

Dr. W. J. L. ...
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When you have read this, please pass it on to someone who has not seen it.

WAR AGAINST THE TWO REPUBLICS.



BOTH HAVE FOUGHT HARD, AND HAVE
SUFFERED MUCH IN THE NAME OF
HUMANITY. STAY YOUR HANDS, AND
USE YOUR HEADS TO FIND A BASIS OF
AGREEMENT

A SPEECH

Delivered in
Battersea Park, on
May 20th, 1900,

BY

JOHN BURNS, L.C.C., M.P.

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Some Notable Shareholders in the British South African Chartered Company.

The following table is compiled from the list of Shareholders deposited in the Library of the House of Commons :—

Duke of Fife	8,850	W. A. MacArthur, M.P.	300
Duke of Abercorn	8,600	Lord Elcho, M.P.	3,500
Marquis of Lorne, Kensington Palace	5	Mr. Bemrose, M.P.	100
Sir Francis Knollys, Marlboro' House	94	Lord G. Gordon... ..	420
Hon. F. J. W. Ponsonby	6	Lord C. W. B. Bruce	300
Lord Farquhar	8,000	Sir H. Meysey Thompson, M.P.	100
Lord Gifford, V.C.	10,000	Scott-Montague, M.P.... ..	50
Lord Rothschild	10,000	Lord Elphinstone, M.P.	50
Leopold Rothschild	7,546	Sir J. Kitson, M.P.	3,000
Earl Grey	9,000	Sir J. D. Poynder, M.P.	400
Earl Coventry	220	Rochfort Maguire, M.P.	49,000
Lord Penrhyn	10,000	John Penn, M.P.	980
Lord Overtoun	250	G. B. Hudson, M.P.	430
Lord Alwyne Compton, M.P.... ..	5,000	F. G. Banbury, M.P.	325
Wootton Isaacson, M.P.	3,000	Sir S. Montagu, M.P.... ..	200
Baron de Worms	355	Sir S. Baker, M.P.	37
Earl Dysart	880	Herman Hodge, M.P.	3
Lord Crawshaw	1,060	J. W. M'Clure, M.P.	1
Lord Calthorpe	2,000	W. H. Myers, M.P.	745
Lord Greville	1	J. Tuite, M.P.	20
Lord Kelvin	8	Col. W. Murray, M.P.... ..	100
Lord Maitland	54	Mr. Asher, M.P.	100
Lord Clark	1,000	A. J. Newton, Lord Mayor, C.I.V.,	
Lord Herries	3	etc.	200
Lord E. G. Cecil	50	Rider Haggard	720
Baron Kesteven	2	T. C. D. Haggard	1,528
Sir T. Sutherland, M.P.	5,300	W. M. D. Haggard	960
Harry Marks, M.P.	500	Sir Somers Vine	100
Lord Stratheden and Campbell	6	Duchess of Montrose	2,000
Lionel Holland, M.P.	100	Sir Hercules Robinson (original Dec.	
Sir John Lubbock, M.P.	25	1893 list—sold out that year) ...	2,100
Sir Donald Currie, M.P.	5,000	Colonel Goold-Adams (Dec. 28th,	
W. E. G. Macartney, M.P.	30	1893, list—sold out that year) ...	900
Marquis of Londonderry	500	Sir J. Sievwright	4,500
Earl Chesterfield	300	Sir F. Carrington	45
Hon. E. Hubbard, M.P.	100	P. S. Methuen (original)	3,000
Burdett-Coutts, M.P.	242	Gen. Sir F. W. Grenfell	29
Lord Wantage	5,000	Major Plumer	3
A. Baumann, M.P.	400	Lt.-Col. Carrington	5
G. Beith, M.P.	1,200	Lt.-Col. Rimington	5
J. Ross, Q.C., M.P.	100		
Mr. Conybeare	54	Total	180,000

Eighty Peers, Commoners, Imperial and Consular Officers, Equerries, and Society Bankers, of which above is a sample, have held since 1892 180,000 shares. Top price, £1,500,000; lowest, £550,000.

