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Webb, C

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THE UITLANDER MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC BEFORE THE JAMESON RAID;

Being a thesis presented in pursuance of the B. A. (Honours) Course in History, the University of the Witwatersrand, 1952.

C. Webb.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER I.	The New Population and the Old.....	Page 1.
CHAPTER II.	Early Uitlander Activities.....	" 4.
CHAPTER III.	The Flag Incident.....	" 7.
CHAPTER IV.	The Political Reform Association....	" 11.
CHAPTER V.	The Formation of the Transvaal National Union.....	" 15.
CHAPTER VI.	Agitation and Expansion.....	" 21.
CHAPTER VII.	Developments during 1893.....	" 24.
CHAPTER VIII.	The Commandeering Crisis.....	" 29.
CHAPTER IX.	The End of Constitutional Agitation.	" 36.
CHAPTER X.	Uitlander Grievances.....	" 39.

APPENDIX A.	The Constitution of the Transvaal National Union.
APPENDIX B.	Address presented to High Commissioner by Transvaal National Union.
APPENDIX C.	Franchise Petition of 1895, drawn up by Transvaal National Union.
APPENDIX D.	Manifesto by Transvaal National Union.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES.

C. 8159:	Papers Relating to the Commandeering of British Subjects in the South African Republic.
E. V. R:	Notulen van den (Eersten)Volksraad der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.
H C C:	Second Report from the Select Committee on British South Africa.
Locale Wetten:	De Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.
S. & D. News:	The Standard and Diggers News.
T. V. R:	Notulen van den Tweeden Volksraad der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.

NOTE: Short titles have been used in the footnotes whenever possible.

THE UITLANDER MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC BEFORE THE JAMESON RAID.

I.

THE NEW POPULATION AND THE OLD.

The Gold Discoveries of the 1880's.

It was with the year 1884 that gold began to loom large as a factor in the affairs of the South African Republic. In that year the metal was discovered in the De Kaap valley of the Eastern Transvaal,[1] and the reef-formation in which it occurred promised greater riches and greater permanence than any discoveries made hitherto.[2] A rush started and rapidly "became a frantic scramble." The new town of Barberton was founded, and there was soon an active community at work in the valley of De Kaap.[3] The flourish with which the Barberton gold-fields commenced their career was premature, however. As the years went by, many of the mines began to prove unpayable,. others had to close down through dearth of labour and through the cost of operations proving excessive. By the close of the 1880's it was becoming increasingly apparent that the wealth of De Kaap was largely ephemeral and that Barberton's future was a modest one.[4]

But though the Barberton fields declined, gold was destined to remain a permanent factor in the life of the Republic. In 1886 the Witwatersrand gold-fields had been proclaimed,[5] and in contrast to those of Barberton, the new fields proved not only payable, but

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1) Vide: Letcher, The Gold Mines of Southern Africa, p.57, & Taylor African Treasures, p.89.
2) For a typical estimate of the permanence of the new mines vide Letcher, op.cit. p.64.
3) Letcher estimates there to have been a community of 10,000 centred on the new fields (op.cit.p.57) but on what authority his estimate is based no indication is given, and it must be treated sceptically. Discarding Letcher's estimate as perhaps exaggerated, however, the evidence of contemporary witnesses and others nevertheless points to there having been a by no means inconsiderable population finding employment in De Kaap.(Vide: Taylor, op.cit p.90, Ansell, I followed Gold, p.36, & Williams, Some Dreams Come True, p.519
4) Vide: Taylor, op.cit. p.91, & Amphlett, A History of the Standard Bank of South Africa Ltd., pp.109-110.
5) For text of proclamation, issued on 8th September, vide: Letcher, op.cit. p.78-9.

capable of development beyond all anticipation. The mining camp of Johannesburg was established as the centre of the industry, and by 1887 it was generally accepted that the Witwatersrand was "far greater and much richer over extensive stretches than were any auriferous localities previously found in South Africa".[6] Set-backs there inevitably were, but these notwithstanding, the industry continued to expand, and the succeeding years witnessed a steadily increasing output.[7]

Immigration into the South African Republic.

It was this fact - that from 1884 onwards, there was constantly the lure of gold in the South African Republic - that brought to the country, during the last two decades of the century, ever increasing bodies of men from beyond its borders and from across the seas. While the Kaap gold-fields still held promise, Barberton was the centre of the new population.[8] When Barberton began to lose in vitality, the Witwatersrand became the centre to which these new-comers flocked. By the end of the period under consideration, the town of Johannesburg, and its environs within a three mile radius of Market Square, were alone able to boast a population of 50,907, and of these close on 45,000 were new-comers.[9] For the alien population of Johannesburg to have risen to these proportions within so short a space of time as ten years, immigration must, indeed, have been on an almost unprecented scale.[10] The Republic had virtually suffered a peaceful invasion.

New Needs and Old Ways.

These new-comers, or "Uitlanders" as they were called, who

6) Letcher, op.cit., p.95
7) Vide: Groenboek No.14, 1895, Staat 5.
8) In the absence of any population census, it is impossible to estimate in what proportions the new-comers came to the Kaap gold-fields. From the descriptions of contemporary witnesses, however, one is left with the overall impression that the population centred on Barberton consisted predominantly of new-comers. (See: Taylor op.cit. Chap. XI, and Ansell, op.cit. chap II) The inference that the population was largely an alien one is supported by the fact that the ~~republikeinsmaxiorgaan~~ men of Barberton were soon agitating for the franchise.
9) Johannesburg Gezondheids Comite, Census Report 1896, pp VII & IX. According to this census, the Transvaal itself contributed only 6,205 to Johannesburg's population. (The Census of 1896, unlike an earlier one, which had been taken in 1890, appears to have been thorough and reliable. See comments in Transvaal Colony and Swaziland, Census Report 1904, p.1
10) At one stage the rate of immigration was apparently such, that The Star predicted that Johannesburg would see its population doubled within a year. (See Star, 31.12.92).

emigrated to the South African Republic from 1884 onwards, brought with them a way of life for which no provision existed under the old system.[11] The burgher population was essentially a rural one, living by a simple subsistence economy.[12] The Uitlanders, on the other hand, were essentially an urban people, and their needs those of an industrial community.[13] New legislation was required, and there had to be a reorientation of policy, if the altered circumstances were to be met. There were problems arising: problems of labour, of communications, of supply and demand, of the maintenance or abolition of the system of protective tariffs. To these were added cultural problems. The new-comers had different customs, different beliefs and different habits of thought from the old inhabitants, and there were now questions of education, religion and language,[14] which had not previously existed.

It was out of these grounds that there grew conflict between the old population and the new. After years of isolation, the burghers appear to have been unwilling, and perhaps even unable, to completely readjust themselves and their system of life to the developments which were taking place. The Uitlanders, on the other hand, aggregating in large communities which had little contact with the rest of the land, appear to have looked upon the South African Republic as having become an Uitlander country, and, as Bryce puts it, 'saw something unreasonable or even grotesque'in

11) The terms "Boer" and "burgher" will be used interchangeably throughout this essay, to denote the enfranchised section of the population of the S.A.R. who had, for the most part, settled in the land before the major gold discoveries were made. Terms such as "Uitlander" and"Boer" are, of course, high-level abstractions, and inexact.

12) Vide: Bryce, Impressions of South Africa, pp.405-8.

13) Bryce, op.cit. p.408. See further: Lovell, The Struggle for South Africa, p.298.

14) From the fact that all their affairs were conducted through the medium of English, and that one of their demands was that English should be given official status, it would appear that English was the language in most common use amongst the Uitlanders. If the population of Johannesburg in 1896 was in any way a representative cross-section, then the explanation is apparent. According to the census figures, new-comers from the United Kingdom, the Cape Colony, Natal, Australia and America, made up the great bulk of Johannesburg's population. The United Kingdom and the Cape Colony were, by far, the biggest contributors, providing 16,265 & 15,162 respectively. The elements coming from the continental countries were small, by comparison. Russia and Germany, the two biggest continental contributors, provided only 3,335 and 2,262 new-comers each; while Holland & France gave only 819 and 402. (Census Report 1896, pp.IX and 8-9. See further: Bryce, op.cit. p.408.

its control by men whom they deemed their inferiors.[15] Ultimately, the struggle resolved itself into one over the franchise. The Uitlanders saw political power as the key which would unlock to them the 'reforms' which they desired. The old population, seeing the numbers in which the new-comers came, feared that political enfranchisement of the Uitlanders would mean the loss of the independence of the country for which they had payed 'blood and gold'.

It was a struggle, fundamentally, for mutual adjustment between the two groups, and it is with the Uitlanders' part in that struggle, that this essay deals.

15) Bryce, op. cit., p. 408. For examples of this Uitlander psychology, vide: Star, 15.8.92. (Speech by Leonard), & Star, 10.1.93., (Speech by D. Drew.)

II

EARLY UITLANDER ACTIVITIES.

Origins of the Barberton Movement.

It was at Barberton that the first signs of conflict between the new population and the old appeared. In 1886, on the occasion of a visit by President Kruger[1] to De Kaap, the diggers presented him with an address in which requests were put forward for reduction of taxation, for road and bridge construction, and for remedy of the position under which the new community had no separate representation in the Volksraad.[2]

The following year saw an intensification of the agitation thus begun. In the early part of the year, public meetings were held, and petitions were forwarded to Government on the subjects of political representation and a reduction of customs dues.[3] To the first request, the Government responded with a proclamation, creating the Barberton Gold-fields and those of the Witwatersrand electoral constituencies.[4] But despite this concession, the agitation continued. The request for representation having been met, its place was immediately taken by demands for extension of the franchise. At the beginning of December, a meeting was held

1) President of the S.A.R. May 1882 - May 1902
2) Volksstem, Supplement, 22.3.86, The Volksraad was the legislature of the S.A.R.
3) Volksstem, 4.4.87, & E.V.R. 1887, art. 649.
4) Hugo, Die Stemreg-Vraagstuk in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek p.43.

and resolutions passed urging that the franchise qualifications should be reduced.[5]

Under the existing franchise law, the qualifications required of new-comers, in order for them to obtain the vote, were a five years' residence, the taking of the oath of allegiance, and the payment of a naturalisation fee of £25.[7] Except in the matter of the naturalisation fee, the regulations were very similar to those obtaining in such countries as Britain and the United States of America.[8] By the burghers the agitation was accordingly regarded as foundationless, and the fear began to be expressed that the Uitlanders might be working with ulterior motives.[9]

The Republican Union.

In 1888 the agitation began to assume more serious proportions. Towards the middle of July, the British Resident, Ralph Williams, visited Barberton and, despite his disapprobation, the diggers made it the occasion for a demonstration of their loyalty as British subjects.[10]

Two months later, during September, public meetings were held, and the upshot was the formation of an Uitlander political organisation to be known as the "Transvaal Republican Union". The Union was to be no 'jingo' organisation, but a vehicle for the clear expression of the Uitlanders' grievances, and for the protection of their political and social rights.[11]

The principal cause for the Uitlanders thus banding themselves together into a political Union appears to have been a proposal of the Government to meet their demands for enfranshisement by creating a Second Legislative Chamber. The scheme had been put to the Volksraad on 21st June.[12] According to its provisions, the term of residence required before the new-comers could obtain full burgher-rights was to be increased, but they were to be compensated by being given an early right to vote for a Second Chamber. The scheme appears to have had no appeal for the community for which it was

5) Volksstem, 6.12.87
7) Locale Wetten, 1849 - 1885, Wet No.7,1882
8) Hugo, op.cit. pp.19 ff.
9) Volksstem, 6.12.87.
10) Volksstem, 27.7.88
11) Volksstem, 6.9.88., 8.10.88, & 11.10.88.
12) E.V.R., 1888, art.534.

intended. The proposed Second Chamber was to have a circumscribed legislative field, and the Barberton men thought it a 'cheap gift. At the meetings held in connection with the formation of the Republican Union, it was attacked by the principal speakers, and the franchise policy of the Government was declared - according to the Volksstem report - to be "een dwaasheid" and "een Bedrog". Other factors contributing to the general conviction that the Government had 'no love for the mining community' were, apparently, the maintenance of the customs tariff, a decision of the Volksraad to increase taxation, the granting of a monopoly for the manufacture of dynamite within the Republic, the refusal of the Government to give the English language official status, and the decision, under the concession recently granted to the Netherlands Railway Company, to 'shunt' Barberton off onto a side line.[13]

Under the constitution of the Union, the entire control and management of its affairs was to be in the hands of an elected committee. It was to work along strictly constitutional lines, and it was to keep two objects constantly in view: political enfranchisement of the Uitlander, and reduction of taxation. The declared policy of the Union was to be the maintenance and promotion of republican principals generally, and in the South African Republic in particular.[14]

True to its main tenet of constitutional procedure, the Union in 1889 devoted itself to the drawing up of petitions on subjects considered as grievances, the two most important being the Dual Chamber scheme and customs dues.[15] The petitions met with no response, however, and as the months went by, the Union began to lose in vitality. A scheme for the establishment of branches of the Union in other parts of the country[16] appears to have remained unacted upon, and meetings, if they were held at all, were of so little importance as to evoke no comment. By the beginning of 1890 the Republican Union was dead.

13) Volksstem, 6.9.88 & 8.10.88 & 11.10.88
14) Idem.
15) E.V.R., 1889, art.301 & van Oordt: Paul Kruger en de Opkomst der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, p.509.
16) Vide: Star 20.8.92.

The Uitlander Movement was not dead, however. It was very much alive on the Witwatersrand. The simple facts of the case were, that the Republican Union had started its career too late in the history of the Barberton gold-fields to be able to enjoy a long life. By the close of the 1880's the gold of De Kaap had already proved itself to be, in many instances, no more than 'a flash in the pan', and the men began to drift away to swell the Uitlander ranks on the Witwatersrand.[17] If there was to be an Uitlander Movement at all, its centre could only be Johannesburg, not Barberton.

The Barberton Movement remains significant for having secured representation in the Volksraad for the mining areas, and for havin given birth to the first Uitlander organisation and the model for those that followed.

17) Vide supra, p 2

III.

THE FLAG INCIDENT.

In the early years of the Witwatersrand, the relations between the mining-community and the Government were characterised by cordiality. Grievances there inevitably were, for the industry was still suffering from growing-pains, but a political agitation, if it existed at all, was still essentially something nascent, as Barberton's had been in 1886. President Kruger visited Johannesburg on several occasions but was always well received, and would depart again leaving such kindly words ringing in the ears of the new-comers, as that he wanted to treat them all equally "as his children".[1]

In December 1888 these relations appear to have been still unchanged.[2] They were not destined to last, however. The conditions obtaining in 1889 worked a change.

The Depression and Drought.

The year 1889 brought with it the first serious set-back to the mining industry. 1888 had seen speculation 'rampant';

1) Volksstem, 22.2.87 & 30.9.87
2) Vide: Botha, Die Staatkundige Ontwikkeling van die S.A.R. P.317.

1889 saw the reaction.[3] Many of the companies had been over-subscribed, worthless scrip had been foisted on the public, share values dropped, 'corners' and 'pools' were formed, the market slumped, and the industry was involved in depression.[4] Doubts began to be expressed about the future of the 'Rand'.[5] By the middle of the year the cup was almost filled. It was filled to overflowing by the adversities that followed.

After an exceptionally dry winter, the spring and summer rains failed,[6] and by October widespread drought conditions prevailed.[7] The result was, not only a failure of crops, but increased difficulties in the transportation of supplies.[8] The nearest railway termini were still far distant. Between those points and centres of population such as the Witwatersrand, all supplies had to be conveyed by ox-waggon; and the drying up water-holes and scorched grass along these routes was soon resulting in fewer and fewer supply-convoys coming through. The Witwatersrand - industrial area as it was - was the hardest hit. Shortages developed, prices rose and were enhanced by the less scrupulous among the traders, and fears of famine began to be expressed.[9] The Government instituted measures of relief. Towards the middle of October, to encourage imports, it provisionally suspended the special duties on foodstuffs in scarcity, and a week later announced its intention of issuing loans to the Transport Company, and awarding bonuses of £20 each to the first 250 waggons bringing in breadstuffs from across the frontier.[10] In February 1890 it made still further temporary reductions in the customs tariff.[11]

The population of the Witwatersrand remained unappeased, however. Rains had fallen in November and the supply position had eased to a certain extent,[12] but the economic depression continued into 1890,[13] and with it, there was growing agitation on the Uitlanders' part.

