook	Centreville, Vermont, U.S.A.
	Smith, T.		Mrs. Smith	220 Wood St., Hamilton.
	Smith, W. J.		Mrs. J. Smith	Hickson, Av., Kingston, Ont.
	Smythe, G.		Mrs. A. E. Smythe	Kingston, Ont.
	Speck, F.	7th Fd. Battery	J. W. Speck	Niagara Falls, Ont.
	Stallwood, R. J.	13th "	Mrs. Stallwood	Hagersville, Ont.
	Stralley, Wm.	9th "	J. Stralley	Toronto.
	Stringer, H. L.	4th "	H. B. Stringer	Port Dover, Ont.
	Stokes, J. T.	St. Catharines	E. Stokes	St. Catharines.
	Sweeney, G. R.	Toronto	J. F. Sweeney	Montreal.
	Sweet, C. E.		Mrs. A. Sweet	Seeley's Bay, Ont.
	Tennent, W. H.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Tennent	639 Yonge St., Toronto.
	Thompson, C. W.		Mrs. A. Thompson	Kingston, Ont.
	Tibbs, J. W.	9th Fd. Battery	John Tibbs	Toronto.
	Tranter, Wm. D.	13th "	Mrs. W. D. Tranter	176 Logan Ave., Winnipeg.
	Trotman, D.		Miss S. Trotman	Carleton Place, Ont.
	Turnbull, John.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Robt. Turnbull	Nesbitt, Manitoba.
	Tupper, R. R.			
	Turney, Albert E.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Turney	Brighton, England.
	Turner, T.		Mrs. M. Turner	Mary Hill St., Glasgow.
	Tyner, E. L.	9th Fd. Battery	Mrs. J. Price	Toronto.
	Vanorman, G.	4th "	E. Vanorman	Millgrove, Ont.
	Walker, J. A.		Mrs. J. Walker	Hawthorne, Gloucester Co., Ont.
	Wallis G. T.	12th Battalion	Chas. Wallis	Toronto.
	Watson, L.		Mrs. Watson	Brockville, Ont.
	Williams, S. T.	Toronto	J. Williams	Toronto.
	Williamson, W. J. S.	Burlington, Ont.	Mrs. D. Williamson	Burlington, Ont.
	Williams, A.	13th Fd. Battery	Mrs. John Williams	Moosomin, N.W.T.
	Wilson, R.		Mrs. E. A. Nimblg	421 Theodore St., Ottawa.
	Wilson, H.		Mrs. R. Wilson	38 Charles St., Kingston.
	Witker, J. C.	7th Fd. Battery	J. Winger	St. Catharines.
	Wood, A. H.	9th "	L. H. Wood	Toronto.

"D" FIELD BATTERY

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Sgt. Maj., McIntyre, W.	1st "A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mrs. McIntyre	Rideau St., Kingston.
	Q. M. S., Slade, J.	" "		
	Sgt., Henderson, G.	" "	Mrs. Henderson	Tete du Pont Barracks, Kingston.
	" Somers, L.	" "	Mr. P. Somers	
	" Lett, K.	11th Fd. Battery	Dr. S. Lett	Guelph.
	" Barnhill, J.	6th "	Mr. J. Barnhill	London, Ont.
	" Stinson, W. J.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mrs. E. Stinson	Wellington St., Kingston.
	" Wood, R. S.	8th Fd. Battery	Mr. R. S. Wood	London, Ont.
	Corp., Kenealy, Jr.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Miss J. Kenealy	
	" Berubé, J. F. X.	" "	Mrs. D. Berubé	Hull, Que.
	" Curzon, J.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. Curzon	Ottawa.
	" Ross, M. H.	16th "	Mr. G. H. Ross	Lynam, Cheshire, Eng.
	" Colter, C. F.	6th "	Mr. C. Colter	Petrolia, Ont.
	Bomb., Smith, W.	2nd "	Mrs. M. Smith	Ottawa.
	" Wagar, P. E.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.		
	" Brown, G.	"		
	" Beaven, L. E.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mr. E. Beaven	Hintonburg.
	" Mattries, E. E.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mrs. Mattries	Warkworth, Ont.
	Tptr. Barker, W.	2nd Fd. Battery.	Mr. H. C. Barker	Ottawa, Ont.
	Abbs, F.	11th Fd. Battery	Mr. R. Abbs	Guelph.
	Alexander, H.	2nd "	Mr. W. Alexander	Ottawa.
	Anderson, J. O.	6th "	Mr. J. Anderson	
	Ballantine, J.	20th Battalion	Mr. J. Ballantine	Georgetown, Ont.
	Bancroft, G. R.	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. J. Bancroft	Newington, Ont.
	Barber, S. W.	30th Battalion	Mr. R. Barber	Guelph.
	Bargette, T. E.	11th Fd. Battery	Mr. J. Bargette	"
	Barrett, G. A.	6th Fd. Battery	Mr. S. Barrett	St. Thomas.
	Barty, W.	11th "	Mr. H. Barty	London, Ont.
	Belford, J. A.	2nd "	Miss Belford	Toronto, Ont.
	Beaven, N. W.	Ottawa	Mrs. E. Beaven	Ottawa.
	Bennett, T. E.	G.G.F.G.	Mrs. J. Bennett	Richmond, Ont.
	Bolton, D.	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. H. Bolton	Guelph, Ont.
	Bott, E. S.	2nd "	Mr. Geo. Bott	Ottawa.
	Boyle, R.	14th "	Mrs. Boyle	
	Bradley, R.	Ottawa	Mrs. Bradley	
	Bradley, S. W.	" "	Mrs. R. Bradley	Hazledean.
	Bramah, E. J.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Miss M. McMaimes	Druso, Ont.
	Bramah, T.	" "	Miss Nora Bramah	Kingston, Ont.
	Brown, J. A.	6th Fd. Battery	Mr. R. M. Brown	Clarksburg, Ont.
	Burnham, H. L.	14th "	Dr. E. A. Burnham	
	Cameron, H. H.	G.G.F.G.	Mr. J. A. Cameron	Ottawa.
	Campbell, J. A.	30th Battalion	Mr. W. Campbell	Guelph, Ont.
	Cornett, H. C.	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. R. Cornett	Dundalk, Ont.
	Cartledge, W. R.	11th "	Mrs. Cartledge	Guelph, Ont.
	Cause, H.	6th "	Mrs. H. Thompson	St. Thomas, Ont.
	Chisholm, J.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mrs. M. Chisholm	
	Clarke, S. A.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. A. Clarke	Ottawa.
	Crowe, A. R.	2nd "	Mrs. Mary Crowe	"
	Coogan, R. J.	6th "	Mrs. M. Coogan	London.
	Cormack, Jas.	16th "	Mr. J. Cornack	Guelph.
	Daley, M. J.	2nd "	Mr. J. Daley	Ottawa.
	Davey, W. H. G.	2nd "	Mr. R. Davey	"
	Davey, F.		Mrs. E. Davey	"
	Davidson, T. C.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. E. Davidson	"
	Darlington, G. W.	2nd "	Mr. H. Darlington	
	Decasse, G.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mr. H. Decasse	Montreal, Que.

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	Denmark, J. C.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. Denmark	Ottawa.
	Denges, H. D.	11th "	Mrs. Denges	Guelph, Ont.
	Dickson, W.	"A" Fd. B.R.C.A.	Mrs. T. Farror	
	Donaghy, J. A.	6th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Donaghy	London, Ont.
	Elliott, L.	20th Battalion	Mrs. R. Elliott	Owen Sound, Ont.
	Evatt, E.		Mrs. T. Ward	
	Farquharson, G. H.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. J. Farquharson	Billing's Bridge.
	Fennell, C. W.	16th "	Mrs. Fennell	Guelph, Ont.
	Flannigan, A.	16th "	Mr. Flannigan	Paris, Ont.
	Forrest, H.	"A" Fd. B.R.C.A.	Mrs. L. Forrest	
	Gamble, R. B.		Mr. J. Gamble	
	Garnett, C. G.	6th Fd. Battery	Mr. H. C. Garnett	Delaware, Ont.
	Gavan, W.	29th Battalion	Miss Gavan	Guelph, Ont.
	Gervan, J. E.		J. Gervan	Ottawa.
	Gillespie, J.		Mrs. J. Gillespie	Billings Bridge, Ont.
	Glenn, Wm.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mrs. M. Glenn	"C" Field Battery, R.C.A.
	Glenister, J.	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. G. Glenister	Guelph, Ont.
	Gok-y, F. W.	11th "	Mr. P. Gokey	"
	Gould, W. J	20th Battalion	Miss Gould	Toronto, Ont.
	Graham, G.	Brighton, Eng	Mr. Graham	Brighton, Sussex, England.
	Greene, E. W.	"A" Fd. B.R.C.A.		
	Griffin, T. M.		Mr. J. Griffin	Kemptville, Ont.
	Hall, V. A.	46th Battalion	Mrs. Hall	
	Hare, W. A		Wm. Hare	Elgin County.
	Hare, W. R		Mrs. T. Hare	"
	Henry, R		Mrs. Wm. Henry	Ottawa.
	Hinch, J. E.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Miss Hinch	Scranton, Penn., U.S.A.
	Hodson, G. G.	6th Fd. Battery.	Mr. C. D. Hodson	Annapolis, N.S.
	Hopkins, W	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mrs. M. Hopkins	England.
	Howard, G. V. W		Mr. J. A. Howard	Aylmer, Ont.
	Howe, Henry	11th Fd. Battery.	Mrs. T. Howe	Guelph, Ont
	Hume, A. H.	6th "	Mrs. W. S. Hume	Paris, Ont.
	Hutchinson, E.	"A" Fd. B.R.C.A	J. J. Hutchinson	Royal Navy
	Igglesden, E.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. E. Igglesden.	
	Irish, V. A.	Cobourg Gar. Art.	Mr. W. R. Irish	
	Jackson, J.	11th Fd. Battery	John Jackson	Mount View, Ont.
	James, G. W.	11th Fd. Battery	Mrs. L. James	Rookwood, Ont.
	Keeler, H	14th Fd. Battery		
	Kerr, I.			
	Kerr, P. A	2nd Fd. Battery	Miss. A. E. Kerr	Ottawa.
	Kidd, C	16th "	Mr. J. C. Kidd	Cookstown, Ont.
	King, C	30th Battalion	Mrs. King	249 Late St. Cleveland.
	Kitcheman, H.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. H. Kitcheman	Bradford, Yorks, England.
	Lafloor, S.	"	Mrs. T. Lafloor	Nepean, Ont.
	Lamkin, W. L.	"B" Fd. B.R.C.A.	Mrs. Lamkin	Ottawa.
	Lane, E.	2nd "	Mrs. A. M. Larson	
	Lawes, G.	"A" Fd. B.R.C.A.		
	Leach, W. D.	46th Battalion		
	Lee, F. E.	11th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Lee	64 Sherbourne St. Toronto.
	Lefroy, C. J. A.	6th "	Mrs. E. Lefroy	London, Ont.
	LeRoy, Lewis C.	"A" F. B. R.C.A.	W. G. LeRoy.	Ottawa.
	Lyon, A.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. M. Lyon	"
	Macdonald, D. A.	56th Battalion	Mrs. J. Currie	"
	McDonald, J. C.	38th "	Mrs. Taylor	Box 438, Guelph, Ont.
	McCuaig, P.	P. L. D. G.	D. McCuaig	Ottawa.
	McGibbon, D.	11th Fd. Battery	Mrs. McGibbon	Guelph, Ont.
	McKenzie, H.	16th "	Mrs. McKenzie	Sarnia, Ont.
	Mason, F. W.	11th "	Mrs. Mason	Keio, Ont.
	Miller, A.	11th "	Mrs. E. Miller	Guelph, Ont.
	Mills, C. E.	6th "	Mrs. C. Mills.	London, Ont.
	Minram, A. M.	"A" Fd. B. R.C.A.	Mrs. J. Major	Fallez, England.
	Moffat, J. N.			
	Mole, C. E.	16th Fd. Battery.	Mr. Westbrook	Woodstock, Ont.
	Moore, W. J.	20th Battalion	Mr. T. Moore	Acton, Ont.
	Nicholson, H.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mr. T. Nicholson	Ottawa.
	O'Connor, T. P.	11th "	Mr. T. O'Connor	Hamilton, Ont.
	Ough, C. R	14th Fd. Battery	Mr. W. T. Ough	
	Outram, F. H	46th Battalion	Mr. J. W. Outram	
	Pape, J. J	"A" F. Bty. R.C.A.	Mr. J. Pape	
	Parker, G	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. J. Webber	Strathallan, Ont.
	Partridge, W. R.	11th "	Mrs. C. H. Partidge	Guelph, Ont.
	Philp, J.	11th "	Mr. J. Philp	"
	Picot, G	Channel Islands		
		Fd. Battery	Mr. W. [illegible]	Ottawa.
	Pryke,	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Pr[illegible]	"
	[illegible]y, J	43rd Battalion	Mrs. E. Quinney	"
	Quirenbach, H	14th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Quirenbach	Berlin, Ont.
	Randell, J. W	6th "	Miss Randell	Herrington, Ont.
	Ray, J	6th "	Mr. J. Ray	Melrose, Ont.
	Read, J	46th Battalion	Mr. C. Read	
	Richmond, A. S	16th Fd. Battery	Dr. T. Richmond	22 Holywood Cres., Glasgow.
	Robinson, A		Mrs. E. Robinson	Ottawa.
	[illegible], D. H. N	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. D. Russell	Weston-Super-Mare, Eng.
	Russell, J. M.	16th "	Mr. W. Russell	12 Rothesay Gns., Glasgow.
	Sandercock, J		Mr. J. Sandercock	
	Sargent, A	"A" Fd. Battery, R.C.A.	Mr. G. S. Sargent	
	Scollie, F. L	14th Fd. Battery	Mr. J. Scollie	
	Shepherd, D. K	16th "	Mr. D. Shepherd	Paris, Ont.
	Shore, E. R	6th "	Mr. W. Shore	Montreal, Que.
	Skirving, V. A	6th "	Mr. V. Skirving	Chatham, Ont.
	Smith, W. F	"A" Fd. Battery, R.C.A.	Mr. H. B. Smith	
			Mr. P. Somers	"
	Somers, L		Mr. W. Sparrow	Guelph, Ont.
	Sparrow, J. E	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. J. Street	Ottawa.
	Street, C	2nd "	Mrs. M. Street	"
	Street, J. D	2nd "	Mr. W. G. Stephenson	Guelph, Ont.
	Stephenson, B	11th "	Mr. W. H. Sullivan	City View, Nepean, Ont.
	Sullivan, W. H	2nd "	Mr. H. Sutherland	London, Ont.
	Sutherland, Wm	6th "	Mr. P. Sutton	Guelph, Ont.
	Sutton, E.	30th Battalion	Mr. W. Taylor	
	Taylor, Thos	14th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Taylor	King's Holme, Gloucester, Eng.
	Taylor, W	11th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Thomas	128 Alma St., Guelph.
	Thomas, H. N	16th "	Mr. G. Thorne	Ottawa.
	Thorne, W. R		Mr. E. Tucker	"
	Tucker, W. F	4th Fd. Battery	Mrs. R. F. Tunstead	
	Tunstead, R. F	2nd "	Mrs. M. Wallace	Guelph, Ont.
	Wallace, J	30th Battalion	Mr. H. Waters	Ottawa.
	Waters, H			
	Welch, Wm	None	Mr. L. C. Wideman	Guelph, Ont.
	Wideman, W. E.	30th Battalion	Mrs. Williams	
	Williams, F. W	2nd Fd. Battery	Dr. M. Williams	5 Park Rd., Cardiff, Wales.
	Williams, M. S. P	16th Fd. Battery	Mr. J. Whitten	Ottawa.
	Whitten, D. A.	G.G.F.G.	Mr. W. Wooderly	"
	Wooderly, E. C	43rd Battalion	Mr. J. Wright	Hull, Que.
	Wright, H. A.			

No. | Rank and Name. | Corps or P.O. | Next of Kin. | P.O. of Next of Kin.

LeRoy, Lewis C.	"A" F. B. R.C.A.	W. G. LeRoy.	Ottawa.
Lyon, A.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. M. Lyon	"
Macdonald, D. A.	56th Battalion	Mrs. J. Currie	"
McDonald, J. C.	38th "	Mrs. Taylor	Box 498, Guelph, Ont.
McCuaig, P.	P. L. D. G.	D. McCuaig	Ottawa.
McGibbon, D.	11th Fd. Battery	Mrs. McGibbon	Guelph, Ont.
McKenzie, H.	16th "	Mrs. J. McKenzie	Sarnia, Ont.
Mason, F. W.	11th "	Mrs. Mason	Erie, Ont.

Wallace, J.	30th Battalion	Mrs. M. Wallace	Guelph, Ont.
Waters, H.		Mr. H. Waters	Ottawa.
Welch, Wm.	None		
Wideman, W. E.	30th Battalion	Mr. L. C. Wideman.	Guelph, Ont.
Williams, F. W.	2nd Fd. Battery	Mrs. Williams	
Williams, M. S. P.	16th Fd. Battery	Dr. M. Williams	5 Park Rd., Cardiff, Wales.
Whitten, D. A.	G.G.F.G.	Mr. J. Whitten	Ottawa.
Woolsley, E. C.	43rd Battalion	Mrs. W. Woolsely	
Wright, H. A.		Mr. J. Wright	Hull, Que.

No. | Rank and Name. | Corps or P.O. | Next of Kin. | P.O. of Next of Kin.

"E" FIELD BATTERY

Sgt. Maj., O'Grady, J.	R. C. A.	Mrs. O'Grady	Field Artillery Barracks, Quebec.
Q.M.S., Clifford, W.	"	Mrs. W. Clifford	D'Youville St., Quebec.
S. Far., Cunningham, J.	"	Nora Frawley	Ennis, Clare Co., Ireland.
Sgt., Lyndon, A.	"	Sgt. Maj. Lyndon	Citadel, Quebec.
" Hughes, A. T.	"	Mrs. Hughes	Montreal.
" Kruger, W. A.	"	A. Kruger	Germannia, Ont.
" Small, J.	"	Mrs. J. Small	Citadel, Quebec.
" Agins, W.	"	Mral R. Agins	"
" Jago, J. R.	R. M. C.	J. W. Jago	Dartmouth, N.S.
Corp., Crockett, L.	R. C. A.	L. Crockett	York, Queen's Co., P.E.I.
" Brown, H. M.	"	Mr. Brown	Channelville, P.Q.
" Biggs, R. J.	"	Robt. Biggs	Stratford, Essex, England.
" Latimer, W.	15th Fd. Battery	Robt. Latimer	Lornmister, Mass., U.S.A.
" Black, S.	17th "	Rod. Black	Grand Mira, N.S.
" Macdonald, J. H.	17th "	S. R. Macdonald	Sydney Forks, N.S.
" Laflamme, J.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Laflamme	Old Court House, Quebec.
Bdr., Richardson, M.	"	Mrs. Richardson	Malden, Mass., U.S.A.
" Daniels, G.	"	Annie Davis	Kidderminster, Worcs., Eng.
" MacGillivray, D.	"	J. W. McGillivray	Antigonish, N.S.
" MacCormick, E. F.	"	Mr. McCormack	Souris East, P.E.I.
" Macaskill, J.	"	Mrs. McAskill	P. O. Box 342, Sydney, C.B.
" Evans, P. H.	3rd Fd. Battery	Mrs. Evans	Montreal.
Tptr., Roberts, A.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Robert	St. George's St., Quebec.
" Bradley, G. W.	"	Robt. Bradley	57 Eustache St., Quebec.
S. Smith, Cameron, N.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. S. Cameron	Mallorg, Mass., U.S.A.
" Fletcher, T. E.	"	Mrs. J. E. Fletcher	Montreal.
" Stewart, D. G.	Newcastle		
Wheeler, O'Donnell, W.	R. C. A.	Mrs. H. O'Donnell	28 Carick St., Glasgow, Scot.
" Podley, W.	"	Mr. Podley	Liverpool, England.
Col. maker, Reid, H.	"		
" Macdonald, D. D.	"	Maj. Macdonald	North Sydney, C.B.
Boyce, A.	13th Fd. Battery		57 Adelaide St., Winnipeg.
Byrne, Thos.	3rd "	Mr. Byrne	11 Dumarais St., Montreal.
Bartlett, —			
"champ, —			
Blair, C. D.		Chas. D. Blair	Truro, N.S
Blyth, R. B.	3rd Fd. Batty.		
Buck, F.	10th Fd. Batty.		
Browning, J. H.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Browning	42 Charlevoix St., Montreal.
Borden, M.		Mrs. E. Borden	Pugwash, N.S.
Boone, M.	12th "	Mrs. C. H. Boone	Fredericton, N.B.
Brewer, F. C.	10th Fd. Batty.	Mrs. C. Brewer	Woodstock, N.B.
Carroll, T.	12th "	Mrs. J. Carroll	Newcastle, N.B.
Chesley, F. T.	3rd Regt. C. A.	Mrs. Chesley	114 Line St., St. John, N.B.
Creighton, J. F.	13th Fd. Batty.		Manitoba College, Winnipeg.
Creighton, J. A.	13th "		Medical College, Winnipeg.
Crocket, W. J.			
Coombs, F. E. S.			
Cornish, H.	13th Fd. Batty.	Harry Cornish	Stafford Vale, Que.
Cunard, C. W.	3rd Regt. C. A.	Col. Cunard	St. John, N.B.
Campbell, D.			
Craig, T.	12th Fd. Batty.	Mrs. S. Craig	Newcastle, N.B.
Dalton, D.	12th "	Mrs. W. Dalton	Newcastle, N.B.
Dysart, H. B.	10th "	Mrs. J. M. Dysart	Hartland, N.B.
Duncan, J.			
Duval, G. T.	12th Fd. Batty.	Mrs. G. A. Duval	St. Saviours, Jersey, Ch. Ils.
Eustace, M.			
Everett, F. H.	16th Fd. Batty.	Mrs. Everett	Kingston, N.B.

Ferguson, W.	R. C. A.	Geo. Ferguson	Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Ferguson, D.			
Fielders, G. W.			
Finnamore, B.	12th "	Mrs. W. Finnamore	Fredericton, N.B.
Fletcher, G. F.		Mrs. J. Fletcher	Halifax, N.S.
Fletcher, J. E.			
Fraser, W. D.	3rd Fd. Batty.	Mrs. Fraser	259 Hibernian Road, Montreal.
Fradette, J. G.	R. C. A.	W. Fradette	9 St. Cecil St., Quebec.
Gordon, W. S.	13th Fd. Batty.		Westbourne, Man.
Gorham, F. R.	"	Mrs. J. Gorham	Campbellton, N.B.
Galliah, J. J.	12th Fd. Battery	Mrs. J. Welsh	Newcastle, N.B.
Gilmore, E. F.	R. C. A.	Jos. R. Gilmore	3625 St. Catherine St. Montreal.
Grace, M. T.			
Grey, H.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. J. Grey	St. George's Inn, Liverpool, Eng.
Glew, —			
Goslin, E.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Goslin	St. Charles, P.Q.
Hayden, J. A.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. H. Hayden	Grafton, Carleton Co., N.B.
Hacquoil, E.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Hacquoil	Jersey, Channel Islands.
Hall, H.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. S. Hall	32 Eva Road, Winston Green, Birmingham, Eng.
Hague, J. H.			
Hamley, J.			
Harrison, R. A.	3rd Regt. C. A.	Mr. Harrison	Gondola Point, King's Co., N.B.
Howard, A. G.	3rd "	Mrs. Howard	St. John, N.B.
Hibbs, H. H.	R. C. A.	Mr. Hibbs	88 De Lorimier Ave., Montreal.
Hill, T. J.	15th Fd. Battery	Wm. Hill	Shawville, P.Q.
Horsfall, H. W.			
Hughes, R.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. E. Hughes	Woodstock, N.B.
Huot, R.	R. C. A.	Alphonse Huot	Quebec.
Jackson, R. C.	Pictou Gar Arty	Miss Ida Jackson	Rogers Hill, Pictou, N.S.
Jay, J.			
Johnson, G. H.	10th Fd. Battery	J. H. Johnson	Campbellton, N.B.
Jones, H.			
Jones, K.			
Kane, J.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Kane	Field Artillery Barracks, Quebec.
Kennedy, W.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Kennedy	Millville, N.B.
King, M. R.	12th "	Mr. K. J. King	Newcastle, N.B.
Kirk, G. F.	3rd Regt. C. A.	Mr. Kirk	St. John, N.B.
Leighton, W. L.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. M. Leighton	46 Second St., Chelsea, Mass., U.S.A.
Lightstone, H.	15th "	Mrs. M. Lightstone	Montreal, P.Q.
Longee, M. M.	53rd Battalion	Mr. N. S. Longee	Bradford, Eng.
Lynn, W. P.	10th Fd. Battery	Miss Ethel Lynn	Fredericton, N.B.
Mason, —			
Macdonald, D.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Macdonald	Sydney, C.B.
Macdonald, D. J.	17th Fd. Battery	Mrs. M. Macdonald	North Sydney, C.B.
Macdonald, J. J.	1st Regt. C. A.	N. Macdonald	Thorburn, N.S.
MacLean, H. G.	10th Fd. Battery	Miss A. McLean	Woodstock, N.B.
McLean, R.		N. McLean	Reserve Mines, C.B.
Mackenzie, W. A.	17th Fd. Battery	A. Mackenzie	Sydney, C.B.
Mackenzie, C. L.			
Mackenzie, A.			
MacLeod, W. P.	12th Fd. Battery	Rev. J. MacLeod	Fredericton, N.B.
MacLeod, G. F.	3rd Regt. C. A.	Mr. MacLeod	177 Kintlon St., St. John, N.B.
MacLoughlin, M. J.	R. C. A.	Mrs. D. McLoughlin	500 Sherbrooke St., Montreal.
Mason, B.			
Miller, R.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Miller	773 Notre Dame St., Montreal.
Michaud, D.			

No.	Rank and Name.	Corps or P.O.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	[illegible]son, E. A.			
	Morrison, D.	17th Fd. Battery	Donald Morrison	Catalone, C.B.
	Morrison, S. J.	12th "	Mrs. D. Morrison	Newcastle, N.B.
	Motham, A. E.	R. C. A.		
	Munsey, S. W.	13th Fd. Battery		345 Elgin Ave., Winnipeg.
	Myra, W. A.	17th "	Mr. A. Myra	Halifax, N.S.
	Neild, J.	13th "		Carbery, Man.
	Nethersole, P. R.		J. Nethersole	Johannesburg.
	O'Handley, D.	94th Battalion	Mrs. H. Currie	Bourdale, C.B.
	O'Reilly,			
	Pageau, C.	R. C. A.	J. Pageau	St. Sauveur, Quebec.
	Parker, G. G.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Parker	Fredericton, N.B.
	Perrin, J.	R. C. A.	Mrs. Perrin	Lindsay, Ont.
	Phillips, H.	"	Mrs. Phillips	120 Neatonville Road, Dublin.
	Phillips, G. H.	15th Fd. Battery	Albert Phillips	Devizes, England.
	Pittman, J.			
	Price, W. E.	15th Fd. Battery	None	
	Porteous,			
	Pugh, S.	R. C. A.	J. Pugh	Kingston, Ont.
	Randells, J. T.		John Randall	Trinity, Newfoundland.
	Rawlings,			
	Reynolds, W. H.			
	Reus	R.C.A.	Henry Reus	21 Rodney St., Liverpool.
	Roberts, W.			
	Ross, G. H.	R.C.A.	Mrs. J. Wicks	45 Columbia, Renster City, U.S.
	Ross, J. G.	12th Fd. Battery	Mr. W. Ross	Westville, N. B.
	Russell, G.	" "	N. Geo. Russell	Newcastle, N.B.
	Rutter, C. W.	" "		
	Ryan, R. J.			
	Scott, I. M.	17th Fd. Battery	Thos. Scott	Antigonish, N. S.
	Searles, G.	10th "	A. Searle	Woodstock, N. B.
	Sinclair, F. H.	12th "	E. Sinclair	Newcastle, N. B.
	Smith, R.	10th "	Mrs. M. Smith	Lakeville, N. B.
	Smith, A. A.			
	Smith, J. W.			
	Smith, J.			
	Squires, J.	13th Fd. Battery		Winnipeg, Man
	State, A. J.			
	Stone, J.	R.C.A.	Mrs J W Raymond	Perth Road, Ont.
	Taite, H. B.	13th Fd. Battery		526 Bannatyne St., Winnipeg.
	Tapp, W.	63rd Battalion	John T. Tapp	Harbour Grace, Newfoundland.
	Tibbitts, A.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. Tibbitts	Fredericton, N. B.
	Tibbitts, J.	12th "	Mrs R W L Tibbitts	" "
	Tooker, T. W.		C. J. B. Tooker	Yarmouth, N. S.
	Vincent, T.	R.C.A.	Mrs. Vincent	Woolwich, Eng.
	Walsh,			
	Wells, S.	R.C.A.	H. Wills	St. Clair St., Quebec.
	Welch, R. S.	10th Fd. Battery	Mrs. R. S. Walsh	Woodstock, N. B.
	Welsh, G. E.	13th "		Boldur, Manitoba.
	Wilson, J. W.			
	Wilson, T. R.	13th Fd. Battery		201 Hastings St., Vancouver.
	Withers, S. J.	3rd. Regt. C. A.	Mrs. Withers	54 St. Patrick St., St. John, N.B.
	Woollard, C.	13th Fd. Battery		261 River Avenue, Winnipeg.
	Woods, J. B.	12th "	Mrs. P. J. Woods	Richibucto, N. B.
	Woodlean, W. J.	13th "		Winnipeg, Manitoba.
	Young, W. B.			