In addition to the above, 350 Generals, Major-Generals, Colonels, and officers in the army, many of them serving at the front, figure in one volume only, 1896.

A good number of Clergymen and the female relations of M.P's also hold shares.

Reg. No. 1896.	Daily Mail.
21,486	Alfred Harmsworth 500
21,805	Cecil Harmsworth 40
21,617	R. L. Harmsworth 100
21,600	George Harmsworth 400

It is fair to say that the Legislative, Military and Society Shareholders have held over 250,000 £1 shares, which were saleable at over £2,000,000, at top prices. This is in one South African Company alone—the Chartered. It would be interesting to find out the holdings they had in each of the 74 auxiliary companies, of which the Chartered is the parent.

War against the Two Republics.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,—

Last week I dealt with New Imperialism, its genesis, development, and results.

To-night I address you upon the worst, the latest, but in the present temper of the British people I am afraid not the last manifestation of Jingo extension, Imperial recklessness.

The cause of the war against the two Boer Republics has been disguised, its object misrepresented, its real mission disgracefully withheld from the people.

I have tried for some time to bring it home to this district that this war was a Capitalist war, and one can safely say with Dryden of this war in particular—

“War seldom enters but where wealth allures.”

Wealth took us to Africa, wealth keeps us there, and on the agencies that wealth commands depends every act in this wanton and wicked war.

Was this war necessary? I believe not. Was this war just? All the canons of justice, liberty, freedom say No.

Could it have been averted? Yes, if peace had been sincerely desired by the Colonial Office. Should it go on? Not if Lord Salisbury's dictum at the Mansion House be the true desire of his Government, namely, that we seek “no goldfields nor territory.” But this pledge is now cast to the winds.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

Newspapers like the “Daily Mail” and other Rhodesian papers are daily beclouding the issues, confusing the judgments, and misrepresenting the causes of this war in such a way that it is essential to give a brief outline of events in South Africa. Two hundred and fifty years ago the Dutch established themselves at Cape Colony, and by dint of energy, patience and courage won from the elements, the natives, and the wild beasts a hard life, simple homes, and primitive government.

In 1795, when England was at war with France their territory was annexed on the promise to return it at end of war. England retained it. The Dutch rebelled, were beaten, and their leaders were executed. In 1835, with this defeat and injustice rankling in their minds, they went northwards and settled in the Orange Free State, and in the Transvaal. In 1852 the Sand River Convention guaranteed their independence, and gold not being discovered there was not yet a passion for reform, a reason for war. In 1877 Sir Bartle Frere alleged the Boers wanted to be-

come British subjects. The usual prettexts were advanced, good government, freedom, liberty, and all the other sophisms that the hypocritical expansionists always advance, and which suggest the view expressed by a celebrated Frenchwoman on her way to execution—“Oh liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name.”

The Dutch resented their forcible inclusion within the British sphere, and sent delegates to England to protest against it. But annexation was resolved upon by our pro-consuls; it was insisted upon by the Government, and was being enforced. In 1880 the Boers resolved to fight for freedom, did fight, and I am glad to say won back what they never should have been deprived of. In 1881 the London Convention gave them absolute freedom and independence in their own internal affairs, which has never been seriously abused. Beyond this Britain had the power of supervising their external treaties with Foreign Powers. This power has never been exercised, simply because the Boers have had no need for foreign alliances. Did these people deserve their well-won freedom? Did they earn their dearly-loved independence? Certainly!

CHARACTER OF THE BOERS.

In 1881 Mr. Chamberlain described the Boers as “Honest, industrious, religious, whose love of freedom and liberty would commend them to English people,” and in reply to those who advised what he has now done he asked “Is it upon such a nation that we are called to exercise the dread arbitrament of war?” Of the Boers, Sir George Grey—than whom Britain never had a better Governor of Cape Colony—said “I know no people richer in public and private virtues than the Boers.” But the 1881 opinion of Mr. Chamberlain, the experience of Sir George Grey, the testimony of Mr. Froude, the historian, as to the character of the Boers cannot be dispelled, because, not for the first time, Mr. Chamberlain finds it expedient and convenient to renounce his earlier and his better views.