3) Amphlett, op.cit. p.110.
4) S. & D. News, 13.4.89., 2.5.89., 14.5.89., 18.5.89., 18.7.89.
5) S.& D. News. 14.5.89.
6) Vide: Star, 3.1.90. (Rainfall report for 1889).
7) S.& D. News, 15.10.89
8) S.& D. News, 19.10.89.
9) Statham, Paul Kruger and his Times, p.192. See further: Star 5.3.90. (Reply of Kruger to address from Chamber of Commerce).
10) S.& D. News, 9.10.89, & 26.10.89.
11) Locale Wetten 1890 - 3, p.41.
12) Star, 3.1.90, and Statham, op.cit. p.193.
13) See daily market reports and weekly trade reports published in Star, which are, perhaps, as safe an index as any to the prevailing tendencies. See further Star 31.12.90.

The principal object of the Uitlanders' agitation was for railway construction. Had there been railway communications, it was argued, there would have been no difficulties of supplies and no shortages. In not promoting railway construction the Government had been indirectly responsible for the recent crisis.[14] From their complaints about railway construction, the new-comers moved on to make others, however, and at the beginning of 1890 a wider agitation began to develop embracing subjects such as the Dual Chamber scheme, reduction of taxation, reform of administration, and the optional use of Dutch or English.[15] By the beginning of March all that was needed was a spark for the Uitlander powder-barrel to explode.

The Flag Incident.

The spark came in the form of disappointed hopes. On March 4th. President Kruger was to visit Johannesburg on his way to a conference at Blignaut's Pont, and some time before the actual visit, rumours began to spread that the President's object in breaking his journey at Johannesburg was to announce a number of 'reforms', including not only railway construction, but furthermore, remission of taxation, the abandonment of the Dual Chamber scheme and "a proposal that the franchise shall be conferred upon such members of the alien population as are possessed of either stand, erf or farm, and are willing to take the oath of allegiance."[21]

The President duly arrived and was met at the Wanderers Ground by a crowd estimated at between 8,000 and 10,000. But the rumours that had spread were baseless. There was no mention of the abandonment of the Dual Chamber scheme, no mention of an extension of the franchise, no mention of remission of taxation. The president briefly announced that there would be an extension of the railway from Bloemfontein, and then retired to meet deputations.[22]

There had been signs of unruliness during the President's speech. After the proceedings had terminated and the President had

14) Vide: S.& D. News, 12.11.89, and Star, 15.1.90, 24.1.90, 27.1.90, 5.2.90. For further evidence as to how much weight was attached to the question of railway construction by the Uitlanders, vide: Star, 4.3.90. (Petitions presented to Kruger).
15) Star, 20.1.90, 22.1.90, 3. 2.90).
21) Star, 24.2.90, 26.2.90.
22) Star, 4.3.90.

retired to the house of the Landdrost, Captain Von Brandis, "blood-red treason and red-hot sedition were in evidence." From the Wanderers Ground, "a vast concourse of people marched to the Market Square, and demonstrated in front of the Government Buildings". Speeches were delivered and, amid a growing uproar, the Transvaal flag was lowered, torn to shreds, and trampled under foot From the Market Square, the crowd marched to the home of Captain Vo Von Brandis, "singing patriotic songs by the way." Here a further demonstration took place. The policemen on duty were "severely mauled", and the railings round the garden pushed down. It seemed as if a general debacle was becoming imminent. Twenty-five armed constables arrived, however, several arrests were made, and with the arrests, the crowd either lost its leaders, or its zest for riot.[23] Whichever it was, the demonstration petered out.

But though the affair ended in something of an anti-climax, quite enough had been perpetrated to work a marked deterioration in the relations between the old population and the new. A national flag is symbolic, and the burghers regarded the action of the Uitlanders in tearing the Republican flag down and trampling it under foot, as symbolic of their intentions towards the State. Widespread resentment appeared. De Volksstem declared:[24]

> "Thans schijnt de tijd gekomen om aan zeekere klassen welke te Johannesburg meenen wet te kunnen stellen, te doen gevoelen wie op dit oogenblijk de baas zijn en wie tot in lengte van dagen nog baas zullen blijven".

And its sentiments were those of the rest of the burgher population. The President was met by gatherings of Boers, who declared themselves prepared to revenge the insult to the Republic at a moment's notice. Sympathy was expressed with the President, and the demand put forward that the offenders should be meetly punished.[25] The President discouraged violence, however, and the men who had been arrested were first admitted to bail and then aquitted.[26] This policy of moderation notwithstanding, Kruger appears to have come away from Johannesburg harbouring fear and

23) Star, 5.3.90.
24) Volksstem, 6.3.90
25) Volksstem, 19.3.90. See further, v.Oordt, op.cit. p.512.
26) Star, 15.4.90, & 31.12.90.

mistrust for the Uitlander population. To a friend he declared that he had come with "a message of peace and goodwill" and was"very much hurt" at the reception he had received;[27] and it was certainly long before he could be induced to visit Johannesburg again. The insult was not easily forgotten.

27) Star. 5.3.90.

IV.

THE POLITICAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

The mob spirit which had characterised the Flag Incident[1] continued for some few days longer, and on the night of March 6th a crowd gathered on the Market Square, ostensibly to hold a mass political meeting, but in fact to do little more than "guy" the President, 'fete' the lieutenant of police and engage in a 'free-for-all' on the stoep of the Government Buildings.[2]

The uproarious proceedings which had attended the Flag incident, and which were once again in evidence on the night of the 6th, could not last, however. Men can pull down flags, guy the head of the State, and engage in free-for-alls, but it achieves little that is constructive. The initial turbulance began to abate and the need began to be felt for orderly, organised action rather than riot. This sentiment had already begun to be expressed by speakers at the Market Square meeting of 6th.[3] It was echoed in the press on March 11th,[4] and the next day the desired step was taken. A meeting attended by some 300 people was held and a political association formed.[5]

The following week a constitution was submitted by a provisionally elected committee, and ratified, and it was decided that the organisation should be called "The Political Reform Association of the South African Republic".[6] The affinities between the new

1) The Incident was condemned as a piece of rowdyism in various quarters. Vide: Star 5.3.90 & 8.3.90, and Lovell, op.cit. p.295)
2) Star, 7.3.90.
3) Idem.
4) Star. 11.3.90
5) Star. 13.3.90.
6) Star. 18.3.90.

Association and the extinct Republican Union of Barberton were of the closest. The conduct of the affairs of the Association was to be in the hands of an elected committee. The immediate objects of the Association were to be: " extension of franchise, railway communication, reduction of taxation, opposition to monopolies and concessions". Its fundamental general principles were to be: "maintenance of the independence of the South African Republic, and constitutional procedure in the furtherance of its aims." The organisation which had died at Barberton in 1889 had virtually been resuscitated at Johannesburg in 1890. At the same time a link was established with the future by the election of J.W. Leonard as President of the Association.[7]

The Association was destined to a shorter life than either of its two companion organisations, however. It commenced its career fairly vigorously. On March 31st, at a meeting, it was announced that the committee had decided to draw up a number of separate memorials on all the various subjects it was desired to lay before the Volksraad, and it was proposed that these should be widely disseminated amongst the public for signature.[8] The following day the Association convened a 'mass meeting' in the New Exchange, in order to give the people of Johannesburg an opportunity for expressing their views and wishes to the member for Witwatersrand in the Volksraad.[9] By the following week the proposed petitions were already in circulation.[10]

Almost from the start, however, there had been dissension in the Uitlander camp. Certain men whose wishes had not been accorded with at the early meetings of the Political Reform Association, decided to form their own organisation, and a rival union, known as "The Transvaal International Political Association" was duly created on 19th March.[11]

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7) J.W. Leonard, a minister in a former Cape Colonial Ministry and a Q.C. played a large part in the affairs of the National Union established in 1892. A document exists in the Leyds Collection, which, if authentic, would establish still stronger and vastly more important links between the Political Reform Association and developments of later years. The bona fides of the document are so questionable, however, as to disqualify it as a reliable piece of evidence.(Vide: Scholtz, Die Oorsake van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog, I. pp.273-75.

8) Star. 1.3.90

9) Star. 2.4.90

10) Star, 5.4.90 & 9.4.90.

11) Star, 20.3.90.

An attempt was made to patch up the differences between the two organisations, but nothing resulted.[12] In early May the two bodies were still unreconciled, and the International Association convened its own meeting to signify its support of the petitions that had been drawn up and were to be submitted to the Volksraad from the people of Johannesburg.[13] The meeting was attended by some 500 people, but with such the extent of the rivalry, it was inevitable that the two Associations should soon exhaust one-another.

The Political Reform Association sent a deputation to Government, to discuss such matters as railways and taxation, which, with the continuing depression, were still the most urgent issues, and a meeting of the Association was held on May 19th.[14] Only twenty or thirty people attended, however, and presently there was nothing more to be heard of the Political Reform Association or its rival.

The Dual Chamber Scheme.

Shortly after the collapse of the Political Reform Association the Dual Chamber scheme, which had been deferred from the previous session, once again came up for discussion in the Volksraad, and the new regulations were duly embodied in two laws passed on 23rd June.[16] The Legislature of the Republic was to consist of two Chambers. The Upper House, or First Volksraad, was to be vested with the power exercised by the existing Volksraad, and was to be the highest authority in the land.[17] The Lower House, or Second Volksraad, was to have a more limited legislative field,[18] and the laws and resolutions passed by it were to be subject to ratification by the First Volksraad, and were to have no effect until published by the President in the Staatscourant.[19] At the same time, the franchise regulations were amended. New-comers could now obtain the right to vote for the Second Volksraad after a four years' residence in the Republic,[20] but full burgher-rights, including the right to vote for the First Chamber, could only be obtained after fourteen years and

12) Star, 22.3.90
13) Star.5.5.90
14) Star, 20.5.90
15) Locale Wetten 1890-3, Wet No.4. 1890 and Wet No.5.1890
16) Wet No.4, Art.I
17) Art.2
18) Art.27.
19) Arts. 28-31
20) Art.16.

The Staatscourant was the Government Gazette of the S.A.R.

by men who had reached the age of forty.[21] The oath of allegiance which new-comers were required to take twelve years before they could obtain full burgher-rights, included the foreswearing of previous citizenship.[22]

Although the Uitlanders were thus vitally affected by the new laws, public reaction was practically nil. In a leading article, The Star described the Dual Chambers system as "an arrangement which seems calculated to emphasise and intensify present misunderstandings",[23] but further than that, almost nothing was said or done on the matter.

A Period of Calm.

This indifference on the part of the Uitlanders - remarkable as it is in view of the ppposition which they had manifested towards the scheme earlier on, and the opposition which it was to arouse later - was simply part of a general political calm which settled in over the Witwatersrand during the latter half of 1890 and continued until the middle of 1891. In October 1890, the repercussions of the Baring Crisis in Europe struck South Africa.[24] Soon there was widespread financial disorganisation, and runs on the banks followed, several of which went into liquidation. The crisis continued until July 1891, and its effects combining with those of the depression, there was 'a general impoverishment of all classes'.[25] With such the conditions, the Uitlanders appear to have been more concerned with keeping the wolf from the door, than with conducting political agitations. The only factors likely to have roused them to agitation under the circumstances would have been factors such as had been operative in 1889 - namely, customs dues and inadequate transport increasing the cost of living. With railway constructions proceeding apace after the middle of 1890, however,[26] and with the customs duties which had been lifted in October 1889 and February 1890 still suspended,[27] ground for discontent in this respect was removed.

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21) Art.9
22) Wet No.5. art.Ia.
23) Star, 17.6.90
24) Star, October, 1890
25) Star, 2.1.92
26) Star, 31.12.90 & 2.1.92
27) E.V.R. 1891, arts.633-6.

V.

THE FORMATION OF THE TRANSVAAL NATIONAL UNION.

The quietude which reigned over the Witwatersrand during the latter part of 1890 and the first part of 1891 was, however, simply the calm before the storm. The second half of 1891 witnessed a revival of activity, and 1892 saw Uitlander agitation on a scale unequalled before. To understand the upsurge of Uitlander activity which culminated in the formation of a new political organisation in 1892, it is necessary to take into account two developments in the gold-mining industry.

The MacArthur-Forrest Cyanide Process & the Deep Levels.

The first of these developments was the introduction of the MacArthur-Forrest cyanide process. In 1890 the Witwatersrand gold-mining industry had been face to face with a problem which, if unsolved, threatened the stability of the future.[1] Much of the ore being mined was failing to respond to the known methods of gold-extraction. During the first few years of operations, the ore had been the oxidised surface conglomerate which had yielded gold by the normal amalgam process. As operations proceeded deeper, however, sulphide zones were being encountered, and the ore contained pyritic intrusions which required other metallurgical processes ~~other~~ than the amalgam one, before they would yield their product. Unless some method could be found for treating these pyritic 'tailings', the gold-mining industry was threatened with retardation, and if the pyritic elements increased, perhaps even with complete stultification. The problem was one of science, but the industry surmounted it. The Robinson Company experimented with the so-called MacArthur-Forrest Cyanide process, and the tests proved a success.[2] In 1891 the process was adopted 'wholesale' by the other companies, and by 1892, with 'tailings' in themselves resulting in a gold-output equal to more than half of the total output for 1889, a new stability had been given to the Witwatersrand.[3] There was no longer any question of the payable-

1) Vide: Letcher, op.cit. pp.99-101 & p.106
2) Star, 14.6.90.
3) Vide: Yearbook N° IIa, 1894, Appendix G.

ness of the sulphide zones.[3]

At the same time, in 1892, the theory was propounded that the auriferous beds, so far only worked near the surface extended to a depth of at least 4,000 feet, and that as they descended their initial angle of incline or 'dip' gradually decreased, and the beds flattened out to a more horizontal position.[4] The theory was of the first importance, for, if correct, the decreasing angle of incline of the reefs meant that more gold-bearing rock would be available than had ever been anticipated, and that the mining industry of the Witwatersrand would have a long life ahead of it.

The New Outlook.

These two factors - the stability given to the mining industry by the MacArthur-Forrest process, and the prospect of a long life for the Witwatersrand - between them appear to have worked a fundamental change in the Uitlander outlook. Whereas in earlier years there had been a feeling of instability,[5] there was now a sense of security and permanence, which was increased by the fact that the depression was, at last, beginning to work itself out.[6] As Bryce puts it: "Those who had come to the Rand, thinking they might probably leave it after a few years, now conceived the idea of permanent residence".[7] But with this altered outlook, their 'grievances' began to loom larger than ever before in the eyes of the Uitlanders. If their futures lay bound up in the South African Republic, then the new-comers wanted reform of those features in the affairs of the country which they regarded as undesirable. The changed attitude manifested itself clearly at the very meeting held in connection with the formation of a new Uitlander organisation in 1892, when the chairman declared:[8]

4) Bryce, op.cit. pp 414 & 298-300. It has been impossible to ascertain the exact date when this theory was propounded. From the interest which it was arousing by the second half of 1892, however, it is clear that its announcement must have taken place before then. For typical examples of the different receptions accorded to the theory, vide: Star, 27.8.92, (Mining supplement) & 10.9.92.
5) S.& D. News, 16.5.89 & 7.9.89
6) Star, 31.12.92
7) Bryce, op.cit. p.414
8) S.& D. News, 22.8.92

> "I am not at all surprised that in the early days of the gold-fields the old burghers refused to give the new population the franchise. If I were asked whether an indiscriminate franchise to every many who came ought to be given, I should say 'No'. Rather have a settled voting power than to give the franchise to the floating population that came here in the early history of the gold-fields. But all this has passed away. Mining has become an industry, not a speculation. It is no longer a matter of mere expectation and of wonder whether we shall succeed or not. It is a settled industry, finding support for thousands of people. These are entitled to the privileges of voting for the head of the State and members of the Legislature. (Applause)."