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	R.S.M. Elliott, Frank		
1	Q.M.S. Crafter, A. G.	T. J. Crafter	27 Fleet Street, London.
490	F.Q.M.S. McMillan, A.	Mrs. McMillan	Oak Lake, Man.
2	S.S.M. Hooper, H. C. L.	Mrs. Hooper	13 North Sherbourne Street, Toronto.
79	Pte. Albert, E.	Mr. E. Bishop	Deal, England.
137	" Anderson, E. F.	Mr. W. Anderson	Palmerston, Ont.
138	" Archer, W.	Mr. H. Archer	Melbourne, Derbyshire, England.
402	" Arnold, F. G.		Corkstown, Barry, Ont.
129	" Baker, W. G.	Mr. W. Baker	Murriburg, Ont.
10	" Barker, M.	Mr. J. N. Barker	Herne Bay, Kent, England.
120	" Barker, W. J.	Mr. R. Barker	Victoria Road, Ont.
52	" Barrett, John	Mrs. Sommers	Smallheath, Birmingham, England.
116	" Bastien, H.	Mr. A. H. R. Bastien	Ballanvalle, Asea.
9	" Beckitt, F. W.	Mr. S. Beckitt	229 Yonge Street, Winnipeg.
129	" Bennett, J.	Mr. G. Bennett	Wakopa, Man.
11	" Bland, E. M.	Mr. E. M. Bland	218 McNab Street, Hamilton, Ont.
140	" Bourne, R.	Mr. T. Bourne	Staffordshire, England.
12	" Bradbury, John	Mr. T. Bradbury	Fox Earth Hall, Stafford, England.
61	" Bride, F.	Mrs. Bride	Portage la Prairie, Man.
87	" Brigham, J. R.	Mr. T. G. Brigham	Ottawa.
141	" Brooks, W.	Mr. N. Brooks	Indian Head, Man.
9	" Brown, A. M.	Mr. C. J. Brown	City Clerk, Winnipeg, Man.
428	" Bullough, J.	Mrs. E. Bullough	Grand Ville, Dewsbury, England
13	" Burton, A. E.	Mr. J. Burton	Colden, Ont.
84	" Campbell, M. G.	Mr. D. Campbell	Wayconmarch, N.S.
85	" Carpenter, J.	Mr. J. Carpenter	Carrigolane, County Cork, Ireland.
121	" Carroll, P. E.	Mr. R. F. Carroll	Spy Hill, N.W.T.
74	" Carson, T. L.	Mr. J. Carson	Yorkton, Assa.
14	" Cassidy, H. E.	Mrs. Cassidy	Hendon, England.
49	" Clark, G.	Mr. Clark	Bentley, Ipswich, England.
15	" Clark, E. H.	Mr. J. H. Clark	Maldon, Essex, England.
97	" Common, A.	Mr. J. Common	Hazel Cliff, N.W.T.
125	" Cosens, F. C.	Mr. L. Cosens	Mayfield, N.W.T.
91	" Currie, W. E. E.	Col. Currie	Mayfield, Sussex, England.
142	" Cuthbert, W.	Mr. W. Cuthbert	Portage la Prairie.
51	" Dandy, C. R.	Mr. J. Dandy	Medora, Man.
16	" Daykin, A. U.	Mr. C. T. Daykin	Lacombe, Alta., N.W.T.
17	" Deacon, B. L.	Mr. M. Deacon	Prescott, P.E.I.
53	" Dingan, A.		Aberdeen, Scotland.
86	" Dickson, John	Mr. R. Dickson	Keddie Firth, Orkney, Scotland.
18	" Dodd, G. S.	Mr. R. F. Dodd	861 Main Street, Winnipeg.
114	" Doherty, G. H.	Mrs. J. Doherty	Carlton Place, London, England.
70	" Donman, J. W.		Robson, B.C.
71	" Drever, A.	Mr. W. Drever	Prince Albert, N.W.T.
20	" Dunsford, H.	Mr. C. R. Dunsford	Morden, Man.
107	" Dunsmore, F. C.	Mr. J. Dunsmore	Stratford, England.
60	" Edwards, E. H.	Mr. J. Edwards	Oxford Mills, Ont.
112	" Ewing, A.	Mr. J. Ewing	Elkhorn, Man.
21	" Evans, J.	Mrs. Evans	Ballkerry, County Wicklow, Ireland.
462	" Farmer, J. T.	Mrs. E. F. Farmer	24 Oxford Street, Toronto.
93	" Fisher, C. W. D.	Mrs. W. Fisher	Tudor House, Chaddesby, near Kidderminster, England.
512	" Fletcher, R.	Mr. W. Fletcher	Devizes, Ont.
78	" Flotten, P.	Mrs. B. Flotten	Prince Albert, N.W.T.
62	" Fraser, R. N.	Mr. J. Fraser	444 Pacific Avenue, Winnipeg.
77	" Gammond, C.	Mr. W. Gammond	Fort William, Ont.
98	" Garner, A. C.	Mr. A. E. Garner	Moosomin, Man.
143	" Gilroy, H.	Mr. C. Gilroy	Regina, N.W.T.
82	" Glass, N.	Mr. W. Glass	Willoughby, N.W.T.
69	" Goodburn, O.	Mr. W. Goodburn	Newlands, Putney Vale, England.

Canadian Contingents in South Africa.

Officers and Men of "Strathcona's Horse."

Lieutenant-Colonel—Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Steele, (North-West Mounted Police).

Second in Command—Major R. Belcher, (North-West Mounted Police).

Majors—Major A. E. Snyder, (North-West Mounted Police).
" A. M. Jarvis " " "
" R.C. Laurie, (Lieut. Reserve of Officers.)

Captains—Captain D. M. Howard, (North-West Mounted Police).
" G. W. Cameron, (Major 5th Battalion).
" F. L. Cartwright, (North-West Mounted Police).

Lieutenants—Lieutenant R. H. B. Magee, (Lieut. Reserve of Officers).
" F. Harper, (North-West Mounted Police).
" J. A. Benyon, (Captain, Royal Canadian Artillery)
" E. F. Mackie, (Captain, 90th Battalion).
" P. Fall, (2nd Lieut., Manitoba Dragoons).
" M. H. White-Fraser, (Ex-Inspector, North-West Mounted Police).
" H. D. B. Ketchen, (North-West Mounted Police).
" J. F. Macdonald, (Captain, 37th Battalion).
" J. E. Leckie.
" R. M. Courtney, (Captain, 1st Battalion).
" T. E. Pooley, (Captain 5th Regiment, C. A.).
" A. E. Christie.
" A. W. Strange.
" G. E. Laidlaw, (Lieut. Reserve of Officers).
" G. H. Kirkpatrick, " "
" H. Tobin. " "

Quartermaster—Lieutenant W. Parker.

Transport Officer—Lieutenant I. R. Snider, (2nd Lieut. Manitoba Dragoons).

Medical Officer—Lieutenant C. B. Keenan.

Veterinary Officer—Lieutenant G. T. Stevenson.

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
196	" Gooding, J. E. P.	Mrs. A. Wilby	Ipswich, Suffolk, England.
111	" Gordon, Robert	Mr. J. Gordon	Handcliffe, Man.
	" Gowler, A. W.	Mr. W. Gowler	Poplar Point, N.W.T.
64	" Gregory, T.	Mr. J. Gregory	Field, B.C.
54	" Grostock, H.	Mrs. Grostock	8 Fenchurch Buildings, London, England.
* 144	" Griffith, J. J.	Mr. J. Griffith	Hagersville, Ont.
118	" Gurney, W. B. L.	Mr. J. L. Gurney	Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, England.
103	" Harley, J. A.	Mr. J. Harley	Petrolia, Ont.
145	" Harris, M. R.	Mr. A. B. Harris	Falmouth, England.
23	" Hathorne, W.	Mr. W. Hathorne	Roosburn, Northumberland, England.
96	" Hazeldine, P. R.	Mr. E. Hazeldine	Manchester, England.
146	" Henderson, J. J.	Mr. J. Henderson	Regina, N.W.T.
24	Pte. Hogarth, W. R.	Mr. R. Hogarth	Strathclair, Man.
148	" Hudson, W.	Mr. J. Hudson	Haydon, Ont.
65	" Inkster, John	Mr. J. Inkster	St. Marks, Man.
23	" Irwin, H. M.	Mr. J. L. Irwin	Port Hope, Ont.
147	" Irwin, F.	Mr. P. J. Irwin	Fitzmaurice, Man.
89	" Jackson, W. P.	Mrs. M. Jackson	Bournemouth, England.
6	" Johnston, J. D.	Col. Johnston	Snow Hill, County Fermanagh, Ireland.
149	" Keeling, J. F.	Mrs. W. Clark	Clarkleigh, Man.
7	" Kempster, Henry	Mr. A. Kempster	Winnipeg, Man.
56	" Kermode, J. O.	Mr. T. M. Kermode	Bradford, England.
119	" King, W. J.	Mrs. G. Baine	169 Frankland Street, Toronto.
119	" Kirkpatrick, A.	Mr. R. Kirkpatrick	Moosomin, Man.
458	" Lambert, J. S.	Mrs. Lambert	Clitheroe, Lancashire, England.
150	" Lamont, B.	Mr. G. B. Lamont	Chesley, Ont.
8	" Locke, Charles	Mrs. Hawks	7 Mills Road, Acton, England.
468	" Loesch, A. C.	Mr. D. Loesch	16 Gromelle Street, Toronto.
464	" Lowe, A. A. R.	Mr. L. Lowe	Moosomin, Assa.
27	" Lyle, H.	Mrs. H. Rumford	Tara, Ont.
108	" Macdonnell, K. C.	Mrs. K. C. Macdonnell	Grenfell, Assa.
67	" Machen, S. B.	Mr. N. Machen	Rosser, Man.
68	" Martin, R. W.	Mrs. E. E. Martin	Treherne, Man.
124	" Matthews, F. A. W.	Mr. H. Matthews	Essex Lodge, Cheltenham, England.
77	" Mavesty, J. D.	Mr. J. D. Mavesty	Prince Albert, Assa.
66	" McAlonen, A.	Mr. S. McAlonen	Winnipeg, Man.
28	" McArthur, J. H.	Mr. J. McArthur	Tobo, Ont.
151	" McGillvray, A.	Mr. J. McGillvray	Kirkfield, Ont.
92	" McLaren, George	Mr. —. McLaren	Wor Road, Minnesota.
130	" McLean, George	Mr. N. McLean	Goulais Bay, Algoma.
73	" McLeod, W. R.	Mr. S. McLeod	Prince Albert, Assa.
75	" McLoy, John	Mr. T. McLoy	Prince Albert, Assa.
29	" McNaught, J. Y.	Mr. J. McNaught	Netherhome, Dumfries, Scotland.
131	" Mills, Thomas	Mrs. H. Mills	Newmarket, Ont.
496	" Milligan, W.	Mrs. Milligan	Brandon, Man.
72	" Moberley, G. A.	Mr. H. J. Moberley	Prince Albert, Assa.
47	" Morrison, J. H.	Mr. M. G. Morrison	Portage la Prairie, Man.
57	" Munroe, H. S.	Mr. P. Monroe	Minnedosa, Man.
136	" Murphy, W. M.	Mrs. A. Murphy	South Norwich, Assa.
101	" Neville, J. F.	Mr. C. Neville	Wapella, Assa.
30	" Nicks, John	Mr. M. Nicks	Upton Pyne, Exeter, England.
102	" Norquay, A.	Mrs. J. Norquay	Winnipeg, Man.
152	" Norris, Fred	Mr. Norris	Church Farm, Dursley, England.
31	" Nyblett, R. W.	Dr. H. G. Nyblett	Neabit, Man.
81	" Orr, F. W.	Mr. D. Orr	Moosejaw, Man.
126	" Page, C. F.	Mr. J. Page	Moosomin, N.W.T.
106	" Palmer, P. S.	Mrs. Palmer	Kenwyn, Clapham, London, England.
123	" Palmer, G. S.	Mrs. J. C. Sharpe	Richmond, Surrey, England.
153	" Parker, H.	Mr. R. Parker	Summerberry, Assa.
154	" Parker, J.	Mrs. A. Tattersall	701 Albert Road, Blackpool, Lancashire, England.
128	" Perkins, G.	Mrs. A. Perkins	Kingsheath, Birmingham, England.
32	" Powell, F. N.	Mr. J. Powell	Great Malvern, Worcestershire, England.
33	" Ramsay, Douglas	Mrs. D. Ramsay	10 Kensington Avenue, Ashley Down, Bristol, England.
132	" Reid, James	Mr. R. H. Reid	Smith's Falls, Ont.
46	" Richardson, A. H. L.	Mrs. Richardson	Sefton Park, Liverpool, England.
34	" Robinson, A.	Mr. W. J. Robinson	Winnipeg, Man.
35	" Rooke, C. W.	Mr. W. F. Rooke	G. W. Life Insurance Co., Winnipeg.
36	" Rooke, R. P.	"	" "
133	" Ross, J. T.	Mr. P. Ross	Moosomin, N.W.T.
117	" Rushe, M. J.	Mr. J. H. Rushe	Pall Mall Gazette, London, England.
37	" Sabine, H. E.	Mrs. Sabine	Winnipeg, Man.
38	" Sawyer, W. L.	Mrs. E. S. Sawyer	Lockview, Sunbury-on-Thames, England.
155	" Saxby, H. B.	Mrs. Saxby	Shetland.
156	" Sayce, W.	Mr. W. Sayce	Craven, N.W.T.
157	" Scott, L. B.	Mr. R. A. Scott	Regina, N.W.T.
158	" Scott, W.	"	"
429	" Skirving, G. M.	Mr. H. R. Skirving	Dawson City, Y.T.
411	" Smith, R. W.	Mr. R. Wilson Smith	Montreal, Que.
99	" Sinnington, A.	Mrs. J. Livingston	Elkhorn, Man.
89	" Stanier, C. Y.	Mr. J. E. Stanier	Moosomin, N.W.T.
113	" Starke, T. B.	Mr. H. M. Starke	Elkhorn, Man.
100	" Steadman, C. D.	Mrs. E. B. Steadman	Whitchurch, Shropshire, England.
134	" Stevenson, A. T.	Mr. J. A. Stevenson	Orillia, Ont.
83	" Stocker, J. R.	Mrs. E. Stocker	39 Martha Street, Winnipeg.
135	" Stuart, A. W.	Mr. A. Stuart	Sandypoint, Ont.
90	" Stutt, W.	Mrs. J. Stutt	Fairmead, N.W.T.
76	" Sutherland, A.	Mr. A. Sutherland	Collestar, N.W.T.
48	" Terry, N. F.	Mr. C. Terry	Buckingham, England
467	" Thompson, H. C.	Mr. C. A. Thomson	Refinery, Montreal.
104	" Thorne, A.	Mr. G. Thorne	Gore Bay, Ont.
122	" Thornton, E.	Mrs. S. P. Thornton	Sydney, N.S.W.
127	" Thomas, C. F.	Mr. W. Battie	Wrightson, Ont.
55	" Townsend, P. H.	Lieut. Townsend	Royal Irish Infantry, Allahabad, India.
59	" Traill, W. M.	Mr. W. E. Traill	Prince Albert, N.W.T.
39	Pte. Treston, John	Mr. A. W. E. Treston	Grand Forks, Minnesota, U.S.A.
95	" Trelevan, A.	Mr. T. Trelevan	18 Melrose Road, Dublin, Ireland.
40	" Van Stan, A.	Wells & Co.	25 Gibson Square, London, England.
41	" Wade, R.	Mr. C. Wade	Smithfield, Ont.
42	" Ward, John	Mr. T. Ward	Church Street, Flint, Wales.
105	" Watson, A.	"	"
43	" Webb, Edward	Mr. C. Webb	Aspatria, Cumberland, England.
118	" Webb, Harry	Mrs. E. Webb	Burford, England.
44	" Wemyss, D. N.	Mr. R. Wemyss	Raeburn, Man.
88	" Wilkins, H.	Mrs. E. Wilkins	St. Paul Villas, Winchester, England.
94	" Wyndham, H. S.	Major Wyndham	Bein Bridge, England.
413	" Zimmer, W. J.	Mr. F. G. Zimmer	Rapid City, Man.

"B" SQUADRON.

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
	S.S.M. Steele, S. J.	Mr. H. E. Steele	Ottawa, Ont.
440	Pte. A'Court, A. W. H.	Mr. A. W. A'Court	Antigua, West Indies.
169	" Abbott, W. R.	Mr W. R. Abbott	Maple Creek, Alta.
168	" Allshan, D.	Mrs. O. Marshall	Molica, Ill., U.S.A.
167	" Anderson, J. L.	Mr. J. Anderson	Lacombe, Alta.
170	" Armstrong, J. F.	Mr. R. Armstrong	Newton Stewart, Scotland.
237	" Armstrong, J. E.	"	"

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
123	" Palmer, G. S.	Mrs. Palmer	Renwyn, Clapham, London, Eng.
153	" Parker, H.	Mrs. J. C. Sharpe	Richmond, Surrey, England.
154	" Parker, J.	Mr. R. Parker	Summerville, Ont.
154	" Parker, J.	Mrs. A. Tattersall	751 Albert Road, Blackpool, Lancashire, England.

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
169	" Abbott, W. R.	Mr. W. R. Abbott	Maple Creek, Alta.
168	" Allison, D.	Mrs. O. Marshall	Moline, Ill., U.S.A.
167	" Anderson, J. L.	Mr. J. Anderson	Lacombe, Alta.
170	" Armstrong, J. F.	Mr. R. Armstrong	Newton Stewart, Scotland.
287	" Armstrong, J. E.		

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
171	" Banks, E. M.	Mrs. Banks	54 Belgrave Sq., Dublin, Ireland.
504	" Bannes, P.	Mrs. Bannes	Lausanne, Switzerland.
173	" Barton, M. E.	Mr. Barton	12 Cross Lane, London, England.
479	" Beaumont, T. E.	Mrs. L. Beaumont	Gananoque, Ont.
178	" Bentham, W.	Mr. W. Bentham	Merritton, Ont.
416	" Beresford, W. P.	The Hon. Mrs. Beresford	Winford, Eng.
417	" Bingham, H. B	Mr. H. C. Bingham	Dunsmith, N.D.
177	" Bertram, O. F	Mr. D. Bertram	Maple Creek, Alta.
460	" Blick, C. A.		
172	" Bradley, R. H.	Mr. R. Bradley	Brandon, Man.
465	" Brothers, J.	Mr. T. Brothers	Arthur, Ont.
176	" Brown, H. S.	Mr. W. A. Brown	Aberdeen, Scotland.
418	" Brown, A. S.	Mr. C. W. Brown	Peterborough, Ont.
175	" Bull, J. V.	Mr. Fred. Bull	231 High Road, Balham, London, S.W., Eng.
471	" Burdett, A. H.	Mr. G. S. Burdett	57 Charing Cross Mansions, London, Eng.
174	" Burgess, D.	Mr. R. Burgess	Pincher Creek, Alta.
181	" Callin, T. A.	Mrs. A. Callin	Whitewood, Assa.
443	" Campbell, N. M.	Mrs. Buckgrass	80 Charles Street, Hamilton.
182	" Carson, W.	Mr. W. Carson	Puton, N.S.
183	" Clayton, A.	Mr. G. Clayton	Birmingham, Eng
479	" Condon, P. B.	Mr. W. H. Condon	Kingston, N.S.
184	" Corbett, W	Mr. D. Corbett	Lairg, Sutherland.
449	" Cronyn, E. S.	Mr. V. Cronyn	London, Ont.
438	" Cross, J. R.	Mrs. Blour	Birkenhead, Eng
215	" Crozier, J. C. A.	Rev. H. Crozier	Ashburn, Ont.
508	" Cruickshank, C	Mr. C. Cruickshank	Red Deer, N.W.T.
180	" Cumming, F.	Mr. A. Cumming	Toronto.
188	" Dalglish, A	Miss K. Dalglish	Pt. Beef Station, Que.
506	" Doane, J.	Mr. J. Eagan	79 West 127th Street, New York.
185	" Dick, M. F.	Mr. J. C. Dick	North Eastern Bank, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Eng
420	" Dickinson, D.	Mrs. C. A. Morris	Baschurch, Shropshire, England
453	" Donaldson, A. S	Mr. G. W. Donaldson	Brockville, Ont.
186	" Douglas, R. C. A	Mrs. J. S. Brayfield	Virden, Man
444	" Down, George.	Mrs. Monty	Macleod, N.W.T.
187	" Dupen, A. E.	Mr. W. J. Dupen	Calgary, N.W.T.
288	" Dunn, F. J		
472	" Eastmead,	Mr. W. C. Eastmead	Bristol, England.
273	" Edmundson, T. L	Mrs. Dowse	Belfast, Ireland.
189	" Edwards, A. J	Mrs. Jacobs	42 Bloomsbury St., Bedford Square, London, England.
190	" Edwards, R. H	Miss Nellie Edwards	Halifax, N.S.
191	" Fawcett, N	Mr. D. C. Fawcett	Lacombe, Alta.
473	" Fennell,	Mr. W. H. Fennell	Bobcaygeon, Ont.
193	" Flintoff, W.	Mr. C. Flintoff	Fort Saskatchewan, N.W.T.
192	" Ford, J	Miss A. Ford	London, Ont.
194	" Fortey, A.	Mr. W. J. Fortey	Watford, Enghand
194	" Freezer, J. R	Mrs. Freezer	Calgary, N.W.T.
476	" Gamsby, G.		
436	" Gainsford, W. F	Mr. J. Hopkins	Montreal.
269	" Gillies, A.	Mr. A. Gillies	Mariposa, Ont,
197	" Gilmour, J. F.	Mr. J. Gilmour	Ottawa.
271	" Grobil, A. C	— Crobil	Grand Rapids, Mich.
196	" Graham, C. H.	Mr. J. Graham	136 Cobourg Street, Ottawa
437	" Grey, W	Mrs. Grey	Dublin, Ireland.
198	" Hall, F. A.	Mr. C. A. Hall	St. Monica, Cal., U.S.A
497	" Hardwick, M. D. K.	Mr. D. Hardwick	High River, Alta.
502	" Hardy, A.	Mr. R. Hardy	Pocklington, Yorks, England.
421	Pte. Hart, C. A.	Mr. Hart	Strathroy, Ont.
478	" Haylett, J	Mr. J. Haylett	
200	" Hayes, R. P.	Mrs. Hayes	Dublin, Ireland.

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
199	" Hicks, R. C	Miss F. E. Hicks	Ipswich, England.
458	" Hobson, J.	Mr. J. Hobson	G. T. Ry., Montreal.
479	" Inglis, R. C		
203	" Irwin, H.	Mr. R. G. Irwin	Shelburne, N.S.
463	" Jackson, H.	Mr. F. Jackson	2 Dulwich Road, London, S.E., England.
480	" Jameson, T.	Mrs. H. Jameson	Belfast, Ireland.
509	" Jenkins, A.	Mr. W. Jenkins	Red Deer, N.W.T.
201	" Kerr, G. T.	Mr. J. H. Kerr	Perth, Ont.
204	" Kindrew, C. E.	Mr. S. J. Kindrew	Red Deer, Alta.
207	" Lafferty, W.	Mrs. Clendinning	Ottawa.
430	" Laidlaw, C. E.	Mr. J. W. Laidlaw	Victoria, Ont.
205	" Lamb, A.	Mrs. C. S. A. Lamb	Bolling Green, Ont.
481	" Ledden, Bert		
435	" Lee, H. A.	T. Lee	1 Linton St. E., Toronto.
209	" Lewis, T. A.	Mr. T. Lewis	Revelstoke, B.C.
422	" Lewis, F. C.	Mrs. Lewis	Nelson, B.C.
206	" Lindsay, A. P.	Major A. T. Lindsay	Springbend, Alta.
431	" Linton, R.	Mr. W. Linton	Aurora, Ont.
26	" Loney, M. F.	Mr. S. Loney	Eustache, Man.
208	" Lowry, W. A	Mr. C. Lowry	Carberry, Man.
477	" Lowe, S.		
210	" Lynch, W. G.	Mrs. M. Lynch	Seaforth, Ont.
217	" Macdonald, J. R.	Mrs. J. Macdonald	Puddes, Alta.
220	" Macdonald, A. D.	Mrs. Macdonald	Manitou, Man.
409	" Madge, F. T.	Mr. R. Madge	London, Ont.
373	" Mansell, M.		
211	" Martin, H		Winnipeg.
212	" Martin, L. A.	Mr. F. X. Martin	Vancouver, B.C.
511	" McAdall, A.	Mr. F. C. Matallal	Tatamagouche, N.S.
218	" McDonald, G. A.	Mr. K. McDonald	Winnipeg, Man.
219	" McDonald, R. S.	Mr. E. J. McDonald	Owen Sound, Ont.
226	" McClay, R.	Mr. R. McClay	293 Gunnell Street, Winnipeg
469	" McCormick, E.	Mr. W. J. McCormack	
484	" McMillan, T.	Mrs. McMillan	Ayrshire, Scotland.
483	" McNichol, A.	Mr. J. McNichol	Red Deer, Assa.
223	" McNair, F. W. C	Mr. E. J. McNair	Roundwood, Ipswich, Eng.
222	" McNeil,	Mr. J. W. McNeil	Lytton, B.C.
225	" McRae, D	Mr. J. McRae	Upshill, Victoria E., Ont.
493	" McElray, G. E.		
221	" McIntosh, E.	Mr. C. H. Macintesh	Rosaland, B.C.
482	" McKeagn, F. O. E.	Mrs. W. M. McKeagn	Castlebar, P.Q.
224	" McKinley, M	Mr. M. McKinley	Edmonton, N.W.T.
423	" McKugo, G	Mrs. D. Maskell	Custom House, London, Ont.
216	" Miller, A	Mr. I. Miller	Dennison's Mills, Quebec.
213	" Milne, A	Secretary Masonic Lodge	Edmonton, N.W.T.
439	" Mitchell, G	Mrs. Mitchell	Chard, England.
427	" Moir, R. H	Mr. H. M. Moir	St. Mary's, Ont.
492	" Mulligan, F.	Mr. J. Mulligan	London, Ont.
214	" Murphy, E. D.	Mr. E. D. Murphy	Strathcona, Alta.
227	" Newman, F. G	Mr. Newman	Bradford, Ont.
228	" Niblock, B. L.	Mr. J. Niblock	Calgary, N.W.T.
452	" Nichol, H. F.	Mr. J. A. Nichols	Northumberland, England.
485	" Nichol, D.	Mrs. Nichol	41 E. Claremont St., Edinburgh.
45	" Paul, J.	Mrs. Paul	Tenitville, Ont,
230	" Pearce, R. G.	Mr. J. Pearce	Toronto.
231	" Pearce, E. J.	Mr. T. G. Pearce	Agricola, Alta.
232	" Pearse, A.	Mr. F. Pearson	7th St., Manchester, England.
424	" Pinder, E. G. J	Mrs. Pinder	Nelson, B. C.
229	" Percy, H. N.	Mr. C. Percy	G. T. R., Montreal.
505	" Perry, T.	Mrs. Catchpole	Bondon St., Commercial Road, London, Eng.,

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
487	" Peyto, E. W.	Mr. A. Peyto	Welwyn, England.
238	" Phillips, J. W.	Mr. N. W. Phillips	Belleville, Ont.
233	" Pillams, R. B.	Mrs. Pillams	3 Rue Les Bionosaits, Brussels.
480	" Playfair, W. S.	Mr. W. Playfair	Aiskbank, Scotland.
234	" Poole, H.	Mr. G. Poole	Lacombs, Alta.
235	" Poole, F.	"	"
239	" Purvis, A. S.	Mrs. Purvis	Brampton, Lodge, Hitchen, Hertfordshire, England.
240	" Quick, H. H.	Mr. N. Quick	Quick City, Miss.
236	" Rackham, W.	Miss A. J. Rackham	191 Seymour Road, Harringay, London, N. England.
245	" Reed, W. E.	Mr. E. S. Reed	Winnipeg, Man.
241	" Rice-Jones, I. E. C.	Mr. A. P. R. Jones	2 Clifton Terrace, Brighton, England.
243	" Robson, J. S.	Mr. C. E. Robson	Lytton, B. C.
270	" Rogers, H. M.	Mr. Rogers	Sheep Creek, Alta.
242	" Ross, A. M.	Mr. A. W. Ross	Portage La Prairie.
244	" Routh, G. F.	Mr. T. Routh	34 Princes Road, Liverpool, England.
272	" Saddington, W.	Mr. G. Saddington	14 Axe Street, Barking, Essex, England.
246	" Scott, H. H.	Mr. T. P. Scott	Lambton Mills, Ont.
247	" Scott, F. W.	Mr. Scott	21 Morecoks Road, Sheffield, England.
256	" Shuckburgh, W. C.	Mr. E. Shuckburgh	Tradalgar Terrace, Torquay, England.
251	Pte. Sharples, W. A.	Mr. W. G. Sharples	False Creek Station, Vancouver, B. C.
248	" Shaw, C. W.	Mr. W. Shaw	Medicine Hat, N. W. T.
446	" Shiles, T.	Mr. C. Shiles	74 Grosvenor Terrace, Camberwell, London, England.
129	" Simpson, F.	Mr. T. M. Simpson	Elm Creek, Man.
252	" Skinner, A.	Mr. A. Skinner	Lindsa , Ont.
257	" Smiley, S.	Mrs. C. Smiley	10 George Street, Johnstone, Scotland.
253	" Smith, J.	Mr. A. Smith	Poplar Point, Man.
250	" Somerton, W.	Mr. T. Somerton	Parkington, Ont.
249	" Spratt, A.	Mrs. C. Spratt	35 Jamieson Avenue, Toronto.
255	" Stewart, J. S.	Mrs. J. Stewart	Brampton, Ont.
488	" Stanger, P.	Mr. J. Stanger	85 Woodland Road, Wood Street, Walthamstow, Essex, Eng.
160	" Swanston, C.	Mr. G. A. Swanston	Merritton, N. W. T.
254	" Sutherland, R.	Mr. G. Sutherland	Edmonton, N. W. T.
262	" Thomas, G. D.	Mr. G. Thomas	Halifax, N. S.
438	" Thompson, F.	Mr. G. T. Thompson	Melville, N. W. T.
161	" Tegart, H.	Mr. E. Tegart	Craven, Assa.
441	" Townshend, N. S.	Mr. A. S. Townshend	Parrsborough, N. S.
258	" Tucker, P. H.	Mr. E. C. Tucker	Bracknell, Berks, England.
454	" Vernon, A. A.	Mr. C. A. Vernon	Victoria, B. C.
490	" Waite, J. T.	Mrs. W. E. Dryland	Fisham, Surrey, England.
259	" Walker, J. C.	Mr. J. Walker	Vancouver, B. C.
268	" Walker, B. G.	Mr. A. Walker	24 Carlyle Square, London, S. W. England.
58	" Watts, C. C. M.	Mr. E. A. Watts	Virden, Man.
59	" Watts, A. H.	"	"
264	" White, S. A.	Mrs. K. T. White	2 The Cedars, Putney, S. W. England.
105	" Watson, A.	Mr. T. Watson	"
266	" Whiteley, F. C.	Mrs. Whiteley	Holland, Ont.
269	" Whitehead, C. A. W.	Mrs. Whitehead	Calgary, Alta.
261	" Wilby, A. W. R.	Mrs. H. Wilby	Southsea, England.
267	" Wilkin, W.	Mr. W. L. Wilkin	Wickham Brook, Suffolk, England.
491	" Wa'son, B.	Mr. G. Watson	Macleod, Alta.
102	" Wilson, F.	Mr. Wilson	London, England.
268	" Wilson, D.	Mr. D. Wilson	19 Montague Terrace, Edinburgh.
425	" Williams, T. H. A.	Mr. A. Williams	Monmouth, England.
262	" Woods, W. T.	Mr. A. Woods	Innisfail, Alta.
163	" Woodward, W.	Mrs. Woodward	Ashby-de-la-Zouche, England.
263	" Woodward, A. J.	Mrs. F. G. Allen	5 Union Place, Ironchester, London E., Eng.
426	" Wragge, E. C.	Col. Wragge	London, England.
165	" Wright, T. W. H.	Mrs. S. E. Wright	Calgary, Alta.
510	" Wright, H. H.	Mrs. Wright	Walkeringham, Notts, England.
164	" Wyse, D.	Mr. D. Wise	Bush Terrace, Musselburgh, Scotland.
445	" Yemen, N. W.	Mr. T. Yeman	Ripsley, Ont.
166	" Yule, B.	Mr. A. Yule	Prescott, Ont.