Of their independence there has never been any doubt. A cloud of witnesses testify to that fact, and of those witnesses none are more emphatic than Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, and many others. Higher than the testimony of partisan politicians is the deliverance of the Lord Chief Justice, who said at the trial of the Jameson Raiders—the magnanimous treatment of whom has been the chief error of Mr. Kruger, and for not striking at their employer and instigator, Mr. Rhodes, he is now paying with this country the penalty—the Lord Chief Justice said: “The position of the South African Republic is determined by the two Conventions of 1881 and 1884. The result is that under these Conventions the Queen's Government recognises the complete independence and autonomy of the South

African Republic, subject only to the restriction of the Convention of 1884, to the effect that the South African Republic should have no power to enter into any treaties without England's consent." Here we have clearly expressed the treaty-made rights of the Boers.

The Convention then of 1881, followed by the Convention of 1884, made the Boer Republics Sovereign independent states, and so they were regarded by Europe and England, except by those who made war their trade, mischief their occupation, money their objective, and the effacement of the smaller nations and weaker peoples their destructive mission. To these malicious people, in whom gain is the chief incentive, came an opportunity they could not neglect. In 1885-6 gold was discovered. From that date Boer freedom was doomed; on that date the alleged Boer tyranny was invented. Boer misgovernment was created for commercial ends. "War never enters but where wealth allures." Gold in the Transvaal was the allurement; diamonds the incentive; the rest, of which this war is but a sordid sequel, followed.

THE FINANCIER AND HIS WAYS.

The peculiar stratification of the gold fields in Africa, the deep levels, the costly working, differentiated South African gold fields from all other fields. Not alluvial, as in California and Australia, and capable of being worked by free miners with all the rough freedom and picturesque life of the miner who himself works his claim, and who on the whole has a sense of honour, fair play, and a rough and ready form of justice that the African gold fields have unfortunately lacked—powerful and costly machinery was required to crush the rock, and therefore the Monopolist gathered in South Africa. The financial Jew became the directing and financial power. Companies were formed; Britons and Jews made huge fortunes in a foreign country, in a State in which the great bulk of them were aliens, and in whose interests they had but a transitory concern. Gratitude for their rapidly acquired riches alone should have made them content with the country. The South African Jew has, however, no bowels of compassion. Appetite grew by what it fed upon; the slave of the centuries, the persecuted of all time, released from the restraint of disciplined control, gained a cash ascendancy, and having gained it by speculation, sustained it by corruption and fraud till his vulgar insolence and arrogant assumptions warned the Boers that a new danger had entered amongst them. The Jew capitalist had arrived. The syndicated Monopolist had made South Africa his home, and the Transvaal Republic his quarry.

The money so easily secured from the diamond mines was used to get power, power was used to make more money, and all to

subordinate native labour, European workmen, and forms of government to mercenary ends. In a word every institution, and class had been scheduled by the Jew as his heritage, medium, and dependent. Where he could not intimidate he corrupted; where he could not corrupt he defamed. The Press he subsidised or bought up. The cable agencies he nobbled, its truthful servants he dismissed. Every free man in Africa who was suspected of being anti-capitalist he labelled Pro-Boer. He did not even spare his hosts. The Boer whose country he had commercially absorbed had either to yield to his schemes or to be bribed to his wishes. If he did not yield he was "obsolete," "obstinate," "non-progressive," "uncivilised." If he acquiesced in the financial schemes and allowed himself to be bribed he was betrayed and denounced as corrupt by his corruptors. If the Boer Government made the richest industry justly pay the greatest share of taxation the Jews and the creatures of the Chartered Company complained of "high taxation," which for a rich industry was the lowest that the gold industry has ever had to pay in the history of mining. In the development of the country and the mining industry the British workmen made good wages. Johannesburg grew; wealth, luxury, and their vicious accessories flourished. The mining camps of the world contributed their quota of all the undesirable elements that money attracts.