It is against this background that the events of 1892 must be seen. With the growing conviction that they were permanently settled in the State, the Uitlanders became increasingly aware of their 'grievances'.

The First signs of the Storm.

The first signs of reviving Uitlander activity, after the calm which reigned during the latter part of 1890 and the first part of 1891, came with the new Volksraad session, when petitions were submitted on a number of subjects, including the cancellation of the dynamite monopoly,[9] the stricter control of the sale of liquor to natives,[10] and the granting of official status to the English language.

By August 1891, the old Johannesburg Sanitary Board[11] having proved itself corrupt, there was widespread agitation afoot for the Government to grant a municipal constitution to the town,[12] and by March 1892 it was apparent that the Uitlanders were fast getting back to the tracks they had abandoned in 1890. On 25th of that month, the President visited Johannesburg - his first visit since the Flag Incident - and, though the relations remained cordial, complaints went up on a number of subjects, including now for the first time again, taxation and the franchise.[13]

~~New Sources for Complaint.~~

~~The Volksraad session which followed, added fuel to the Uitlander fire which was, thus, showing signs of flaring up again.~~[14]

9) A monopoly for the manufacture of explosives within the Republic had been granted to one, Edward Lippert, in 1888. (For terms of concession see Volksstem, Supplement, 28.6.88). The Uitlanders complained that the terms of the concession had not been complied with, that the quality of the dynamite was inferior, and that the price being charged by the concessionaire was unduly high.
10) See E.V.R.1891, arts. 351-61 & 474-5, and T.V.R.1891, arts.439 898 & 955.
11) An elected body with limited municipal powers.
12) Star, 7.8.91, 8.8.91, 11.8.91, 12.8.91 & 27.11.91
13) Star, 25.3.92.

New Sources of Complaint.

The Volksraad session which followed added fuel to the Uitlander fire which was thus showing signs of flaring up again.[14] Uitlander petitions for the granting of official status to the English language were turned down,[15] and similar treatment was accorded to requests for a permanent High Court at Johannesburg.[16] A law passed for the stricter control of the sale of liquor to natives[17] was regarded as only half-meeting the Uitlanders' requests, which had included that there might be full local control over the liquor licensing boards.[18] At the same time a customs tariff was ratified, increasing the ad valorem duty on imported goods from 5 to 7½ per cent,[19] and a new Education Law was passed, providing for the stricter enforcement of the principle that only those schools giving instruction through the medium of the Dutch language should receive State subsidisation.[20] Finally, and most important of all as regards its immediate consequences, a request for increased municipal powers by the Johannesburg Sanitary Board was refused by the Volksraad.[21]

The Formation of the Transvaal National Union.

It was the refusal of this latter request that provided the occasion for that surge of agitation which culminated in the formation of a new Uitlander political organisation.

Directly it became known, on August 5th, that the Sanitary Board's request had been turned down, discontent began to manifest itself, and on August 9th the Sanitary Board announced its intention of convening a mass protest meeting the following Saturday.[22]

14) For an indication of the dissatisfaction aroused by this session of the Volksraad, see speeches by Tudhope and others at first meeting of Transvaal National Union, Star 22.8.92.
15) E.V.R. 1892, art.986.
16) E.V.R. 1892, arts. 448 & 688.
17) T.V.R. 1892, arts. 424 & 781.
18) Star, 1.9.92.
19) Locale Wetten 1890-3, Wet No. 20, 1892. The Uitlanders appear to have overlooked the fact that the tariff provided for a reduction of special duties, in large measure compensating for the increased ad valorem duty. Cf. Wet No. 3, 1890, and Wet No. 20,1892.
20) Locale Wetten 1890-3, Wet No.8,1892. The law was modified by a Volksraad resolution (E.V.R.1892, art 344) providing that in predominantly Uitlander areas, schools giving instruction through the medium of a language other than Dutch might receive subsidies. The Uitlanders remained dissatisfied, however; the resolution was to have effect for three years only, the progress of their children was still to be determined upon their knowledge of Dutch, and the scale of subsidisation was to be lower than in the case of Dutch-medium schools.(For protests of Uitlanders against new Education Law, see E.V.R.1892, art 251, & Star 26.3.92 & 5.4.92)
21)E.V.R. 1892, art.1069
22) Star, 9.8.92.

The agitation thus commenced was like the proverbial gathering snowball. Within a few days the voice of complaint was being raised on other subjects, and on 11th August, The Star declared:

> "The public meeting which is to be held on Saturday night will take the form of an earnest and determined protest not only against the particular injury which has caused it to be convened ----- but against the generally offensive attitude which the Volksraad has chosen to assume, whenever the interests of Johannesburg are in question------ There have been things said and things done. It is the things done which stick in the throat of the community and make its gorge rise against a body which does not appear to possess the most elementary notions of gratitude for service rendered."

At these signs the Government appears to have taken alarm, and a provisional measure was rushed through the Volksraad, creating general regulations under which Johannesburg, in common with other towns, might apply for increased municipal powers.[23] The regulations were held to be 'undemocratic',[24] however, and the discontent continued.

Even had the regulations been such as to be received in a more favourable spirit, it is doubtful whether they would have had any effect in stemming the Uitlander tide. The new Law had come too late. By Saturday, August 13th, when its provisions were published, there was already a full-scale political agitation afoot. That night the Sanitary Board's mass protest meeting was held at the Amphitheatre, and, directly it was adjourned, the assembled crowd proceeded to hold a political meeting. The need for organisation was expressed by speaker after speaker, and the decision was taken to hold a further meeting the following Saturday night, a committee being appointed to draw up a programme in the meanwhile.[25]

A week of growing excitement followed, and it was clear that matters were moving apace.[26] The climax came at the new meeting on Saturday, August 20th. With an Amphitheatre 'packed to its uttermost dimensions' by an audience estimated at 3,000, the committee submitted its programme, and the audience approved it with one voice. A new Uitlander organisation was to be formed - 'The Transvaal National Union'[27]

The authors of the constitution of the new organisation clearly

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23) E.V.R. 1892, art.1114.
24) Star, 12.8.92.
25) Star, 15.8.92
26) Star, 15.8.92, 16.8.92, 17.8.92, 18.8.92, 19.8.92 & 20.8.92.
27) Star, 22.8.92, & S.& D.News, 22.8.92.

owed their inspiration to the Uitlander organisations which had gone before.[28] The entire control and management of the affairs of the Union was to be vested in the hands of a committee. The objects of the Union were to be: "(a) The maintenance of the independence of the South African Republic, (b) To obtain by all constitutional means equal rights for all citizens of the Republic, and to obtain the redress of all grievances." Membership of the Union was to be open to all white male residents of the State.

The Uitlanders had returned to old paths. Once again an attempt was to be made at organised constitutional agitation.

Supporters & Leaders.

But though the Transvaal National Union was modelled on the pattern of the past, its scale was vastly different from anything that had preceeded it. The crowds which attended at the Amphitheatre on the nights of August 13th and August 20th, and the reception accorded the new movement in the press,[29] indicated a greater degree of popular support for the National Union than had been enjoyed by either the Republican Union or the Political Reform Association. When a month later the Labour Union[30] identified itself with the National Union, it was clear that there was greater unanimity of purpose amongst the Uitlanders than had ever been the case before.[31]

One other point was important. The Uitlanders now had men in their ranks who could serve as leaders. Several of the members of the committee of the National Union were men experienced in political affairs.[32] John Tudhope, the President of the Union, and J.W. Leonard had both been Ministers of the Crown at the Cape. Charles Leonard had played a prominent part in the formation and affairs

28) For full text of constitution see Appendix A.
29) Vide: Star. 15.8.92, 16.8.92, 17.8.92, 18.8.92, 19.8.92, 20.8.92 22.8.92, 23.8.92 & 24.8.92., and S.& D. News, 22.8.92 & 23.8.92.
30) Early in 1892 the workers on the Witwatersrand had banded themselves together into an organisation known as the Transvaal Labour Union (Star, 4.1.92 & 18.1.92) and although the Union was dissolved early in August, it was almost immediately resuscitated at a mass meeting of some 2,000 workers held on August 19th (Star, 6.8.92, 8.8.92, 12.8.92, 16.8.92, 17.8.92, 19.8.92 & 20.8.92) The official name of the new organisation was the Witwatersrand Mine Employees and Mechanics Union, but it continued to be known as the 'Labour Union'.
31) Star, 3.10.92
32) For names of men constituting committee of National Union at time of its inception, vide: Appendix A.)

of the Empire League, established at the Cape in 1885. Edward Hancock was chairman of the Johannesburg Sanitary Board. George Goch had been member for Kimberley in the Cape Parliament. Other members of the Committee, such as the delegates from the Labour Union, had had experience of the management and conduct of organised action; and the remainder, even if they had played no part in public affairs, were all drawn from the business and professional ranks, and were men equipped to carry out the administrative side of committee work.[33]

With such the foundations on which it rested, the prospects of the Transvaal National Union were better than had been those of either of its two predecessors.

33) James Hay, V. Wolff, S.W. Jameson, W. St.John Carr, E. Hancock, G.H. Goch, H.A. Rogers, J. Tudhope, W. Hosken and others were members of the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines. D. Holt, C. Malcomess and H.F.E. Pistorius were members of the Chamber of Commerce. J.G. Auret, Charles Leonard, and J.W. Leonard belonged to the legal profession.

VI.

AGITATION AND EXPANSION.

Two tasks were apparently set itself by the Transvaal National Union in the early days of its existence: in the first place, the conduct of that constitutional agitation which was the purpose of its formation; secondly, expansion and the formation of branch unions in other parts of the country.

Constitutional Agitation.

In the matter of constitutional agitation, the Union certainly wasted no time in setting to work. Four mass meetings were convened in the two months immediately succeeding its formation,[1] and various subjects were singled out for special attack. Of these, the franchise question and fiscal matters clearly lay closest to the Uitlander heart, and the agitation was most sustained where these two matters were concerned.

The first step was taken barely a few minutes after the birth

1) The meetings were held on 27th August, 10th September, 24th September and 22nd October. Vide: Star, and S.&D. News, 29.8.92, 12.9.92, 26.9.92 & 24.10.92.

birth of the Union.[2] A resolution was passed reading,

> "That this meeting of the Transvaal National Union regards the great number of persons who have taken up their abode in the Republic, and who contribute mainly to its support, as entitled to participate in its government, and consider that the right of voting for members of the Legislature and the office of President should be extended to all male white citizens of full age who have resided for two years in the State, and who occupy or own property, freehold or leasehold, to the value of £100, or who are earing a salary of £100 per annum";

and this resolution, carrying as it did the unanimous approval of the 3,000 men assembled at the Amphitheatre, was submitted to Government with the request that it should be laid before the Volksraad. The Executive refused the request since, under the existing laws, a proposition such as that embodied in the resolution could not be taken into consideration by the Volksraad until it had been published in the Staatscourant for three months.[3] Frank disappointment was expressed by the committee of the Transvaal National Union, that the request had simply been turned down without even 'some recognition of the disabilities under which the Uitlanders laboured',[4] but the agitation continued nevertheless.

At the mass meeting of the Union on 27th August, fiscal matters came up for consideration. Speeches were delivered 'demonstrating' that the burden of taxation fell most heavily on the mining community and resolutions were passed urging that the new customs tariff should not be enforced, and that taxation should be more evenly distributed over the whole community. These resolutions, like the one on the franchise, were to be submitted to Government.[5]

Early the following week a deputation from the committee of the National Union interviewed the Executive at Pretoria, and presented the Uitlanders' case viva voce.[6] The Executive, however, held out but little hope for their wishes being met. At the next mass meeting of the Union, protest was accordingly recorded against the policy of the Government, and the assembled crowd agreed,[7]

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2) Star, 22.8.92
3) Star & S.& D. News, 29/8/92
4) Idem
5) Idem.
6) Star, 2.9.92
7) Star and S.& D. News, 12.9.92

> "That in view of the Government having failedto supply any satisfactory reply to the representations of the people with regard to the granting of the franchise, and the suspension of the oppressive Customs' tariff ----- this meeting of the Union resolves to appeal forthwith to the burghers of the country through the agency of branches of this Union to be established right throughout the electoral districts of the State."

At the same time, to minimise the effects of the Government's decision to maintain the franchise qualifications as they stood, all Uitlanders were urged to register themselves immediately on the field-cornet's books, and it was decided to draw up a petition to the Government requesting that new-comers might be allowed to register on the field-cornet's books with retrospective effect as from the date of their entry into the country.[8]

Two weeks later another Amphitheatre meeting was held, and the attack broadened out. An address was presented by J.G. Auret, a member of the committee,[9] in which the whole Constitution of the Republic came up for review. The President, it was claimed, was "virtually the controlling spirit of the Volksraad", despite the fact that he was not responsible to the people. The Dual Chamber system was declared to be one without any practical utility, and the Judiciary was held to be lacking that independence which was its due. The Grondwet, or constitution, was in fact an antiquated instrument and"totally unsuited to the requirements of the present advanced times." At the close of the meeting, it was decided that the address should be printed in the Dutch and English languages and distributed throughout the Republic.[10]

With this step taken, and with the petition on the subject of registration already circulating for signature, the leaders of the National Union appear to have been content to let agitation rest for a while, and to devote themselves to the business of 'getting at the people' in other parts of the country. Accordingly, the next mass meeting was announced to be the last for some time to come, and

8) Idem. The period of a person's residence in the Republic was calculated as from the date of his registration on the field-cornet's books.
9) For full text of address, vide: Leonard, The Political Situation in South Africa, Appendix 8.
10) Star, & S.& D. News, 26.9.92.

the evening's proceedings were largely devoted to the ratification of a programme ~~approval of the committee's programme~~ submitted by the committee. A manifesto was to be prepared by Charles Leonard, "which would state in plain but powerful language, the origins and ends of the movement and which would be sent to every farmstead in the Transvaal," and a body of rules were approved to guide the committee in the formation of branch unions.[11]

Expansion.

The last two months of 1892 were devoted to the implementation of this programme of expansion. Charles Leonard's manifesto was duly prepared, and by the middle of November was being circulated to "every homestead in the Republic". The manifesto took the form of "a statement, in the language of the land, of the inception, growth and purposes of the Transvaal National Union", and was clearly intended as a piece of propaganda to win over supporters in the outlying districts of the Republic.[12]

At the same time, the business of forming branch unions in other centres of the country was gone ahead with. Before the end of October correspondence had already been opened with Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Rustenburg, Pretoria and Heidelberg, "and in one or two cases branches had been opened".[13] The Union now made a more determined effort in this direction. Members of the committee visited various centres, public meetings were held, the objects of the Union explained, and in several cases branches were formed. By the close of the year, Boksburg, Germiston, Krugersdorp, Heidelberg and Nigel had all been included within the itenerary of the Union.

11) Star, and S.& D. News, 24.10.92.
12) Vide: Star, 17.11.92
13) Star & S.& D. News, 24.10.92
14) Star, 21.11.92, 19.12.92 & 17.12.92.

VII.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING 1893.