"C" SQUADRON.

4	S.S.M. Hynes, J.	Mr. J. M. Hynes	Fahey Eyre Court, Co. Galloway, Ireland.
316	Pte. Abbott, J.	Mrs. J. Abbott	Rochford, England.
317	" Agar, G. S.	Mr. G. S. Agar	London, England.
279	" Albert, G.	Father	Pickering, Ont.
318	" Allan, P. K.	Mr. T. Allan	Stanley-on-Chobham, Surrey, England.
356	" Armstrong, J. W.	Capt. A. J. Armstrong	Warwick, England.
395	" Bell, P. W. W.	Mr. P. W. Bell	Vancouver, B.C.
396	" Bell, W. H.	Mrs. Bell	Birkenhead, England.
377	" Bolton, N. T.	Father	Revelstoke, B.C.
357	" Bonner, L. A.	Brother	East Lodge, Wanstead, England.
276	" Bousfield, J.	Father	139 Claremont Street, Toronto.
448	" Bowers, G. A.	Mrs. J. Bowers	Nelson, B.C.
376	" Brent, W.	Mr. F. Brent	San Jose, Cal. U.S.A.
375	" Brixton, J.	Mr. B. Brixton	Adelphi Theatre, London.
356	" Broadbent, E. R.	Mrs. Broadbent	Caldwell, Herefordshire, England.
285	" Burke, B.	Mrs. Burke	Birkenhead, England.
278	" Cameron, N. C. J.	General Sir W. Cameron	Christ Church, Hants, England.
319	" Castelaine, L.	Mrs. Castelaine	Bath, England.
398	" Chancellor, E. W.	Mr. H. Chancellor	Atlin, B.C.
498	" Childers, H. C.	Mr. R. E. Childers	20 Carlisle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, London, England.
278	" Clark, W. F.	Father	Manotick, Ont.
323	" Cochrane, R. L.	Mr. A. Cochrane	Mount Charles, Moffat, Scotland.
330	" Cox, W.	S. Cox	Pendon, Man.
321	" Cotterill, C. W.	Mr. W. Cotterill	Dundas, Ont.
277	" Cree, A. H.	Mr. E. H. Cree	Pemberton Gardens, London, England.
397	" Curtis, E. F. E.	Sir W. Curtis, Bart.	Cavnham Court, Ludlow, England.
366	" Custance, T. F. M.	Rev. G. Custance	Cakdell, Herefordshire, England.
333	" Daley, H. M.	Mr. T. M. Daley	Rossland, B.C.
433	" D'Amour, A. P.	Mrs. Jean D'Amour	Notre Dame Street, Montreal.
287	" Dawson, W. H. N.	Father	Rainy River, Ont.
324	" Davis, R. S.	Mr. T. J. Davis	45 Lennox Street, New York, U.S.A.
286	Pte. Deering, R.	Brother	Deer River, Man.
434	" Duncan, C. J.	Mrs. Duncan	Glendevon, Perth, Scotland.
288	" Dunn, F. J.	"	"
325	" Dunn, T. J.	Mr. J. Dunn	Montreal.
289	" Edwards, W.	Brother	Glencoe, Ont.
495	" Elliott, J.	Mrs. J. Elliott	Dunstable, Bedfordshire, England.
379	" Ellis, F. W.	Mrs. H. Ellis	17 Beverley Road, Anerley, London, S.E. Eng.
414	" Eyre, G.	Mr. G. Eyre	Hasborough, England.
326	" Fader, G. J.	Mrs. Fader	Sydney, C.B.
496	" Fall, C. S.	Mr. H. T. Fall	Victoria, B.C.
275	" Fanning, W.	Brother	Peterboro, Ont.
360	" Faulder, E. R.	Mr. E. A. Faulder	Church Fields, Harrow-on-the-hill, England
369	" Fernie, W. L.	Mrs. Fernie	Macclesfield, England.
561	" Fernie, M.	Mrs. Fernie	West Street, Scarborough, England.
359	" Fisher, J. C.	Mr. J. Jamieson	Conductor C.P.R. Mountain Division.

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
425	" Williams, T. H. A.	Mr. A. Williams	Monmouth, England.
262	" Woods, W. T.	Mr. A. Woods	Innisfail, Alta.
163	" Woodward, W.	Mrs. Woodward	Ashby-de-la-Zouche, England.
268	" Woodward, A. J.	Mr. F. G. Allen	5 Union Place, Ramsgate, London E., Eng.
275	" Fanning, W.	Brother	Peterboro, Ont.
340	" Faulder, E. R.	Mr. R. A. Faulder	Church Fields, Harrow-on-the-hill, England.
369	" Fernie, W. L.	Mrs. Fernie	Macclesfield, England.
361	" Fernie, M.	Mrs. Fernie	West Street, Scarborough, England.
339	" Fisher, J. C.	Mr. J. Jamieson	Conductor C.P.R. Mountain Division.

No.	Rank and Name.	Next of Kin.	P.O. of Next of Kin.
280	" Foster, J. M.	Mr. M. F. Johnston	Cochrane, Alta.
327	" Fraser, J. A.	Mr. J. Fraser	Grenville, Ont.
474	" Fraser, H.	Mrs. Douglas Fraser	Victoria, B.C.
475	" Fraser, W.	" "	" "
290	" Fuller, J. W.	Miss A. Skelton	Rapid City, S.D.
399	" Fuller, James	Mr. R. Fuller	Rio Sulto, Chili.
329	" Halcro, A. J.	Mr. W. P. Halcro	Hudson, Que.
294	" Hall, A.		
293	" Hambly, O.	Mr. Hambly	Proctor Knob, Min.
292	" Hammond, R. B. L.	Mr. Hammond	Melbourne, Australia.
456	" Harding, J. E.	Mr. T. J. Harding	Sykston, North Dakota, U.S.A.
281	" Harper, W. H.	Mr. James Smith	Smith's Falls, Ont.
363	" Harris, C. C.	Mr. C. B. Harris	Salmon Arm, B.C.
381	" Harris, C. B.	Mrs. Fred. Harris	" "
282	" Hawes, H.	Mr. Hawes	Spry Harbour, N.S.
295	" Haynes, W. T.	Rev. W. B. Haynes	Bridport, Dorsetshire, England.
296	" Hazel, George	Mrs. Hazel	33 Melbourne Avenue, Toronto.
400	" Hicks, H. J.	Mr. J. S. Hicks	Mitchell, Ont.
339	" Hirsch, John.	Mrs. C. Spark	Park Road, Chester, England.
401	" Halbert, T.	Mrs. J. Stuart	Portage la Prairie Man.
501	" Humfrey, W. H.	Mrs. Clarkson	Pincher Creek, Alta.
364	" Hunter, E. T.	Mr. J. Hunter	
362	" Graham, W. F.	Mr. T. Graham	Shuswap, B.C.
291	" Griffin, John	Rev. W. B. Griffin	Newent, Gloucester, England.
328	" Grogan, R. N.	Mrs. Grogan	Cheltenham, England.
368	" Ingram, W. H.	Mrs. Ingram	Grand Prairie, B.C.
382	" Jackson, C. F.	Miss Jackson	Westmoreland, Eng.
354	" Johnson, A. W.	Miss M. H. Johnson	Belgrave, England.
331	" Johnston, H. R.	Mrs. E. Johnston	Derbyshire, England.
297	" Jones, A.	Mr. W. Jones	Pontrellis, Hereford, England.
383	" Jones, E. E.	Mrs. Jones	5 Smith Street, Chelsea, England.
298	" Kearney, J.	Mrs. Kearney	North Bay, Ont.
315	" Kelly, S. A. J.	Mrs. J. B. Kelly	Boston, U.S.A.
299	" Kennedy, J.	Mr. Kennedy	Mattawa, Ont.
403	" Kerr, F.	Mr. E. Kerr	Hanover, Ont.
405	" Ledingham, G. W.	Mrs. Ledingham	Dominick, Ont.
332	" Lee, B. H.	Mr. G. Lee	Herne Bay, Kent, England.
404	" Lefroy, L. B.	Mr. W. Lefroy	Ladner, B.C.
333	" Lindsay, W. E.	Mr. C. Lindsay	Toronto, Ont.
334	" Lockhart, T. C.	Mr. A. Lockhart	Kirkcaldy, Scotland.
330	" Logan, A. E. H.	Miss Lillian Logan	16 Bouverie Road, Follestone, England.
408	" Malalne, J. H.	Mrs. H. Malaine	Oldham, England.
336	" McAllister, D.	Mrs. H. McMillan	Dumfriesshire, Scotland.
302	" McDonald, A.	Mrs. McDonald	Greenfield, Ont.
303	" McDonald, G. A.	Mr. A. B. McDonald	Alexandria, Ont.
337	" McDonnell, C. R.	Mr. A. McDonnell	Kingston, Ont.
304	" McDuff, J.	Mr. McDuff	Point Fortune, Que.
339	" McKenzie, A. W.	Mr. M. A. S. McKenzie	Bonny Rigg, Midlothian, Scotland.
384	" McMullen, J. H.	Col. J. A. McMullen	Barnhouse Court, Bognor, Sussex, England.
407	" McRae, D. J.	Mrs. J. McRae	Nashville, Ont.
449	" McCullough, R. J.	Mr. H. McCullough	Stonewall, Man.
301	" Melton, F. J.	Mr. J. W. Melton	Poseyville, Md., U.S.A.
308	" Monteith, W. E.	Col. J. F. Monteith	Rownham's Mount, Southampton, England.
303	" Morgan, H. B.	Mr. Morgan	Bissett's Creek, Ont.
300	" Murray, F.	Mr. Murray	Gleichen, Alta.
385	" Murray, J. W.	Mrs. J. L. Ormstead	Hepworth, Ont.
365	" Nash, J. F. P.	Mr. James Nash	Goring-on-Thames, England.
283	" Nesbitt, J. L.		Winnipeg, Man.
386	" Nicholson, C. J.		
306	" Norton, F.	Mr. Norton	Yalding, Kent, England.
307	" Norton, C.	Mr. Norton	4 Springfield, Erdington, Birmingham, Eng.
498	" Noury, H. W.	Mr. J. Noury	Victoria, B.C.
340	" O'Brien, A. W.	Rev. W. O'Brien	Barrow-in-Furness, England.
367	" Ogilby, W. L.	Mrs. Cameron	Poolewe, Rossshire, Scotland.
308	" O'Hearn, W.	Mrs. Cameron	Two Harbour, Minn.
386	" Oldham, P.		
309	" Orchard, E. A.	Mr. F. N. Orchard	Sidmouth, England.
341	" Palmer, R. H.	Major Palmer	Army and Navy Club, London, England.
342	" Parkes, F. C.	Mr. E. Parkes	Kingsland, Herefordshire, England.
343	Pte. Pearson, A. C.	Miss Pearson	Hullet, Wy., U.S.A.
309	" Peterson, C.	Mr. Peterson	Copenhagen, Denmark.
367	" Parham, H. J.	Mr. C. Parham	Chalford, Gloucestershire, England.
410	" Pettigrew, J.	Mr. J. Pettigrew	Bright, Ont.
344	" Pinkerton, T. A.	Mr. T. A. Pinkerton	Bangor, North Wales.
345	" Powell, C. J.	Capt. Powell	Madras, India.
442	" Press, A.	Mrs. B. Press	Brandon, Man.
346	" Pym, T. M. L.	Mr. M. C. H. Pym	Melbourne, Australia.
371	" Radwell, A.	Mr. Radwell	Kilburn, London, England.
388	" Rennie, C.	Mrs. D. Rennie	Regina, N.W.T.
347	" Robson, W.	Mrs. S. Robson	Liverpool, England.
314	" Routh, P.	Mrs. T. Routh	Toronto.
348	" Ryan, J.	Mr. C. Ryan	Dublin, Ireland.
500	" St. George, B. A.	Mrs. St. George	Cochrane, B.C.
370	" Seymour, E.	The Marquis of Hertford	Ragley Park, Alcester, England.
310	" Shaw, R.	Mr. Shaw	Wapella, Assa.
349	" Shaw, A. J. M.	Mr. A. Shaw	41 Imaicko Agaba, Tokio, Japan
399	" Stillingfleet, H. C.	Mr. F. V. Stillingfleet	Rhayader, Radnorshire, Wales.
513	" Simson, A. J.	Mr. C. S. Simson	Paisley, Ont.
415	" Skene, J. G.	Mrs. Skene	Revelstoke, B.C.
350	" Simpson, P. E.	Mr. R. E. Simpson	Aylmer, Ont.
499	" Spencer, J.	Mr. T. Spencer	Victoria, B.C.
372	" Squirrel, C.	Mrs. Tait	Kamloops, B.C.
389	" Strickland, C. S.	Capt. C. W. Strickland	Dawlish, Devonshire, England.
391	" Swift, T.	Mr. R. Swift	Farnsfield, Nottinghamshire, England.
351	" Switzer, F.	Mr. W. Switzer	Carberry, Man.
222	" Simmonds, J.	Mrs. Simmonds	Stafford Street, Newport, Salop, England.
450	" Swinburn, A.	Mr. F. Swinburn	McKinley, B.C.
432	" Tennant, C.	Mrs. Tennant	Gayton Terrace, Hampstead, England.
311	" Thomas, I.	Mr. Thomas	Newport, Mon., England.
352	" Thomas, H.	Mr. Thomas	Okotoks, Alta.
412	" Tuson, J.	Mr. J. Tuson	Winnipeg, Man.
374	" Venner, R. P.	Rev. E. K. Venner	Guildford, Surrey, England.
394	" Warren, F. F.	Col. F. Warren	Vancouver, B.C.
284	" West, W.	Mrs. West	Nottingham, England.
312	" Wiggins, H. J.	Miss Wiggins	24 Cobden Street, Rocksbury, Mass.
313	" Wilkie, J. H.	Mr. Wilkie	906 Lorne Avenue, London, Ont.
353	" Winearls, R. A.	Mr. R. A. Winearls	Martham, Norfolk, England.
505	" Winkle, W. C.	Mr. G. J. Winkle	32 Niagara Street, Victoria, B.C.
274	" Wright, S.	Miss Wright	St. John, N.B.
503	" Woodhouse, F. W. B.	Mrs. Woodhouse	Cupetown, South Africa.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Fatal Casualties in Canadian Contingents.

Rank and Name.	Date of Death.	Cause of Death.
Pte. E. Deslauriers	November 3, 1899	Heart Failure.
" M. C. Chappell	December 13, 1899	Tonsilitis.
" J. E. Farley	February 4, 1900	Enteric Fever.
" J. J. Purcell	" 11, "	Enteric Fever.
" Douglas Moore	" 14, "	Enteric Fever.
Sergt. W. Scott	" 18, "	Killed in Action.
Pte. W. Jackson	" " "	" " "
" A. Maundrill	" " "	" " "
" J. H. Somers	" " "	" " "
" J. Todd	" " "	" " "
Corpl. J. Smith	" " "	" " "
Pte. J. A. Donegan	" " "	" " "
" W. White	" " "	" " "
" J. H. Findlay	" " "	" " "
" W. T. Manion	" " "	" " "
" O. T. Burns	" " "	" " "
" C. E. E. Jackson	" " "	" " "
" Z. R. E. Lewis	" " "	" " "
Corpl. R. Goodfellow	" " "	" " "
Pte. C. H. Barry	" " "	" " "
" C. Lester	" " "	" " "
" A. McQueen	" " "	" " "
" Roland D. Taylor	" " "	" " "
Capt. H. M. Arnold	" " "	Wounds.
Pte. Patrick McCreary	" " "	"
" F. C. Page	" 27, "	Killed in Action.
" G. Orman	" " "	" " "
Corpl. B. Withey	" " "	" " "

Rank and Name.	Date of Death.	Cause of Death.
Pte. Jos. Johnston	February 27, 1900	Killed in Action.
" W. A. Riggs	" " "	" " "
" J. B. Scott	" " "	" " "
Corpl. F. W. Withers	" " "	" " "
Corpl. W. S. Brady	" " "	Wounds.
Pte. F. J. Living	" " "	"
" C. T. Thomas	" " "	"
" F. Wasdell	" " "	"
" A. Roy	" " "	"
" G. Johnstone	" 26, "	"
" J. Sievert	" 27, "	"
" W. G. Ross	March 6, "	Enteric Fever.
" H. Forest	April 1, "	" "
" R. Harrison	April 14, "	" "
" D. L. Ramsay	March 28, "	Peritonitis.
" W. S. Blight	April 15, "	Enteric Fever.
" W. G. Adams	" 16, "	" "
" J. Curphy	" 18, "	" "
Artificer D. MacMillan	" 20, "	" "
Sergt. A. Beattie	" 11, "	" "
Pte. E. S. Purcell	" 22, "	" "
" J. Dafoe	" 25, "	Killed in Action.
" J. Simmill	" 26, "	Pyæmia.
" H. Cotton	" 30, "	Killed in Action.
" A. E. Zong	May 1, "	Enteric Fever.
" H. Barr	April 30, "	" "
" B. Liston	May 2, "	" "
Gunner E Picot	" 2, "	" "
Pte. F. G. W. Floyd	" 10, "	Killed in Action.
Trooper T. Woolcombe	" 22, "	Dysentry and Pleurisy.
Gunner E. P. O'Reilly	" 17, "	Enteric Fever.
Pte. James Rasberry	" 24, "	" "
" H. H. Clements	" 25, "	" "
Bombardier W. Latimer	June 1, "	Killed in Action.
Pte. H. Bolt	" 1, "	Enteric Fever.

Rank and Name.	Date of Death.	Cause of Death.
Lce. Corpl. A. F. Van Norman.	June 8, 1900	Enteric Fever.
Lieut C. F. Harrison	" 10, "	" "
Pte. E. Mullins	" 11, "	" "
" W. J. Hampton	" 12, "	" "
Lieut. M. G. Blanchard	" 15, "	Wounds.
Pte. G. W. Leonard	" 15, "	"
" W. Frost	" "	"
" W. F. Whitley	" 19, "	Enteric Fever.
" L. Larue	" 24, "	" "
Corpl. J. F. Morden	June 30, 1900	Killed in Action.
Pte. R. J. Kerr	" 30, "	" " "
" E. M. Banks	" 30, "	" " "
" R. Irwin	July 1, "	Enteric Fever.
" Angus Jenkins	" 1, "	Killed in Action.
" J. W. Duhamel	June 27, "	Enteric Fever.
" H. B. White	July 7, "	Wounds.
Lieut. H. L. Borden	" 16, "	Killed in Action.
" J. E. Burch	" 16, "	" " "
Pte. W. A. Hull	June 7, "	Enteric Fever.
" R. Lett	July 21, "	" "
" W. E. Price	" 23, "	" "
" W. Haines	June 6, "	" "
" T. P. Shipp	July 27, "	" "
" Wm. Wood	" 27, "	" "
" A. R. Kingsley	May 15, "	Pneumonia.
" J. E. Ball	July 28, "	Enteric Fever.
Sergt. S.C. Parker	" 30, "	Killed in Action.
Pte. D. J. Crone	Aug. 5, "	Enteric Fever.
" F. G. Arnold	" 11, "	From Wounds received 30th July.
Corpl. J. R. Taylor	" 19, "	" "
Pte. B. H. Lee	July 30, "	Killed in Action.
" C. W. Cotterill	" 1, "	Enteric Fever.
" A. McNichol	June 19, "	" "
" F. Morris	July 5, "	Killed in Action.
Trptr. G. W. Bradley	Aug. 28, "	Enteric Fever.
Sergt. A. E. H. Logan	Sept. 4, "	Killed in Action.
" J. Brothers	" " "	" " "
Pte. A. Jones	" " "	" " "
" W. West	" " "	" " "
" H. J. Wiggins	" " "	" " "

Rank and Name.	Date of Death.	Cause of Death.
Pte. Cruickshank	Sept. 4, 1900	Killed in Action.
Sergt. P. Clunie	" 6, "	Heart Failure.
Pte. S. B. Hunt	no particulars	
" D. M. Spence	Sept. 23, "	Killed in Action.
" A. Radcliffe	" " "	" " "
Gunner J. Neild	" 22, "	From Wounds.
Pte. G. Farrell	" 6, "	Acute Dysentry.
" A. B. Bing	June 7. "	Enteric Fever.
" G. M. O'Kelly	" 16, "	Dysentery.
" O Smith	Aug. 17, "	Sunstroke.
" L. S. Davis	Oct. 9, "	Enteric Fever.
" W. E. Brand	July 9, "	" "
Sergt. B. Hunt	June 16, "	" "
Lieut. F. W. Chalmers	Nov. 2, "	Killed in Action.
Corpl. E. A. Filson	" 8, "	" " "
Lance-Corpl. W. G. Anderson.	Sept. 8, "	" " "
Pte. Le Conteur	" 29, "	Accidentally Killed.
Sergt. V. D. Builder		From Wounds.
Pte. W. J. Moore	Nov. 9, "	Enteric Fever.
" W. DeVere Hunt	" 14, "	Bright's Disease.
" E. V. Cancellor	" 13, "	Enteric Fever.
Sergt. E. Evatt	" 18, "	
Pte. L. B. Scott	" 21, "	Accidentally Killed.
" B. A. St. George	Date not given	Enteric Fever.
" W. H. Ingram	Dec. 23, "	Killed in Action.
Capt. F. H. C. Sutton	Jan. 6, 1901	No particulars.
Tpr. N. Hughes	" 8, "	Enteric Fever.
Sergt.-Tpr. L. J. S. Inglis	" 1, "	No particulars.
Pte. Edward McIntosh	" 28, "	Enteric Fever.
" M. Fernie	" 31, "	" "
" D. J. McGregor	" 28, "	Killed in Action.
" D. B. Hammond	" " "	" "
Sergt. Maj. J. A. Paterson	Feb. 4, "	" "
Lieut. A. L. Howard	" 17, "	" "
Sergt. R. J. Northway	" 16, "	" "
R. F. C. A. Douglas	no date	From wounds received Feb. 16.
Sergt. F. Davidson	Apr. 11, "	Killed in action.
Pte. E. F. Hunter	Feb. 16, "	Enteric Fever.
" R. G. Moore	Mar. 19, 1902	Dysentery.
Sergt. J. C Perry	" 31, "	Killed in Action.

Rank and Name.	Date of Death.	Cause of Death.
Pte. A. Sherritt	Mar. 31, 1902	Killed in Action.
" C. N. Evans	" " "	" "
" M. G. Huston	" " "	" "
" W. P. K. Milligan	" " "	" "
" W. Vollrath	" " "	" "
" W. F. Peters	" " "	" "
" D. H. Campbell	" " "	From wounds rec'd. March 31.
" A. West		" "
Corp. W. Knisely	Apr. 2, "	Killed in Action.
Pte. F. B. Day	" 2, "	Killed in Action.
" W. J. Leslie	" 17, "	Enteric Fever.
Corpl. F. M. S. Howard	" 27, "	From wounds received 31st March.
Pte. Joseph Drury	" 24, "	Enteric Fever.
Sergt. G. R. Margeson	May 22, "	" "
Pte. Henry Higgins	" 19, "	Spinal Meningites.
" E. S. Banfield	June 5, "	Enteric Fever.
" J. J. Woodman	" 3, "	" "
" M. Groto	" 6, "	Accidentally killed at sea.
" Nelson Price	" 8, "	Enteric Fever.
Shoeingsmith, W. H. Hunter	" 30, "	From wounds received in action 31st March.
Pte. W. Smith	July 4, "	Pneumonia.

Pensions for Disabled Soldiers, Widows, Etc.

The following particulars respecting wound pensions and compassionate allowances granted by the Imperial Government in the cases of officers and men wounded or killed on active service, which are applicable in the cases of Colonial Contingents serving in the present campaign in South Africa, are of interest.

Officers.

For the loss of an eye or a limb, or for an injury equivalent to the loss of a limb, a gratuity of a year's full pay is granted in the first instance. At the end of the year, a pension is awarded according to the following scale:

Colonel or Lt. Colonel.....	$1,460.00 a year.
Major.....	973.33 "
Captain.....	486.66 "
Lieutenant...	340.66 "

In cases in which the injury is not equivalent to the loss of a limb, though very severe and permanent in its effect, a like gratuity is awarded but the pension is given at half the above rates.

For injuries very severe though less serious than the above, a gratuity of from three to twelve months full pay is awarded, according to circumstances but no pension.

Pensions for Wounds Received in Action, etc. Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.

To Non-Commissioned Officers and men discharged as unfit for further service in consequence of wounds, etc., pensions are granted on the following scale, according to the degree of the soldier's incapacity for earning a livelihood.

Warrant Officers..... Sergeants, etc.....	From 24 cts. to 85 cts. a day.
Corporals.....	" 18 cts. to 73 cts. "
Privates.....	" 12 cts to 60 cts. "

Pensions, etc., to Widows and Children of Officers.

Pensions to widows and children of officers are granted according to the following scale:

(1) If the officer was killed in action or died (within 12 months) of wounds received in action.