KRUGER PLAYED CHECK.

In all this wealth-production the Boer Government, like the British Governments, tried to make the richest pay, and generally treated the poor native and the European worker, so far as hours, wages, and legislative protection were concerned, much better than they were treated in Kimberley, where monopoly was all powerful and money was king. There was no Sunday labour. Black men worked eight hours, and the conditions for all were freer than in Natal or Cape Colony.

The alien capitalists in the Transvaal were kept in check by Kruger, and the workmen were able to hold their own, since the capitalist only conceded certain favours to British workmen temporarily, as ultimately the workers' votes would be required to overthrow the Republics, a policy in which the honest workman has not concurred. The gamblers, the riff-raff of mining camps, the dregs of the sporting world, who had "fled this country for their country's good" were retained to do what the genuine British workman would not do. In 1892 the South African Reform League was formed. It became a mask for capitalist domination to be effected by means of political change and municipal reform. Its only charge against the Republic

was the Railway and Dynamite monopolies, which were exaggerated for the sinister purposes of Rhodes and his friends.

How can Englishmen waste sympathy about a railway monopoly which did not affect the poor man in South Africa, when here in England and in Parliament the greatest of all railways monopolies has the greatest hold upon our political machine, and its agents are the Guinea-pig directors of our own Government! From 1892 Rhodes's activity became apparent. He had previously sided with the Dutch, fawned upon them in the Cape Colony, had alternately hounded some and converted others, was alternately more Dutch than British, occasionally pro-German when it suited his schemes, and anti-British when it fitted in with his ambitions.

THE RAID.

A change was necessary; it came. Papers were bought, journalists hired, legislators suborned, bogus agitations for Franchise were started, bogus meetings followed by bogus petitions. "The women and children in peril" dodge was invented, the invasion of the Transvaal was decided upon, the Jameson Raid, the most criminal, cowardly, and incompetent enterprise ever launched was undertaken, ending with the fiasco it deserved, but without the punishment it should have received. That raid secured the condemnation of the world, the raiders were punished, but its author escaped because he was shielded, and protected, and shamefully screened by those in high places. A Committee was appointed by the House of Commons. It was a farce, an imposture, a stilted make-believe, a guilty sham. Rhodes was condemned by that Committee, but not published.

Mr. Chamberlain whitewashed Mr. Rhodes; correspondence essential to the proper findings of the Committee was suppressed, and the most despicable tribunal since the Star Chamber ended in a contemptible disgrace. Stimulated by his escape, encouraged by his acquittal, supported in his wrong doing, Rhodes, who never should have been allowed to return to South Africa, recommenced his conspiracy against Kruger. His agents were busy here, all pervading in the lobby of the House of Commons; lies and calumnies against the Boers became the staple product of trashy Imperialistic newspapers like the "Daily Mail," whose first appearance in the world of journalism synchronised with the new campaign against the Boers.

KRUGER'S CONCESSIONS.

At this juncture Sir Alfred Milner was appointed, and a more unfortunate appointment was never made. Judged by his paste-pot despatches and his jejune negotiations this young gentleman seems to have been influenced by the worst as he has been surrounded by the meanest creatures in South Africa, such as a

Commissioner ought to have avoided. He knew the cause of Franchise, the demand for citizenship by the Chartered villains, was but a vulgar, sordid pretext for other things. He knew that men who had been doctoring the registers of Cape Colony, making voters, and suborning representatives, were, failing the Jameson Raid, determined to have war at this nation's expense. His policy played their game; he took up their cards, and with bluster, evasion, and support from home, brought about a misunderstanding that has resulted in war. If he had wanted a conciliatory settlement he could have secured it, as his own language, based upon the facts of Kruger's concessions, proves. His demands upon Kruger were conceded to such an extent as to justify Mr. Chamberlain in saying on July 17th, 1899, "These proposals are in advance of previous concessions, and leave only a difference of two years between Milner and Kruger. Happily each new scheme seems to be an advance on that which preceded it." This was strikingly confirmed after war began on October 25th, when, in the House of Commons, the following dialogue occurred, when Mr. Chamberlain stated that Mr. Kruger had given nine-tenths of what the English Government had asked for:—

"Mr. Courtney: The next point is the rights of the Outlanders, and here we have got a five years' franchise promised; at first, seven years, and then five years, subject to conditions, to which my right hon. friend sent an answer intended to be received as an acceptance. (An hon. member dissented.) My right hon. friend is quite equal to denying my statement if it is wrong.