During the first few months of 1893 the Transvaal National Union maintained a policy of total quiescence. Presidential and Volksraad elections were pending,[1] and the leaders of the National Union appear to have been anxious to conduct no agitation which might

1) For details of elections see Star, February 1893.

arouse fears and suspicions amongst the electorate and jeopardise the chances of the 'progressive' candidates.[2] Even after the voting was over, active measures were not immediately resumed. The result of the Presidential election was being disputed,[3] and on March 4th. it was announced that "it is probable that its (i.e. the National Union's) policy of total quiescence will be maintained pending the decision in the Presidential election, when operations will be resumed with redoubled vigour".[4]

In the meanwhile, however, although there was no active agitation, the committee of the Union appears to have been quietly proceeding with its task,[5] and in the same announcement it was stated:

> "An important meeting of the National Union Committee was held last evening, at which the future policy of the Union was discussed and agreed upon. Amongst other decisions arrived at, it was resolved to prepare petitions to the Volksraad on the Franchise, Customs Tariff, Registration, Private Bill Legislature, and right of presentation of petitions during sittings of the Volksraad."

These petitions were duly drawn up and submitted to Pretoria. The one for extension of the franchise carried with it 4,507 signatures; that for retrospective registration 4,411 signatures; that for reduction of the customs tariff 5,008 signatures, and all were supplemented by similar petitions from Barberton.[6]

In May, the Presidential dispute having been settled in favour of Kruger, and the new session of the Volksraad having been opened without any reference to the reforms desired by the Uitlanders, the National Union decided to revert to active agitation, and it was announced that a mass meeting was to be convened "to lend all the moral weight and support which such a gathering carries" to the petitions of the Union.[7] At the meeting which was held on the night of May 27th, resolutions were passed supplementing the petitions already submitted for extension of the franchise and for reduction of import duties, and a third resolution was adopted, reading:

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2) S.& D. News, 26.5.92. Candidates opposing the supporters of President Kruger were generally classed as 'progressives'
3) For details of dispute, see Star, 26.2.92, 27.2.93, 18.3.93 25.3.93 & 14.4.93.
4) Star, 4.3.93
5) Idem.
6) Vide: E.V.R. 1893, arts. 497-8, art.336, & art.1063 a.
7) S. & D. News, 12.5.93 & 26.5.93, & Star, 24.5.93.

"That this meeting is of opinion that any measure for the extension of the franchise should be accompanied by a Ballot Act, to be applicable at least to all mining centres, and further, that the naturalisation fee should be reduced from £5. to 5/-. so as to be within reach of all classes".

These resolutions were "to be conveyed by a deputation from the members of the Committee to the Executive without delay, asking them to declare urgency, and deal with these matters in the present session of the Volksraad".[8]

The result of all these efforts on the part of the National Union was small. The resolutions and petitions submitted by it remained unacted upon, or, if they were taken into consideration by the Volksraad, were not completely met.[9] Similar treatment was accorded to other Uitlander petitions, drawn up independently of the National Union, requesting that a permanent High Court might be established at Johannesburg, that the Sanitary Board might be granted extended powers, that the Education Laws might be altered to provide greater facilities for the teaching of alien children, that the Dutch and English languages might be given equal status, and that the Native Pass Laws might be amended to ease the dearth of labour on the mines.[10] Finally, the dynamite monopoly which, had been cancelled by the Government the previous year, on the grounds that the terms of the concession had not been complied with,[10a] was reinstituted in a slightly modified form as a Government monopoly, leasable to an Agent;[11] and when a joint deputation from the Chambers of Mines and Commerce interviewed theGovernment on the subject, the proposals put forward by the deputation were turned down by the Executive.[11a]

The ire of the National Union appears to have been roused by these several actions of the Volksraad and Executive. A mass meeting of the Union was held on the night of September 23rd.[12] The chairman

8) Star and S.& D. News, 29.5.93
9) E.V.R, 1893, arts.1076-8 & 1342-4, art.337 & arts. 1340-1.
10) E.V.R. 1893, arts.793, 794 & 911, art.423, arts.509, 947 & 1000, arts 355, 357, and arts.409, 517-19, 1160-1, 1254-6.
10a) E.V.R. 1892, arts.59,111,783 & 1274-76
11) E.V.R. 1893, arts.1035, 1068, 1069, 1074 & 1267-1304
11a) Star, 10.8.93
12) Star & S.& D.News, 25.9.93.

admitted candidly that the results of the committee's efforts had been 'simply nil'. Angry speeches were delivered, and 'indignant protest' was recorded by the meeting against the actions of the Government, and especially against its actions in connection with the dynamite monopoly. At the same time, Charles Leonard outlined a programme for making the Union 'a force in the politics of the country'. Henceforth, no election was to go uncontested, and all the funds which Johannesburg could muster were to go to the assistance of 'progressive' candidates. Finally, it was resolved to 'renew and continue agitation in order to secure reform in the Government of the country'.

In fact, agitation was not immediately resumed.[13] Conflict developed between the Transvaal National Union and the Labour Union, and the latter months of 1893 brought with them a local dispute which not only intensified the differences between the two organisations, but which engrossed the Uitlanders ' full attention.

The Rift in the Lute.

At the National Union mass meeting of 27th May, there had already been signs of conflict between the Labour Union and the Transvaal National Union; and the resolution adopted at this meeting in connection with a Ballot Act and reduction of naturalisation fees was manifestly a bid for the good favour of Labour.[14] The bid was unsuccessful, however. By the middle of June a rift had definitely developed between the two organisations;[15] and by the time of the National Union mass meeting of September 23rd, it was clear that combination between them was a thing of the past. The fact that the National Union espoused the cause of fighting the Government over the dynamite monopoly, which was primarily a capitalist issue, and the fact that the Union suddenly started receiving

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13) Star, 19.12.93.

14) S. A. News, 29.5.93. See further, Star, 29.5.93. In the reports of the meeting, note in particular speech by Raitt. (The Ballot was regarded by the workers as a safe-guard against the possible contingency of the capitalists perhaps influencing elections.)

15) Star, 10.6.93, & 15.6.93 What the reason for this rift was, it is difficult to say. The reason given by the Labour leaders themselves, many months later, was that the committee of the National Union had held its meetings at an hour "when all working men were busily engaged, and could not possibly attend."(Vide; Star, 18.12.93.)

funds from unknown sources, led the Labour Union and its supporters to the inference that the National Union had become the instrument of big money.[16]

This conviction was strengthened by the developments of the latter part of 1893. The Johannesburg Waterworks Company,[17] having failed, in the opinion of many, to provide an adequate supply of water for the town, a scheme was formulated for the acquisition and supply by the Sanitary Board of water from an abundant source named Wonderfontein. By the end of November, the scheme was occupying practically the whole attention of the inhabitants of Johannesburg. The scheme was opposed by the shareholders of the Company, and apparently also by the capitalist and property owning classes. The tenant classes, on the other hand, appear to have favoured the idea of the Sanitary Board taking over the water supply.[18] A public meeting of ratepayers was convened on December 7th. in order to give the citizens of Johannesburg the opportunity of expressing their wishes, but it ended in 'fiasco'.[18a] It was thereupon decided to hold a plebiscite of the people to settle the question. The opponents of the scheme attempted to confine the vote to property owners, however, and the obstruction was such that by December 1894 the plebiscite had still not been taken.[19] It was this 'Wonderfontein dispute' that converted the opposition between the Labour Union and the National Union into open enmity. The Labour Union claimed that the National Union - since it stood "to secure the franchise for all Europeans residing in the Transvaal" - should oppose the capitalists' attempts to restrict the vote; and the refusal of the National Union to interfere in the dispute was held to be conclusive evidence that it was now the pawn of the capitalists. By the end of 1893, the two organ-

16) S & D.News, 15.8.93, 17.8.93, 18.8.93, 24.8.93, 28.8.93, 11.9.93.
17) A private Company, responsible for supplying water to the town of Johannesburg.
18) The whole question was of an intricate nature, and was confused by private interests being involved. The contemporary newspaper reports, while providing a general indication of the course of the dispute, are unsatisfactory, as much is assumed as understood on the part of the readers. A resumé of the dispute is given by the Star of 30.11.93, but even this is unsatisfactory as the article is clearly biassed against the Sanitary Board scheme and in favour of the Waterworks Company. See further Rose, The Truth about the Transvaal. p.30 & pp.164-5.
18a) Star & S.& D. News, 8.12.93.
19) Star, 11.12.94 & 12.12.94.

isations were at daggers drawn.[20]

What effect this schism had on the strength of the National Union, it is difficult to say. It seems unlikely, however, that the Union was much affected. It is probable that the main body of support for the National Union had always come from the middle classes,[21] and that even during the period of the Labour Union's affiliation, the workers as a body had not taken much active interest in the affairs of the Union.[23] At any rate, the Labour Union itself appears to have been enjoying only a small following amongst the workers by this time,[24] and it is doubtful whether its defection would have involved the defection of any working-class men who might have been supporting the National Union. It is probable, thus, that the strength of the Union continued much the same as before. In its issue of 24th January, 1894, the Standard & Diggers News declared: "It seems as if nothing could stir the National Union, the 'friend of the Uitlander' into life again." The Standard and Dggers News was mistaking the symptoms, however.The National Union had definitely abandoned the policy of frequent mass meetings which had characterised the early days of its existenee, but it was not dead. The extent of the support which it received on various occasions during 1894 & 1895, showed that it was still the principal vehicle for the expression of the wishes of that section of the Uitlander community which favoured political agitation.

20) Star, 13.12.93 18.12.93, 3.1.94, 8.1.94, & S.& D. News, 18.12.93.
21) Vide: Bryce, op.cit. p.415.
23) It is worthy of note that the committee of the National Union was, from the start, made up almost exclusively of middle class men. Had the working classes really taken an active interest in the affairs of the Union, they would, almost inevitably have taken steps to ensure a more thoroughly representative committee.
24) Star, 3.1.94, 5.1.94, 8.1.94, 12.4.94, 21.4.94, 23.4.94, 16.5.94.

VIII.

THE COMMANDEERING CRISIS.

The Franchise Petition of 1894.

The first few months of 1894 were productive of little active agitation on the Uitlanders' part. The main concern appears to have been with the preparation of memorials by various bodies for presentation to the Volksraad during its impending session. The Transvaal National Union for its part, drew up one for extension of the franchise and on April 24th The Star reported; "The franchise petition, which has been circulated in the town for the last few days has already received upwards of 10,000 signatures". By the beginning of May, the several petitions were ready and on 5th of that month were handed over to Carl Jeppe, the local Volksraad representative. The memorials were numerous and covered a wide range of subjects. That prepared by the National Union on the franchise was clearly the most important

however. It carried 13,133 signatures, all of which had been collected in a regular manner according to the testimony of James Haig, who presented it; and in receiving it, Carl Jeppe acknowledged it as the largest petition ever submitted to the Volksraad.[2]

The petition came under the consideration of the Volksraad on 31st May. The hopes which had been centred on it on account of its size were falsified by the results, however. The petition was rejected by the Volksraad, and instead, a new law was passed, stipulating that children not born in the country should, on registering at the age of 16, follow the franchisal status of their fathers, and that no extension of the franchise might take place without the measure having been published in the Staatscourant for at least one year.[3]

These two measures - the rejection of the petition from 13,000, and the passing of a new and stricter franchise law - evoked practically no immediate comment on the Uitlander side.[4] By the beginning of June, a crisis had arisen which was overshadowing all else.

The Commandeering of British Subjects.

During the latter part of April, native troubles had developed in the Northern Transvaal over the refusal of the Chief Malaboch to pay taxes,[5] and early in May, the Government decided to draft a Commando of 1,500 men[6] to take action against the recalcitrant tribes. The drafting began towards the middle of the month and amongst those commandeered were not only burghers of the State, but furthermore a number of British subjects resident at Pretoria.[7] Under the Commando Law of the Republic, all inhabitants of the State, between the ages of 16 & 60, were liable for Commando service, and, if commandeered, were obliged to equip themselves at their own expense with horse, saddle, rifle, ammunition, and four days' rations.[8] Despite these provisions in the law of the land, it was claimed that the drafting had been promiscuous, and contrary to international law, and within a matter of days an agitation developed over the lot of the comman-

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2) Star, 5.5.94
3) E.V.R. 1894, arts.285, 286 & 375. The Uitlanders interpreted the law as requiring alien children, whether born in the country or not, to follow the franchisal status of their parents. This interpretation of the law was clearly wrong. Art.1 provided that all persons born within the Republic were entitled to full-burgher rights: (Vide: Locale Wetten 1894, Wet No.3, Art I. 1°)
4) Star 6.6.94, for only comment
5) Star, 20.4.94, 23.4.94
6) Star 5.5.94, 9.5.94, 10.5.94
7) Star, 17.5.94 & 18.5.94.
8) C.8159, pp.10-11.

deered British men, who, unlike the subjects of certain other countries,[9] were not protected by special treaty.

The commandeered men, for their part, appealed immediately to the representatives of the British Government in South Africa,[10] and when the High Commissioner, after legal advice, returned the 'disappointing' reply that British subjects, who had not registered themselves with the Agent were liable for military service,[11] an appeal was sent direct to the British Government.[12]

At the same time protest demonstrations and meetings were convened at Pretoria and an Association was formed known as the 'Uitlanders' Defence and Protection Association' "with the object of supporting any men who might openly defy orders and refuse to proceed to the North".[12a] The Volksraad passed a measure whereby aliens might absolve themselves from military service by paying a certain levy,[13] but it availed nothing. The Uitlanders had apparently determined to make an "issue" of commandeering. The Uitlanders' Defence and Protection Association started collecting funds at Pretoria to fight the case[14] and the commandeered men were encouraged to refuse to obey orders. From Johannesburg, there came the message that the Transvaal National Union regarded the commandeering as illegal, and that 'in the event of any Uitlander refusing to proceed to Zoutpansberg, the Union would provide funds to appeal to the courts, and would at once raise further funds to adequately provide for any distress resulting.[15]

Accordingly, when the Commando began to be assembled towards the end of May, several of the men refused to attend.[16] Notice was served upon the defaulters three times, but they refused to obey on each occasion,[18] and early in June they were arrested for trial.[19]

While the trial was proceeding the agitation abated somewhat. The abatement was only temporary, however. The judgment of the High court, which was delivered on 18th June, was to the effect that five of the six men committed for trial were liable for military service, and on June 20th these men were re-arrested for forcible removal to the front.[20] Immediately agitation commenced again. At Pretoria, close

9) Vide: Star, 18.5.94, 19.5.94.
10) C.8159, p.5
11) C.8159, pp.6-7 & Star, 22.5.94
12) C.8159, pp.8-9, & p.1.
12a) Star, 19.5.94, 22.5.94
13) E.V.R.1894, arts 572 & 573.
14) Star, 23.5.94
15) Idem.
16) Star, 24.5.94, 25.5.94 & 26.5.94.
18) Star, 24.5.94, 25.5.94, 28.5.94, 31.5.94, 6.6.94.
19) For reports of proceedings before High Court, vide: Star, 9.6.94 16.6.94, 18.6.94, 20.6.94.
20) Star, 18.6.94, 20.6.94, 21.6.94

on £200 was subscribed on the very afternoon that the men left for the front, and the Uitlanders' Defence and Protection Association despatched a cable to the British Government, declaring the situation to be 'intolerable', and calling, in no uncertain terms for diplomatic intervention.[21] From Johannesburg further cables were despatched; and the National Union announced its intention of convening a mass meeting, and cabled the British Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, to the effect that:[22]

> "Unless prompt steps are taken to release British subjects commandeered, and prevent any recurrence, Union fears rioting and bloodshed, which it will be powerless to prevent".

The talk of bloodshed and rioting was possibly in somewhat of an alarmist strain, but even so, there can be no doubt that the situation was more serious than it had ever been since the time of the Flag Incident. On June 21st it was announced that the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, was to visit Pretoria.[23] On receipt of the news, the National Union cancelled its arrangements for a mass meeting,[24] but the agitation reached an all-time high-level. Both at Pretoria and Johannesburg addresses were drawn up to be presented to the High Commissioner;[25] the Transvaal National Union issued appeals for "ladies and gentlemen who are willing to aid in obtaining signatures to the memorial"; and The Star covered its pages with slogans of the type, "Tired of our burdens - sign the address", "Delays are dangerous - sign the address." At the same time, at a committee meeting of the National Union,[26] a resolution was carried nem con. reading:

> "That any mere abrogation or modification of the Commando Law which is not accompanied by the removal of all disabilities under which aliens are now suffering, will not be regarded as a satisfactory settlement by this Union".