	Widow.		Children.	
Lt.-Col. or Col....	$876.00	a year.	$116.80	a year each.
Major.....	681.33	"	102.50	"
Captain.....	486.66	"	87.60	"
Lieutenant.....	389.33	"	73.00	"

(2) If the officer's death was caused by exposure while on active service and occurred within 12 months of removal from duty.

	Widow.		Children.	
Lt.-Col. or Col....	$657.00	a year.	$ 97.33	a year each.
Major.....	510.99	"	85.16	"
Captain.....	365.00	"	73.00	"
Lieutenant.....	292.00	"	60.83	"

If the case comes within category (1) the widow receives, in addition to pension, a gratuity of one year's full pay of the officer's appointment and the children one-third of such amount each.

Motherless children receive double rates of pension.

None of the foregoing awards are made if the widows, etc., are left in wealthy circumstances.

PENSIONS, ETC., TO WIDOWS OF WARRANT OFFICERS.

Warrant Officer—Widows, $97.33 a year. Children, $24.33 a year each

THE END.

LIFE OF

CECIL JOHN RHODES

BY

MURAT HALSTEAD

AN AUTHOR OF MANY BOOKS

A Concise Biography of the Late "DIAMOND KING" and "EMPIRE BUILDER" of South Africa.

He had a Great Purpose in View and Became a Great Man.
His Extraordinary "Will" is of World-Wide Interest and Effect.

ISSUED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO

"HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE BOER-BRITISH WAR"

MANUFACTURED IN TORONTO

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CECIL JOHN RHODES.

CHAPTER I.

CECIL JOHN RHODES, when speaking of his origin, said he came of farmers. His father, the Rev. F. W. Rhodes, was of the Church of England, of Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire. Cecil was born there July 5th, 1853, entered a Grammar School at eight years old, remaining until sixteen and a half years of age. He was preparing for Oxford University. The higher hope for him was that he might go into the Church, but his health was failing and a long sea voyage ordered. The destination fixed for him was Durham, South Africa, and he was seventy days on shipboard. There were seven sons. The father seems to have been a very quiet man, of great faith, steadfast in duty. That which is remembered of him is his desire that all his sons should be churchmen, and he referred to them as "the seven angels of the seven churches," a phrase of suggestion that he was a dreamer, who thought his array of sons had some wonderful mission in the church, but not one of the "seven angels" took orders.

The grandfather of Cecil Rhodes was "old Tommy Rhodes, of Tottenham Wood." He died in 1861, ninety years old. His grave, with a handsome red granite tombstone, is one of the few memorial stones in Tottenham Churchyard that remained undisturbed by the extensive alterations made in church and churchyard at the "restoration" some quarter of a century ago. Quite recently Mr. Rhodes sent home a donation of one hundred pounds to the enlargement fund of Holy Trinity Church, Bishop's Stortford, a small district church which his father was instrumental in founding while vicar of the parish.

Mr. Henry Wilson wrote the *Times:*

"From 1859 to 1861 I was a master at the Grammar School of

Bishop's Stortford. At that time there were persons living who remembered Mr. Rhodes's grandfather, a cowkeeper at Islington in a large way, when all round the Angel was open fields. I knew the vicar well, a tall, spare man, of polished manners and the strongly-marked mobile features that indicate a muscular habit. The two eldest sons, Herbert and Frank, were in the school. Herbert, who went first to South Africa and was, I have heard, accidently burnt to death, was a typical schoolboy—clever, volatile, with a face like indiarubber, and extraordinary command of expression. He was a born actor. Once when I was taking my class at one end of the schoolroom he was standing in class at the other end. He had been at some tricks, and the master, who had a heavy hand, had administered sharp correction. Herbert was sobbing bitterly, and big tears were dropping on the floor. On the master's turning for a moment the other way, all signs of grief disappeared like magic, and a hideous grimace took their place. The master, aware from a titter that something was going on, turned sharply back to see an agonized countenance and tears again. Cecil had not come into the school when I left, but I remember once at a cricket match, where I was umpire, one of the younger boys, probably he, a pretty, delicate child in a plaided frock, was with his nurse among the spectators. The batsman hit a ball to leg, which, without touching the ground, struck the little fellow full on the arm. I rushed up, fearing the bone was broken, but on testing it found it was not. I was struck with the delicate frame, and yet by the Spartan way, almost indifference, with which the child bore pain."

This is the earliest account we have of "The Colossus of Rhodes."

When Cecil Africanus arrived at his brother's farm in South Natal, he found it unoccupied, the brother gone North and West, and Cecil took up cotton planting there, an experimental crop in that country, and was quite successful. He was always pleased about his experience as a cotton planter, but did not remain long in Natal. In 1871 his elder brother and predecessor in Africa, heard of him, and advised him to try the diamond fields. He did so, and there got well and made money.

At the end of his first year in the Kimberley climate, he was comparatively rich and strong. He concluded to see the country, and set out to discover the Dark Continent in an ox-wagon. The exploration occupied about eight months.

Among other acquirements was acquaintance with the Boers, who had been in the Transvaal about twenty years, and had not altogether succeeded in dispossessing the darker people. His travel devoted him to Africa. He said often his leading idea at this time was that each day he saw that country, "looked down at the earth and up to the sky," he felt "it ought to belong to England."

Returning to England in 1872, he matriculated at Oriel, and remained six months, taking a great deal of athletic exercise. Here his heart, which had sent him to Africa by its weakness, troubled him again, and the specialist who advised his return to Africa, wrote in his note-book, "Not six months to live," but his heart held out to throb for thirty years. However, the physician was in error only in time. His heart weakness caused his death. Returning to Kimberley for three years—1873 to 1876—strong again and richer, he re-entered Oxford, passed examinations, by hard work at the last, and hastened again to Africa. In 1881 he amalgamated a large number of the diamond mines. A free translation of the transaction is that a diamond mine "trust" was formed. After the acquisition by the De Beers Company of other mines that at first refused, a further amalgamation was proposed, and of the three men principally concerned, Rhodes was one, and his condition that the new company should contract "in a trust deed," to give him power to use the profits of the De Beers mine in emergencies, for "the acquisition of unoccupied territory in the North," and he used five hundred thousand pounds to purchase Rhodesia.

There was nothing miraculous in this progress of the young business man who believed in the land he lived on, and had in mind the expansion of the British Empire and the glory of the race that spoke English. He had, when as a sickly youth he "squatted" on his brother's farm abandoned for the diamond fields, made cotton-growing pay, one

of the first successes of the kind in Natal. He did not know the gold mines and the diamond mines were waiting for him out north and west, to be developed by him, or that Paul Kruger was himself heading westward and northward. And there was just time to get rich and well, return to England and take a degree at Oxford, and get back, having lost health again, to revive in the dry air of the lofty land, establish a diamond trust, and as the price of putting in the Rhodes mines, get money to buy the Empire that was to bear his name, and beat back Kruger, who had invaded the land out west with a Boer commando. He bought the Empire, and got the protection of the British army. He annexed his new possessions when there was no time to spare. Kruger's commando recoiled before the display of British troops under General Sir Charles Warren.

It was the money Rhodes got from the diamond mines that put him in power over the region that some of the old Boers then thought the "key of Africa," as it was. If Kruger had been swifter, or Rhodes slower, the Boers would have taken up the territory that was between them and the German colonies, on the African shore of the South Atlantic.

When Rhodes won the first game played with Kruger, he was twenty-eight years of age and Kruger fifty-six. The latter, born twenty-eight years before the former, survived the man who beat the Boers at last with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. He did not command the forces, but he made the destiny.

When Rhodes joined his brother in the diamond fields, the law did not permit one man to have a claim more than thirty-one feet square. The first extension enlarged the individual holdings, and then a combination was made that appears to have emanated from the busy brain of Rhodes, removing essentially the limitations. There were also due him great feats of administration, as well as organization. Among the matters of the policy of production of mines, the question of native labor was important, and the exclusive Boers were perplexed more and more, when they saw their pastoral lands interfered with and their

supreme sovereignty over two races and people—the natives there before the Boers and the English-speaking immigrants, each more numerous than the ruling caste. The African Republics had Presidents, but were never ruled by majorities, and they refused to confer what is called naturalization in North America, because the insurgents would, if permitted any right save tax paying, have the potentiality of the majority, and put down Boerism, which was the rule of the minority.

It was not the Jameson Raid, but this restriction of suffrage to a cattle-raising faction, that caused the British-Boer war. The place where Rhodes and Kruger first came in collision was the western border of Transvaal. It is Rhodesia and British.

CHAPTER II.

Rhodes and The Raid.

CERTAINLY Rhodes was wrong in knowing as much as he did, and not making sure he knew all, involving him in the blunder of Jameson going to war headlong without adequate force, and not waiting for vital information. There was incapacity in the emergency. The wires broke just when communications should have been certain, with orders to wait for orders.

Rhodes told the truth about the extent of his participation, and accepted more than his share of responsibility. His retirememt from executive official activity was regarded by his enemies as the end of his power, but he was merely relieved from forms and ceremonies that he might give his strength to the greater enterprises he had undertaken, and placed in the way of ultimate conclusive realization.

The life of Cecil John Rhodes is deeply imbedded in history, and its profound influences go far. He was a colossal man in ideas, and had an influence that was entitled Imperialism. South Africa as a mighty part of the British Empire was a dream, and before the end came to him he grasped the reality, but had not finished the fashioning of it. His countrymen made some things hard for him. The impression the English-speaking people have made in the world, girdling it with empires, has not stamped the various continents with the legitimacy of the irregularity we call filibusterism. There is an "unctuous rectitude," or "correctitude," in the predominant British island, that has not the full courage of strenuous and adventurous public virtues exerted on personal initiation for the general good. There was home support in the British Empire for unwarrantable opposition to the Boer war, that was more than any other the crisis and need of the Empire.

If Rhodes had been an American in America, the "raid" that so

troubled the British would not have been held in extreme disfavor. There was a great deal of the righteousness that exalts and expands nations, in and beyond the excursion of Dr. Jameson that came to a lame conclusion. If there had been a few thousand Rough Riders, such as President Roosevelt headed the American procession with, in the Spanish war, there would have been an end to taxation without representation for the English-speaking people of the Transvaal; and they would have been enfranchised and free, and spoken English at Pretoria without the aid of an army on a great power scale in Europe. This might have been as happy a solution of a great problem as has happened, and less costly in precious metals and more precious blood, but the British have cold and impatient contemplation of the natural right of a people to obtain equal rights without awaiting the tediousness of regularity.

It was dreadful, in conservative British estimation, for Rhodes to countenance and promote the raid, but the realization by other roads, reaching the same results, is not unwelcome at last. The painful outcry because a friend of Rhodes rode across the country, much as the Boers once or twice treked, but without sufficient provision, should rather have been accepted as provocation of humor, than condemned with traditional, though inappropriate, solemnities. Even the Emperor William, whose head has so often been cool and level when pressures were severe, allowed himself in a flash of impulse to send a telegram to Kruger joyously celebrating Jameson's failure.

The enemies of Rhodes do not dispute the history that Rhodesia was saved by him from Kruger, and the persecution of English-speaking people. The scheme of the Cape Colony and other Dutch was to extend the Transvaal westward, and stretch the Dutch Dominion across the continent to meet the German territory west of the Cape; and then by African propaganda, oust the British from the Cape itself.

Rhodes used the Africander movement in his own plans of British expansion, and would have exceeded completely if it had not been for the lack of stability in the British policy, which included the Zulu war,

and the subsequent abandonment of the Transvaal and Orange States, involving the diversion to them of millions of gold from the mines, and preparation for a great war. The answer was the Rhodes premiership.

There are many qualities we respect in Kruger, but he was out of date as the head of a nation, and the combination of the aged President whose proceedings were tyrannies, with the youthful and swift Emperor was unfortunate. The Boers were as badly disappointed with the inaction of Europe, when the old lion-tamer fought against the stars in their courses of empire, as the Spaniards were when no European monarch appeared to save Cuba and the Philippines for Spain. It is a blemish on the record of Rhodes for organizing successes, that he permitted his friends to fail to free themselves. Perhaps the bulk of the fault was with the people of Johannesburg, but the mistake of the Colossus was indifference to information when the crisis came, and at last, he lost the touch of communication with the raiders, who rushed to ruin, not only without his counsel, but against his remonstrance.

There were elements of war in that country unused that might have been effectual if British leadership had been untrammelled by Krugerism. One may still wonder what would have happened if Rhodes had been enlightened in time to have co-operated with Jameson. Fancy what would have appeared in California or Australia had there been Boers grasping much more land than they could use, opposed to gold mines unless for themselves, and claiming, while ignoring the natives, that they had the "Promised Land" made ready and handed down with the Old Testament, awaiting the slow procession of the ox-trains. The Boer expansion could clearly have been rounded up without a great war.

Rhodes had a great number and variety of likenesses taken. In his youth the daguerreotype was in fashion, and the real sun-pictures were the best ever made. He lived through the whole period of the slow process of photography, the weary efforts of fixed "pleasant expressions;" and then came the sittings that took time only by frac-

tions of seconds. In his later years instantaneous photography came. There was lightning speed, and fields of mounted men and packs of hounds were transferred to sensitive plates swiftly as light flies.

The young Cecil John Rhodes was a most engaging and handsome boy, with refinement in his face, and delicacy, too, grace of form, shining and dimpled cheeks, all the fine expressions of a mind full of gifts, and the wholesomeness of the promise of strong and pleasing manhood. In the portraits of the youthfulness of the man whose name became almost a synonym of force, there were lines that declared the strain on fine fibres, and that there was danger of a decline of strength when power was most wanted.

The history of this man is written in his face from first to last, and it would be an interesting gallery of the evolution from the pale, slender student, to the close of the career of the Colossus, if all the years of his life were represented by the pencillings of the keen flashes and sudden shadows. The face varied rapidly, the change equalling that of Napoleon enlarged, from the lean cadet to the corpulent Emperor. There was, as Rhodes passed from the kindly, ardent, hopeful student, to the grandeur of a masterful personage, an obvious tracing of the development of face and figure, telling the story of the bright outlook, the pathetic touch of the threat that the promise of uncommon manliness should fade into the wasting trials of invalidism. Then came brightened life, buoyant energy, the look of command, the hardening of confidence, the assurance of success, the sense of high capacity, the habit of dictatorship, the express power of persuasion. The part of the man who had written his name across the continent, and was accustomed to be obeyed, the accretion of generous living, thoughtfulness kindling executive faculty, the consciousness of a record that would stand and a wealth that could realize dreams, the lofty architecture of splendid ambition, the wider vision that included all the continents, the departure of the doubt of achievement—all this was portrayed. Again there were changes in outlines, something less of "strenuous life," and something more of the indulgence of the tastes of opulence; no

failure of far-flashing intuition; a surer grasp, but not so much that was new found in the morning or the evening light of the speeding days.

The last visit of Rhodes to London, was like that of Napoleon's return from Elba to Paris. The Emperor's eagles flew from dome to dome, all the way from the Mediterranean to Notre Dame, and the Tuileries, doomed to the defeat and fall of an empire. Rhodes had won when he looked last on the mighty cloud over London. His war was not ended, but Johannesburg was a free city and Pretoria a British headquarters, while all the world knew that in South Africa peace had become greater than war. The stamps that crushed the gold rocks were sounding the revival of British gold production. The Boers were still making a gallant fight, but Kitchener, Milner, and Chamberlain, and Rhodes, were the quadrilateral that dominated the situation, on the chessboard of the empires, the easy moves to the checkmate were in view and counted.

After a wonderful fight the Boers were beaten. They had taught the world military lessons and lost. The surrender was in sight, and beyond were the British and the Boers, to join in the labor of peace and work of war. Rhodes knew well he would not see unfolded all the grandeur he had wrought, but when his eyes turned for the last time to the Southern Ocean, he must have had visions of the dreams that had been very real to him, of the great Empire and the greater race he believed in, the roads of steel and the highways of light, surpassing the rivers of the continent, conquering Africa with victories of engineers more renowned than those of warriors; dreams to be made material by the industries that exceed in the creations of their arsenals, the trophies of the triumphs of conquests by the sword. Within his horizon surely was his monumental mountain, as the rising ages will behold it; and with the inspiration that he wrote his will, for immortality, though nations pass away, he had contemplated with the spirit of Cæsar, empires of liberty, of which Rome would have been a province.

Photo by W. & D. Downey, 61 Ebury Street, S.W.

THE LATE CECIL JOHN RHODES.

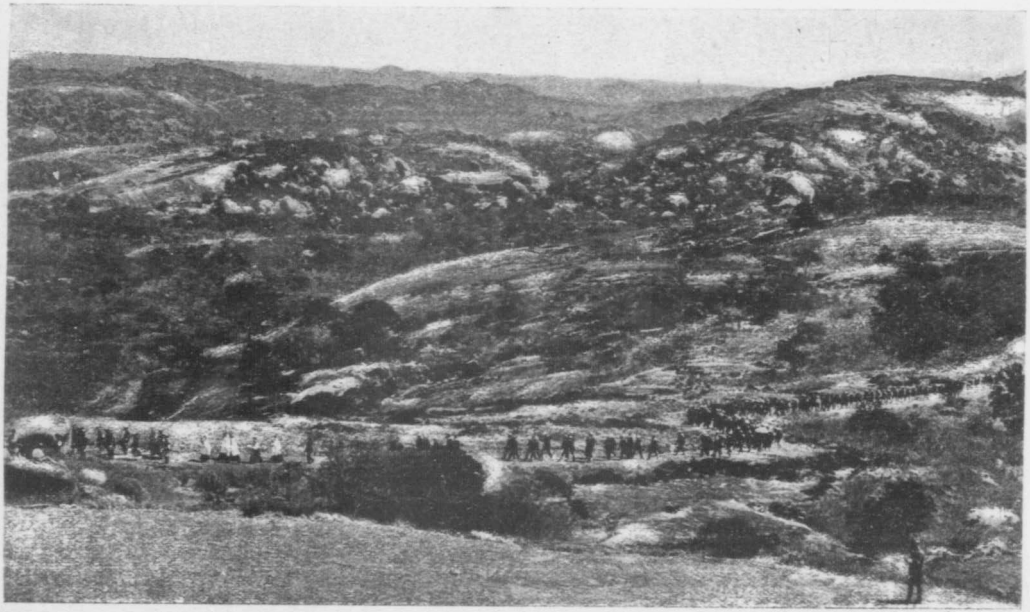


Photo by L. Pedrotti, Bulawayo.

FUNERAL PROCESSION TO THE "WORLD'S VIEW."

CHAPTER III.

A Man of Great Works.

WHEN a man of great works in the world comes and goes, there is inquiry as to that which was in him or around him that made him great. The question, "How big was Alexander, pa?" is famous. There is another and greater question equally simple, "What was it made him great?" There is first to consider the endowment of nature, and second, the environment. It was Rhodes' elder brother who led the way to Africa—one of seven brothers—and when the sickly boy of the family, who had been chosen not by accident to go to Oxford, was sent to Africa, the leader of the brotherhood had abandoned cotton-planting and taken to digging for diamonds. The first brother on the ground had a claim and was personally engaged. The second brother had enlarged views, and organized a scrambling method of delving into a system that was scientific, and employed modern machinery.

It was imagination, not science, that led to the fields where the blue clay with the diamonds in it, was superficial. Diamonds are magnetic to an imaginative person, and Cecil John Rhodes was fanciful as well as executive. That was his winning combination, and it abided with him to the day of his death. The characteristics that distinguished his life appear in his will, as well as in the miners' trust deeds at Kimberley. There was mystery in Africa, and that was attractive. The crowded nations of Europe looked the world over for land for the people, and colonization on a scale never known since a map of the world was made, had a charm for people of intelligence and enterprise. Coincident with this was national arming, and the increased formidableness and terror of wars. Emperors, instead of being conquerors, became professors of peace, and the monstrous proportions of armed

forces almost prohibit warfare. The young emperors of Germany and Russia held up peace with millions of bayonets. Colonization, attended by friction that occasionally caused war, seemed in a sense as a substitute for war. It was better to find new countries than to overcrowd old ones. Western Europe, with the exception of Spain, became adventurous in Africa. Stanley found Livingstone. France, with Algeria for a base, expanded southward. Germany looked around the world to find places for colonies. The British got a very able Colonial Secretary, and Africa became the continent for colonial contention. Rhodes, with a corner on diamonds convertible into gold, and that at hand, largest supplies of precious stones and metals ever heard of, bought the heart of Africa, crowded the Boers out of it, and became premier of the Cape Colony of the British.

It was natural that Rhodes had a high opinion of money as power. His life was full of the experience of the potentiality of gold, and when he prepared to die, he planted gold to bloom in a scholastic university, proposing to perpetuate his ideas that were truly imperial, and that helped the world along. The world is bettered by the labors of the Colossus. Both capital and labor got the benefit of his diamond trust, and he put the higher civilization of South Africa to the front. It is one of an impressive presence of incidents that are coincidences when they come together that there is good reason to believe Rhodesia was the land of Ophir that assisted Solomon to his glory.

There was something magical in the air of Central Africa, that affected the Boers, and moved them to be movers. Many of them, in the trek that took them across the Vaal, had confused their fancies and facts until they believed they might drive their oxen to Jerusalem; and perhaps that was not impossible, plenty of time being given. They found out, after resting twenty years where they had the liberty to extend slavery, that they were in possession of a fine, vast country, and they wanted more of it, but did not wish to cross the equator, or go further into the tropics. Therefore, they headed west and met Rhodes, who was in the land of Ophir, not only prospecting, but buying the earth

on a great scale. He had a small but well set up British army there, and Kruger's historical caravan was checked in its movement west.

"The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia" records the rediscoveries in that country since the British South Africans opened it to explorers. Theodore Bent investigated the antiquities in 1891. He examined the sites of thirteen of the "monuments of Rhodesia," as they are called. The early Portuguese navigators knew something about them, but they disappeared in forgetfulness for three centuries. In glancing at the problem of archæology, it must be remembered, to obtain a foundation for intelligent interest, that in the days of Solomon, and long before the Indian Ocean was navigated by Egyptians, Arabs, and the people who commanded the ports of the Red Sea. That portion of the world has been reduced in importance. Of course, the ships of Solomon did not pass through the Mediterranean and around South Africa. The direct route was by the Red Sea, and several harbors of East Africa were easy of access. The Boers did not get much encouragement when they wanted to trek to Jerusalem. However, when that city was the capital of a great country, and the Queen of Sheba called on Solomon, and found the half had not been told of his glory, Africa was not the darker continent. The interior of Rhodesia was certainly known then in Asia and North Africa. The *London Spectator* says:

"So Professor Keane has argued with much address; but probability is not proof, and the authors of the present work modestly admit that they are not competent to deal with this complicated problem. All they pretend to do, in their own portentous phrase, is to furnish 'a contribution towards the preparation of that brief which, when all the possible evidences coming from the hundreds of ancient ruins in Rhodesia have been secured, shall be submitted to acknowledged archæologists and antiquarians for their final pronouncement as to the origin of those ancient peoples who have left such substantial evidences of past civilization and industry in the territories known to-day as Southern Rhodesia.'

"In the absence of anything that can be called satisfactory inscriptional evidence, the buildings themselves are the most important histori-

cal documents, and Messrs. Hall and Neale have done excellent service in preparing careful descriptions, plans, and photographs of the numerous ancient buildings they have examined. That they are extremely ancient no one can doubt, apart from any reliance upon orientation or zodiacal inferences. No people in East Africa could have built such walls and towers in any period of mediæval history. Their resemblance to the few remains of Himyarite buildings in South Arabia, and also to the ancient forts and temples of Sardinia, attributed to the Phœnicians, has often been remarked. The elliptical enclosures, conical towers and buttresses, and primitive decoration by check, herring-bone, and rows of mortars sunk in the ground, show where the quartz was crushed, and traces of the journey of the gold from mine to mortar, and mortar to furnace, and so to the store-room, and thence along the chain of forts to the coast, may be mapped out with something like exactness Fragments of ore, tools left *in situ*, as though hastily abandoned, crucibles still lined with gold, traces of gold dust at every place where the store was transported or accumulated, provide a sort of road-book of the ancient gold industry. . . . . A specially interesting detail is the finding of large quantities of gold ornaments, etc.—amounting in value sometimes to over £200—buried with the bodies of the dead, reminding one of ancient burials in Egypt and elsewhere. And here a curious problem arises: What has become of the dead of these ancient miners? It has been estimated by a well-known authority, Mr. Telford Edwards, that at least £75,000,000 of gold must have been extracted from these prehistoric workings."

There are no inscriptions yet found on the ruins, but no one of them has been exhaustively examined. Perhaps enriched Oxford University, when the branch railroad from Egypt running through Central Africa is in order, may complete the discoveries.

A crisis occurred in the affairs of Rhodes in 1896, when the Matabele rebellion broke out, and the question was at last presented, sharp as the edge of a knife, whether he could personally make peace, or must engage in a desperate war. The chief of the Matabele tribe was Lo-

bengula, a famous savage. He knew, as well as Rhodes or Kruger, where the key to Africa was. It was in this country Rhodes got his concession of mineral land. When the Matabele rebellion came, he had greatly prospered for six years. The Jameson raid was an episode. Rhodes saved his cause by risking himself, showing as he always did when times were critical, coolness and perfect self-possession in danger. The British troops had driven the natives to the Matoppo hills, where they were strong. Rhodes was with an armed force, for there was perilous business to be done. He concluded to go alone and face his enemies, and set out with a riding-whip, and had his tent pitched unguarded at the foot of the hills. The natives heard he was alone, and "had come to hear what they had to say." The *Times* says :

"A council was held by them in the very depths of the hills, where no armed force could touch them. He was invited to attend it. Nothing would have been simpler, had treachery been intended, than to give such an invitation with intent to massacre. There are precedents for treachery of the kind in the annals of native dealings with the white man. It was a case of staking his life on trust. He displayed no hesitation, but mounted and rode unarmed with the messenger. Three friends rode with him. The confidence was justified. They met the assembled chiefs at the place appointed. The native grievances were laid before Mr. Rhodes. At the end of a long discussion, Mr. Rhodes, having made and exacted such concessions as he thought fit, asked the question, 'Now, for the future, is it peace or is it war?' And the chiefs, laying down their sticks as a symbol of surrendered arms, declared, 'We give you one word; it is peace.' The scene, as described by one of the eye-witnesses, was very striking. Mr. Rhodes, riding away, characterized it simply as 'one of the scenes in life which make life worth living.'"

When the Boers were moving to besiege Kimberley, Rhodes hastened to share the hardships and dangers of the siege. The Boers were stimulated to press the fighting for the town, for it held a prize for

them; but the great capitalist was a reinforcement for the defence, and even his rides about the town under bombardment were reassuring. There was machinery and material about Kimberley that enabled his workingmen to supply the artillerists with a new gun manufactured on the spot, called "Long Cecil," and its service in range greater than the Boer guns was admirable. It was on the carriage of this gun that the remains of Rhodes were carried when his funeral procession moved through Cape Town.

The most striking of all the tributes of the press to Rhodes is that of the *Standard,* of London, saying the "impulse of Empire" for some years "the dominant sentiment of Englishmen," was given by Rhodes, and they owed him "as much for that as to any living man." The statement might fairly be made in terms without qualification, and it is beautified and emphasized by what the *Standard* goes on to say:

"He showed his stay-at-home countrymen that the days of expansion and colonization were not yet at an end. He plunged them into the heart of what might almost be called a new continent, and proved that the work of the Elizabethans, of Clive and Hastings, of the founders of New England and Canada, was not yet exhausted. There were still realms to be founded, great tracts of the earth's surface to be explored, vast populations of savages to be added to the 'White Man's Burden.' The settlement of Rhodesia struck across the closing period of the Nineteenth Century like a breath from the gallant world of the past. It fired and stimulated that revival of Imperial sentiment which other causes had tended to produce, and caused Mr. Rhodes to be regarded, not without some justification, as the man of the new era—the type and personification of Greater Britain."

And here again is a phrase of precaution probably interjected, that was not demanded, and that is as a frame of shadow around a shining picture.

CHAPTER IV.

Life at Home at Cape Town.

THE home of Cecil John Rhodes, at Cape Town, Groot-Schuur, is to be the official residence of the Premier that is to be of the Federation of South Africa, and other distinctions are conferred upon the old house. At Kimberley, for several years after he had become very rich, Rhodes shared a quiet bachelor establishment with Dr. Jameson. At Cape Town he lived chiefly in a flat, or "upper part," in Church Square, until he bought the old Dutch mansion at Groot-Schuur, and converted it into a comfortable residence. The house is pleasantly placed near the suburb of Rondebosch, in a beautiful country, surrounded by charming grounds stretching some way up the slopes of Table Mountain. Part of the old building, with its twisted chimneys and deep verandahs, was burnt down in 1896, but Mr. Rhodes had it rebuilt on the former model. The furniture is massive and extremely simple. Its furniture and appointments bear witness to its owner's indifference to personal luxury of any kind, and there is nothing in the adornments of Groot-Schuur, with its plain wooden panelling and dark hangings, to bespeak the millionaire. But it contains many interesting objects. Mr. Rhodes was a collector of what may be called *Africana*, and he liked to accumulate about him things illustrative of African life, in its various aspects. There is a whole armory of native war-weapons, notably spears and shields, and some fine heads of big game. There are also many specimens of old Dutch colonial pottery, household implements, native utensils, and the like, and much money has been spent in bringing together Rhodesian antiquities and relics of the early settlers in the land of Ophir.