"Mr. Chamberlain: Oh, well then, I do deny it. I did not think it worth while to interrupt my right hon. friend, because he knows I have said over and over again a 'qualified' acceptance, and he always omits the adjective.

"Mr. Courtney: You said nine-tenths. Is the one-tenth worth war? Tell us what the one-tenth is?

"Mr. Chamberlain: I do not think it was worth war.

"Mr. Courtney: Tell us what the one-tenth is.

"Mr. Chamberlain: Why did not President Kruger give way?

"Mr. Courtney: Because he did not understand the despatch: it was never explained to him. Are we going to fight for the tenth point? As to that, Mr. Speaker, history, I think, will judge."

As prior to this Kruger had granted Johannesburg a Municipal Council of 24, and practically all had been granted that was demanded, the Boers had reasons to suspect us, and by South African events became alarmed at the obvious seeking of a quarrel. They were either to be

squeezed out of authority in their own country or to be driven out. They resisted one and prepared for the other. The Boers then armed and prepared for defending their country. The Raid started them on this course. The date of their arming is settled by the simple fact that they armed themselves with weapons and ammunition which were perfected and only had the vogue after January 1896.

They had trusted Rhodes and failed. Milner was but Rhodes's shadow. Chamberlain, I believe, was but Rhodes's tool. They had conceded nine-tenths of what we demanded, and were willing to submit the rest to arbitration. This for an independent state was concession enough to a power who had made the stockjobbers their ambassadors. All the time concessions were being made taunting, vulgar, bellicose speeches were being made at Birmingham and other places by Mr. Chamberlain, supplemented by the ignorant, chattering Rhodesian Press of the "Daily Mail" type.

ULTIMATUM SENT TO KRUGER.

The ultimatum was sent to Kruger which everybody knew a self-respecting nation must refuse. Parliament was summoned to confirm the calling out of the Reserves. Kruger was then driven to invade Natal, to project his defence into our territory. Technically this was the first error he had made under great provocation, but strategically and morally there was no other course for a people whom we had harried, bullied, and driven into war.

HEROISM OF THE BOERS.

And what a war; what a revelation to the world and a surprise to Britain. Our soldiers have fought bravely for a bad cause. Our officers have shown, as I said last week, that they are "without the fear of death, and without the knowledge of war." Beleagured Mafeking holds out in a position that never ought to have been occupied; led by Baden Powell, who never ought to have been wasted and thrown away so far north. Mafeking will be relieved.

But the beleagured Boers fight on. This larger garrison of free men hold the fort of human liberty. The world applauds them, as do you and I, for the heroic way, small in numbers, simple in strategy, they defend their land, not from a nation armed, vindicating a righteous cause, but against a militant capitalism that is using our soldiers as the uniformed brokers' men turning out the wrong tenants in South Africa for the interests of Jews.

And for eight months this war has gone on, and will go on till physical exhaustion drives the Boers to surrender to a force seven times their number. There is no honour in this war for its authors; there is no glory in this

outrage on freedom by this nation. There may be decorations for our soldiers, but they would have been brighter and better in a nobler cause. The fight the Boers have made entitles them to magnanimous treatment. A people capable of such defence the world cannot afford to lose. Their resistance disposes of the charges made against them by the hired calumniators and the "Daily Mail" at home, who judged the Boers to be as contemptible as themselves, a statement disproved by Mr. Steevens and Mr. Ralph, their correspondents at the war, when the Censor or their Editors allowed the truth to filter through.