The Visit of Sir Henry Loch.

Loch arrived at Pretoria on 25th June by train, and straight away there was a demonstration of how feeling was running. On the High Commissioner and the President entering the State carriage which was awaiting them at the station, a group of men pushed forward from the crowds which were gathered. The carriage was unhorsed, one of the men jumped onto the box carrying a Union Jack, and the remainder proceeded to drag the carriage to the hotel where the High Commissioner's suite was to be accommodated, "God Save the Queen" and "Rule

21) Star, 21.6.94 & C.8159, p.9.
22) Star, 21.6.94 & C.8159, p.9
23) Star, 21.6.94
24) Star 23.6.94.
25) Star, 22.6.94
26) Star, 23.6.94

Brittania" being sung by the way. On arrival at the hotel, the crowd presented an address of welcome to the High Commissioner, and he replied. The President was, apparently, left seated alone in the carriage during these proceedings, and was only relieved from his 'discomforture' by the action of a group of burghers, who took the step of drawing the carriage to the Government Buildings.[27]

In a despatch to the British Government, Loch declared himself satisfied that no personal insult had been intended to the President.[28] Whether this was so or not, the burgher population appear to have been incensed by the incident. According to The Star, armed groups of burghers rode into Pretoria from the surrounding districts;[29] sympathy was expressed with the President;[30] and the very day after the incident, the Volksraad instituted a special enquiry, several of the members apparently regarding the incident as of a treasonable nature.[31]

In certain Uitlander circles, the incident was also frowned upon, and messages were sent to the President disclaiming all sympathy with the demonstration.[32] These expressions appear to have belied the general trend of Uitlander feeling, however. The Star, far from condemning the incident, hailed it as a proof "of the depth and extent to which public feeling has been aroused,"[33] and the agitation in connection with the commandeering continued both at Pretoria and Johannesburg with undiminished vigour.

On June 26th, "a number of patriotic Britons" attended at the British Residency, for the purpose of presenting the High Commissioner with the address which had been got up at Pretoria and signed by 550 persons.[34] In the address, the High Commissioner was solicited to bestow his "gravest and most serious consideration" on the position of British subjects with regard to military service, and complaint was raised against the franchise regulations of the country and the action of the Volksraad in rejecting "with laughter and scorn" the petition from 13,000 "praying for some relaxation of the unjust franchise laws." The leader of the deputation presenting the address

27) Star, 22.6.94, Volksstem, 27.6.94; C.8159, p.19; Kruger, Memoirs I, p.247.
28) C.8159, p.19
29) Star, 26.6.94.
30) Van Oordt, op.cit. p.595.
31) E.V.R.1894, arts.611 & 805.
32) Star, 30.6.94, op.cit. p.287n.
33) Star, 26.6.94
34) Star. 27.6.94 & C.8159, pp.30-2.

raised further grievances in his speech, and Loch, in reply counselled patience and a conciliatory policy. The High Commissioner appears to have been impressed with the gravity of the situation, however. Although the official purpose of his visit was to negotiate over Swaziland, he devoted a considerable portion of his time to trying to bring about a solution of the crisis, and to arranging a treaty with the Transvaal Government under which British subjects would be exempt from military service.[35] On 28th July - the Government apparently regarding the situation as too explosive to risk the High Commissioner actually visiting Johannesburg[36] - a deputation from Johannesburg waited on Loch at Pretoria, and presented him with the address which had been prepared by the Transvaal National Union, and which had received no less than 14,800 signatures in the few days of its circulation.[37] The address was identical in terms with that presented by the Pretoria deputation,[38] and the spokesman of the deputation called for 'the intervention of our Queen to ameliorate the condition.' The High Commissioner had, however, in the meanwhile been pursuing his negotiations with the Transvaal Government, and at the close of the interview he was able to announce:[39]

> "I can further tell you that with regard to the commandeering, the assurance of the Government of the South African Republic will be confirmed by negotiations to be entered into shortly, so that any liabilities you are subject to in that way are at an end."

Loch returned to Cape Town the following day, but by the time he left, the negotiations were complete. The Transvaal Government had expressed itself willing "to concede most-favoured-nation treatment to British subjects with regard to Military service,"[40] and arrangements had been made for the return of the commandeered men serving at the front, as soon as a relief force of burghers could be obtained.[41]

The Crisis Continues.

With these arrangements concluded, the tension did not immediately relax. The Uitlanders appear, in fact, to have reached the

35) For details of negotiations, vide: C.8159,pp.22-4.
36) Vide: C. 8159,pp.20 & 24-6, and Star, 28.6.94.
37) Star, 29.6.94 & C.8159,pp.28-30
38) Vide: C. 8159,p.30. For text of address, vide: Appendix B.
39) C. 8159, p.29.
40) C. 8159, pp.21-2
41) C. 8159, p.24.

stage of being 'ungrateful for small mercies', and on June 30th, the National Union despatched a telegram to Loch expressing 'regret that the terms obtained by him respecting the return of the prisoners were not more favourable'.[42] Fuel was added to the fire by the fact that, although the commandeering of British subjects was now at an end, they were being requisitioned for supplies and money to cover the expenses of the War.[43]

Such was the indignation at this new development, apparently, that the British Agent cabled Loch: "If British community were armed, there might be an outbreak in South African Republic at any moment".[44] The National Union girded itself for the fray, and a mass meeting of the Union was convened on the night of July 14th. At the meeting it was declared that: "If the present policy (of the Government) were persisted in, blood would be shed in the streets of Johannesburg" and, from a host of other matters protested against, the Commando Law was singled out and subjected to a barrage of attack:[45]

> "While we subscribe to the doctrine that every citizen can be called upon to bear arms when occasion requires, we protest against any inhabitant being compelled to render unpaid military service when a sufficient number of volunteers can be obtained; and above all we protest most emphatically against the indiscriminate commandeering of money and goods from aliens while the Trasruey is full to overflowing".

The End of the Crisis.

The whole thing was rather in the nature of an epilogue to what had gone before, however, and did not last for long. After diplomatic negotation, it was established that all inhabitants of the State, no matter if protected against personal military service, were liable to be levied for contributions in money and goods;[46] and on the same day as this became known, the commandeered men who had been forcibly removed to the front returned home.[47] A few days later, the Transvaal National Union gave a dinner in honour of the men, and with the celebration the Commandeering Crisis came to an end.[48]

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42) C. 8159, p.34
43) C. 8159, p.34 & Star, 7.7.94
44) C. 8159, p.34.
45) Star, & S.& D. News, 16.7.94
46) C. 8159, p.40.
47) Star, 18.7.94.
48) 23.7.94, Star.

IX.

THE END OF CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION.

The Altered Attitude.

After the Commandeering Crisis, Uitlander feeling appears to have remained permanently tense. Apart from the action of the Volksraad in connection with the franchise and the crisis itself, a law was passed during the latter part of July, creating provisions against the holding of public meetings if these threatened the public peace,[1] and the Uitlanders appear to have regarded this measure as specially directed against themselves.[2] Even the mining magnates, who had hitherto held aloof from active participation in political affairs,[3] now began to alter their tack.[3a] At a dinner given by the Johannesburg Sanitary Board, Lionel Phillips, the Chairman of the Chamber of Mines, delivered a speech which left no doubt that his sympathies lay fully with the Transvaal National Union, and in which he advocated the continuance of the policy of agitation.[4] In private Phillips went even further. During his visit to the Republic, Sir Henry Loch had apparently spoken to him about the arming of the Witwatersrand;[5] and in his correspondence Phillips now started talking in terms of 'getting the mining companies to posses themselves of a few rifles', so that Johannesburg might be able to hold its own for a few days at least against the burghers.[6]

Lines of Policy.

As an immediate step, the Uitladers determined upon something less martial than the measures mooted by Phillips in his letters. Volksraad elections were pending early in the New Year, and it was decided to establish a secret fund to be used in support of 'pro-

1) E.V.R. 1894, arts.843-66 and art.882.
2) Star, 17.7.94.
3) It is possible, as was claimed by the Labour Union, that after the re-institution of the dynamite monopoly in 1893, the capitalists had begun to support the National Union with funds. Even if this was so, however, these men had taken no active part in the affairs of the Union.
3a) As evidence of the influence of the commandeering crisis on the outlook of the capitalists, vide, HCC. 374, 375, 381.
4) Star, 23.11.94. 5) Groenboek, No.2, 1896, p.4.
6) Ibid, p.5-6. The remainder of Phillips' correspondence, printed in this Groenboek and in HCC. Appendix 12, is also valuable, as being the evidence of a contemporary witness as to how feeling was running

gressive candidates.[7] Several of the capitalists appear to have given their backing to the scheme, which, it was hoped, would secure a Volksraad more amenable to the Uitlanders' wishes, and Phillips actually spoke in terms of a fund of between £10,000 and £15,000. The elections duly took place,[9] and as a result of the polling it was claimed that the 'progressives' had secured sixteen out of the twenty-six seats.[10]

With this apparent success, the Uitlanders did not diminish their endeavours. Early in the year, John Tudhope had resigned his position as chairman of the National Union and his place had been taken by Charles Leonard.[11] The Union now decided to renew its efforts in connection with the franchise. A petition was drawn up, substantially the same as the one prepared the previous year,[12] and by the middle of April it was being circulated for signature.[13]

Furthermore, independently of the National Union, an agitation developed over the education policy of the Government. Public meetings were held at which it was claimed that "the state has established a system of education totally inadequate to the circumstances of the population, and totally unsuited to its traditions"; and on 29th April, with capital well represented at the meeting, it was decided to form an Uitlander Council of Education, and "to establish and support a system of voluntary education suited to all nationalities and creeds".[14]

The Volksraad session which followed brought with it a development which in no way eased the situation within the Republic. The franchise petition of the Transvaal National Union was laid before the Volksraad on 13th August.[15] The petition had received signatures totalling 32,497. Almost from the start, however, it was apparent that the 'progressive' Volksraad, which the Uitlanders had expended so much money in having elected, was not very sympathetic towards

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7) Whether it was the National Union, pursuing the programme outlined by Charles Leonard in September 1893, that took the lead in this matter, it is impossible to say. There is no Press comment on the scheme, and the available sources give no indication of where it originated. It is at least noteworthy that at the National Union Mass meeting of 14th July 1894, it was decided to collect monthly subscriptions from all members for a purpose not stated by the committee

8) Groenboek No.2,1896,p.5.,HCC.Appendix 12,p.596, & Fitzpatrick op-cit.p.90

9) See Star, March 1895.

10) Fitzpatrick, op.cit. p.91, & The Times History of the War in S.A.,I, p.143.

11) Star, 21.1.95, 22.1.95, 23.1.95 12) See Appendix C.

13) Star, 13.4.95. 14)Star,3.4.95,30.4.95 & 1.6.95

the memorial. Despite the assertions of Carl Jeppe to the contrary, many of the members claimed that the signatures had been obtained in an irregular manner,[16] and one member, C.B. Otto, went so far as to challenge the Uitlanders to fight for the franchise if they wanted it.[17] On 15th August, the petition was rejected.[18]

After this, little was heard of the National Union for a while. Uitlander activity continued in other directions, however. The Council of Education pursued its object. A report was brought out by the Council's Director, appeals were made for funds, several shhools started receiving financial assistance from the Council, and attacks continued to be levelled against the Government's education policy.[19]

Also in respect of the railway policy of the Government, agitation developed. On 26th August the Government decided to close the Vaal River ports of entry to overseas goods being transported by the Cape Railways, in an attempt to divert traffic to the Netherlands Railway Company's Delagoa Bay line, which had been completed in November 1894.[20] Immediately the Uitlanders let their voices be heard. The Chamber of Commerce and the Mercantile Association convened a mass meeting on 20th September to protest against the action of the Government, and against the rates being charged by the Netherlands Company on the short stretch of line between the Vaal River and Johannesburg, which, it was claimed, were 'exorbitant'.[21] This meeting having had little effect, a second was convened a week later, and the discontent continued until the drifts were re-opened late in October.

In fact, by this time there appears to have been a general feeling of crisis reigning over the Witwatersrand.[22] On 26th December the Transvaal National Union published a manifesto setting out the Uitlander grievances.[23] The manifesto marked the culmination of all that that had gone before. Its object, however, was to provide grounds for

15) E.V.R. 1895, art.908
16) Ibid. arts.909, 919 & 923
17) Ibid. art.919.
18) Ibid. art.924.
19) Star, 22.8.95, 7.9.95, 16.9.95, 23.9.95, 18.11.95, 21.11.95 22.11.95.
20) Locale Wetten, 1895, pp.348-9.
21. Star, 20.9.95. + 27.9.95
22) Vide: Star. 2.11.95 & 21.11.95 (Speech by Phillips at opening of new Chamber of Mines Building).
23) Star. 26.12.95. For text of manifesto see ~~Appendix D~~ Leonard, op.cit., pp21-3

the invasion of the Republic by Dr. Jameson,[24] and his small force of volunteers; and that part of the Uitlanders' story has no place in this essay.

24) The Administrator of Southern Rhodesia.

X.

UITLANDER GRIEVANCES.

It remains to consider what grounds existed for all this Uitlander agitation which, from 1886 onwards, was a constant factor in the political affairs of the South African Republic, and which eventually ran into unconstitutional channels. Ultimately, the question resolves itself into a consideration of the legitimacy or otherwise of the Uitlander grievances. Clearly, unless the things complained of by the Uitlanders had foundation in fact, there was but little ground for their agitation. The grievances of the Uitlanders were numerous,[1] and it is impossible to review them all here. Three - the franchise, taxation, and education - stand out clearly, however, as considerably more important than any others, and it is at least necessary to consider these in some detail.[2]

The Franchise.

As will have become apparent, the factor over which the Uitlander agitation was most sustained was the franchise, and, in large measure, the discontent in this respect appears to have been with foundation. Even President Kruger has admitted that the laws passed in 1890 were, to a certain extent, a piece of 'class legislation' against the Uitlanders,[3] and Edward Rose, who was by no means in sympathy with the Uitlander Movement generally, has characterised the franchise as "a real grievance".[4] Certainly, the fourteen years' residence required of new-comers before they could obtain full rights of citizenship, and the fact that they had to be forty years of age

1) For a full statement of all the various grievances, see Appendix D.
2) Rose states that there were four main Uitlander grievances: The franchise, taxation, education and language. Later, however, he admits the language question to have been considerably less important than the others, and to have been a 'nuisance' rather than a 'grievance' (Rose, op.cit. pp.94 & 96.
3) Kruger, op.cit. I. p.223.
4) Rose, op.cit. I. p.94.

before they could accede to this privilege, were requirements considerably higher than those obtaining in the countries from which they mainly came;[5] and even if it was an exaggeration when the Uitlanders declared that they were virtually excluded from the rights of citizenship for life, the exaggeration was not very great.

In mitigation of the Boer policy, however, it must be allowed that seldom, if ever, had any country been faced with immigration on a comparable scale. Furthermore, with numbers of the immigrants belonging to a race whose way of life the Boers had come to regard with traditional suspicion,[6] and with the grant of the franchise to new-comers having, on a previous occasion, met with the response of these new-comers supporting the annexation of the Republic by Britain,[7] it is at least understandable that the old population should be reluctant to concede general enfranchisement.