"He took a real interest in books, never quite lost touch with the classics of his school days; but as he had forgotten most of his small

Latin and less Greek, he had a series of translations of the ancient authors specially executed for himself, type-written, and handsomely bound. He was fond of history, but with contemporary literature he was not much in touch, though he liked the novels of Kipling, Rider Haggard, and Anthony Hope.

"At Groot-Schuur the servants were nearly all natives, who regarded the 'baas' with profound affection and respect. Mr. Rhodes liked and understood the colored folks, and studied their tribal and local peculiarities. He is credited with saying that at one time or other among his retainers at Rondebosch, he had had men from nearly all the colored races in South Africa, including savages from the Equatorial Provinces, as well as the civilized Cape boys and Malays.

"He found his chief relaxation in travelling, and in talking, to an appreciative audience, of his plans and projects, and the future destinies of Africa. He could play billiards, and enjoyed card games, especially those which involved a strong gambling element. Of late years he had succumbed to the fascinations of bridge, which he played with much zeal. He could not be called a sportsman, and he never hunted, but he was devoted to the saddle. He was an indefatigable, though by no means a finished or graceful, horseman; and he was not happy unless he could spend some part of each day in a long ride with some intimate friend. At Groot-Schuur he would rise early and wander on horseback for hours through his grounds and over the slopes of Table Mountain; in London he was to be seen in the Row, before breakfast, at a time when few even of the most energetic riders had put in an appearance. No man was more careless of his dress or less conventional in his manners."

In many ways and places, and from many persons, come pleasing contributions to the public information of the genial traits that made up the personality of Rhodes, that was tender as it was strong, and added to his formidableness the charm of kindliness. It was his consciousness of strength that when in war he was unarmed, and when he lifted the sword, as they say, it was a riding whip.

The world is indebted to a woman's hand for the most pleasing picture that exists of the life of Mr. Rhodes. She was a near neighbor, who was for some time a member of his household, in the brilliant days at Groot-Schuur, and she has written a delightful sketch of him at home. She says—and there are others who tell the same story—that he was at his best at his own table, a very independent and fascinating talker. He had tact in not elevating the talk above the heads of guests, for his invitations included many people not educated in books, but who find their lessons in the face of the earth and the fruits thereof. "Every now and then, however, a half-finished sentence or sudden word would reveal the man as he was, and one realized how completely he was ruled by the great dominating idea of his life, and how, day by day and hour by hour, he dreamed his dream:

> 'by heath, and cliff, and pine,
> Of Empire to the northward, aye, one land
> From Lion's Head to Line.'"

The lady describes him as, on a Sunday evening, in a delightful mood, "half boy, half lion," talking of the curious things in his house, and allowing himself to be diverted to mining, stopping to take the ladies into the conversation, and he formed on the table-cloth "a rough map of the gold mines, explaining everything with vivid touches as he went along, until in a few minutes we had an absolute grip of the situation, and were in a position to understand perfectly the talk that followed. Then he as quickly pushed everything aside, and said, smiling down the long table, 'That's right. Excuse me Hammond, but now we shall all understand.'

"Perhaps it is a small thing to recall, but I remember feeling I had learnt two things from it. First, that although it was a subject somewhat outside his range of country, so to speak, Mr. Rhodes knew as much as, if not more than, any of the experts present of the Transvaal Goldfields, and then that it was evidently his wish that anyone who was interested in the subject should have a fair chance of understanding as much as he could teach them.

"After that the talk drifted on to stocks and shares, in which it was plain Mr. Rhodes was not then specially interested, for, after several times looking longingly out towards the garden, he turned to my sister and suggested that we should go outside. It was a grand moonlight night, and we only too gladly followed him, first on to the stoop and then to the garden beyond.

"Very delightful was the half hour which followed. I remember most the spell of the beauty of it all. Before us, the great mountain standing black against the moonlit sky; behind us the grand old Dutch house, with the light streaming out from the many windows on to the marble floor of the pillared verandah, and the faint sound of the voices and laughter of the guests inside. And the man himself, with the magnetic force of his strong personality and curious attractiveness."

"He talked of the mountain and moonlight. The mountain seemed to be a personal friend of his. And then of the moonlight; 'for—had we noticed?—moonlight in Africa was quite different from moonlight in England. There, even when a full moon, everything looked grey or black; here, even this (touching my sister's light evening dress) shows up blue perfectly clearly.'

"And then he began to tell us of a difficulty which was just then worrying him a great deal. On the slope of green sward which stretches away from the house there are many large forest trees. One of these—a fine old oak—obscured his view of the mountain. He took us to various parts of the garden to show us that this was the case; he also made us look at it from the stoop—we were even taken upstairs to see how it blocked the view from his bedroom window. That it ought to be cut down there was little doubt; but what did we think? For it was an oak, and as Mr. Rhodes reiterated, 'it is a big thing to cut down an oak.'

"We did not see him again for about ten days after this, and when we did meet it was at a political meeting. But his memory never failed him, and his first words, on catching sight of my sister, were 'Hullo! Well, I've done it. The oak's down!'

"It is very commonly believed that Mr. Rhodes was a 'woman-hater,' and there are many little stories, amusing enough in their way, which give color to the report. One of these, the truth of which I am able to vouch for, is quite delightful.

"'Oh, Mr. Rhodes,' cried an impulsive lady to whom he had shown some kindness, 'your garden is beautiful. How I should love to come and walk in it by moonlight!'

"'By all means, come,' replied her host cordially; 'come to-morrow evening,' adding, a little slyly, 'I leave for the North to-night.'

"But I do not think he ever resented anything that was straightforward and simple. A certain young lady—it is only fair to say she was a *very* young lady—asked him one day if he would tell her 'quite truly' why he had never married.

"'Certainly I will tell you,' he replied, without a moment's hesitation. 'It is this way: When I was a young man, and ought to have married—when I was in the mood, so to speak, to get married—I was so poor that I could not afford it, and now, since I have been richer—well, upon my honor, I have not had time to think about it.'

"Muizenberg, the little village on the sea-coast where he died, he had always loved. And it is good to remember that, although the little cottage in which he breathed his last was bare and comfortless—hardly more, in fact, than a slight wooden shanty, close to the road, and near to all the noise of the railway line, yet from his bed he must have been able to lie and look out on a scene of unrivalled beauty, to watch the sun rise over the pale grey tops of the distant Blaawberg mountains, and to note 'the crimson shell burn grey' over the ocean at sunset."

Another friend of Rhodes says: "Not only was he charming at the head of his table with his friends, but outside of the house, on the stoep or verandah, with the mountain full in view, he was equally delighted under another order of impression. He never tired of the landscape, never ceased to be inspired by it as constantly viewed through the marble columns which supported the verandah roof or through the large bay window of his bedroom. Immediately in front were a series

of terraces richly flowered, and in the springtime blazing with color; beyond these a sweep of rough green sward, dotted with clumps of fir and silver trees, and still higher tiers of solid rock cut into bold ravines which crowned the mountain slopes. It is not too much to say that Mr. Rhodes was literally possessed with this glorious outlook. He grew impatient if a visitor turned his chair where he could not see it. On one occasion, when he was laying the foundation stone of a new Presbyterian Church, he carried his enthusiasm so far as to tell his audience that he found his church on the slopes of the mountain.

"Much as Mr. Rhodes enjoyed converse with friends, he was never happier than in an evening by himself with his books. He had a choice classical and general library, and read strong books in preference to fiction. After the discovery of the ruins of Zimbabye, he interested himself greatly in African antiquities from Egypt downwards, and without professing to be a student of human thought on the problems of life and destiny, he was fond of books on such themes. He was a great admirer of Marcus Aurelius, and often carried a small and much-prized edition in his pocket. Holding it up to the writer one day soon after the fire at Groot-Schuur, he said 'I was delighted to find this safe.' He had marked a passage amongst others in the book on the enduring character of true work compared with the transitoriness of human life.

"Of Mr. Rhodes' personal generosity a volume might be written. Perhaps it was less exercised during the last two or three years of his life when he was more absorbed in his great northern enterprises, and seemed almost to grudge expenditure that did not go that way. But he was always a munificent giver, especially in a quiet way, to those in need. It is within the writer's knowledge that he gave away several thousand pounds to the pioneers who had pitched their tents in Mashonaland when the native rising stopped their work.

"One very striking illustration of many excellent characteristics of the man is afforded in the fact that after the fall of Lobengula he had three of his sons taken to Cape Town and educated at his expense."

The British were more tolerant of an unconventional giant than usual. They did overlook in a degree, in a Colossus of Rhodes, some things that if he had been built on smaller models, would have prevented the developments of the proportions he reached.

As he was a millionaire bachelor, Cecil John Rhodes could not escape the charge of being a woman-hater, but clearly he was not that. The woman-hater is, as a rule, the man whose fondness for women is uncommon, and womanhood is invariably avenged by the decline and fall of the great man. Since the death of Mr. Rhodes, the famous Paris correspondent of the *London Times,* M. de Blowitz, emerged from a retirement he, as a successful man, could afford to write a romance with Rhodes as a hero, and the Countess, who was too romantic for prose; and the outcome was that Rhodes faced her in court, and won the case. The charge against the Countess was forgery. The romance by Blowitz dwells chiefly with the ancestry and picturesque life of the lady, but the romancer may be forgiven for an indiscretion in his topic, when there is quoted a passage remarkable for the glow of its beauty and the thrill of its reserve. The story is called the "Living Enigma," and the translator makes good, saying:

"I summarize and transcribe, retaining as far as may be the glowing phraseology of the French original.

"Shortly after these lines shall have appeared," writes M. de Blowitz, "the body of Cecil Rhodes—the Colossus of Rhodes—will lie buried in the heart of the land of Rhodesia on the hill of Matoppo, which he wished to make the Walhalla of the future South African Federation. . . . Something besides fame, immense fortune, and an imperial legacy rivalling that of Cæsar's have been left to humanity by Cecil Rhodes, for at the threshold of his tomb stands a living enigma, personified by a woman of exalted birth. This woman assumed a place beside Cecil Rhodes during the later years of his life, and has now sunk into the lowest depths of judicial abyss.

"The scales in which the law courts will soon weigh the action of this woman will also serve to weigh the reputation of Cecil Rhodes, for

if this woman comes forth innocent from the ordeal of the South African tribunal, the scourge raised or lowered for or against her must strike and tarnish the renown of her dead accuser. It is for this reason, before the clamor now resounding about the conqueror becomes silent, that I wish to make known the salient features of the life, the hopes and deceptions of Princess Catherine Radziwill, whose name clashes in such bitter irony with the bleating trumpets that proclaim the fame of Cecil Rhodes."

At any rate, the woman did not enslave the Colossus, and spoil his career by interposing to prevent the execution of his grand designs. He was an Empire builder, leaving permanent work, and providing that great fabrics shall arise at the waving of a magician's wand, that lifted, summons to elevation his fame and fortune.

CHAPTER V.

The Fame of Rhodes Will Abide.

THE fame of Cecil John Rhodes does not rest upon his reputation as a successful man in great and delicate affairs, so much as the fact his will testified that he cared more for man than money. It is not the cost of the structure so much, as the significance of the architecture his will provides, that interests mankind; and gives the name of Rhodesia additional lustre. In the world's atmosphere there is kindliness for the man of millions, who knew that the safeguard of liberty is education, and there is a pulse of affection for him in the blood of the people.

He names his own university for international honors, larger resources, broader facilities. The excellence of it is that a man, not of letters but of prodigies in business, has outlined an advance and elevation in scholastic university education, and provided that the greater work of his life should be announced after his death. There was a clouded sky for the British Empire when he was called to rest. Assaults upon him have been multiplied, and the unfavorable view was that after all his successes, his disappointment must be in proportion to his distinction.

There are those who teach that gold and diamonds are without public usefulness, and that while it is commendable and had glory in it to grow more grain and grass, more fruit and shade trees, and to dig more wells of pure water, and brighten the brooks that lace the landscapes with silver, making the rivulets that have run dry broaden and flow on forever while men come and go, it is not a good office, according to paper money political economy, for men to increase the metal held to be most precious, and the stones that are most radiant and

enduring. It must be conceded, however, that the diamond has a sparkle that is beautiful, and not only decorates that which is lovely, but enhances the splendor of beauty; while gold is the money that is least liable to change in the hands of labor, and lose exchangeable worth, and has the admirable adaptation, if it is so abundant as to inflate, the reduction of the value of itself as compared with other articles favors man rather than merchandise, and labor is guarded before capital gains.

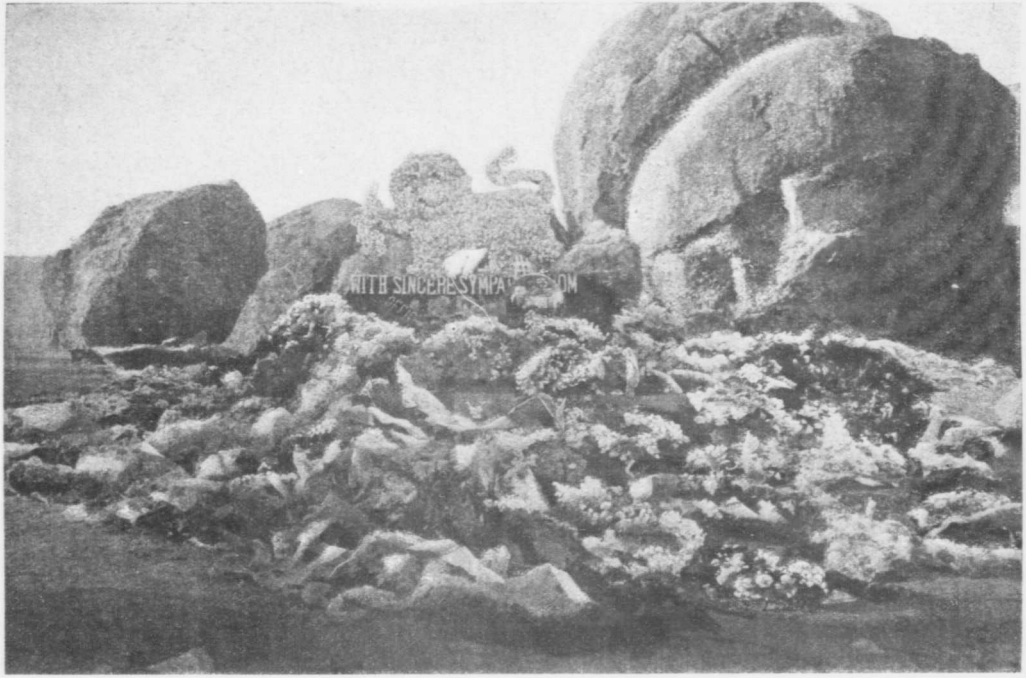
Rhodes was not so dazzled by shining stones as to obscure the vision of his intelligence, or so panoplied in gold plate as to forget that thrift must go hand in hand with creative worth. The policy of the Boers was one of exclusiveness. They moved north that they might find a country resembling themselves, but the human rights of those they found in their promised land were not considered. Citizenship was denied to people of higher civilization, and representation regarded as not necessarily associated with taxation.

The Boers were disturbed by railroads, and gold and diamond mining was not classed as an occupation to be rated with raising herds of cattle. Mr. Rhodes had a sense of mastery growing out of his successes, and his plans of life contemplated the conquests of civilization in South Africa, and mineral worth would aid in works of improvement, of transportation, to an extent beyond dreaming of, until the manufacture of steel made easy structures, in the building of roads and ships, fences and bridges, making the nations of the earth neighbors. Rhodes proposed nothing less gigantic than introducing Africa to the society of the other continents, and to the islands of the sea. The Cape to Cairo railroad seemed at first but a misty exhalation of a strained fancy, but it became something real as steel and steam and gold could make it. There was a spirit of adventure in Mr. Rhodes that his millions did not burden. The ability to do was to him an inspiration.

In the course of events, the United States emerged from colonial conditions as States, and were united a nation. It is a world power, broad based on the continent that has resources for prosperities exceed-

Photo, L. Pedrotti, Bulawayo.

FUNERAL OF THE LATE CECIL J. RHODES.



From the Graphic.

GRAVE DECORATED WITH WREATHS.

ing any other, and holding shores and archipelagoes of the Pacific, promising still greater interests in the greater ocean, around which the hosts of the hereafter shall assemble by the gravitation of greatness. The parting of England and her colonies that became our first States, was helpful to both. There is no mourning now in either country about the measure of freedom the other enjoys.

He joined the mathematics of a man who dealt with the solids, with an imagination that stimulated him to select a mountain for his tomb, a monument not raised by hands, beside which the pyramids at the other end of Africa are as a pile of loose bricks crumbling slowly with the centuries.

The one thing needful for Rhodes was that South Africa should not be under the everlasting domination of a pastoral people like the Boers. In a word, as an Englishman, he wanted the British element to control the continent south of the equator, rather than the grand old Dutch, whose conservatism in the contemplation of the new and the near in the future, was stolid and slow. The African air was to Rhodes the breath of life, and with great Europe north, vast Asia east and north, the Americas gigantic and making up for waking thousands of years for discovery, and to see the Hollanders study the Old Testament instead of the New threatened wasted centuries!

It has been uttered as an axiom that riches lack courage, that money heaped in millions is cowardly, but the wealth of Rhodes never blurred the brightness or dulled the edge of the steel of his manhood. He certainly anticipated the victory of the English-speaking people in South Africa. He had a feeling akin to knowledge that the British Empire must fight for itself in Africa, and hold the Transvaal and the Orange State, Cape Colony, Rhodesia, and the rest, as Egypt, Soudan, Cyprus and Malta are held, if not otherwise. Little England was to him degradation. However, the idea that countries to be free must be small, has been as pestilent as persistent, of small parties of English-speaking people.

Chinese Gordon was one of the most attached friends of Rhodes,

GRAVE DECORATED WITH WREATHS.

From the Graphic

and when the trial came to test the latter, he hastened to Kimberley, as Gordon to Khartoum. Rhodes came out in triumph. Gordon's death was a glorious and costly sacrifice.

It seemed uncommonly hard Rhodes should have to die with the weary war between the old and the new going on; that he should not see Kitchener's treaty, and measure in meditation the magnitude of it; but he could make out with his foresight the peaks of events. The British have had great losses in South Africa, but their army has been battered into better shape than ever, and is more fit for service than when hostilities were opened. Her colonies have done more for the Empire in the course of the war than could have been done in generations of the forbearing patience of peace. The sudden and serene glory that shines on the memory of Rhodes, is not so much due the endowment he made to add a new educational potentiality for the co-operation of the English-speaking people, as to the massive ruggedness of the literary form in the definition he gave his broad purposes, that reveals his masterful and generous personality, his far-flashing intuitions, and the majestic ideals of his statesmanship, not all of which is confined to one tongue, or devoted to one country.

CHAPTER VI.

Death and Burial of Rhodes.

WHEN weakened by illness, Rhodes was no more in African administration, but had drawn the plans for centuries. If he could have seized Johannesburg, and the British people had hastened to his aid, he could have beaten Kruger in a personal war, and Steyn might have had the wisdom not to throw his State into the fire. The war might have been almost a personal matter between Kruger and Rhodes.

There is no mistaking the force of character, intellectuality, and the vigor of physical resources as revealed in his face, but there is a haunting suggestion appearing in his features and figure as many times pictured, that all this did not mean a long life. The three score and ten with labor and sorrow beyond by reason of strength, was not written of him in the record of progress that can tell only the truth. There are signs of a lurking weakness, deeply concealed, perhaps, of a strain that if intensified a little might impair a vital thread. The forces he possessed were fitted to overcome by present effort, not to wear out opposition by the patience that abides and the adherence that endures. The frailty found its way before his forty-ninth birthday. The shifting between summer zones and lofty climes that were kindly, could not save. The wear and tear of high-strung strength fretted the heart-strings until they were ready to break. There was no shock—just a failure to bear more.

There was a lack of absolutely firm health, just as his stalwart body had a flaw that signalled him with pain when his heart was wrought, that flickered sometimes on the surface of his mind; not that his genius was akin to madness, but that he gave too much

credence to the imagination, for it was his way to survey many landscapes, for thoroughfares, and to pick up problems as pebbles; and why not, for had not his diamonds been found in the rough? He had in the voyages of his life made many discoveries of islands far at sea, but he was not assured always that the mist he beheld afar was not a new continent. Once the children about Kimberley played with pretty stones, that when cut were diamonds, and the balances were disturbed in a land where a clod might contain a fortune.

Rhodes was too intelligent about heart disease to be unaware of the progress the trouble made, and that there was no chance that he had much time. He had known from childhood that, strong as he was, there was a tendency to heart failure. At times he became moody, but kept himself too busy to give way to despondency. At sea, as the sun was setting, half buried, he stopped in a sentence about a railroad matter and with a sad, fixed gaze, said: "What a pity we cannot live on forever, and see the end of things."

Since his death, one of those who have been happy to be hostile to his memory, writes of his conduct toward his partners in business affairs. The transactions referred to show on the face that they were essential to the security of his estate that he has so worthily bestowed, and meant to make sure of the adequacy of his property to meet the demands of his death according to the obligations of his will.

It was known that Mr. Rhodes was far from well when last in England, but he was very active on his return to Cape Town. He had a cottage at Muizenberg, between the Groôt-Schuur residence and Cape Town. It is a seaside place, and Rhodes travelled on his motor car, preferring the cottage to the town because it was cooler. Muizenberg is described as "on the shores of the ocean, which stretches southward to the Antarctic pole."

The cottage was ill-fitted to be a sick chamber. It was small, and only divided from the railroad by a narrow roadway. The accommodation it afforded was scanty, simply a seaside cabin, but it was altered considerably for ventilation. Here he died, just before six o'clock

Wednesday evening, March 26th, three weeks after he had been out attending to business. The action of the heart being insufficient, dropsy set in, and in three weeks reached his lungs. A correspondent, writing at his bedside, said:

"Ever since Mr. Rhodes took to his bed three weeks ago, Dr. Stevenson had slept by him nightly, the patient's condition necessitating during the hotter weather the frequent administration of oxygen, which practically kept him alive. Special trains were, moreover, kept constantly in readiness between Cape Town and Muizenburg for purposes of conveying messages. For days the patient had been growing gradually weaker and weaker, and an occasional rally really deceived no one. Since Sunday week he had practically ceased to take interest in anything, and he stopped discussing matters which had always keenly interested him. He mostly dozed the hours away, while the continually increasing dropsy working upwards indicated that the end was approaching."

As the heart loses strength from valvular disease, the swelling appears in the feet, and the end is suffocation. The story of the illness is that Mr. Rhodes had serious warnings of heart-trouble when on a journey in Rhodesia in 1897. He then had a sharp attack, which prevented him from attending the inauguration of the direct railway line to Buluwayo. From time to time subsequently, the disease caused trouble, and the inroads which it was making upon him were painfully apparent to his friends who met him at Southampton in the summer of 1901. After consulting an eminent specialist, he proceeded to Scotland, where he remained until October. He then went to Italy, and made a brief stay at Salsomaggiori, a resort on the slopes of the Appenines. Here he indulged in motor car runs, and had a severe attack of his old trouble, but quickly recovering, continued his journey to Egypt. He resolved to visit Khartoum, but, prostrated by the heat, turned back to Wady Halfa, and returned to England. He arrived at Cape Town February 3rd. It was his intention to go back to England in two months, and opened his house, Groot-Schuur, where he had a severe attack, but recovered to give evidence in the Radziwill case.

The hot weather oppressed him, and he resorted to the cottage where he died. The day before his death he was very weak, but cherished a pathetic longing that he would be able to see the Old Country again and die there. He clung tenaciously to the belief he would do that. His brother Elmhirst had joined, when the end drew nigh, the little group of watchers—Dr. Jameson, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Mr. Smartt, Mr. Walton, the member of Port Elizabeth, Mr. Stevens, the Secretary of the Chartered Company, and Mr. Grimmer, his private secretary. No others had for days been permitted to enter the sick man's room. The death was peaceful. Mr. Rhodes retained consciousness almost to the last. He was trying to speak to his brother when he became insensible. His latest clear utterance was, "So much to do—so little done."

The news of the death of Mr. Rhodes, a Cape Town correspondent, who is corroborated, says: "Nowhere is more sympathy expressed than among the Dutch. A prominent Afrikander, a keen political opponent of the deceased statesman, said to me to-day, 'From the heart of an Afrikander, I am deeply sorry. No man could have brought about the reconciliation of the races like Mr. Rhodes.'"

Wherever there was civilization in South Africa, there was lamentation for Rhodes, and the Dutch were zealous in expression of respect and sympathy. The feeling in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and wherever the British are sovereign, was the same. There are volumes of tributes published, and the deep regard of the Dutch is a remarkable feature. This was telegraphed from Rhodes's funeral train:

"At Paarl, Lady Grey, and Wellington, all the population, mostly Dutch, turned out, the crowds bringing wreaths and other tributes of esteem and affection, showing their sympathy by offering innumerable wreaths and devices, which covered the coffin and bier, and completely filled the special car. Many of the wreaths came from Dutch families."

In Kimberley twenty thousand people passed the car. Through Cape Colony, a despatch said, "the Dutch tributes have been affecting, and the expressions of sorrow remarkable."

"BULUWAYO, April 5th.

"The *Induno Faku* has sent the following touching message to the Government and Miss Rhodes:

"'I am an old man on the brink of the grave. I was content to die, knowing that my children and my people would be safe in the hands of Mr. Rhodes, who was at once my father and my mother. That hope is taken from me, and I feel that the sun has indeed set for me. I am now given over to hopeless grief.'"

Buluwayo, thirteen hundred miles from Cape Town, "was, until the year 1893, the royal kraal of King Lobengula. It is now a thriving town, reminiscent at each step of the man to whom it owes existence. Rhodes Street is the principal thoroughfare. Government House, with a tree-lined avenue, two miles long, was the property of the Colossus."

All along the road the people of all races gathered. The natives knew the man they called "the great white man," was dead, and going to his kingdom, Rhodesia, to rest. While the train was traversing Bechuanaland, Mr. Rhodes' own country, at one point six veteran pioneers, including Colonel Vyvian, personally placed a wreath on the coffin of their old chief.

The greater demonstration between Cape Town and Buluwayo, was at Kimberley, Saturday, April 5th. A special says:

"A most deeply-affecting spectacle was that of two thousand children of the employees of the De Beers mines filing past the mortuary chapel, as the funeral train stood in Kimberley Station.

"At six o'clock this morning the wives, sweethearts, and children paid their last respects, accompanied by the men, the latter lifting the little ones to see the flag-clad coffin. The townspeople followed to the number of many thousands."

A dozen years ago, Buluwayo was a royal kraal of a warlike savage, and the scene of strange speaking, as the *Telegraph* says, when the commanding presence of a single unarmed white man awed into submission thousands of a warrior race. There he gave peace, and there all that is mortal of Cecil Rhodes will find peace.

It was on April 10th that the body of Cecil Rhodes was committed to its tomb. It was deeply cut in the solid rock. The wreath the Queen of England sent was laid on the coffin. The procession was five miles long.

"The coffin was borne on the carriage of 'Long Cecil,' the gun which served during the siege of Kimberley. A Union Jack, the flag of the British South Africa Company, and a banner of the Loyal Women's Guild, inscribed, 'Farewell, Great Heart,' covered the coffin, which was drawn by eight horses.

There was a very large crowd in the neighborhood of the Cathedral, which was thronged in every part. Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson sat in the front pew.

The body was received in the porch by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Dean, the Chapter, and the churchwardens. The opening sentences of the Burial Service were read, the bells tolling.

"The chief mourner was Colonel Frank Rhodes, who walked alone, with bared head. He was followed by Major Elmhirst Rhodes, D.S.O., and Mr. Arthur Rhodes, with the representatives of Lord Milner and of Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, the Governor of the Colony. Then came the Judges, the Attorney-General, representatives of New Zealand, Tasmania, the University, the churches, public bodies, the military authorities, the President of the Legislative Council, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, members of Parliament, the mayors of Rhodesia, the Pioneers, and the staffs of De Beers and the British South Africa Companies. Conspicuous in the procession were Mr. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, Mr. Molteno, and a number of the Bond members."

A dispatch from the spot says: "The ceremony lasted two hours and a half. It will remain indelibly impressed on the memory as a remarkable manifestation of public grief, unparalleled in South Africa.

"Twelve oxen hauled the coffin to the almost inaccessible summit of the kopje, where the Chiefs Shembli, Faku, and Umgula, and two thousand natives had assembled to witness the Christian interment rites,

which they afterwards supplemented in their own fashion by the sacrifice of fifteen oxen to the shade of the great dead chief.

"Thousands of white persons congregated around the wind-swept hill. The grave was encircled by six boulders. The interment was extremely impressive. The 'Dead March' echoed through the hills and the natives stood like statues. Tears were in the eyes of many of the onlookers. The Bishop of Mashonaland conducted the interment services."

