

SIXPENCE.

Dr. W. J. LEYDS

KANTOOR.

AFRICA

FOR THE

AFRICANDERS:

"WHY I AM A PRO-BOER."

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BY

MORRISON DAVIDSON.

LONDON: JOHN DICKS, 313, STRAND.

[Reprinted from "Reynolds's Newspaper."]

Why



I Am



A "Pro-Boer."

. . . BY . . .

JOHN MORRISON DAVIDSON,

(OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE),

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Author of "The Annals of Toil," "The Old Order and the New," "The Gospel of the Poor," "Let there be Light!" "The Book of Erin," "The New Book of Kings," "Precursors of Henry George," &c.

"Nor Greek, nor Scot, nor mountain Swiss
E'er made a stand so bold,
And the World looks on;
FOR A TALE LIKE THIS
HAS NEVER YET BEEN TOLD."

LONDON: JOHN DICKS, 313, STRAND, W.C.

Why

I Am

A "Pro-Buck"

JOHN MORRISON DAVIDSON

BY THE AUTHOR

NEW YORK: THE BUCKLE COMPANY, 1917

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TO
THE YOUNG SCOTS SOCIETY,
IN THE HOPE
THAT **THEY** MAY BE ABLE,
IN SOME MEASURE,
TO EXPIATE SCOTLAND'S HEAVY SHARE OF
THE GUILT OF THE MOST
CRUEL, SORDID, AND GENERALLY INFAMOUS WAR
EVER WAGED
EVEN BY THE PIRATE EMPIRE.

*Common Room,
Middle Temple,
London.*

March 5th, 1902.

WHY I AM A "PRO-BOER."

SCOTSMEN AND "IMPERIALISM."

No. I.

"To the end of time the ocean
Shall thunder on the shore,
But the grand old Scottish Highlands
Is the Highlands nevermore."

"The gloom of desolation wraps
The mountain and the vale,
And the wild hare brings forth her young
On the hearthstone of the Gael.

"No more the clans the claymore grasp
And don the White Cockade;
No more, sweet as her native heath,
Shall bloom the Highland maid.

"No more shall dirk and target rasp
Against the Saxon spear,
For the age has come that barbers
A clansman for a deer.

"And the laughing girl of Selma
Must beat her naked breast;
She must, weeping, find a home
'Mong the forests of the West,
That the dear spot where she was born
May be a coney's nest."

STEWART ROSS ("SALADIN").

"A Highland man's a bonnie man
To fight wi' sword and shield;
But a Highland man's a feeble man
To face a stricken field."

All manner of publicists have for generations been admonishing the Scots that the Legislative Union of 1707 with the "Predominant Partner" has been for them an unalloyed blessing; but "I hae ma doots," and, as the years roll by, they increase rather than diminish. It must be well on for a couple of decades since I penned, in the hospitable columns of *Reynolds's Newspaper*, a little volume entitled "*Scotia Rediviva*," setting forth sundry moral and material losses that have accrued to the Scottish People from the incorporation of their Legislature with that of England.

But, in the light of the present iniquitous war in South Africa, it now strikes me that I almost overlooked the gravest drawback of all. Up to the Union, Scotland was uniformly at peace with all nations, *except the English*, and her sons abroad, from pedlar to professor and field-marshal, everywhere enjoyed unique consideration, favour, and friendship. For centuries they formed the Bodyguard of the Kings of France, while two Scots Regiments in the service of the States General of the Netherlands were, for their loyal services, affectionately known as the "Bulwark of Holland."

No sooner, however, did the Scots become England's right arm in her nefarious campaigns against "peoples rightly struggling to be free," than Scotland fell from her high international estate, and now, at last, to what a *ne plus ultra* of degradation has she been reduced. Her gay "Gordons," her gallant "Seaforths," her superb "Scots Greys," and her invincible "Black Watches"—what little the Boers have left of them!—have become the shameless janissaries of the unconvicted thieves of the London Stock Exchange. Alas, alas! what a falling off was there, my countrymen, for "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," for the children of the *Solemn League and Covenant*.

That these historic Scottish troops should have suffered so terribly, in blood and repute, at the hands of the Boers is, after all is said and done, a just judgment on their wrong-doing, in the sight of God and man. Military oath, or no military oath, they had no business to be there, unless it were to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Boers in defence of their imperilled hearths and homes. Speaking for myself as a Scotsman by birth and a Republican by conviction, my entire sympathies have, from the first, gone forth to Dutchman and Boer throughout this deplorable business; nor can I see how it can possibly be otherwise with any undegenerate Scot, at home or abroad.

SCOTO-DUTCH AFFINITIES.