Another question is whether the majority of Uitlanders really desired the franchise and would have been prepared to give up their previous citizenship in favour of that of the South African Republic. Doubts have been raised as to this by both Lionel Phillips, and W.P. Schreiner, a Minister of the Crown at the Cape;[7a] and certainly naturalisation proceeded very slowly.[8] Against these doubts, however, must be set the fact of the intensity of the Uitlander agitation. It seems unlikely that the various efforts in connection with the franchise would have been as sustained as they were and would have received the support they did, had not the Uitlanders been serious in their desire for the franchise. Further, as regards the apparent reluctance of the Uitlanders in respect of naturalisation, allowance must be made for the circumstances. Unlike most other countries, in the South African Republic naturalisation was not coincidental with the securing of the rights of citizenship. As has been seen, full burgher rights were only obtainable twelve years after naturalisation, and with the oath of allegiance involving the foreswearing of previous citizenship, new-comers taking the step of naturalisation were faced with the prospect of a twelve years' period during which they would

5) For details of the franchise regulations of these countries, vide: Hugo, op.cit. pp.18-22.
6) Vide: Bryce, op.cit. p. 406 & Rose, op.cit. p.94.
7) Volksstem, 6.12.87
7a) Groenboek, No.2, 1896, pp. 1 & 2, & HCC. pp.187 & 201-2.
8) Vide. Hugo, op.cit. p.34, & Census Report 1896, p.XIII.

be without full citizenship rights in any country.

Perhaps the fairest summing up would be to say that the franchise regulations of the country were such as to constitute a legitimate grievance, and that many, but not all the Uitlanders, were anxious to have this grievance removed.

Taxation.

Second only to the franchise, the subject most frequently complained of by the Uitlanders was taxation, which, they claimed, was unnecessarily high and fell most heavily upon themselves. This subject must be considered under two heads: Import duties and general taxation.

As regards customs duties, there appears to have been some partial justification for the Uitlanders' complaints. It was not so much that the customs' tariff of the Republic was an unduly burdensome one. In fact, it is doubtful whether the duties being levied were very much higher than those of the Cape Colony.[9] The basis of the trouble lay in the Republic's refusal to participate in any customs' combination with the other South African States. Cut off from the sea as she was, this meant that for a long time, overseas imports into the Republic had to pay the duties of the maritime states at which they entered, plus the cost of carriage by rail, plus the Transvaal duties.[10] Even local produce was affected, however, and meal costing £1 in Bloemfontein, could apparently only be laid down at Pretoria at a cost of £2. 7. 6, as a result of the duties and transport rates.[11] That the incidence of all this did, in fact, fall most heavily on the Uitlanders, there can be little doubt. As an urban community, they were more dependent for their livelihood than was the rest of the population on imports and supplies, and in 1894 well over half of the total customs dues of the Republic were collected from Johannesburg and Pretoria.[12] It is probable too that the duties could have been reduced without serious loss to the country.

9) Vide: HCC., p.382 & Rose, op.cit. p.95. In HCC. Appendix 8, and in Jeppe's Transvaal Almanac 1889, comparative tables of the rates of import duties levied in the various South African States are printed. Without knowing at least the value of the various articles listed in proportion to their weight it is, however, impossible to adduce from these tables whether the Republic's tariff was generally higher than those of the other States.

10) v.d. Poel, op.cit, p.55 11) Star, 23.6.93

12) Star, 20.4.95.

As pointed out by Rose, the Treasury was in a sound condition, 13
and further, with the asset of the gold mines, customs were a less vital source of revenue in the case of the Transvaal, than in the case of the other South African States.

In respect of general taxation, it is impossible to make any conclusive statements. The taxes were numerous and varied, and there is no satisfactory analysis of their incidence on the various sections of the population. Certainly, the Uitlanders' claim that they contributed the bulk of the revenue of the country, even if correct, is no proof that the fiscal policy of the Government was especially directed against themselves. As the wealthiest section of the population, and as the wealth-producing section of the population, it was inevitable that they should contribute more to the Treasury, than other sections.

All in all, it is clear that the Uitlanders' complaints against taxation were exaggerated. Even if it was possible to reduce the customs' tariff, and even if the general taxes were higher than they need be, there was, nevertheless, no justification for claims such as that made in the manifesto, that the Uitlanders were subjected to 'monstrous burdens'. As Rose has pointed out, the best criterion as to whether a community is living under reasonably fair conditions, is its material prosperity, and the general material prosperity of the inhabitants of the Witwatersrand could never seriously be questioned.[14]

Education.

The third of the three major complaints of the Uitlanders was the education policy of the Government. As has been seen, the Education Law of the country provided that schools giving instruction to Uitlander children in their home language might receive State support on a scale lower than that given to Dutch medium schools, on condition that the progress of the children was determined by their knowledge of Dutch according to the normal standards. Even theoretically, the scheme was unsatisfactory . Children speaking a different home language could hardly be expected to attain a proficiency in the Dutch language the same as that of Dutch-speaking children in an equivalent

13) Rose, op.cit. p.94
14) Rose, pp.94-5, See further Star. 16.8.92 & 29.8.92 for testimony as to satisfactory conditions for working classes.

standard. Furthermore, the resolution was to have effect for only three years, and was thus of too temporary a nature to be of much value.[15] The practical inadequacy of the scheme was demonstrated by its results. By 1895, there were still only five such State-aided Uitlander schools in existence in the whole Republic, and they were providing education for only 153 children.[16] The seriousness of the education question from the Uitlanders' point of view was demonstrated by the fact that they were prepared to go to the lengths of forming their own Education Council and instituting their own system of aided education.

Other Grievances.

Apart from these three major grievances, a host of others existed.[17] Several of these additional complaints, such as those about inadequate policing, Government corruption, inadequate Liquor Laws, and the independence of the Judiciary being impaired, were probably either wholly or partially legitimate.[18] Again, as regards the railway question, the Uitlander dissatisfaction was, apparently, in large measure with foundation. There was delay in the Netherlands Railway Company setting to work on the construction of its lines; its finances were often in an unsatisfactory condition; and the tariff charged by it over the stretch of line between the Vaal river and Johannesburg was designedly prohibitive.[19] Other of these grievances, however, such as the refusal of the Government to grant official status to the English language, and the refusal of the Government to establish a permanent High Court at Johannesburg - although much was made of them - were from their very nature, irritants rather than serious sources of complaint.[20] Still others, such as the complaints against the Civil Service being a Hollander preserve, appear to have had but little justification;[21] while still others, such as the dynamite question, the 'bewaarplaatsen' question, the policy of the Government with regard to concessions, and the shortage of native labour, were, even if legitimate, questions primarily affecting only the small mine-owning and capitalist class, and cannot be said to have been general Uitlander grievances. Finally, in respect of the Commandeering Crisis, there can be no doubt that the Uitlanders were wrong in their claim that the action of the Government was illegal. The British Government and the law-adviser to the High Commissioner agreed

that the Government of the South African Republic was entitled to commandeer British subjects for military service, and declared that, at the very most its action was contrary to international comity.[22] Furthermore, before the crisis arose, the Uitlander leaders themselves admitted that aliens were liable for Commando service.[23]

Such, then, was the position with regard to what grounds existed for the Uitlander agitation of the years 1886-1895. Three major grievances existed, one of which was probably exaggerated. In addition, ther were a number of other grievances, several of which appear to have been legitimate, while the remainder either had little foundation, or were subjects not really affecting the Uitlander community as a whole.

In conclusion, one might quote the words of Winwood Reade, who wrote:[24]

> "Experience has shown that whenever aliens are treatdd as citizens, they become citizens, whatever may be their religion or race."

That these words of Reade's provide a pointer to the fundamental source of all the trouble between the old population and the new, is possible. A conclusive answer must, however, wait.

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15) The scheme was extended in 1895, but it was then too late.

16) Ploeger, op.cit. p.234, Lugtenburg, Onderwys in die S.A.R. p.195, and E.V.R. 1895, art. 154.

17) For a full enumeration of all the Uitlander grievances, vide: Appendix D; L-eonard, op.cit. pp.21-39; & Fitzpatrick, op.cit. pp. 59- 116.

18) For evidence as to inadequate policing, vide: Star, 12.10.92, 3.10.92, 25.10.92, 28.11.92, 23.12.93, 11.8.94, 4.3.95, 5.3.95, 6.3.95, 7.3.95. 8.3.95, 9.3.95, 6.4.95, 13.4.95, & S.& D. News, 11.7.89. For instances of Government corruption, vide: Leonard, op.cit. pp.96-108 (The most important cases cited by Leonard, I have cheked with the newspaper reports and Volksraad minutes, and find his statements substantially correct). For evidence as to Liquor Laws, vide: S.&D. News, 30.4.89, 4.6.89; Star, 26.3.92, 1.9.92, 28.11.92, 27.1.93, 20.1.94, 9.3.95; & Groenboek No 14a, 1895, pp.43-4. For evidence as to threats to independence of Judiciary, vide; S.&D. News, 8.8.89,14.6.93; Leonard op.cit. pp. 345-52; & Fitzpatrick, op.cit. pp. 99-101.

19) v.d.Poel, op.cit. pp.54, 57-9 & 78-82. See further, Leonard, op.cit. pp. 130-8, & Fitzpatrick, op.cit. pp. 63-9.

20) Vide: Rose, op.cit. p.96; and Bryce, op.cit. p.426, where it is claimed that none of the Uitlander grievances amounted to more than 'hardships'.

21) Vide: Botha, op.cit. p.361, & HCC. p.204.

22) C.8159, pp.3-5 & 6-7. 23) Star 19.12.92.

23) Reade, The Martyrdom of Man, p.386

Appendix A.

The Constitution of the Transvaal National Union.

(Extract from The Star, August 22nd 1892.)

"Art. 1. That this Association shall be called the Transvaal National Union.

"Art.2. Objects: The objects of the Union shall be: (a) the maintenance of the independence of the South African Republic. (b) To obtain, by all constitutional means, equal rights for all citizens of this republic, and to obtain the redress of all grievances.

"Art.3. That the entire control and management of this Union shall be vested in a committee consisting of: Messrs James Hay, Chas. Leonard, S.W. Jameson, H. Solomon, Wm. Hosken, J.N. Greenlees, J.A. Rogers, D. Holt, E.P. Solomon, W.Y. Campbell, W.H. Adler, W.F. Lance, W.H. Rogers, J.H. Abel, E.H. Dunning, J.G. Auret, W. St. John Carr, John Tudhope, E. Hancock, W.P. Fraser, F.C. Dumat, H.F.E. Pistorius, C. Malcomess, Julius Jeppe Jnr, with power to add to their number.

"Art.4. Powers of Committee: (A) The Committee shall have the right & power, at all times, to add to and remove from their number the names of such persons as they may think proper. (B) The Committee shall have full power to convene meetings of the Union in such manner as they may think fit and proper, & at such times as may be expedient, & in case of urgency, the Chairman shall have the same power. (C) to appoint a secretary, treasurer & such officials as, in their opinion may be necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Union, & in their discretion to remove such officials. (D) To arrange for the establishment of branches of their Union throughout this Republic. (E) to have full control over the finances of the Union. (F) to make such further rules & additions hereto as in their opinion may be necessary, subject to the ratification thereof by the Union. (G) To appoint Sub-Committees, and to delegate all or any of their powers to such persons as in their opinion may be necessary.

"All white male residents of full age within this Republic shall be eligible to be members of this Union, without being liable to any of its pecuniary obligations".

Appendix B.

Address presented to High Commissioner by Transvaal National Union.

(Extract from Blue-Book, C. 8159, 1896.)

We, the undersigned loyal subjects of her Majesty the Queen, beg respectfully to tender you, on behalf of her Majesty's subjects in the Transvaal, a hearty welcome upon this, the occasion of your Excellency's second visit to Pretoria.

Your Excellency's arrival at this juncture affords us the opportunity of stating with what confidence we regard your tenure of the high office of Her Majesty's Chief Representative in South Africa; and of stating that we respectfully look to your Excellency to uphold the interests of British subjects in the Transvaal in a manner consistent with the greatness of the traditions of our country; and so to maintain & strengthen the attachment of our fellow-countrymen to their Queen.

Your Excellency will hardly need to be reminded how great are the interests of her Majesty's subjects in this country, but we would wish to emphasise, for your Excellency's consideration, the peculiar difficulties which have lately manifested themselves as being incidental to our position here.

Denied the franchise, and having recently been subjected to the indignity of seeing a petition presented by 13,000 residents mainly subjects of the Queen - praying for some relaxation of the u unjust franchise laws, greeted with laughter and scorn by the legislature; having further been informed by the authorities that not only we, but our children, born in the country can never hope to participate in the more precious privileges of citizenship; our wrongs have lately been accentuated by the circumstance that the courts and the Government of this State have declared our liability to be called out at any time, without pay or compensation, for compulsory military service, for the carrying out of the laws, in the making of which we can never have any voice, and in the enforcement of which we have no interest.

We beg to assure your Excellency that this position of affairs is to us so intolerable that the situation is fraught with the possibility of serious results; and we respectfully beg yo your Excellency to bestow the gravest and most serious consideration upon it.

We pass by the numerous other grievances and disabilities under which we labour in this State, being well aware that your Excellency is fully conversant with them.

In the trust that our reliance upon her Majesty's Government, whom it is your high privilege to represent in South Africa, may always be justified, and that we shall not have approached your Excellency in vain with this bare suggestion of the gravity of the situation,

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
Your Excellency's Obedient Humble Servants,

(14,000 Signatures.)

Appendix C.

Franchise Petition of 1895, drawn up by Transvaal National Union.

(Extract from The Political Situation in South Africa 1885 to 1895, By Charles Leonard.)

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1. That your petitioners are all persons who reside in the South African Republic.

2. That your petitioners have always obeyed the laws and paid their taxes.

3. That your petitioners as a body have been in this Republic a considerable number of years, and have done much to increase its wealth and its dignity and position among South African States.

4. That the class of unenfranchised persons to which the majority of your petitioners belong is increasing daily, and already the number of those who have no vote is in excess of those who are entitled to vote.

5. That the value of the property and possessions of the unenfranchised is quite equal to, and indeed far in excess of, that of the enfranchised burgher.

6. That the incidence of taxation is such that at least four-fifths of the total revenue of the Republic are contributed by the unenfranchised.

7. That there is now a balance in the Treasury of over £1,200,000, while the annual revenue is over £2.247,000, against about £198,000 ten years ago, before the class of unenfranchised came into the country.

8. That your petitioners desire to be allowed to become loyal citizen of the South African Republic upon terms of equality with the existing burgher population. They respectfully submit, however, that one of the first principles of Republican Government - a principle without which, indeed, a Republic would cease to exist - is equality, and the right of the taxpayer to representation.

9. That the laws of this Republic formerly admitted this principle; that from time to time, however, it has been attacked, and the difficulties in the way of securing the right to vote have been multiplied, notwithstanding the respectful and repeated petitions and representations of your petitioners.

10. That finally, last session, in face of a petition signed by over 13,000 men, the law was so altered that they can never get the full rights of burghers; that their children after them, although born in the Republic, can never become burghers, except under practically impossible conditions.

11. That your petitioners submit that they are entitled to be admitted to the rights of citizenship; they feel that their conduct in the past, the magnitude and nature of their interests in this country, and their contributions to the revenue, justify them in asking for this admission; and they cannot but feel that the policy of dividing the population into two classes, and excluding one from all real political power, is wrong in principle, and is frqught with possibilities of the gravest consequences.

Wherefore your petitioners respectfully pray that the Hon. the Volksraad may take these grave circumstances into earnest consideration, and may so alter the law that your petitioners may, under reasonable consideration, be admitted to the full rights of citizens of this Republic.

Appendix D.

Manifesto Prepared by Transvaal National Union for Publication in 1896.

(Extract from The Political Situation in South Africa, 1885-1895, by Charles Leonard.)

We, the unenfranchised inhabitants of the South African Republic (Transvaal), publish this Manifesto and appeal to the civilised world, and specially to the inhabitants of South Africa, on the grounds following:-

1. We constitute the great majority of the white inhabitants of the Republic.

2. We own, by purchase, more than half of the land of the Republic.

3. We are the sole owners of the mines, town, properties, merchandise, and machinery; in short, the property and possessions of the Boers are insignificant compared to our property.