When the coffin was lowered, "Old Hundred" and "Now the Laborer's Task is O'er" were sung.

"The scene around Mr. Rhodes' farm the night preceding his interment was most extraordinary. The whole population of Buluwayo seemed to be moving there to camp, and, as the darkness closed down, the campfires sparkled in all directions. The people, in every sort of vehicle and on foot, arrived at the camp throughout the entire night. Some natives tramped one hundred miles to be present. The men wore big slouch hats and shirts with short sleeves. After the Bishop of Mashonaland had read the poem written for the occasion by Rudyard Kipling, Sekombo, the great Induna and orator of the Matabele, made a speech in which he said: "Both Cecil Rhodes and Umsiligazi, the founder of the Matabele nation, are buried on the Matoppo hills, and the Matabele now consider the spirit of Umsiligazi is with that of Cecil Rhodes."

It is one of the happenings that seem to belong to the closing scenes of a life that has drawn lines on the maps of the world, that the windows of the cottage beside the Southern Ocean, in which Rhodes died, looked upon the ocean that rolled, unfretted by an island, to the Antarctic pole, and that his tomb is on a mountain-top, the "outlook" the master most enjoyed, for it was a country he saved for the English-speaking people, and called a "World View." Mr. Evelyn Cecil, member of the House of Commons, visited the mountain in company with Rhodes, and writes of it that it is in height eight thousand feet, with a tropical situation, its climate altogether unusual and pleasant, and

suitable for agricultural experiment. There is plenty of rainfall or Scotch mists and perennial springs, and the heat of the sun is tempered by a delightful freshness of the air. The country is always well watered, in spite of the curious remains of ancient irrigation works, terraces, and watercourses.

Westacre, the Matoppo farm of Rhodes, is eighteen miles from Balamayo. The buildings on the farm were a collection of nine separate round thatched huts with mud walls, each a room. Ninety ostriches were a part of the live-stock, and Rhodes built a reservoir that cost twenty-five thousand pounds, to regulate the water supply. The famous mountain, "World's View," is twelve miles further than the farm into the recesses of the Matoppos. The road from the farm lies along a valley which gradually becomes more and more shut in by gigantic rocks. A spring of pure water under shady trees at the foot of the "World's View" had made the spot a favorite halting-place. The way up is through bush and long grass, with wide open spaces of flat granite rock, with smooth, slippery surface. The steep places are homes of antelopes, and the ascent to the "World's View" through the flowering shrubs.

Mr. Cecil says: "We saw two small antelopes (stem-bok) as we ascended through flowery shrubs—one shrub, as we afterwards learnt, quite unknown at Kew or elsewhere. The best panorama is from the top of one of the huge boulders, which are grouped on the rounded granite summit, and as far as could be seen in every direction stretched hills of these great boulders, with rocks in queer fantastic shapes, covered with orange, yellow, and green lichens; absolutely wild, no hut or human being to be discovered for miles. The solitude and silence of the place were indeed majestic. A thunderstorm broke before the day was over; the vivid South African lightning and crashing thunder are fitting attributes."

This lonesome and exalted place is the first and last resting-place of Mr. Rhodes.

The tribute paid Rhodes at Cape Town was the more striking from

the fact that the town, throughout the Boer and British differences, including the war, had been largely stocked with enemies of the Empire, open and secret, impertinent and insidious, who insisted up to the day of the Boer surrender, which they vehemently insisted in saying never would come; that nothing was left for Rhodes but to abandon ambition and depart in humiliation. They sneered at his confidence in Boer submission, and especially swore to the certainty of the eternal malice of the Boers. The same sentiments would have been displayed by like people toward the insurgents in the Indian mutiny, and they would have favored the abandonment of India. They would crumple up and tear up and scatter the fragments of the Empire now. But the people of Cape Town ceased long ago to be overcome with horror about the Jameson raid, and they were in evidence as friends of the living and the dead concerned in the raid.

The Emperor William said: "The millionaire's will shows a wide reach of mind and a vision of the future." The bequests of Rhodes were held in Berlin to be an enduring impulse to the friendliness of the United States, Germany, and England. The remark of the Emperor after seeing Rhodes in 1889, "Why have not I such a minister?" was widely reproduced when Rhodes' will was read. The influence that Rhodes had upon the German Emperor, to promote zealously colonization, may be traced, and it was, to that presumptively, that the German scholarships owe their origin, for that was no plain part of the English-speaking purpose.

It was the specialty of the pro-Boers of the British Empire, when Rhodes died, to insist that the Boer war was destined not to be successful; and, therefore, the Colossus would be discredited, and the provisions of the will become amusing of the frailties of a fallen man. Only the frantic opponents of the British Empire held this view, but they were many and demonstrative.

All over South Africa, the men of business and affairs knew by the markets that the war was practically over, and the Boer surrender proves that Rhodes was right, and the cloud that was suspended to throw

a shadow over the magnificent public spirit and generosity of the millionaire, has passed away.

Application has been made of passages in Browning's poem, "A Grammarian's Funeral," to the burial of Rhodes on Matoppo Mountain. The grammarian's grave in the poem was on a mountain top, and the beginning of it was quite appropriate beside the actual funeral the other day:

"Let us begin and carry up this corpse
Singing together.
Leave we the common crofts, the vulgar thorpse,
Each in its tether
Sleeping safe in the bosom of the plain,
Cared for till cock-crow;
Look out if yonder be not day again
Rimming the rock-row!

. . . . . .

"Thither our path lies; wind we up the heights:
Wait ye the warning?
Our low life was the level's and the night's;
He's for the morning.
Step to a tune, square chests, erect each head,
'Ware the beholders!
This is our master, famous, calm, and dead,
Borne on our shoulders."

Then, after a description of the life and aims and resolute pertinacity of the dead man, even to his last moments, and an "all-hail" to the birds on the "top peak," the poem ends—

"Here—here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form
Lightnings are loosened,
Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm.
Peace let the dew send!
Lofty designs must close in like effects:
Loftily lying,
Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
Living and dying."

"'So much to do,' brave heart, 'so little done?'
What son of England left a work more grand?
Did that fierce trader-boy who, sword in hand,
Captured the siren-mistress of the sun
Whom only in dreams great Alexander won?
While India, right from Comorin's belt of sand
To where the guardian Kashmir-mountains stand
Acclaims our Clive, your work is but begun."

The memorial service in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, was extraordinary in its representative character, and as testimony of an intense and widespread public interest and feeling. Half an hour before the appointed time a large crowd at the west door faced an unfamiliar placard, "Church full." The Lady Mayoress placed her pew at the disposal of Rhodes' family, of whom were present: Captain and Mrs. Ernest Rhodes and two children, Captain Bernard Rhodes, Miss Louisa Rhodes, Miss Edith Rhodes, Mrs. Rhodes, Mr. and Mrs. William Rhodes. The King was represented by General Godfrey Clerk, C.B., the Queen by Lord de Grey, and the Prince of Wales by Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Sir W. Carington, C.B.; Mr. J. H. Choate, United States Ambassador, and Baron H. von Eckhardstein, Councillor and First Secretary of the German Embassy, represented foreign powers; and the High Commissioner for Canada, and the Agents-General for New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, West Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, the Cape of Good Hope, and Natal, were present.

CHAPTER VII.

The Memorable Will.

THERE is safety in saying the will of Cecil John Rhodes will be long remembered. It is celebrated wherever the light of education and the full force of it is but half revealed. It is like a star, we see but one side.

The estate of Rhodes was near six million pounds, and the disposition of one-half that sum is declared. The rest is reserved. Striking as the will is in splendid gifts, and masterly detail of direction, that which is unseen is more impressive because held in shadow. While the hemisphere of the estate in penumbra is not mapped, we may be sure it is not inharmonious with that which we see and study. As far as the will goes, the hope and expectancy of Mr. Rhodes is to aggrandize by university education, on the representative and residential plan, the fortunes of the English-speaking people. There is no other race holders of so much land and so many opportunities as the speakers of English. They are the expanders of the Empires, republican or monarchial. The race overflows and goes on growing; colonies, according to their multiplication and replenishment, become States, powers, and dominions. Rhodes sought substantial results, and prepared the way. The trustees' instructions are not published in full. He was minute and imperious in general directions and essential principles, going into explicit details, and at last leaves everything not specifically disposed to the trustees. There are gifts of millions not defined.

The end is not the bestowal upon a few friends, for the indulgence of their will and pleasure, the millions not employed according to a plan rounded out. There is not applied the approximate half of the estate not drawn against. The unknown work fixed for the future we may be sure is educational, and that the edifice is to be symmetrical

as a whole, in character and style. Of the two hundred scholarships founded, one-half are for the young men of the United States.

The logic of the life of the Colossus, and the straightforward outlook of his character, is that the design not manifest relates to Africa, south and east, the supremacy of English people, no longer in doubt, and that the "Cape to Cairo" ambition is yet to be a monument greater than mountains, or even the redemption of the Dark Continent by the irresistible impulse of a genius for organization and the employment of the marvels of modern inventions. The United States has one hundred scholarships. Perhaps Africa will take all not appropriated.

One million pounds sterling not required to carry out the bequests is covered by deferred shares in the De Beers consolidated mines. Mr. Rhodes intimated that this was intended to go to a provision made after death. The estate is valued at from four to five million pounds, and the will's demands are that only two million pounds shall be set aside.

The colonial scholarships are outnumbered by the American, nearly two to one. The probability is that disproportion is to be rectified.

The will is wonderfully clear and positive—so much so that no difficulty has occurred in the interpretation of all the items; and each of the bequests is perfectly defined and concluded. There are two trust funds in South Africa. (1) The Matoppos and Buluwayo fund, of the annual value of our thousand pounds, to keep his grave in order, and erect or complete a monument to the victims of the first Matabele war; to convert the hill where his tomb is into a State cemetery, for persons who have deserved well of their country after, and not before, the Federation of the States of South Africa; for the maintenance of a park at Buluwayo, and for the construction of a short railway line to Westacre, so as to make the Matoppos a kind of "Saturday to Monday" resort. This, as far as foresight can go, is all the provision wanted for the cemetery. (2) The Inyanga Fund, of the annual value of two thousand pounds. This fund has special reference to irrigation, and to the foundation of an agricultural college.

The first words of the will are: "I am a natural born British subject, and I now declare that I have adopted and acquired, and hereby adopt and acquire and intend to retain, Rhodesia as my domicile."

"I admire the grandeur and loneliness of the Matoppos in Rhodesia, and, therefore, I desire to be buried in the Matoppos, on the hill which I used to visit, and which I called the 'View of the World,' in a square to be cut in the rock on the top of the hill, covered with a plain brass plate with these words thereon: 'Here lie the remains of Cecil John Rhodes,' and accordingly I direct my executors, at the expense of my estate, to take all the steps and do all the things necessary or proper to give effect to this my desire, and afterwards to keep my grave in order at the expense of the Matoppos and Buluwayo Fund hereinafter mentioned.

"I direct my trustees on the hill aforesaid to erect or complete the monument to the men who fell in the first Matabele war at Shangani, in Rhodesia, the bas-reliefs for which are being made by Mr. John Tweed, and I desire the said hill to be preserved as a burial-place, but no person is to be buried there, unless the Governor for the time being of Rhodesia, until the various States of South Africa, or any of them, shall have been federated, and after such federation the Federal Government, by a vote of two-thirds of its governing body, says that he or she has deserved well of his or her country."

The trust funds cover the expense not immediately provided for positively and for time, and thus the Domicile is guarded, decorated, made a place of honor, and the water supply provided for utility and beauty.

The next fund is for the disposal of properties not included in the cemetery, and is in these terms:

"I give, free of all duty whatsoever, my landed property near Buluwayo, in Matabeland, Rhodesia, and my landed property at or near Inyanga, near Salisbury, in Mashonaland, Rhodesia, to my trustees hereinbefore named, on trust that my trustees shall, in such manner as

in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit, cultivate the same respectively for the instruction of the people of Rhodesia.

"I give, free of all duty whatsoever, to my trustees hereinbefore named, such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and in their uncontrolled decision consider ample by its investments to yield income amounting to the sum of £4,000 sterling per annum, and not less, and I direct my trustees to invest the same sum, and the said sum and the investments for the time being representing it, I hereinafter refer to as 'The Matoppos and Buluwayo Fund.' And I direct that my trustees shall forever apply in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit, the income of the Matoppos and Buluwayo Fund in preserving, protecting, maintaining, ordering, and beautifying the said burial-place and hill and their surroundings, and shall forever apply in such manner as in their uncontrolled discretion they shall think fit, the balance of the income of the Matoppos and Buluwayo Fund, and also any rents and profits of my said landed properties near Buluwayo in the cultivation as aforesaid of such property.

"And in particular I direct my trustees that a portion of my Sauerdale property, a part of my said landed property near Buluwayo, be planted with every possible tree, and be made, and preserved, and maintained as a park for the people of Buluwayo, and that they complete the dam at my Westacre property if it is not completed at my death, and make a short railway line from Buluwayo to Westacre, so that the people of Buluwayo may enjoy the glory of the Matoppos from Saturday to Monday. I give, free of all duty whatsoever, to my trustees hereinbefore named, such a sum of money as they shall carefully ascertain and, in their uncontrolled discretion, consider ample and sufficient by its investments to yield income amounting to the sum of £2,000 sterling per annum and not less, and I direct my trustees to invest the same sum, and the said sum and the investments for the time being representing it I hereinafter refer to as 'The Inyanga Fund.' And I direct that my trustees shall forever apply in such manner as in their absolute discretion they shall think fit the income of the Inyanga Fund,

and any rents and profits of my said landed property at or near Inyanga in the cultivation of such property, and in particular I direct that with regard to such property irrigation should be the first object of my trustees. For the guidance of my trustees I wish to record that in the cultivation of my said landed properties I include such things as experimental farming, forestry, market and other gardening, and fruit farming, irrigation, and the teaching of any of those things, and establishing and maintaining an agricultural college."

There could not be language more absolute and everlasting than this. There is nothing undone, nothing in doubt, so far as Rhodesia is concerned.

Next in the will comes the gifts to Oxford College, one hundred thousand pounds, "free of all duty, to my old College, Oriel College," and he minutely provides and restricts how the money shall go, and after directing a fund "shall be held as a fund by the income whereof the income of such of the resident fellows of the College as work for the honor and dignity of the College shall be increased, the dignity and comfort of the high table may be maintained, by which means the dignity and comfort of the resident Fellows may be increased."

All bequests satisfied, there is a "repair fund"; and "finally, as the college authorities live secluded from the world, and so are like children as to commercial matters, I would advise them to consult my trustees as to the investment of these various funds."

The will begins in Rhodesia and goes to Oxford, clearing all things up as to the African Empire and the English University. Next comes the care of the Rhodes brothers, and "The Dalham Hall Estate is by codicil strictly settled on Colonel Francis Rhodes and his heirs, male, with remainder to Captain Ernest Frederick Rhodes, and his heirs, male."

A codicil is added, in which he says he feels "it is the essence of a proper life that every man should, during some substantial period thereof, have some definite occupation, and I object to an expectant heir developing into what I call a 'loafer;' and whereas the rental of the

Dalham Hall is not more than sufficient for the maintenance of the estate, and my experience is that one of the things making for the strength of England is the ownership of country estates which could maintain the dignity and comfort of the head of the family, but that this position has been absolutely ruined by the practice of creating charges upon the estates either for younger children or for the payment of debts, whereby the estates become insufficient to maintain the head of the family with dignity and comfort; and whereas I humbly believe that one of the secrets of England's strength has been the existence of a class termed 'the country landlords,' who devote their efforts to the maintenance of those on their own property; and whereas this is my own experience."

Military service is demanded of those who hold the estate, under penalty of dispossession.

The body of Rhodes and the care of the cemetery and the parks and agricultural farm and water supplies, the College of Oriel, the University at Oxford, and the Rhodes family, being considered and given all the attention ever to be given, the will gives the Cape Town residence, "De Groot-Schuur."

"I give the property following, that is to say, my residence known as 'De Groot-Schuur,' situated near Mowbray, in the Cape division in the said Colony, together with all furniture, plate, and other articles contained therein at the time of my death, and all other land belonging to me situated under Table Mountain, including my property known as 'Mosterts.'"

All this goes to the trustees. The house goes to the Prime Minister, and "The said residence and its gardens and grounds shall be retained for the residence of the Prime Minister for the time being of the said Federal Government of the States of South Africa to which I have referred in clause 6 hereof, my intention being to provide a suitable official residence for the First Minister in that Government befitting the dignity of his position, and until there shall be such a Federal Government may be used as a park for the people."

The management of the property is carefully ordered and fund

provided; and then appears the scholarship scene, and there is nothing else upon earth for the estate to find money for, or to care for. The trustees have, therefore, in sight free from the extension of scholarships—unless the unexpected happens—an immense sum, and under the conditions of the country the estate will greatly increase. There are private dispositions not published, possibly of considerable amounts, but it is not probable there are millions to go that way. And the crowning of the edifice will be the scholarships for colonies to be, or an African University, with scholarships for it, to be filled by English-speaking students.

COLONIAL SCHOLARSHIPS.

"I direct my trustees to establish certain scholarships, and these scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as 'the colonial scholarships.'

"The appropriation of the colonial scholarships and the numbers to be annually filled up shall be in accordance with the following table:

Total No. Appropriated.	To be tenable by Students of or from	No. of Scholarships to be filled up each year.
9	Rhodesia	3 and no more.
3	The South African College School in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope	1 and no more.
3	The Stellenbosch College School in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	The Diocesan College School of Rondesbosch in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	St. Andrews' College School, Grahamstown	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Natal in the same Colony	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of New South Wales	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Victoria	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of South Australia	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Queensland	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Western Australia	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of Tasmania	1 and no more.
3	The Colony of New Zealand	1 and no more.
3	The Province of Ontario in the Dominion of Canada	1 and no more.
3	The Province of Quebec in the Dominion of Canada	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Island of Newfoundland and its dependencies	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Islands of the Bermudas	1 and no more.
3	The Colony or Island of Jamaica	1 and no more.

AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIPS.

"I further direct my trustees to establish additional scholarships sufficient in number for the appropriation in the next following clause hereof directed, and those scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as 'the American scholarships.'

"I appropriate two of the American scholarships to each of the present States and territories of the United States of North America; provided that if any of the said territories shall in my lifetime be admitted as a State the scholarships appropriated to such territory shall be appropriated to such State, and that my trustees may, in their uncontrolled discretion, withhold for such time as they shall think fit the appropriation of scholarships to any territory.

"I direct that of the two scholarships appropriated to a State or territory, not more than one shall be filled up in any year, so that at no time shall more than two scholarships be held for the same State or territory.

"My desire being that the students who shall be elected to the scholarship shall not be merely bookworms, I direct that in the election of a student to a scholarship regard shall be had to (1) Literary and scholastic attainments; (2) his fondness of and success in manly outdoor sports, such as cricket, football, and the like; (3) his qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for the protection of the weak, kindliness, unselfishness, and fellowship; and (4) his exhibition during school days of moral force of character and of instinct to lead and to take an interest in his schoolmates; for those latter attributes will be likely in after life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim."

THE IDEAL STUDENT.

"As mere suggestions for the guidance of those who will have the choice of the students for the scholarships, I record that (1) my ideal qualified student would combine these four qualifications in the proportions of three-tenths for the first, two-tenths for the second, three-tenths

for the third, and two-tenths for the last qualification; so that, according to my ideas, if the maximum number of marks for any scholarship were two hundred, they would be apportioned as follows: Sixty to each of the first and third qualifications, and forty to each of the second and fourth qualifications; (2) the marks for the several qualifications would be awarded independently as follows: That is to say, the marks for the first qualification by examination, for the second and third qualifications respectively by ballot by the fellow-students of the candidates, and for the fourth qualification by the head master of the candidate's school; and (3) the results of the awards (that is to say, the marks obtained by each candidate for each qualification), would be sent as soon as possible for consideration to the trustees, or to some person or persons appointed to receive the same, and the person or persons so appointed would ascertain by averaging the marks in blocks of twenty marks each of all the candidates, the best ideal qualified students.

"No student shall be qualified or disqualified for election to a scholarship on account of his race or religious opinions.

"Except in the cases of the four schools hereinbefore mentioned, the election to scholarships shall be by the trustees after such (if any) consultation as they shall think fit with the Minister having control of education in such colony, province, state, or territory.

"A qualified student who has been elected as aforesaid shall, within six calendar months after his election, or as soon thereafter as he can be admitted into residence, or within such extended time as my trustees shall allow, commence residence as an undergraduate at some college in the Oxford University.

"The scholarships shall be payable to him from time to time when he shall commence such residence.

"I desire that the scholars holding the scholarships shall be distributed amongst the colleges of the Oxford University, and not resort in undue numbers to one or more colleges only. Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained, my trustees may, in their uncontrolled discretion, suspend for such time as they shall think fit, or remove any scholar

from his scholarship. In order that scholars past and present may have opportunities of meeting and discussing their experiences and prospects, I desire that my trustees shall annually give a dinner to the past and present scholars able and willing to attend, at which I hope my trustees or some of them, will be able to be present, and to which they will, I hope, from time to time invite as guests persons who have shown sympathy with the views expressed by me in this my will."

The education of Rhodes was irregular. He did not take a formal course, and was graduated, perhaps, through favor, in part because he persevered in going to Oxford through impediments that would have driven away without his degree the ordinary student; and possibly for the reason his teachers understood he was likely to go far on any road he preferred to travel. There was a distinction in a student going to South Africa to escape English winters, and returning like the waterfowl that fly from "zone to zone," as Bryant sings. There is a passage in the greater of his works—his will—that may be accounted for by his sense of disappointment because he was not, in his judgment, and according to the standards of the University, one of the graduates of high scholastic attainments. He must have felt silently and deeply all his active life that he was not, as he would wish to be, an educated man. There were deficiencies of which he was conscious, that stung him all the keener because he had climbed the steep on which fame's proud temple shines. When it came into mind, and it was a grand, broad, lofty thought to ponder and give the immensity of his endowment, to recognize Race rather than Empire, and it was his way of saying to all the races and nations that blood was thicker, and warmer, and more fruitful than water, and literature, scholarship and science, greater than politics; and the university rather than the lesser and the lower school that should be everlasting and take hold on the universal. He did not give his millions of pounds to the modern technical and scientific education, but to the method that has the august stamp of ancient favor. Here was the man of money who did not think that the education for the hereafter must be a receipt for money.

He placed himself on this level when he preferred to take his rest, not in London—not in the venerated Westminster Abbey, or the crypt of St. Paul's Cathdral, where the feet of those he wrought for and fought for should echo round him for evermore.

The Britons and Boers, in their association in the great African country, had minor conflicts that, instead of settling questions at issue, created opposing policy and engendered animosity. The Majuba slaughter, followed by a peace, in which there was a British uncertainty of touch, and anxiety for a treaty that seemed submissive, followed by the tragic Jameson farce, made a decisive war sometime the logic of the conditions and necessary to establish a basis of pacification. There was no avoidance of the issue which race in Southern Africa should rule. The dispute dated back to the days of discovery, and of the supremacy of England rather than Holland on the sea. Holland disappeared as a great power. The natives were omitted in the reckoning of political forces. They were tribes, not people, like the population of the Philippines. They were capable of government only in gangs. The British Empire came to the point of requirement of elementary purpose. The question was, should the Empire crumble or consolidate? The fork of the road was reached when Pretoria ruled with an iron hand, and a scoop-shovel for the collection of taxes at Johannesburg.

The Afrikander movement had to be for the primacy and prerogative of the Boers or British, or the formation of many countries, as in Europe. That question has been fought out. The British and Boers have become acquainted with each other, and there is mutual respect. It is just like the English-speaking people to make friends in this way. There is one pronounced antagonism in obstinacy. The Irish are English-speaking people, and Rhodes' cheque for ten thousand pounds for home rule in Ireland was a broad experiment, that has not succeeded. It was with him tentative statesmanship, but the Irish have, as well as the English, spread over the world, and form a considerable element; and the point is not yielded that the greater island of the Empire is predominant over the Empire.

There is one experiment that seems to be, in a way, not a promising precedent for the commingling of nations in Oxford University. It is the representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. It seems, however, that if Ireland is to be changed, it will be because the colonies of the British Empire, becoming more a part of it, may set Ireland adrift, and remove the Irish channel save as a road. Rhodes, the dreamer, probably thought of this when he gave ten thousand pounds to try what he considered an experiment of pacification among English-speaking people. Neither he nor Gladstone—the golden tip or the silver tongue—could remove the proposition that there is a racial nationality of Ireland, but the wars of the press do not so far conduce to assimilation.

Rhodes' policy of residential scholarships does not appear to be applicable in the University of Parliament, but it has not been tried in the form of compensating members to the extent of current expenses; but if the colonies reach representation in the Imperial House, the distances are so great that mileage would be acceptable. It is pleasant, however, that the Irish are an English-speaking people, appreciate, in a degree, their recognition in that capacity of Rhodes.

The pervading and profound public interest and feeling regarding the will of Mr. Rhodes was soon attested, not only by enthusiasm that took the form of eulogy and praise of extravagance, but by fault-finding as well. There are many persons in all parts of the world where there is public opinion, seeking to impress others that they have interpreted the imposing word imperialism accurately; and the most difficult of the interpreters are those who find the progress of mankind and the glories of this world in these days too much for them. It is discovered, as Mr. Rhodes' work was on a large scale and his individuality influential, that he was an imperialist. The object of the gift of two hundred scholarships was to promote unity in the English-speaking people, that they might become the dominating race in the world. The Germans are included in the benefaction, as a race whose enlightenment makes them friendly, and whose growth in population, wealth and power the world

around, naturally demands of the greater countries governments capable encouraging colonization.

In commerce and home industries the Germans especially rival England. Germany, the British Empire and the United States, find each other improving upon acquaintance. The common interests will define the formal adjustments of association. England allied with Japan, and America in possession of more Pacific Ocean coast and archipelagoes than any other nation, should be the most determining influence upon destiny in all the continents. England has already immense and invaluable territory in North America, and an equally great country in Africa, Southern Asia, and Australia. She will no more make war aggressively, but fight without end for what she has.

The sense of freedom the Boers enjoyed when they abandoned the Cape country, and set forth equipped with far-reaching whips, many-chained and yoked oxen, and heavy wheels, was something almost unique in human experience. They knew about as little where they were going as Columbus did of his destination when he sailed from Spain for the Indies. The world was all before them—the Old Testament their guide-book. They did not know how gigantic and savage the gloomy continent was that seemed to hang by a thread of sand to Asia. Transportation was cheap. The cattle found food and water by the way, and so also did those that drove, and acquired an appetite for wild meat that never left them. The Boer was fearless and had plenty of time. His wagon was his house on wheels. It was a fortress also. The supply of guns and Bibles was large, and the Old Testament regarded as a geographical revelation. The journey, the queer, formidable dreamers dreamed, was to the lands of which the Bible told. The destination of the trip was the promised lands of the Hebrew children, and the precedent followed was the pilgrimage to Canaan. They had cattle on a thousand hills. The movement was like a glacial drift, though it was toward the equator. The rivers were all Jordans. There was luxurious expectancy of lands that yielded milk and honey. The Boers were not escaping from servitude. They felt they were the

righteous expressly entitled to command service, and call with authority upon the Almighty for help, and they clung to the grand old faith. They were not concerned about the spiritual needs of the natives, and one of the problems that puzzled them was whether the blacks had souls, and was it worth while to invite or compel them to attend prayer-meetings.

There was a greater question behind the Boer and British war, than the veracity of any public man, or the policy of the rulers of Great Britain, or the Boer caste that were masters of the Orange and Transvaal States. The decision belonged to the sword to decide, whether the Government of England would be for a generation in the hands of those for a greater or a smaller empire. There has been a difference in the public opinion of Great Britain, so far, at least, as represented in Parliament, whether the correct policy is to disperse or consolidate; whether England should be warlike according to the old style, or should put up her sword and take a whipping as a compliment.

The great land question was whether South Africa was to be under Dutch or British influence. The British were the more liberal and progressive of the two, and looked to larger liberties and greater advances. They wanted to give Africa the share of steel roads coming to her, and all the rest of the modern improvements. The British were for working the gold and diamond mines to the utmost, and prospect for other mines, invite immigration, employ capital, improve the huge land. The sacrifice of British blood and gold was enormous. The crisis in the affairs of the Empire was sharper and deeper than that of the Indian Mutiny. The war has been far greater than was expected, and more influential than anticipated. The pluck and endurance, the cold courage and keen marksmanship of the Boers were remarkable and will be memorable. England and her associate kingdom and colonies and Asiatic Empire are stronger after their losses in Africa than when the war opened. The Boers and British have taught each other the art of war. The Boers have given all the armed nations lessons that will prove revolutionary. On the defensive and the offensive the Boers are

the example to be followed, and there is not an arm in the service that has not been, or is to be, improved. There will be less parade and more performance, after the armies are reorganized, reinstated and constructed according to the lessons taken, overruling the precept and example of accomplished experts. The resistance of the Boers to the masses of the British is a surprise. Military power has been shifted from vast, complex machinery and the responsibility of rank, toward the individual soldier, and the army—all armies—will be more distinctly of and by and for the people than they ever have been.