Cowards don't fight like the Boers; they wave flags at home whilst other men are doing their fighting abroad.

Corrupt men don't fight like the Boers. The really corrupt are those who recruit the unemployed, the prisoners of poverty, and get them to carry out their corrupt ends, as the capitalist, through Mr. Chamberlain, has done with our army.

Brave men fight as the Boers have fought, because death is preferable to slavery, and that is what Rhodesian ascendancy means in South Africa for black and white.

The Boers have the support of the best of Britons in Africa, and the respect of every fair-minded man at home. They will fight on; they must be beaten, but they will not be crushed. If beaten they will be discontented for generations; and when the mines are exhausted South Africa may yet be theirs. With wisdom, foresight, kindness, we may yet retain South Africa for the Empire and humanity, even though we lose it for the Jews. When the mines are exhausted then the Boers will regain what they have lost. When the hidden causes of this war are slowly revealed by that great informer, Father Time, then the disillusionment of all honest men who have supported this war will rally them to the side of freedom and independence. In the meantime we here in Battersea have, from our laager of liberty, got to tell you this war is a crime. You who have bawled yourself hoarse what have you done it for?

WHAT THE WAR HAS COST US.

This war has sacrificed your honour, degraded your flag, prostituted the high mission of the British race, and earned for you the regret of the civilised world. I have from this place warned you for years to what you were drifting, and it has come to this that the underlying sense of justice in the British people has been imposed upon, your passion for freedom has been exploited, your desire for local government has been used to further the schemes of adventurous and wealthy rascals to strike down, ostensibly for the protection of the Britons in South Africa, the freedom of the Boers, and in your name to commit a national

crime, which, when you have considered, you will deplore.

It has been suggested that the war now proceeding must go on. I don't admit it. The nation that instructed its representative, Lord Pauncefote, to advocate at the Hague Peace Conference the institution of a permanent Court of Arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, cannot hesitate to put it into practice now.

There is every reason why you should initiate it now, especially as Lord Salisbury has declared "you seek no gold fields nor territory." If that be true, if the Franchise agitation is a fraudulent pretext, as it was, if you do not wish to exterminate the Boers, and alienate all South Africa, now is your opportunity of ascertaining the mind of your enemy, feeling your way to a settlement that must come, I believe, and the sooner the better for Boer and Briton.

There is no weakness in treating with a foe whom you have from the military point of view practically defeated. There is no cowardice or loss of prestige in a great nation finding a way to a suitable agreement with a race to live peaceably, which means the contentment of your African government and the permanence of British power at the Cape.

MAKE PEACE.

Do this ere it is too late, undertake it before complications in other parts prevent you doing it gracefully and with credit. It may not please Sir Alfred Milner, but he is discredited. It will displease Rhodes, but he is found out and should for all good purposes be turned out of Africa now and for all time. It

will perhaps anger the "Daily Mail" and the subsidised press and creatures who live by lying about this war.

It will salve your conscience which has been outraged; it will save you from further wrong doing; it will modify the differences in this country which this war has caused. I would even now give the two Republics their absolute independence, for which they have fought, and which at the instance of the Jew capitalists we have filched. I would make reparation for a wrong inflicted, by establishing a basis of friendship such as cannot be secured by repression or maintained by force of arms.

You can do everything with bayonets, as Cavour truly said, except sit upon them. You tried that with America 120 years ago and were beaten. You have attempted it with Ireland, and have been punished in its depopulation and poverty. You find that policy costly and difficult in India, perilous in the Soudan, disastrous in China.

Signs are not wanting that the British Empire is too large already. Its future safety, your national safeguard, consists in decentralising its government, devoluting its powers to those free communities that by local conditions, homogeneity of life, race, and customs, desire and deserve control of their own destiny.

The Boer Republics are such communities; their defence of their territory warrants your respect, justifies your magnanimity. A magnanimous policy now will be proved in the years to come to be conducive, not only to the peace of South Africa, but essential to the preservation of your own liberties at home, and your possessions abroad.

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