4. We contribute five-sixths of the total revenue of the State, and have by our industry and capital raised it from a condition of bankruptcy to a position in which the annual revenue is over £2,000,000, while there is a surplus in the Treasury of over £1,000,000.

5. Our interests in the State are diverse and complex in character, and trained intelligence is necessary to the making of laws for the regulation of those interests. All political power is vested in the hands of uneducated farmers, and it is impossible that legislators chosen, as they are, entirely from this class, can govern our affairs satisfactorily, and with an even hand. It is in the nature of things impossible, and experience has demonstrated its impossibility.

6. In addition to the broad principle mentioned in the last clause, there exists, by a chain of circumstances, a virtual oligarchy, which, is itself entirely hostile to us, is unduly influenced by external forces, chiefly, if not entirely, Hollander, foreign and inimical to the serious and best interests of the country which we have made our home.

7. The status of the High Court, hitherto our only bulwark against oppression, is entirely unsatisfactory, and its independence, jurisdiction anddignity are constantly being threatened and attacked, while jury trial is shorn of much of its value because jurors are drawn only from the ranks of the enfranchised.

8. Our railways are in the hands of a corporation, domiciled in Holland, which is paralysing our commerce, and, in conjunction with the general policy of the Government, bringing about a condition of things fraught with the gravest danger to the independence of the Republic.

9. The administration is in many cases thoroughly corrupt, and there is no hope of reform.

10. The granting of monopolies is a curse and a grievous burden, the weight of which falls directly and almost entirely on the unenfranchised. Reference need only be made tothe dynamite monopoly, which is now drawing half a million per annum out of the pockets of the gold-producers (an ever-increasing burden) and putting it into the coffers of a body of foreign speculators.

11. Taxation is unfairly distributed, and the necessaries of life, both the products of South Africa and other countries, which cannot be produced at all or in sufficient quantities, are made so dear as seriously to hamper the public, and especially to retard the progress of the working classes.

12. Fresh taxation is continuously being imposed, and in such a manner as to affect the unenfranchised only, notwithstanding the fact that there exists a large and increasing surplus, which should justify the reduction of taxation.

13. There is no efficient control or account of the expenditure of public money.

14. The Government is despotic in the highest degree, and the Volksraad exists only to give formal effect to the will of an oligarchy.

Our liberties are not safe. In the past few years Acts have been passed intended to curtail the liberty of the press and the right of public meeting, Acts aimed distinctly at the Uitlanders only, while during the recent session of the Volksraad a resolution was passed authorising the Government to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to sedition, the object being to make the executive Government, instead of the courts, the judges in alleged cases of sedition, with power to deport men without the ordinary trial.

Surely and insidiously the ordinary safeguards of life, liberty, and property, even as they exist, are being under-mined. Freedom has become a travesty, and daily, under cover of her sacred name, deeds are perpetrated which make free men shudder.

15. Local self-government, as we are accustomed to it, is denied to us, with grave consequence to health.

16. We are virtually denied the benefits of education out of the funds we contribute, and but for individual effort our children would grow up in absolute ignorance.

17. The use of the English language, the language of the great majority of people in the State, is forbidden in all official business, even in railway notices.

18. We have had constantly to suffer the greatest insults at the hands of the governing body.

19. We have for years patiently submitted to all these things, and have made honest and persistent endeavours by constitutional means to bring about reform and redress of our grievances, but all hope of succeeding has fled.

We were told to wait until a new Raad should be elected.

The old Raad, which had rejected a monster petition for the franchise with 'laughter and jeers,' was said not to represent the country. We presented a petition to the new Raad, signed by nearly 40,000 people - twice as many men as the whole body of enfranchised burghers - with the same result. Our very children, born in the Republic, are denied the franchise.

And now, driven to despair of ever getting justive, we have determined to strike for it.

Let it be clear that we have no animosity to the Boer; that we wish to maintain a republican form of Government, or rather to establish a true Republic, in which our just rights shall be secured to us, while the legitimate rights of the Boer shall be protected; that, in short, we claim only that place in the political partnership to which we are justly entitled.

We want-

1. Full representation in the Councils of the State in proportion to our numbers and vested interests. Being the majority of the people, we claim to be included in a true government of the people, by the people, for the people.
2. Proper control of public moneys, and true responsibility to the people.
3. Absolute independence of the courts, and the raising of the

status of the judges.
4. The possession and control of our railways and public works.
5. The abolition of monopolies.
6. Free trade with the neighbouring States of South Africa in all products thereof.
7. A settled policy, which, while guarding the legitimate interests of the South African Republic zealously, shall foster the goodwill of the other South African States, and strengthen the bonds of commerce and good feeling between us and them.
8. Pure administration.
9. Equal rights for the English and Dutch languages.

We, an unarmed and comparatively defenceless people, are taking our lives in our hands to secure what every other community in South Africa enjoys, and without which we should continue to be virtually in a state of civic slavery. We, therefore, claim the sympathy and support of all white peoples of South Africa in the struggle which we feel impelled to make as free men bound to answer to our children for the dearest heritage of man - liberty. For this we fight; for this we claim the sympathy of the world.

To be issued by National Union. National Union to be reinforced by recruits from moneyed classes first.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y.

A. BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

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(2) Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol. VIII. (London, 1936.)

(3) Walker, E. A., A History of South Africa. (London, New York, etc., 1947.)

(4) Union List of South African Newspapers. (Cape Town, 1950.)
A useful guide to newspaper sources, and to the libraries and institutions where copies are available.

B. A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF PRINCIPAL SOURCES.

(a) Official Publications.

(1) Rapport van het Hoofd van Mijnwezen over het Jaar 1893.
Ref: Groenboek No.11, 1894. Consulted in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.
Contains information on progress of gold-mining industry.

(2) Rapport van het Staats-Mijningenieur over het Jaar 1893.
Ref: Groenboek No.11a, 1894.Consulted in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.
This report is valuable, as embodying details of the effects on the gold-mining industry of the introduction of the MacArthur-Forrest cyanide process.

(3) Rapport van het Hoofd van Mijnwezen , Mei 1894 - Mei 1895.
Ref: Groenboek No.14, 1895. Consulted in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.
Contains information on progress of gold-mining industry.

(4) Rapport van het Staats-Mijningenieur over het Jaar 1894.
Ref; Groenboek No.14a, 1895. Consulted in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.
Embodied in this report is the evidence of the State Mining Engineer on the Liquor Question and the Native Labour Question.

The evidence, coming as it does from an official source, is likely to be reliable, and is of importance as substantiating the Uitlanders' complaints on these two subjects.

(5) Stukken Betrekking Hebbende op den Inval van de Troepen der British South Africa Company in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.

Ref: Groenboek No.2, 1896. Consulted in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.

The publication, which is primarily a collection of documents relating to the Jameson Raid, also includes extracts from correspondence conducted by Lionel Phillips during 1894. These letters, being the private communications and observations of a contemporary witness, are of considerable importance, and provide evidence as to what steps were being taken by the Uitlanders at that time, what policy the Government was following, and how it was being received by the Uitlanders. Furthermore, included in these letters is the statement that, during his visit to the Republic, the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, had asked some "very pointed questions" as to what arms there were in Johannesburg and "whether the population could hold the place for six days until help could arrive". The form in which the correspondence has been published in this book has, however, impaired its value for the historian, as the letters have been subjected to editing, and in certain cases, relevant statements have been omitted (Vide infra (11)). All the statements in these letters are, of course, simply the expression of an individual opinion, and require substantiation from other sources before they can be regarded as reliable pieces of evidence.

(6) Notulen van den Verrichtingen van den (Eersten) Volksraad der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1887-1895.

Consulted at State Library, Pretoria, and in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.

Minutes of the proceedings of the (Upper) Legislative House of the South African Republic. As an official record, these minutes can be accepted as reliable, and constitute a valuable source of evidence on the attitude of the Boers to the various questions of the time. The 'Notulen' suffer from technical defects, however, such as inadequate indexing, and transposed pages and entries.(See, for example, the Notulen for 1893, pp. 441-47.) Further, there are inconsistencies from year to year in the matter of publishing departmental reports.

(7) Notulen van den Verrichtingen van den Tweeden Volksraad der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1891-1895.

Consulted in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.

Minutes of the proceedings of the Second Legislative House of the South African Republic. The comments offered under (6) above, also apply here.

(8) De Locale Wetten der Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, 1882, and 1890-1895.

Consulted in Witwatersrand University Library, Official Publications Room.

The Statute Book of the South African Republic.

(9) Papers Relating to the Commandeering of British Subjects in the South African Republic. (British Blue Book 1896).

Ref: C.8159. Johannesburg Public Library ref: 968.203 GRE.

This book is a valuable source for evidence, being a collection of the State papers, legal opinions, and official correspondence of the British Government and its representatives in South Africa with regard to the Commandeering Crisis. Furthermore, the observations made on the courde of the crisis by the various correspondents,are important as providing substantiation for the newspaper reports. For obvious reasons of State, any matters likely to arouse international complications could not be included in such a publication. Consequently, the conversation between Phillips and the High Commisioner in connection with the armaments of the Witwatersrand, if it ever took place at all, and if it was ever reported to the Home Government by Loch, is not mentioned in this book. (Vide supra (5)).

(10) Second Report from the Select Committee on British South Africa; Together with the Minutes of Evidence and Proceedings of the Committee. (British Blue Book,1897).

Ref: 311. Johannesburg Public Library ref: 968.203 GRE.

Contains the evidence of such contemporary witnesses and observers as Lionel Phillips, Charles Leonard, and W.P. Schreiner, on conditions in the South African Republic before the Jameson Raid. In the case of the statements of Leonard and Phillips, it must be taken into consideration that both were involved in the events preceding the Raid, and that both were thus likely to give somewhat partisan evidence. Schreiner's evidence, as that of an independent observer, is more trustworthy, but as a Minister of the Crown at the Cape, it is possible that he was inhibited from expressing himself as freely as a private individual might.

(11) Appendices to the Report from the Select Committee on British South Africa.

Ref: 311 - I. Johannesburg Public Library ref: 968.203 GRE.

Included in this collection of documents are the portions

of Phillips' letters omitted in Groenboek No.2, 1896 (vide supra (5)), a comparative table of the import duties of the various South African States, and the manifesto prepared by the Transvaal National Union for publication in 1896.

(11) Johannesburg Gezondheids Comite, Census Report 1896.
Johannesburg Public Library ref: Store Q.312.6822 Joh.

A population analysis of Johannesburg and its environs within a three mile radius of the centre of the town. The analysis is datailed, and the report includes statistics on such questions as the number of children receiving education, and the number of enfranchised inhabitants. This census was, apparently, the only reliable one to have been taken up until then (see comments in Transvaal & Swaziland Census Report, 1904, p.1; J.P.L. ref: Store Q.312.682 TRA.), and although it was made after the Jameson Raid, it was taken sufficiently soon afterwards, to make its statistics a useful guide to the approximate conditions at Johannesburg at the end of the period under consideration.

(b) Newspapers.

Contemporary newspapers have proved the most fruitful sources of published information for the developments in the South African Republic during the years 1886-1895 and they have consequently been consulted extensively for the purposes of the present essay. The great bulk of the information relating to the activities of the Uitlanders during this period has, in fact, been culled from the reports contained in these sources. Newspaper reports are, of course, not necessarily completely impeccable and trustworthy pieces of historical evidence. Information can be omitted from them, and they can be so framed as to lend bias in the direction which the policy of the paper dictates. As far as possible, however, I have attempted to cross-check reports and to weigh them against other independent information. When no facilities have existed for this method, I have attempted to make due allowance for any indications of partisanship appearing in the reports. Editorial comments and correspondence from readers - as expressions of private opinion - are even less reliable factual sources than are reports. As indications of the trends in public opinion they remain valuable to the historian, however, and I have consequently cited them almost as frequently as reports.

The following more detailed comments are offered on the three newspapers used:-

(1) The Star. A daily English newspaper established at Johannesburg in 1889.

Consulted at the Johannesburg Reference Library, and at the Witwatersrand University Library.

Perused for the period January 1890 - December 1895. Whenever possible, the Saturday supplements have been used, which contain the most important items of news for the week, and relevant events have been followed up from the leads given there. The 'third' or 'late' editions of the paper have been used almost throughout.

The Star proved the richest matrix for information on Uitlander activities. Throughout the period under consideration in this essay, it remained the chief protagonist of the Uitlander case, and any Uitlander exploits were usually accorded full and comprehensive reports in its columns and support in its editorial articles. The corollary of this bias in favour of the Uitlander, however, was a hostile disposition towards the Government, and towards the Labour Union after this organisation had severed its connection with the Transvaal National Union; and in culling information from the Star, one has constantly to make allowance for the factual content of its articles being coloured by these several prejudices. The following is a typical example of the emotive language in which the paper frquently indulged in its attacks either on the Government or the Labour Union: "Few people are probably aware of the sinister and deadly assaults which continue to be made on the freedom and simplicity of Republican institutions in this State. As the necessity for broadening the foundations of the edifice has grown more and more apparent, the clumsy architects and builders of the Constitution at Pretoria have concentrated all their energies upon the fatal and unpatriotic task of pulling the old original foundations away"(2.12.93.). A final criticism of the Star as a source of historical evidence, is the fact that it followed the policy of suppressing news likely to favour the case of its opponents. An example of this occured during the Presidential election campaign of 1892, when a speech delivered by Kruger at Boksburg,in which he p-romised extension of the franchise,was suppressed until after the statement had been withdrawn. (See: 12.10.92, 26.10.92, & 21.11.92.)

(2) The Standard and Diggers News. A daily English newspaper published at Johannesburg until 1900.

Consulted at the Johannesburg Reference Library. The copies of the Standard and Diggers News are rare, and those in the possession of the Johannesburg Reference Library are in a bad state of preservation. The Library's micro-film copies had, accordingly, to be used.

Perused in toto, January 1889 - December 1889; perused in part, January 1890 - July 1892; perused in toto, August 1892 - June 1894; perused in part, July 1894 - December 1895.

The Standard and Diggers News - 'The Authorised Government Gazette for Witwatersrand' - maintained throughout, a less sympathetic attitude towards the Uitlanders than did The Star, and its columns are consequently, less productive of information about Uitlander activities than are those of The Star. The sympathies of The Standard and Diggers News, lay primarily on the side of Labour, and in using its articles as historical documents, allowance must be made for manifestations of prejudice not only against the Transvaal National Union, but also against the middle and upper classes. Nevertheless, The Standard and Diggers News is a valuable source of information on the period. Generally speaking, it maintained a higher critical standard and a greater degree of detachment than did The Star, and its editorial comments are, thus, of more value to the historian. Even after the split had occured between the Labour Union and the Transvaal National Union, it was willing to give praise to the National Union on occasion (28.8.93. & 25.8.93.), and its frequent criticisms of the policy of the Government, which were usually constructive, are useful antidotes to the often almost vituperative attacks of The Star.

(3) De Volksstem. Established at Pretoria in 1873. Published four times weekly (2English & 2 Nederlands edns.), 1886-1890; published twice weekly (Nederlands edns. only), 1890-April 1891; published thrice weekly (Nederlands edns. only), April 1891 - May 1894; published twice weekly (Nederlands edns. only), May 1894 - .

Consulted at the State Library Pretoria.

Perused in toto, 1887-1889; perused in part, January 1890 - December 1892; perused in toto, January 1893 - December 1893; perused in part, January 1894 - November 1894.

De Volksstem contains, on the whole, but little information on Uitlander activities. It is useful, however, for the early period of the Uitlander Movement, which is not covered by any other available newspaper sources, and also as giving some indication of the Boer reaction to the various steps taken by the Uitlanders. Although the paper was a Government organ, it desplayed until 1889, no marked antagonism towards the aliens. From that year onwards, however, the policy apparently changed, and its articles show signs of a distinct prejudice against the Uitlander, which reduces their value as statements of fact, and thus, also as historical evidence.