More than this, British and Boers, taking after the precedent of the North and South in the big war of the States, have made each other's acquaintance in opposing ranks, and under fire had teachings of mutual respect and confidence. There are many evidences that a liking is growing up between the British and the Boers. No man ever received a higher compliment than General Kitchener, when the Boers cheered him while they surrendered. The Boers will be better off in government for the change. They have been taught to respect the British. The British admire the Boers, and will treat them excellently well.

The British Empire has good reason to accept with acknowledgements congratulations on the result of the war, and the promptly-declared policy of giving the Boers fair play, treating them handsomely, is practically good sense. The keynote of the Boer leaders, who have fought so hard and long, and with such address and courage, is in the advice given by General DeWet, to show how good a British subject a Boer warrior could be. The Boers will have the fat of the land and gold in their pockets; and will learn to be comfortable when Kruger's fort in Johannesburg is obliterated, and people who speak English may be represented by their own blood and tongue in all the parliaments of South Africa.

It was the fighters on both sides in the American North and South war who first cordially affiliated. The Boers were well treated in prisons, and the prisoners will be the best witnesses as to treatment in

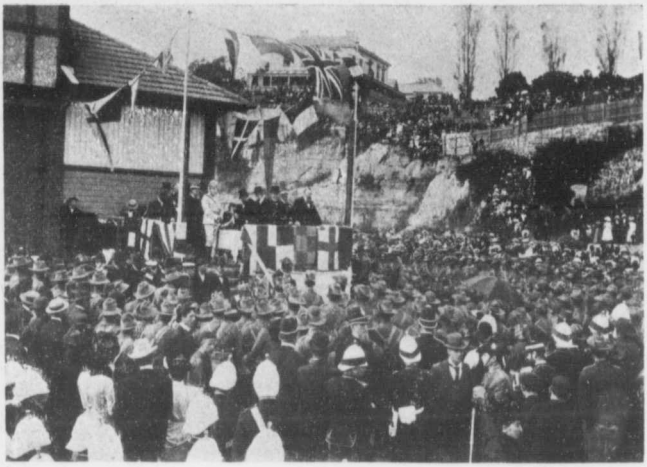
the camps of restraint, and all schools for good will. Besides, it is good to have travelled far and got home.

The marks of modern progress that Mr. Rhodes placed upon South Africa will abide. The victory of England confirms his fortune, and if the splendor of his fame was dimmed when he died, the clouds have passed, and the light falls clear on the mountain where he reposes. The land on which he traced the outlines of material grandeur, will prosper as the harvests ripen, and it is not too much to say the ways and means are found for the redemption of the Dark Continent, the last to join in the pageantry whose footsteps mark the triumphal music of the universal forward march of mankind.

THE END.

Departure of 1st Contingent. Passing Town Hall, Melbourne, Victoria.

Arrival of Returned Soldiers. Corner of Swanston and Collins Sts., Melbourne, Victoria.
By Permission, "The Melbourne Age."



Sir Wm. Lyne addressing N.S.W. Bushmen on their departure for the Front.

N.S.W. Bushmen Leaving for South Africa.

APPENDIX.

Australians Ever Ready—Volunteering by Thousands.

BY J. BAXLER, SYDNEY, N.S.W.

IN this short article I intend to place before my readers an account of the spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm and unwavering loyalty of the Australians to the cause of the Empire. The earnestness with which this great people applied themselves to the task of raising and despatching the various contingents that have sailed from these shores, is truly grand and admirable. It has been my pleasure to visit the various colonies, and to look upon and admire the brave men who so readily and nobly came to the front, in the time of the Empire's need. Wherever I have seen them, the same spirit has been manifest, settling down to drills and, in many instances, unique experiences exceptionally well. I have heard more than one drill instructor say, "Well done."

Now that the end of this sad war has come, we feel more than ever proud of these brave fellows, who have fought so nobly and endured so much. Australia will never forget her braves, nor yet the motherland, in whose interests they offered themselves so freely.

I am refraining from reporting many speeches of our great men on the departure of the various contingents, because if I attempted it, I could fill a volume far larger than the complete book of which this chapter forms a part; neither can I dwell upon the merits of our officers, or the contingents despatched by the various colonies. I would look upon the various colonial contingents as one grand army, and the valor and loyalty of one colony, the same as that of the rest. All have done their best and nobly so. Governors, governments and

people have come to the fore, as one great mighty nation, whose mission is to extend the beneficent rule of the English speaking peoples.

I remember well some of our critics severely criticising the offers made by Australians, but now have become converted; an army approaching 10,000 has assured them that here is the right kind of men. The nations must look on, and reckon with this factor in future struggles with the Empire. The page of British history will prove exceedingly interesting from this on, containing accounts of colonial bravery on the field, and her noble contribution towards the building up, and cementing together, a great nation and a company of nations.

It will give to the colonies a stronger voice in Imperial affairs. In the accounts of the departure of the various contingents, I intend to be as brief as possible, and to reserve some portion for the mention of the appreciation of our men by those in a position to judge.

On the 11th day of October, 1899, the Australian Lancers were accorded a tremendous ovation on their departure from London for the seat of war. The English newspapers spoke highly of them, and the massed bands of the Grenadier Guards led them on, amid the cheering of the crowds who lined London streets.

On the 29th day of October, the departure of the New South Wales contingent and Army Medical Corps was a magnificent and imposing spectacle, witnessed by thousands of people; the enthusiasm was intense, and the line of route extending through Oxford Street, Bourke Street, William Street, Park Street and Circular Quay was lined with an enthusiastic populace, who cheered them vociferously. Every balcony, window, and available space was occupied by those anxious to get a farewell glimpse of, and to cheer the brave men, who were leaving for the battlefield.

Inspiriting addresses were delivered; the men more than ever determined to show the people of Australia, who loved every man in the contingent, the stuff they were made of, and to make the Boer feel the impetus of the energy of Australian soldiers.

The departure of the second and main body of the New South

Wales contingent a week later, is spoken of in the local press as a tremendous send-off, eclipsing that of the previous Saturday, the men making a gallant display, and when the steamship *Aberdeen* cast off her moorings there was a mighty demonstration at the quay.

As on the previous Saturday, the city was gaily decorated, the streets lined with eager faces, who, cheering lustily, followed up the rear, until the quay was reached. As the *Aberdeen* steamed slowly down the harbor, she was accompanied by every ferry-boat crowded to excess. The boats were responsible for the tremendous din they raised, which was to indicate the overcharged feelings of the citizens, and amid the blaze of bands, the shouts of thousands of people, the waving of hats, the tears of relatives and loved ones and the good wishes of everybody the contingent had gone.

On the 15th of November, the Newcastle people were favored as the port of departure of another detachment of troops. Newcastle was selected. Sydney so far had been the centre of operations, and Newcastle rose to the occasion, and gave to the men a very hearty send-off. In the course of an address to the men, the mayor said all hoped they would have an opportunity of winning the laurels they deserved, and he was satisfied that each member of the contingent would prove a credit to the Empire for which he was about to fight. Until the steamship *Langton Grange* had passed out of sight, the people vented their feelings in the popular songs of the day and hearty cheering.

The departure of the steamship *Warrigal* with the members of "A" Battery was not accompanied by any public demonstration, but nevertheless they were accorded quite as genuine a send-off as the previous contingents by the great numbers who gathered on the quay to witness their embarkation. It was thought advisable to defer a public demonstration until the departure of another and larger body of men. They sailed away after very spirited addresses by ministers and others. They are described as the best in the service, and a model of what will be in the future the Commonwealth Artillery.

The fourth contingent of Lancers for service in South Africa left Sydney by the steamship *Australasian*, on February 17th. The contingent left Victoria Barracks at 8.15 a. m., mounted in service marching order, preceded by the Royal Artillery, a band and a body of mounted troopers. They were loudly cheered by their comrades and members of other regiments, and in Oxford Street they received quite an ovation.

They were addressed by the Premier, who, after complimenting them, said the Lancers at the front had shown that they were capable of upholding the honor of their regiment, and he felt sure the present detachment would not be behind their comrades in that respect. As the time for departure drew near, the crowd increased; the brow of the hill outside the wharf was crowded with spectators. Shortly after 3 o'clock the warning bell rang, and amidst frantic waving of handkerchiefs, affectionate good-byes and hearty cheering they sailed.

The Bushmen's contingent sailed in the *Atlantian* and *Maplemore*, two fine steamers, on Feb. 28th, 1900. It was the occasion of another monster demonstration, excelling if possible all its predecessors; it seemed as if the whole of Australia was *en fete*, and had turned out to give her noble sons a fitting send-off, a hearty "God bless you," and a wish for their safe and speedy return. It was indeed a spectacle beyond description. The line of route lay along the principal streets of Sydney, and as this great body of men came streaming down, *en route* for South Africa, the excitement was unparalleled; it looked as if the city had gone mad with joy. Right along the line men and women grasped hold of hands of the bushmen, for a last shake, and the faces of all became a perfect picture.

Mothers, fathers, friends with tear-stricken faces, giving their sons a longing look and a heart-spoken "Good-bye, be careful," joined in the heartiest send-off I ever had the pleasure of witnessing. The shouting and cheering was deafening. The complete order of procession was as follows:—

Half Squadron Lancers.
Royal Navy, by permission of His Excellency the Admiral.
Official Carriages.
G. O.L. and Staff.
Band of the Lancers.
"A" Squadron, "D" Squadron, Detachment of "B" Squadron.
Bushmen's Contingent to embark on the Steamship *Atlantian.*
Police Band.
Detachments "B" Squadron, "C" Squadron.
Bushmen's Contingent to embark on the Steamship *Maplemore.*
Band of the R. A. A.
Third Contingent.
Half Squadron Lancers.

Four government steamers accompanied the huge transports, as they steamed slowly down the harbor, amid tremendous cheering.

One of the most notable streamers stretching across Pitt Street, from the Mutual Life Association of New York building, had the accompanying cheering message, "America Salutes the Brave Bushmen of Australia," while a little down the same street was another, with the ever-welcome words, "Good Luck." So ended the day, which had been a tremendous ovation.

The men were addressed by the Governor, the Premier, Major General French, Hon. Ed. Barton, Hon. John Lee, Minister for Defence, Hon. Mr. O'Sullivan, Minister for Works, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wright.

The departure of the Imperial Bushmen's contingent, on April 23rd, was emphasized by an amount of enthusiasm worthy of the occasion, yet it hardly reached the height which swept over the city on the 28th of February. They were a fine body of men, who were just as determined as those who had gone before to defend Imperial interests. The city was gaily decorated, and its streets crowded with appreciative people.

In the course of an address by the Governor, he made note of the

fact, and pointed out to them that they, the Imperial Bushmen's contingent, formed the first body of troops leaving under Imperial pay. He assured them that the sympathy not only of New South Wales, but of the whole Empire would be with them, and he wished them good luck, and a safe return.

Colonel Mackay, the popular leader of the contingent, together with his 750 men were cheered again and again by the thousands of spectators, as they approached the vessel that was to carry them to South Africa. The British warships lying in the harbor made quite a display, as did also the numerous steamers of the many companies trading to this port, and thus the shipping contributed nobly to the great national event. The spectators on the shore were multitudinous, and when, at near 6 o'clock, everything was in readiness, and the last whistle had sounded, there was great activity.

A crowd of small steamers accompanied the steamer *Armenian* to her anchorage, amid tremendous cheering and the music of several bands. It is estimated that over 300,000 persons witnessed their departure. As a token of German sympathy in the present struggle, the German steamer *Gera* was gaily decorated, and in the evening burned red fire as the *Armenian* put to sea with the noble Bushies.

On the battlefield these sons of the Empire, "Australia's best," have proved themselves equal to the demands made upon them; they have fought nobly, and at the time of writing two of these braves have been recommended for the Victoria Cross. Rudyard Kipling in a letter to J. B. Wellings, Esq., dated Cape Town, April, 1900, says:—"I had the pleasure of seeing some of your Sydney boys at work near Bloemfontein the other day, and they did it well."

Field Marshal Lord Roberts in a cable to the War Office published in London, May 7, stated that the Canadians, New South Wales, the New Zealand, and the Queensland Mounted Infantry vied with each other in their determination to close with the enemy during the fighting on the banks of the Vet River. The troops captured a Maxim gun and 25 Boers.

When the cable reached this part of the world that more men and horses would be accepted by the Imperial authorities for service in South Africa, great numbers of men from every part of Australia and New Zealand gladly offered. The local authorities were kept very busy and hard-worked dealing with volunteers that offered, the difficulty they had to contend with being the immense number of men anxious to go to the front. There is a certain advantage to be derived by such readiness on the part of the volunteers, for the greater the number offering the better the final selection. The Imperials were undoubtedly the finest body of men equipped and despatched to the scene of operations.

Possibly the first and subsequent contingents that left these shores hardly anticipated such keen and prolonged fighting as they have experienced, therefore volunteering is something more than a possible pleasure trip to South Africa, as many people believed the first contingents were sure to enjoy. Stern fighting is what these brave men expect, and they will not be happy till they get it. Again, many of Australia's brave sons have already fallen on the field, and possibly (though it is to be hoped all will return safely) some of these good men may never come back. One pleasant fact to note is the readiness with which returned troopers offered themselves again for active service. May God bless them and grant peace speedily and honorably. What an experience for Australia. One nation, one people, one destiny, one common defence. These grand men with experience in actual warfare will, in all probability, form a nucleus of a grand army system for the whole of Australia. The volunteer movement is certainly very popular, and with careful fostering and necessary support from the right quarter will greatly assist in establishing prosperity, commercial safety and defence of this vast continent. In addition, the time may not be far distant when there will be an *Actual Imperial Military and Naval System* for the defence of the Empire, in which Australians shall share.

"UNION IS STRENGTH."

Anglo-Saxons Must Unite.

The world's needs demand it. It is the augury of peace, and anything that will tend to produce a union of Great Britain and her colonies and her dependencies with people of a similar policy to that, we hold "The Open Door" should be welcomed as the harbinger of good times.

The departure of these Australian braves took place in two sections—one section leaving camp on March 15th, 1901. It was a miserable day, raining almost in torrents, in consequence their departure was shorn of much of the glory attending previous despatches. As it was they were cheered heartily by the groups of people at various points of vantage en route to the transports. One cannot do better than quote the local press, from which it will be readily seen how enthusiastic was the send off in spite of the inclement weather.

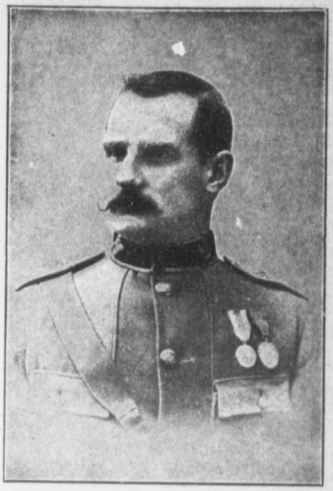
CONTINGENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Embarkation of the Troops—Depressing Weather.

Sydney Morning Herald, March 16th, 1901 :

A contingent numbering over a thousand men embarked yesterday afternoon for South Africa. There were neither the crowds nor enthusiasm that characterized the departure of the earlier contingents when it was a new thing for Australians to send soldiers to the Empire's battlefields, and in addition the steadily dripping rain had a depressing effect. Further, the route was not chosen with a view to spectacular display, and was not such as to invite a great expression of popular feeling. The route was the shortest and the most businesslike that could have been selected. Soldiers, especially those in the highest ranks, are averse to talking, and the absence of Ministers of the Crown and politicians from yesterday's proceedings enabled the military heads

COL. CRADDOCK,
Commander of Second South African Contingent.



COL. ROBIN,
Commander of First South African Contingent.

COL. OTTER,
Of Victorian Contingent.
Brother to Col. Otter, C.B., Canada.
(By permission "*The Melbourne Age.*")

COL. PRICE,
Commander Second Victorian Contingent.
(By permission "*The Melbourne Age.*")

FOUR COLONIAL COLONELS WITH LORD ROBERTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

NEW ZEALAND BOYS WHO DIED FOR QUEEN AND EMPIRE.

to carry out the embarkation with that method and quietness which are such a feature in England, where troops constantly come and go, and very little is heard of their movements. However, a considerable crowd gathered at various points, and the send-off to the departing soldiers was most hearty. The details of the contingent are as follows:—On board the *Custodian*: 25 officers, 520 men, and 518 horses, Colonel Lassetter in command. On board the *Maplemore*: 22 officers, 484 men, and 485 horses, Major Antill in command.

Muster at the Barracks.

The men were timed to parade on the square at the Victoria Barracks at 2 p. m. At the appointed hour it was raining hard, but, despite this fact, a large number of friends of the departing soldiers gathered under the verandahs of the barracks and awaited the contingent's arrival. The first to make their appearance from the camp were the D and B Squadrons of the 3rd Regiment of the Mounted Rifles, in command of Major Burnage and Captain Heron. In this detachment there were some 150 men, the balance of the regiment (amounting to about the same number) were engaged on the troopships embarking the horses. The appearance of the men was the signal for a rush by the civilians into the open space, each one eager to get what might prove to be the last grip of the hand of some near and dear relative or intimate friend. A few moments later from the camp at Randwick there arrived the A, B, C, D, and E Squadrons of the 2nd Regiment, about 700, in command of Colonel Lassetter. Simultaneously the troops, who were to form the escort, made their appearance. They comprised 50 men from each of the A, C, and E Companies of the 3rd Regiment of Mounted Rifles, a draft from A Battery of Royal A Artillery and a detachment of 20 Lancers. The Mounted Police were also in attendance. The escort was in charge of Major Cox. The departing soldiers were dismounted and wore their great coats. Almost on the stroke of 2 o'clock the parade was formed, and a few

preliminary movements were enacted. These having been completed, Major Boam, who was detailing the arrangements, notified that all was ready. Colonel Lassetter gave the bugler orders to sound the "Advance" at 10 minutes past 2. The artillery band, which was at the head of the parade, struck up "Auld Lang Syne," and with heavy rain falling, and amid the parting cheers of the assembled people, the procession moved off.

Scene En Route.

Never has a contingent from this State left for South Africa, so far as the march through the streets is concerned, in a less ostentatious manner than the detachment which yesterday afternoon embarked on board the troopships *Maplemore* and *Custodian*. This was due to circumstances already referred to, and the function was therefore shorn of the brilliance characterizing former embarkations of our soldiers. As the men made their appearance in the barracks the procession was constructed as follows:—

Mounted Police.
Detachment of Lancers.
R. A. A. Band.
Major Boam.
The Contingent, flanked by Mounted Rifle escort.
Mounted Rifles.
Battery of Artillery.

Along the route wherever a cover could be obtained a number of people had gathered, who cheered the men as they passed. From the balconies and windows of the houses on the line of march there was also much cheering. Much amusement was caused by the presence in the procession of a small goat led by one of the men. The animal was harnessed as a charger, and bore flags and decorations.

Arrival at Woolloomooloo.

By 2 o'clock a large crowd had gathered at Woolloomooloo, near Cowper Wharf, on the eastern side of the bay, where the two troopships were lying. Half an hour later it had largely increased. Barri-

cades had been erected, and admission to the wharf was by ticket only, the police controlling the traffic with judgment and effectiveness. On board the troopships the work was well forward, horses and provisions being on board before the arrival of the men. At a quarter to 3 o'clock the strains of the band and the sounds of cheering were heard, and in a few minutes the men appeared on the wharf. They were mustered in the large goods sheds on Cowper Wharf, numbered off, and marched on board in messes. The men walked up the long gangway single file, heavily cloaked, wet, and carrying their saddles and bridles and kits upon their shoulders. On reaching the deck they proceeded to their bunks, and for a little time there was an orderly bustle on board, although there was a marked absence of confusion. The work of mustering and drafting the men proceeded for about an hour, and before 4 o'clock all the men were aboard. On the Custodian were two pets, an emu and a paddymellon, and there was a large number of live stock on deck, consisting of sheep and cattle. Among those who were on board the vessels were Major-General French, Colonel Mackenzie, Colonel Taunton, Major Boam, and other military officials. Before the escort marched away the band played "Auld Lang Syne," the members of the contingent lining up along the sides of the vessels and cheering vociferously. There was nothing in the nature of a formal farewell, and as soon as the steamers were ready they left the wharf and took up moorings in the harbor. It is understood that Mr. See, the Colonial Secretary and Minister for Defence, will visit the transports to-day and bid farewell to the men.

The Lieutenant-Governor's Farewell.

Colonel Lassetter, the officer commanding the contingent, yesterday received the following letter from the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, Sir Frederick M. Darley:—

"State Government House, Sydney, March 14, 1901.

"My Dear Colonel Lassetter:

"I regret more than I can say that I am unable to say farewell

to you, your officers, and men on their embarkation for South Africa this day. I am detained in court, having to sum up in a heavy case which has been at hearing for many days. I had, however, the privilege of visiting your camp and of seeing a body of officers and men of whom New South Wales may well feel proud. She has sent away no better men, and my belief is that this contingent will not only maintain the honor of New South Wales, so well sustained by their predecessors, but will, if afforded an opportunity, win us further renown. They are worthy representatives of that magnificent race from which we spring, in addition to which the colonial training has made them as intelligent and adaptable soldiers as any in the world. May God bless and protect them and bring them safe back to our own dear country. If, however, the fortunes of war should prevent the return of some, these may rest assured that their memory will be appreciated, and their gallant conduct held forth as an incentive and example to future generations. New South Wales need never fear for her safety so long as she is in a position to place such men in the field. I trust that the two poor fellows (both fine men) I saw in hospital at the camp have sufficiently recovered to enable them to go with you. Believe me, very faithfully and sincerely yours,

"FREDERICK M. DARLEY."

GOOD CONDUCT OF THE MEN.

When spoken to after the embarkation, Colonel Lassetter said he was highly pleased with the good conduct and soldierly bearing of the men. Notwithstanding the fact that £14,000 was distributed on Wednesday among the men in pay, and also notwithstanding the wet weather and trying conditions, together with the strong temptation at the hour of parting, there was not one intoxicated man in the whole contingent.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE DAY.

With regard to the arrangements for visiting the troopships to-day the following arrangements will be strictly observed:—Intending

visitors for the *Custodian* will leave Man-of-War Steps from 7.30 a. m., in the *Thetis*, which will make various trips throughout the day. Only holders of red tickets will be allowed between 7.30 and 10 a.m., and holders of blue tickets between 11.30 a. m. and 2 p. m. Visitors for the *Maplemore*: Steamer will leave Watson's Bay Wharf, Circular Quay, foot of Phillip Street, from 7.30 up to 10, and various hours of the day.

The Contingent at the Camps

A dull, wet morning, giving promise of an unpleasant day for the embarkation of the troops, made matters very unpleasant yesterday at the camps at Randwick and also at the old Paddington Rifle Range. The ground was saturated, but being of a sandy nature there was an absence of the disability of mud. A steadily falling rain rendered the wearing of overcoats necessary, and as the atmosphere was very close this caused the men considerable discomfort. They had been so long in camp, however, that they had come to look forward with eagerness to the time of their departure for the seat of war, and miserable though the day appeared they welcomed it with gladness. The camps were early astir to put the last touches to the process of preparation. This had been well in hand, however, and there was comparatively little to be done in this direction. A soldier's kit, like a bushman's swag, is soon made up, and as the day was so unpropitious Lieutenant-Colonel Lassetter, in command of the 2nd Regiment Mounted Rifles at Randwick Camp, decided to dispense with the striking of tents, which were accordingly left standing. This decision added greatly to the comfort of the men, who were enabled to keep their kits under cover up to the time of leaving. A similar course was adopted at the Paddington Camp in the case of Squadrons B and D. The horses, with saddles and bridles on, were taken from the lines in time to reach the transports at 9 o'clock, details from the respective squadrons being told off to lead them down. The 2nd Regiment Mounted Rifles at Randwick broke camp early in the morning; and the 3rd Regiment Mounted Rifles left the camp at Paddington at about noon, and, together with

the drafts of the Royal Australian Artillery and the Army Medical Corps, proceeded to the Victoria Barracks, whence they were to march to the place of embarkation. The Royal Australian Artillery Band paraded with them. The weather detracted greatly from the effectiveness of the proceedings, the numbers of spectators to witness the march out from the camps being consequently restricted, but the troops were warmly cheered, and in the case of the two squadrons from the 3rd Regiment Mounted Rifles their comrades, who are to embark early in the coming week, gave them an enthusiastic send-off. The troops leaving by the transport *Custodian* comprise the staff of the 2nd Regiment Mounted Rifles, 25 officers, and 520 non-commissioned officers and men, with 518 horses; also the Army Medical Corps and chaplain. Lieutenant-Colonel Lassetter is in command. The troops who shipped on board the transport *Maplemore* are in command of Major Antill, and comprise the balance of the staff of the 2nd Regiment Mounted Rifles, and the staff of the 3rd Regiment Mounted Rifles, also the balance of the 2nd Regiment Mounted Rifles, the Machine Gun section, draft of the Royal Australian Artillery, B and D Squadrons of the 3rd Regiment Mounted Rifles, and the Army Medical Corps, with chaplain, the total number on this transport being 22 officers, 484 non-commissioned officers and men, with 485 horses.

The second section of the Imperial Contingent embarked on Thursday, the 21st day of March, 1901, under more favorable circumstances than their comrades the previous week. The weather in the early morning seemed anything but cheering and threatened to repeat last week's experience. Rain fell heavily, and by 9 o'clock the ground where these men were encamped was in a wretched state. At this hour a change took place, it became lighter, and the storm gradually cleared until at mid-day the weather had settled for fine. The men were very busy during the morning shipping their horses on board the transports *British Princess* and *Ranee*, which were lying at the Woolloomooloo Wharf. This batch of men completed the draft of 2,000 men and horses sent to the front since the outbreak of the war. The

men presented a fine spectacle as they marched down to the transports and certainly created an amount of enthusiasm worthy of the occasion. Though not so tumultuous as when the first contingents went away, the streets and wharves gave abundant signs of the feeling existing among the people who came along to cheer them as they wended their way *en route* for the front. In Bourke Street considerable enthusiasm was shown, the balconies on either side of the street were decorated with flags and mottoes, and as the men passed along the flags were torn down and thrown to the troops, who cheered and waved them aloft in return, while the onlookers covered the men with flowers until many of them appeared veritable flower gardens. The *Sydney Morning Herald* describes the farewell and transport arrangements as follows, under date of March 23rd, 1901:—

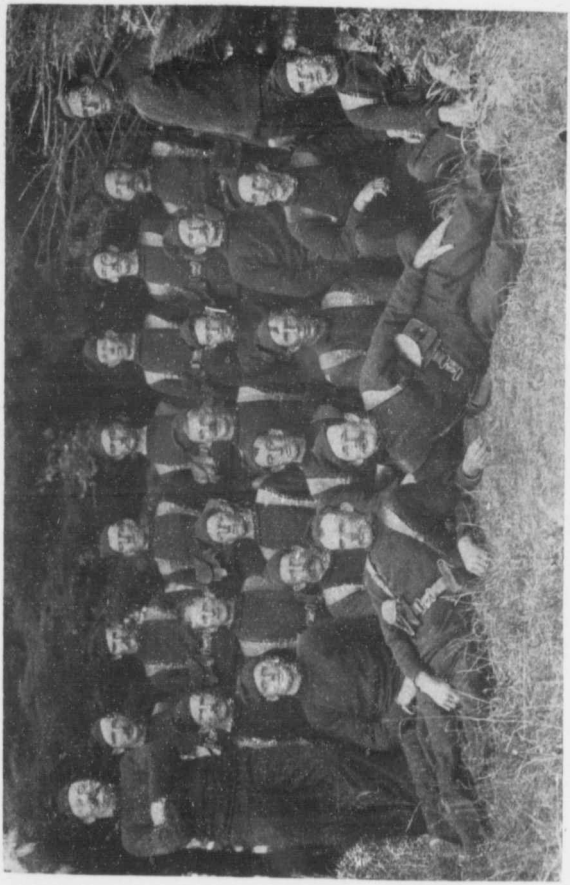
IMPERIAL DRAFT CONTINGENT.

Embarkation of Troops—An Enthusiastic Farewell.