(c) Contemporary Works.

(1) Bryce, J., Impressions of South Africa (3rd edn., London, 1900.)

Although the book deals only briefly with the Uitlander Movement before the Jameson Raid, it remains an important source for the historian of the period. The author travelled through the Transvaal just before the Raid, and as a visitor with little or no self-involvement in the issues at stake, he was able to approach the questions of the time with a greater degree of detachment than the majority of other contemporary writers. Furthermore, as a man with a trained mind, he was able to bring a greater critical faculty to bear, and although much of his information must have been derived from the Uitlanders themselves, he was apparently careful to obtain independent substantiation for as much of it as possible, and there are few statements that bear the bias of his informants. Sometimes this method breaks down, as for example, in his rather too affirmative statements, on page 419, about the population figures of the Transvaal before the Jameson Raid. One other criticism is that it is a dangerous thing to attribute a specific 'character' to races and to groups of people, as he does on pages 406 - 408. These weaknesses are comparatively rare, however, and, on the whole, the book is one of the most dispassionate contemporary attempts to see the troubles in the South African Republic before the Jameson Raid from the point of view of both sides; and many of the observations made by the author are pertinent and valuable.

(2) Cook, E. T., The Rights and Wrongs of the Transvaal War. (London, 1901.)

A review of the origins and development of conflict between Boer and Briton in the South African Republic. The book is confessedly disposed in favour of the British case, and it must be treated accordingly when using it as a source for information.

(3) Fitzpatrick, J. P., The Transvaal From Within. (London, 1899.)

The personal testimony of an Uitlander on the situation within the South African Republic before the Jameson Raid. In the Preface to the book, the author writes: "The reader is not invited to believe that the case is presented in such a form as it might have been presented by an impartial historian. It is the Transvaal from within, by one who feels all the injustice and indignity of the position. With the knowledge, however, that a good case is spoiled by overstatement, and with the desire to avoid injustice to others,

an earnest attempt has been made to state the facts fairly." This statement of the author's sums up the historical value of his book almost exactly. The presentation not infrequently has the appearance of being a serious attempt at impartial statement of fact. Underlying the discussion, however, there is a strong current of partiality, and value judgments and emotive statements mar the text. The following exaggerated statement of the effects of the franchise law of 1894 is typical of the author's method: "This was the coping-stone to Mr Kruger's Chinese wall. The Uitlanders and their children were disfranchised for ever (sic.), and as far as legislation could make it sure, the country was preserved by entail to the families of the Voortrekkers" (p. 76). Furthermore, factual errors occur. On page 79, for example, the author declares that Kruger only visited Johannesburg three times in nine years, and on page 76, declares that the franchise petitions with 13,000, and 35,000 signatures were presented during 1893 and 1894, respectively. Such errors are admittedly small. The frequency with which they occur, however, impairs the historical accuracy of the book. Finally, Fitzpatrick tends to lay too much stress on the purely 'capitalist' grievances, to the oversight of the Uitlander grievances proper. (See his enumeration of grievances on pp.63 ff.). All these defects notwithstanding, The Transvaal From Within cannot be overlooked in an essay such as the present one. It remains the most complete published statement of the Uitlanders' case, and is a valuable pointer to their sentiments, desires and ambitions.

(4) Leonard, C., The Political Situation in South Africa, 1885 - 1895. (London, 1903.)

A useful collection, in an easily accessible form, of some of the documents on the period. The basis of the selection of the documents, however, has clearly been to 'make a case' for the Uitlanders against the Boers; and, as many of the documents are either expressions of individual opinion, or else scarcely disguised pieces of propaganda, scepticism is necessary before using the statements embodied in them for historical purposes.

(5) Rose, E., The Truth About the Transvaal. (London, 1902.)

Edward Rose was a member of the Witwatersrand Mine Employees and Mechanics Union (the Labour Union) during the whole period of its existence, was a member of the executive of the National Union during the period of the Labour Union's affiliation, and served in an editorial capacity on several newspapers on the Witwatersrand. He stood, thus, in a position well-qualified to speak on Uitlander activities, and his observations, which are generally

critical and fairly detached, are of the first importance to the person attempting a general evaluation of the situation in the Transvaal before the Jameson Raid. Defects in the book are a tendency to overstress the activities of the Labour Union which was, in fact, never a very important organisation, and a tendency to raise prejudice against the Uitlander Movement by emotive language, and by arguments which appear sometimes to be rather fatuous. (See, for example, pp.29-33, where all these faults, but particularly the first, manifest themselves.)

(c) Memoirs, Reminiscences, Etc.

(1) Ansell, E. C. J., I Followed Gold. (London, 1939.)

The personal reminiscences of a man who participated in the life of both the Barberton and Witwatersrand gold-fields. Published material is scanty on the early history of the Kaap gold-fields and this book is one of the few sources which provide any indications of the conditions at Barberton in the early days. The narrative is highly romanticised, however, and the information contained in the book must, of necessity, be treated sceptically and with circumspection, as being based very largely on memory, and not on documentation.

(2) Kruger, S. J. P., Memoirs, Vols. I & II. (English trans. London and Leipzig, 1902.)

As a source of factual information, this book, like any other book of memoirs, is unsafe, and historical deductions cannot be made from it unless well-substantiated by other evidence. The work is useful, however, as being the expression of the opinions of the person who was the head of the State during the period under consideration in this essay.

(3) Taylor, J. B., A Pioneer Looks Back. (London, 1939.)

The comments offered under (1) above, apply here.

(4) Taylor, W. P., African Treasures. (London, 1933.)

The comments offered under (1) above, apply here.

(5) Wilson, D. M., Behind the scenes in the Transvaal.

The author, as mining-commissioner of Barberton, had a first-hand opportunity of observing the various developments of the Kaap gold-fields. The story he tells is even more highly coloured than in the cases cited above, however, and there is no little self-adulation. Further, frequent unsubstantiated deductions, hypotheses and generalisations, detract from the historical value of the book.

(d) Historical Works.

(1) Botha, P. R., Die Staatkundige Ontwikkeling van die Suid-Afikaánse Republiek onder Kruger en Leyds. (Amsterdam, 1926.)

A fairly full account of the constitutional and political history of the South African Republic during the years 1844 - 1899. As scientific history, this work lays itself open to severe criticism. Indications of the sources from which the author obtained his material are quite inadequate, and much of the material included in the book has simply to be accepted on trust. Furthermore, implied value judgments,of the type "die brutale kafferkaptein Malaboch" (p.326), which should have no place in a work of history, are fairly common; while generalisations, which should equally have no place in history, also occur. The following is a fairly typical example: "Die Boer het slegs één trou aan sy land geken, om vrou en kind, vee en land en selfs sy eie lewe te laat in die verdediging van die onafhanklikheid van sy dierbare Republiek"(p.357). A more serious fault is the tendency to draw conclusions from insufficient evidence. Perhaps the most illuminating example of this practice occurs on page 352, where the author embarks on the following piece of argument: "Om die juistheid van bowestaande syfers (certain population figures, which he describes as 'official', but the source for which he fails to give) te toets, hoef 'n mens slegs te bedink, dat daar op die lys van weerbare manne meer dan 25,000 Boere ingeskrywe was. Byna almal van hulle was ongetroud en het kinders gehad, gemiddeld vier. Dus het die Boerebevolking tenminste 150,000 siele getel". The argument is in the form of a syllogism, but where its logic lies, it is impossible to see; and remarkably enough, on the very next page, starting with a similar premise, namely that the European male population of Johannesburg totalled 25,000, he reaches the very different conclusion, that the Uitlander population was considerably less than the Boer population. At the same time, the author appears to have had no qualms about placing his own construction upon facts. On page 353, for example, he declares that, according to the census report of 1896, 'many' of the European male inhabitants of Johannesburg were burghers.. In fact, according to that census report, out of 25,058 European males at Johannesburg returned as over the age of 16 years, only 1,038 were returned as burghers. (Census Report, 1896, p.XIII.) Again, on page 347, he implies that certain goods listed in a comparative table were subject only to the special import duties listed in the t table. In fact, they were also subject to the general ad valorem

duty of 7½ per cent. Finally, the author displays prejudice against the Uitlanders. On pages 314 and 315, with no substantiation, he implies that even their early activities were designed as attacks on the independence of the Republic, and that it was these attacks that hardened the relations between the old population and the new-comers: "Ver egter van aanvanklik besiel toe gewees het met vyandskap teenoor die nuwe bevolking, het die burgers en die regeering van die Transvaal hulle uiterste bes gedoen om die gouddelfnywerheid aan te moedig. Hulle is ongelukkig teen hulle sin gedwing om hulleself te verdedig teen herhaalde en voortdurende aanvalle op die onafhanklikheid van die Republiek wat vir hulle die kosbaarste kleinood was vir die ontwikkeling van 'n eie nasionale bestaan." Such a method is not the method of scientific history.

(2) Hugo, M. J., Die Stemreg-Vraagstuk in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. (Archives Year Book, 1947.)

A detailed discussion of the franchise regulations of the South African Republic, with a useful exposition of the supercession of the several laws. In her discussion of these laws and their effects, the author tends, however, sometimes to show bias. In considering the complaints of the Uitlanders against the naturalisation laws of the Republic, for example, she draws attention to the less justifiable of their reasons for protesting, and omits to mention the most important reason, namely, that the naturalisation laws required them to live without the advantages of full citizenship of any country for a period of twelve years (p.22.). Another example of faulty historical scholarship, is her statement, on page 66, that the main object of the franchise petition of 1895 was to arouse sympathy for the Uitlander cause in England - a statement which she fails to substantiate. Not all the discussion is partisan in this way, however. In fact, in places, considerable historical detachment is attained, as for example on pages 33-35, where she discusses the results of the franchise legislation of 1890.

(3) Ploeger, J., Onderwys en Onderwysbeleid in die Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek Onder Ds. S.J. du Toit en Dr. N. Mansvelt. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pretoria.)

Witwatersrand University Library ref: X4 LA2011.

An investigation of the history of Education in the South African Republic, during the period 1881 - 1900.The work contains much valuable information, but suffers from the major defect of an overburden of detail under which the thread of the argument becomes lost. A further criticism is that the author fails to maintain strict impartiality.

(4) Scholtz, G. D., Die Oorsake van die Tweede Vryheids-oorlog, 1899-1902, Vol. I (Johannesburg, 1948.)

A detailed and well-documented study of the affairs of the South African Republic in the years preceding the Anglo-Boer War. This book - the factual content of which is valuable in any study of the period - is unfortunately marred by the author indulging in value judgments, and in unfounded generalisations, and by his showing prejudice against the Uitlanders. The following quotation will, perhaps, illustrate these defects as well as any: "Hul (i.e. the aliens') aanhanklikheid aan alles wat Brits was en die uitdagende manier waarop die Johannesburgse Britte daarvan kond gedoen het, het veroorsaak dat veral die draers van die Republiek se gesag dit moes ongeld. Vir die Uitlander - om maar die naam te gebruik waarmee die Johannesburgse Brit algemeen bekend gestaan het - was daar min dinge wat so aangenaam was as om die orde en gesag van die Republiek te tart of om dit in 'n slegte lig voor te stel." (p. 268.)

(5) Van Oordt, J. F., Paul Kruger en de Opkomst van de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek. (Amsterdam and Cape Town.)

The book covers the history of the South African Republic from the time of its foundation up until the time of the Anglo-Boer War. As is so often the case with works of a biographical or semi-biographical nature, however, the general bias of the book is towards making the chief character (in this case, Paul Kruger) the 'hero'. A typical example of this sort of treatment occurs on page 501, where, against the historical canons prohibiting value judgments, Kruger's attempt to create a new post for the ex-State Secretary is praised as demonstrating his 'vastberadenheid en eerlijkheid in die hoogste mate'. More serious defects of methodology occur, however. A classic example is to be found on pages 569 and 570, where, from the fact that at one of the early meetings of the Transvaal National Union the name of Cecil John Rhodes was mentioned, the writer concludes that the National Union was founded on the instigation of Rhodes for the purpose of preparing the way for the later Jameson Raid. Further doubts are thrown on van Oordt's methodology by defects such as that on page 483, where, in making a quotation, he declares it is "min of meer" as follows. Finally, it might be pointed out that the book is insufficiently documented, and much of the information contained in it has simply to be accepted on trust.

(6) Van der Poel, J., Railway and Customs Policies in South Africa, 1885 - 1910. (London, New York, etc., 1933.)

This work contains valuable information on the situation with regard to railways and customs in the South African Republic during the period under consideration in this essay. The general description of 'scientific' history is approached more closely by this book, than by any other work cited in this list. The information is adequately documented, and the approach to the subject is generally objective and detached.

(7) Van Winter, P. J., Onder Krugers Hollanders, Vol.II (Amsterdam, 1938.)

Although I used this work extensively, I consulted it only for the purpose of substantiating individual facts, and I therefore hesitate to criticise its general historical value.. It appears, however, to be a fairly detailed and thorough discussion of railway development in the South African Republic, and its documentation appears to be adequate.

(C) MINOR SOURCES.

Some dates omitted

(1) Amphlett, G. T., A History of the Standard Bank of South Africa Ltd., (Glasgow, 1914.)

(2) Bot, A. K., A Century of Education in the Transvaal. (Pretoria, 1936.)

(3) Coetzee, D. J., Spoorwegontwikkeling in die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek, 1872 - 1899. (Cape Town, 1940.)

(4) Dormer, F. J., Vengeance as a Policy in Afrikanderland. (London, 1901.)

(5) Emden, P. H., Randlords. (London, 1935.)

(6) Fisher, W. E. G., The Transvaal and the Boers. (London, 1896.)

(7) Fitzpatrick, J. P., South African Memories.

(8) Fruin, R., Een Hollandsch Woord Over de Transvaal Quästie.

(9) Guyot, Y., Boer Politics. (London, 1900.)

(10) Graumann, H., Rand Riches and South Africa.

(11) Hammond, J. H., Boers and Uitlanders.

(12) Harrison, F., The Boer Republics.

(13) Hofmeyr, N. J., Die Afrikaner-Boer en die Jameson Inval.

(14) Hillier, A., South African Studies. (London, 1900.)

(15) Ireland, W. A., Anglo-Boer Conflict. (London, 1900.)

(16) Jacobsson, D, Fifty Golden Years of the Rand. (London, 1936.)

(17) Jeppe, C., Transvaal Almanac, 1889.
Consulted in Witwatersrand University, Gubbins Library.

(18) Jeppe, C., The Kaleidoscopic Transvaal. (London, 1906.)

(19) Letcher, O., The Gold Mines of Southern Africa.
(Johannesburg & London, 1936.)

(20) Lovell, R. I., The Struggle for South Africa, 1875-1899.
(New York, 1934.)

(21) Lugtenburg, A. H., Geskiedenis van die Onderwys in die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek 1836-1900. (Pretoria, 1925.)

(22) New Review, April, 1896:'The Case For the Uitlanders', by C. Leonard.

(23) Quarterly Review, January 1900:'Years Before the Raid!

(24) Regan, W. F., Boer and Uitlander. (London, 1896.)

(25) Scoble, J. & Abercrombie, H. R., The Rise and Fall of Krugerism. (London, 1900.)

(26) Statham, F. R.? Paul Kruger and his Times.

(27) Statham, F. R., South Africa as it is.

(28) Times History of the War in South Africa, Vol.I
(London, 1907.)

(29) Voigt, J. C., Leading Uitlanders.

(30) Vulliamy, C. E., Outlanders. (London, 1938.)

(31) Walker, E. A., A History of South Africa. (London, 1947.)

(32) Walker, E. A., Britain and South Africa.

(33) Walker, E. A., Lord de Villiers and his Times. (London, 1925.)

(34) Webber, H. O'K., The Grip of Gold. (London, 1936.)