Sydney Morning Herald, March 22nd, 1901:

The transport arrangements were under the control of Major J. H. Lee (Corps of Engineers), with Major G. L. Lee (General Staff), Captain J. H. R. King (Engineers' Staff), and Captain A. P. Luscombe (R. A. A.), as staff officers. Major G. L. Lee superintended the shipment of horses on the *British Princess,* and Captain A. P. Luscombe supervised similar operations on the transport *Ranee.* When time came for breaking camp at the Paddington Old Rifle Range the operation was watched with interest by large numbers of spectators, and as the men marched out they were heartily cheered, their comrades, who are to leave in the beginning of next week, giving them an enthusiastic send-off. The men who were to embark, with the exception of advance parties, paraded at the Victoria Barracks at 1.45 p. m., and formed up for the order of march along Oxford Street, down Bourke Street, to the Woolloomooloo Wharves, where the two

transports—the *British Princess* and the *Ranee*—lay. They were preceded by a force of mounted police and escorted by a detachment of Lancers, the band of the Royal Australian Artillery leading the way. At the wharves a force from the Royal Australian Artillery was drawn up as a guard of honor. The men stepped off from the Victoria Barracks at 2.15 p. m. to the strains of "Auld Lang Syne," and as they emerged from the barrack gates ringing cheers from a crowd that had assembled there greeted them. The rest of their progress was marked by great enthusiasm. Thousands of people had collected on the sidewalks to watch the pageant, and these warmly greeted the departing soldiers as they passed. The ranks were broken by friends marching with the men, while farewells were waved from the balconies and windows all along the line of route, and there were frequent outbursts of cheering. The enthusiasm, although not so striking as on the occasion of the departure of the first contingent, reminded one of that occasion. But so many men have left these shores for the seat of war since then that the public have in a measure become accustomed to such a spectacle. On the march from Victoria Barracks the force was under command of Major Boam, D. A. A. G., S. O. Imperial Draft Contingent; the 3rd Regiment Mounted Rifles was led by Major Cox, the Draft of the Imperial Bushmen's Contingent by Lieutenant Southey, and the Draft of the Citizens' Bushmen's Contingent by Lieutenant Breckenridge. On the troopships the Headquarters' Staff was represented by Colonel Mackenzie, A. A. G., and Colonel Taunton, A. Q. M. G. Major-General French, the General Officer Commanding, was not able to attend, owing to the meeting of commandants. The troops were rapidly embarked, and about 3.30 p. m. the *British Princess* moved from the wharf into the stream amid farewells and deafening cheers from throngs of people on the wharves, the men, who lined the vessel's bulwarks and climbed into the ratlines, responding as heartily. Shortly afterwards the *Ranee* also hauled out amid a similarly exciting demonstration. The scene was witnessed by crowds of people from the western side of the bay. It was some considerable time after the



GROUP OF MANAWATU BOYS. 4th CONTINGENT, NEW ZEALAND.

The tall soldier on the left is Saxon, who died at Biera. Next man is Baker, severely wounded. The man on the left of front row is Taylor, the Champion Rough Rider.

LADY'S CONTINGENT, WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND.

departure of the transports before the crowds left the wharves, the people remaining to wave their adieux until the vessels had got well out into the stream. The transports will remain at anchor until this afternoon, when it is expected that they will proceed to sea. The details that embarked yesterday were as follows :—Per *British Princess*: Staff 3rd Mounted Rifle Regiment, 4 officers, 17 N.C.O.'s and men, and 18 horses; three squadrons 3rd Mounted Rifle Regiment, 12 officers, 375 N.C.O.'s and men, and 375 horses; Army Medical Corps, 1 officer, 5 N.C.O.'s and men; chaplain, 1; spare horses 3rd Mounted Rifle Regiment, 17; Lieutenant Robinson, I.B.C., returning to his command, 1; total, 19 officers, 397 N.C.O.'s and men, and 410 horses. Per *Ranee*: Commanding officer, 1; Machine Gun Section 3rd Mounted Rifle Regiment, 2 officers, 32 N.C.O.'s and men, 12 horses; C. B. Contingent Draft, 5 officers, 138 N.C.O.'s and men, 148 horses; I. B. Contingent Draft, 4 officers, 59 N.C.O.'s and men, 67 horses; additional officers temporarily attached to drafts on board, 3; Army Medical Corps, 1 officer, 4 men; veterinary for care of horses, 1; indulgence passenger, 5; spare horses, B. C. Drafts, 7; chaplain, 1. Total, 17 officers, 239 N.C.O.'s and men, 234 horses.

The *Daily Telegraph* describes the final good-bye to the Imperial contingent in the following article. It is certainly interesting to read such expressions as "New South Wales is proud of her sons; their gallant conduct remains an imperishable memory," coming as they do from the State Lieutenant-Governor, in his farewell letter to the departing contingent.

THE IMPERIAL CONTINGENT.

The Final Good-bye.

Daily Telegraph, March 23rd, 1901 :

Yesterday morning, at a quarter past 11, a Ministerial party consisting of Messrs. John See (Minister for Defence), Fegan (Minister

for Mines), Hassell (Minister for Lands), Perry (Minister for Education), Messrs. G. Anderson, M.P., R. A. Price, M.P., F. Wright, M.P., and the Rev. G. Lane (President of the Wesleyan Conference), together with Colonel Mackenzie, Colonel Taunton, Captain Hilliard, and Captain King, visited the transports for the purpose of saying good-bye to the men proceeding to South Africa by the *Ranee* and *British Princess*. Farewell speeches were delivered by the Minister for Defence, and Messrs. Fegan and Hassall, and Colonel Mackenzie (who represented Major-General French). The party returned to town in the launch *Premier*, and the transports, which had meanwhile been visited by some thousands of the general public, left for South Africa about 5 o'clock in the evening.

FAREWELL SPEECHES.

Mr. See read to the men the following message from the State Lieutenant-Governor:—

"My Dear Mr. See,—

"I regret very much to say that I am detained in court to-day, and unable to go on board the steamers *Ranee* and *British Princess* to say farewell to those of my fellow-colonists who are proceeding to South Africa to take part in the defence of the Empire.

"Please express to them how I regret not being present, and how sincerely I trust that they all may return in safety, bringing back fresh honors to our State, which has already reaped such distinction and advantage from the bravery and soldierly conduct of their predecessors.

"New South Wales is proud of her sons. Their gallant conduct remains an imperishable memory. They have enabled their State to take a fitting place in that great Empire to which it is our privilege to belong. I pray that God may protect and bless them.

"FREDK. M. DARLEY."

Mr. See apologized for the absence of Major-General French (who had been detained at the barracks by important military matters),

and said although it had fallen to his lot to say good-bye to so many contingents there was always a satisfaction in noting the pride, pleasure, and determination of the men in volunteering for service in South Africa. Never in Australian history had there been witnessed such a feeling of loyalty and devotion to the motherland as had been the case during the past twelve months. In times of peace they had been rather inclined to disregard the obligations and the usefulness of the soldiers and the sailors of the Empire, and Kipling had not been far out when he penned the lines, "It's Tommy here and Tommy there, and Tommy stand behind; but it's please to step in front when there's danger." ("Hear, hear.") They might have no fighting to do when they arrive in South Africa, but the very fact of their going showed that they had just the same spirit which characterized those who had gone at the beginning and borne the brunt of the battle. (Cheers.) He knew, of course, that they all wanted to "have a turn" at the Boers—(cheers, and "You're right; we do that")—and he knew that if they did "come to close quarters" the Australian kangaroo would be found as brave and as resourceful as ever. (Cheers.) As State Minister for Defence, it gave him much pleasure and pride to say that the 3rd Mounted Rifle Regiment of the contingent was to be led by one of the bravest soldiers that ever lived. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) He could see that they recognized the gentleman who was known to them all as "Fighting Charlie" (Major Cox). (Cheers.) Most of the officers going to South Africa that day had already seen service in South Africa, and that fact would mean a great deal in arrangement for and comfort of the men when they reached the shores of South Africa. In conclusion Mr. See congratulated the military and naval authorities on the splendid arrangements for the despatch of the troops, and wished the men "God-speed" and a safe and quick return.

Mr. Hassall (State Minister for Lands) said they had sent away several detachments of troops, but he was proud to say that the Australian kangaroo had held his own alongside of the British lion. (Cheers.) The "boys from the bush" never saw danger. "They

always understood that the game was in front of them, and they meant to have it." (Loud cheers, and cries of "Three cheers for 'good old Moree.'") He felt sure that no matter in what position they might be placed, they would uphold the credit and honor of Australia as well as those who had preceded them in South Africa.

Mr. Fegan (State Minister for Mines) said it was gratifying to find so many young men showing their loyalty and devotion to the motherland. The Australians had had nothing to do with the quarrel, but they recognized that England was embroiled in a war, and "it was their part to take part in it." (Cheers.) They might get as much fighting yet in South Africa as they wanted before returning, but no matter what might be said, Australians had helped to let the world know that "as soon as England is touched, every part of His Majesty's Dominions is touched." (Cheers.)

Colonel Mackenzie, after apologizing for the unavoidable absence of Major-General French, congratulated the men upon the way in which they had conducted themselves while in camp, and also since they had gone on board the troopships. Their behaviour had been remarkably good, and the officers and men deserved all due credit for such excellent results. On behalf of the military authorities, he wished them a pleasant voyage and a safe return. (Cheers.)

The Ministerial party afterwards, at the invitation of Captain Craig, lunched on board the steamer *Rance*. The skipper's health was proposed by Mr. See, who thought much might be said of the sailors who conveyed the millions of people who travelled the ocean's surface. Captain Craig had been engaged during the past eighteen months in carrying soldiers to South Africa (in the *Rance*), and he had also taken Boer prisoners to Colombo. ("Hear, hear.") He was proud to welcome him as being sent by the British Government to carry a portion of the Australian troops. It spoke well for the care and thoughtfulness of the British Government that so many magnificent merchantmen had been sent along for the conveyance of Australian soldiers. It was a notable thing that despite the enormous task of

having conveyed some 250,000 troops to South Africa, the trade of the Empire had been carried on without dislocation. Such facts spoke volumes for the Empire and the characteristic pluck of its people. (Cheers.)

Captain Craig, in responding, said the people of Australia were the most hospitable he had met in his twenty-five years' experience at sea. He hoped to have the pleasure of "bringing their boys home again," when they had served their time in South Africa.

Cheers were given for the King, Mr. See, Mr. Hassall, Colonel Mackenzie, and Majors Cox and Murray, as the visitors left the transports.

God-speed and a safe return to our brave Australians, is my wish. There are still a few more to leave by the *S.S. Antilian* in a few days, and they may rest assured that the people who sent away so many brave and loyal men will not forget them, nor fail to watch their movements, and though probably the last to leave these shores for the South African trouble, they may expect to get some share of the fighting still to be carried on. One can only regret that the Boers have refused such generous offers through Lord Kitchener to end the struggle, as the feeling of unconditional surrender is gaining ground in the minds of the Colonials, and it can only be a question of time before the poor, misguided and deceived Boer finds himself in a hopeless condition. It is to be regretted that the Boer advisers and executive have determined to carry on this bitter warfare to the end, as it can only have one ending, and the day is not far distant when an awful reckoning up and squaring of accounts will take place between the Boer and his leaders.

I have selected the following cases as a type of the rest to show the bravery and determination. Lieutenant Harris, of the Inniskillings, son of Sir Matthew Harris, Mayor of Sydney, picked up a wounded man, and took him up behind him, and the moment that he did so a bullet killed the man, and another tore a great gash in young Harris' mare. She struggled down the hill with her entrails hanging out, and got her rider out of danger, and then dropped dead.

Trooper Tom Morris, one of those recommended for the Victoria Cross, is spoken of as the plucky Singleton lad. The circumstance that gave rise to his recommendation, which it is understood will be confirmed, is reported as follows :—

"We were at Arundel, near Colesburg, and a body of us were ordered out under Major Lee, to examine a row of kopjes about four miles long. We had ridden along for half the distance without finding any sign of the enemy, when they suddenly opened fire on us from the kopjes on both sides. All we had to do was to draw their fire, so we started back at once. I was near the rear of the detachment and as I rode along I could see the Boers coming round the other kopje to cut us off.

"Then I looked back to see if any of them were following us and saw Trooper Harrison's horse fall. It was shot under him. So I went back and took Harrison up and galloped away." Such is the modest story he tells himself. His comrades, however, tell more. They say as Harrison fell the Boers rushed down from the kopjes on both sides towards him, evidently intending to make him prisoner, but the others maintained such a heavy fire that he was forced to take cover behind the body of the dead horse.

A number of Boers also closed in from the kopjes on either side, and were firing after the retreating Lancers, at the very moment Morris turned his head. Swinging his horse round he galloped back right in the face of the fire, picked up Harrison with the enemy scattering bullets from three sides of them, and rode back safely, running the gauntlet of the enemy for the second time.

Trooper A. Kruger, of German parentage, born in Ballarat, Victoria, in 1870, is the second one recommended for the Victoria Cross, on account of his truly noble effort to save Lieutenant Hensman, who had been shot.

It seemed a task impossible; the firing was exceedingly heavy. Giving his rifle to Lieutenant Darling, he crawled along behind cover, over the top of a big flat rock, which, when examined afterwards, was

chipped all over with bullets. For 40 yards he crawled along, until he reached the wounded man, who had been hit with a soft-nosed bullet, which had splintered four inches of his thigh bone, and entered his other leg.

Cutting away the breeches, he dressed it, the Boers keeping up a hot fire all the time. Trooper Conway came along to help them, without a scratch. Kruger asked Conway to shovel up some earth to make a pillow for Hensman, who at this time was suffering terribly from the pain in his back. Conway scooped two handfuls of earth, and while fetching the third was shot, the bullet passing through his head, scattering his brains on Hensman and Kruger.

In spite of the bandage Kruger waved, the Boers kept up the hail of bullets, and coming closer called on them to surrender. Kruger got hold of Conway's rifle, shot three of the enemy, which steadied them. Taking off his putties, he strapped Lieutenant Hensman to his rifle. He was carried away by the relief party, and died in the hospital a few days afterwards. Both Morris and Kruger have been invalided to the colonies, and the people are justly proud of their heroes. They are indeed a specimen of the rest, who would do exactly the same under similar circumstances.

The correspondent of the *Dundee Advertiser* (and also of the *Daily News*), writing from Burghersdorp on March 21, says:—I had a good many opportunities of chatting with Boers during the time which elapsed between my capture and liberation, and had a long talk with the President of the Orange Free State, Mr Steyn, and also with several of his Ministerial colleagues. Their ministers of religion, whom they call predikants, also chatted to me freely as occasions offered. I had more than one interview with their fighting generals. Medical men in their service I found very much akin to our own medical men. They stated that they patched up the wounded and asked no questions concerning nationality, just as our own doctors do.

"You, of course, blame all the Colonials, Australians and others, for coming to fight against you?" I asked a Boer.

"I don't know that I do, or that my people do in a sense," the veteran replied. "It all depends upon the spirit which animated them. If your Australians, who are of British blood, came here to fight for the motherland, believing that the cause was a just and a holy one, and that she needed you, they did right."

"What do you fellows think of the Australians as fighters?"

"The Australians can fight," one said simply. "They wounded me and they killed my father." Perhaps it was the wind sighing through the hospitable trees that made the Boer lad's voice grow strangely husky; possibly the same cause filled the blue eyes with unshed tears.

"It was in fair fight, lad," I said gently. "It was the fortune of war."

"Yes," he murmured, "it was in fair fight, in awful fight. I hope I'll never look upon another like it. I did not hate your Australians; I did not want to kill any of them. My father had no ill-will to them, nor they to him; yet he is out there—out there, between two great kopjes, where the wind always blows cold and dreary at night time."

"Tell me, comrade, of the Australians who fell. They were my countrymen."

"It was a cruel fight," he said. "We had ambushed a lot of British troops—the Worcesters I think they call them. They could neither advance nor retire. We had penned them in like sheep, and our field cornet, Van Leyden, was beseeching them to throw down their rifles to save being slaughtered, for they had no chance. Just then we saw about 100 Australians come bounding on the rocks in the gully behind us.

"There were two great big men in front cheering them on. We turned and gave them a volley, but it did not stop them. They rushed over everything, firing as they came, not wildly, but as men who knew the use of the rifle, with the quick, sharp upward jerk to the shoulder, the rapid sight, and then the shot. They knocked over a lot of our

men, but we had a splendid position. They had to expose themselves to get to us, and we shot them as they came at us.

"They were rushing to the rescue of the English. It was splendid, but it was madness. On they came, and we lay behind the boulders, and our rifles snapped and snapped again at pistol range, but we did not stop those wild men until they charged right into a little basin, which was ranged around all its edges by rocks covered with bushes.

"Our men lay there as thick as locusts, and the Australians were fairly trapped. They were far worse off than the Worcesters up high in the ravine. Our Field Cornet gave the order to cease firing, and called on them to throw down their rifles or die. Then one of their officers —a great, rough-looking man, with a voice like a bull, roared out, 'Forward, Australia; no surrender.' Those were the last words he ever uttered, for a man on the right put a bullet clear between his eyes, and he fell forward dead. We found later that his name was Major Eddy, of the Victorian Rifles. He was as brave as a lion, but a Mauser bullet will stop the bravest. His men dashed at the rocks like wolves. It was awful to see them. They smashed at our heads with clubbed rifles or thrust their rifles up against us through the rocks and fired.

"One after another their leaders fell. The second big man went down early, but he was not killed. He was shot through the groin, but not dangerously. His name was Captain M'Innerary. There was another one, a little man, named Lieutenant Thorn. He was shot through the heart. Some others—I forget the men—would not throw down their rifles, but fought like furies."

Major-General Hutton is loud in his praises of the Colonials, and congratulated them on their fighting qualities. In a letter to the Premier of this colony dated Kroonstadt, May 16, 1900, he says: "The cheerfulness with which your New South Wales riflemen have taken all the hardships and discomforts of the campaign makes me feel proud of having been associated with them as their general in the past, and of being the general commanding in the present. . . . It gives me great pleasure to offer you and your government my hearty congratulations upon being represented by such fine soldiers."

I cannot close without a special reference to the New South Wales Army Medical Corps. Their praises are in everyone's mouth, and I am told that every sick and wounded soldier, of whatever branch of the service, hopes that Providence may place him under the care of the New South Wales Ambulance.

The noble women who have gone to the front as nurses, are worthy of all praise and we must rest assured they have played their part well. There is every reason to believe that our braves will add to the laurels, and the more we know of them the more are we proud.

The people of the colonies have responded nobly to the claims made, in sending off and caring for her boys at the front, and the returned ones have been cordially welcomed home. The rest when they return will have an ovation, outshining by far that of their departure.

I cannot close this article without mention of the fact that so grand a body of men are they, and so desirable a class of settlers, that it is said Cecil Rhodes returned specially to offer attractions to induce them to settle in South Africa. We want them here. This is their home, and we will always see to them.

In concluding this inadequate testimony to the brave colonial sons of the Empire, I would like to make note of a special body of fifty Bushmen, who formed the famous "Forbes' Fifty," a noble body, and a credit to that part of the country from which they came. Many of our sons have been invalided home, and as a proof of our sincerity, we have with every one who has returned so far, accorded them a genuine welcome home.

On May 18th, 1900, it was officially announced that Major-General Hutton's Colonial Brigade, which includes the Australian contingents, had captured Commandant-General Louis Botha, Commander-in-Chief of the Boer army, and a number of other Boers at a place thirty miles west of Kroonstadt.

The Premier sent the following cable message to Major-General Hutton: "Warmest congratulations of the Ministry and people on success and capture of Botha."

The rejoicings in Melbourne, Sydney, Wellington, Adelaide and other towns throughout the Australian colonies over the relief of Mafeking were a most striking exhibition of the loyalty and patriotism of the people. At Sydney there was a great uprising.

"Mafeking has been relieved." The posting of those words shortly after 11 o'clock on the morning of May 18th, was the signal for an outburst of jubilation, of enthusiasm, of unrestrained patriotism that shook the city with its intensity.

The British Colonies were intensely patriotic and loyal to the Empire during the war in South Africa. The people of New Zealand were thrilled by the news of the relief of Mafeking, and every reader will be interested in an account of the rejoicings throughout the Colony that followed the rescue of the brave garrison, which suffered untold privations and defended their honor and their flag for 214 days.

For days and weeks the feeling had lain pent and slumbering in the breasts of the people of Wellington that Mafeking must soon be relieved, so vivid and complete is the faith of the British public in the British soldier—a faith which the military exploits of centuries have justified and confirmed. They knew that Colonel Baden-Powell and his gallant garrison and the loyalists penned up there in that far South African town would not surrender. On Saturday, May 19th, at ten minutes past 1 o'clock a telegraph operator was sitting at his place, "getting his cables through," when there came a ticking which denoted "Mafeking Relieved!" Regulations vanished. Springing to his feet, he spread the tidings with a joyful shout. Instantly the air became electric.

Then followed an explosion of patriotic rejoicing, the like of which was never seen or heard of in the history of the capital. "Mafeking relieved!" was shouted from the housetops; clanged forth from bell-towers; went echoing and bellowing through the streets; was taken up by every tocsin, and siren, and cannon in the city; and then re-echoed and reverberated to the farthest suburbs in peans of rejoicing.

By half-past 2 o'clock many thousands of people had gathered in

the large area separating the General Post Office and the Queen's Wharf, and, viewed from the vantage ground of the former, presented a sea of expectant faces towards the gallery from which it was anticipated the official announcement of the relief of Mafeking would be made.

The mayor immediately proceeded to business. He officially announced, amidst a renewed outburst of cheering, that official tidings had been received of the relief of Mafeking. He was quite sure, he said, that every heart in New Zealand that day rejoiced in the hearing of that good news. (Renewed cheering.) It was one of the noblest defences ever carried out—(great applause)—but it had entailed an immense amount of suffering, which they could not forget. Colonel Baden-Powell had shown himself to be made of the pluck of which great English generals had ever been made. ("Three cheers for Baden-Powell!" given with tremendous enthusiasm.) He was sure that every heart would be thankful to God for the good news which had come. (Prolonged applause.) He called upon the Acting-Premier to address them.

The Hon. J. G. Ward, who received a great ovation, said:

"Mr. Mayor and fellow-citizens of New Zealand—I have the inexpressible pleasure of announcing to you the happy event of the relief of Mafeking. (Enthusiastic cheers.) The news has been confirmed by the receipt of cable messages from most authentic sources in Australia. (Cheers.) I deeply regret that the Right Hon. the Premier is not here to perform the duty now imposed upon me; because, as you know, he has taken the keenest possible interest in co-operating with the people of the colony in sending men to help the Mother Country in fighting for the maintenance of our great and glorious Empire. (Here there was great cheering, and the crowd sang 'For He's a Jolly Good Fellow.') Immediately on the receipt of the information, I sent the following cables:—'To Colonel Baden-Powell, Mafeking.—On behalf of the people of New Zealand I desire to tender you our heartiest congratulations on the successful result of your heroic defence of Mafeking, and express to you warm appreciation of the noble way in which that defence has been maintained by you and the

men under your control. Your noble defence will never be forgotten by the people in this portion of the British Empire, whose highest respect and goodwill you will have.—(Signed) J. G. Ward, Acting Premier.' (Cheers.)

"The following cable was also despatched:—'To Lord Roberts.—On behalf of the people of New Zealand I desire to tender you our heartiest congratulations on the successful relief of Mafeking, and to express our warm appreciation of the noble way in which that defence has been maintained by Colonel Baden-Powell and the men under his control.—(Signed) J. G. Ward, Acting Premier.' (Cheers.)

"And at the request of the officers of the New Zealand Post and Telegraph Department I sent another message as follows: 'To Colonel Baden-Powell, Mafeking.—On behalf of 3,500 New Zealand Post and Telegraph officials, offer you warmest congratulations upon successful issue, heroic stand, yourself, officers and men. Your magnificent defence will never be forgotten.—(Signed) J. G. Ward, Postmaster-General.' (Cheers.)

"Fellow-citizens, it is more than seven months since Baden-Powell, with his brave 600 men, first took charge of Mafeking, and when he did so, the gravest fears were entertained from end to end of the British Empire that with the heavy odds against him he would not be able to hold out for long. But we have since learnt that he has shown himself to be a true warrior, full of courage and possessed of wonderful resource. (Loud cheers.) He built trenches, behind which he and his noble band of men have withstood the determined attacks of the Boers. (Cheers.)

"Through those seven long, weary months he had shown what British pluck and British resource could do against tremendous odds (cheers) and with his 600 noble men he has resisted the whole combination of the Boer forces from outside of Mafeking. (Enthusiastic cheers.) He has protected the women and children, he has succored the sick and he has maintained the prestige of the flag which we are so proud to live under (cheers), and during the last few days of the defence of Mafeking, when it might naturally have been expected that their

privations had worn them out, he and his men have still further demonstrated their wonderful vigor and resourcefulness by killing fifty-four Boers and capturing General Eloff. (Tremendous cheers.)

"Can we not truthfully say that, 'Stormed at with shot and shell, Baden-Powell stood the test well, with his brave six hundred.' (Loud cheers.) We must not forget on such an occasion to pay tribute to Lord Roberts, to Lord Kitchener, to those brave leaders, Buller, White, French, Warren, Hector McDonald, Wauchop, Kelly-Kenny, Pole-Carew, and last but not least Majors Robin, Jowsey, Francis and Cradock—those splendid men whom we have sent from New Zealand to share with the Imperial forces in South Africa the honors, the glories, the difficulties and dangers of fighting for the Empire. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

"I wish now to show you some tangible evidence of what our men have already done in South Africa. I hold in my hand here a Boer flag. (Deafening and prolonged groans.) Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you the history attached to this flag. (Further groans.) That is a flag which was captured by Major Cradock and his men of the second contingent from the Boers (loud cheers) and I now show it to you half-mast high (cheers) and upside down. (Great cheering.) This flag will show you that Major Cradock and the second contingent had made their presence felt in South Africa. It will show you that they went there to fight (cheers) and it is a splendid tribute to the services they are rendering to the Mother Country that they should have been able to wrest the flag from the enemy and send it to New Zealand, where it will remain as an evidence of the prowess of her devoted sons who fearlessly fought the foe on behalf of the Motherland. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

"And let me point out to you that in this flag you have the emblem of what the Boers intended it to be—a South African Republic—because it is the combined flag of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. (Groans.) This is signified by the stripe of yellow across the Transvaal flag. It showed that they were united, but in spite of their union

Major Cradock and his men tore it from them and sent it home to New Zealand. (Enthusiastic cheers.) And I may here fittingly paraphrase those words with which you are all so familiar and say: 'We've hoisted the Union Jack; We've beat the Boers back; And England will see it through.' (A voice: 'Three cheers for Baden-Powell,' followed by prolonged cheering.)

"The relief of Mafeking will never be forgotten so long as the history of the British Empire lasts (cheers) and I am sure it will never be effaced from the recollection of New Zealanders (cheers) because in our small way we have done what we could to back up the dear old Mother Country by sending our men, by subscribing our money, and by sending our women as nurses to attend the sick and the wounded. We have shown the old country that we in this distant land are prepared to take our share in the responsibilities of defending and increasing the realms of the Empire. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

"Ladies and gentlemen, this is Saturday afternoon (laughter and cheers) and we are not going to mark this great event by having an ordinary half-holiday, and I have the pleasure of informing you that Monday has already been proclaimed by the government a general holiday throughout the colony. (Loud cheers.) This has been done because we know that the people of New Zealand are anxious to show in a proper way and proper spirit their appreciation of the noble deeds performed by those brave men who have so heroically defended Mafeking, and on Monday we will show the outside world that we are true and loyal Britishers in every sense of the term. (Prolonged cheering and 'God Save the Queen' sung with great enthusiasm.)

"'God Save the Queen' has been sung and our beloved Sovereign will be overjoyed to know that her brave soldiers at Mafeking have upheld the honor and prestige of that great Empire over which she has so nobly ruled, and I may say in the words of Kipling:

> 'Hail! snatch'd and bartered oft from hand to hand
> I dream my dream by rock, and heath, and pine
> Of Empire to the northward; ay, one land
> From lion's head to line.'

"We in this distant part of our Empire can say that we are proud of our Queen, we are proud of our country, we are proud of our noble defenders, and are especially proud of our brave Baden-Powell and his men. (Great cheering and a chorus of voices, 'We're proud of Baden-Powell.') I can only rejoice that the pent-up feelings of the masses of people in New England are now happily relieved, and that the defenders of Mafeking have triumphed over Boer treachery and aggression. (Cheers.)

"And if it is necessary in the future, I know that we shall all be prepared to stand by a nation which possesses men of the stamp of Baden-Powell, and those other officers and men who have fought so well in South Africa (cheers) and we will continue, if needed, to send men, women and money to assist in upholding 'the Union Jack of Old England.' (Cheers.) I now ask you to give three hearty cheers for Lord Roberts. (These were enthusiastically given.) Let us give three ringing cheers for Mafeking's brilliant defender, Baden-Powell. (Uproarious cheering, and the band played, while the crowd sang 'For he's a Jolly Good Fellow.')

"And now let us remember, while we are rejoicing over and celebrating a never-to-be-forgotten victory, that the Colonials are in the forefront of the battle (cheers) and they have assisted in the capture of Botha. (Enthusiastic cheering.) And I should not be surprised to learn that some of them formed part of the force that came to the timely relief of Mafeking. I therefore ask you to give three ringing cheers for the New Zealand boys at the front. (The cheering was given again and again, and the band played 'Rule Britannia.')

"In concluding, let us rejoice and thank God that victory has been again on our side." (Here there was a most enthusiastic outburst of feeling. The crowd cheered, bands played, flags, hats and handkerchiefs were waved, and the demonstration continued in the most exciting manner for some time.)

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