In truth, strange as it may appear to the average English mind, there are much stronger affinities between Scot and Dutchman than Scot and Englishman. There is, of course, the barrier of language, but even in that non-essential, acquaintance with the vernacular of Lowland

Scotland is an excellent key to the difficulties of Dutch idiom and pronunciation.

In all other respects Scotsman and Dutchman are as one people in historical antecedents, institutions, and religion. Both are small nations that have successfully fought for independent nationhood against the heaviest odds. The names of Sir William Wallace and William the Silent recall heroic memories without any parallel in the all but uniformly-sordid history of the "Predominant Partner." Scot and Boer have never worn the livery of a conqueror and the noble "Anglo-Saxon" (as he quite erroneously calls himself), with his lordly contempt for the "Celtic fringes" and "sweepings of other places," can hardly be expected readily to comprehend the feeling thereby engendered.

About the Predominant One, the curiosity is that he has often been conquered and seems to like it, nay, to boast of it, as of all his other achievements. He duly kissed the rod of the Roman, the Dane, and the Norman, and when William of Orange came to deliver him from the Stuarts and Romanism, it was with difficulty he could be restrained from registering the event as the "Dutch Conquest."

In religious "evolution" Scotland and Holland, unlike England and Scotland, have ever proceeded *pari passu*. The one had to fight a bastard Anglican Episcopacy, the other a yet more unendurable Spanish Romanism, and both after infinite suffering, triumphed in the end, making a clean sweep of cruel and crafty Hierarchy and setting up in its place a sound Republican form of Church Government. At this very hour the Predominant Partner can hardly tell whether the Church of England is Protestant or Catholic!

And being blessed, or cursed, with somewhat of a "historic conscience," I can never forget the fact that in the "killing times" of the Covenant, when the Predominant Partner was grovelling at the feet of the restored Stuarts, Holland was Scotland's only asylum in her hour of dire and direct necessity.

And not Scotland's city of refuge alone. The very name of Holland is a synonym for civil and religious liberty. Even to Spinoza, the wonderful "God-intoxicated man," when an outcast from every society, Jew and Gentile, she gave asylum, no less than to a whole multitude of illustrious victims, English and Scottish, of Tudor and Stuart tyranny.

Moreover, in Science, Art, Scholarship, Theology, and Jurisprudence, what greater names are there to conjure with than those of Boerhaave, Rembrandt, Erasmus, Kuenen, and Grotius, not to mention a host of others? And it is the South African offshoot of this exceedingly resolute and capable race, the nearest to ourselves of all the Teutonic peoples in blood, beliefs, and institutions, that Rhodes, Chamberlain, and Milner, supported by the unspeakable Rhodesian and Yellow Press, are now too manifestly bent on exterminating. And for what? For the capture of certain gold mines that, in an evil hour for mankind, were discovered within Boer borders. Out upon the miscreants!

DAVID HUME ON THE "PREDOMINANT PARTNER."

Some little time ago I had occasion to peruse certain correspondence of one of the greatest of Scotsmen, David Hume, the Philosopher and Historian, the most unprejudiced intellect, perhaps, of the eighteenth century, or any other. A wave of wickedness and brutality was then, as now, passing over England, directed mainly, not against Dutchmen, but Scotsmen. Sir Gilbert Elliot is informed (1768-70):—

"Nothing but a rebellion and bloodshed will open the eyes of that deluded (English) people, though were they alone concerned, I think it is no matter what becomes of them. Our Government has become a chimaera and is too perfect in point of liberty for so rude a beast as an Englishman; who is a man (a bad animal too) corrupted by above a century of licentiousness. . . ."

"Oh, how I long to see America and the East Indies revolted totally and finally—the revenue reduced to one-half—public credit fully discredited by bankruptcy—a third of London in ruins! I think I am not too old to despair of being witness to all these blessings. . . ."

"I am delighted to see the daily and hourly progress of madness, folly, and wickedness in England. The consumption of these qualities affords the true ingredients for making a fine narrative in history, especially if followed by some signal and ruinous convulsion—as I hope will soon be the case with that pernicious people."

Well, without going quite so far in the same direction as David Hume, I must say his sentiments touch a responsive chord in my breast, in view of the revolting crime in which we are now engaged. I am thoroughly ashamed to belong to a country capable of such gross injustice, inhumanity, hypocrisy, and abysmal lying as have landed us in the present crisis, and I do earnestly hope that Scotland—old, chivalrous Scotland—will before long give the "Predominant Partner" plain warning that she means no longer to be trailed in the mire at the chariot wheels of unprincipled English politicians and Jew stock-jobbers. I have been for more than a quarter of a century "furth" of Scotland, but I cannot and will not believe that my native land is so utterly and hopelessly sunk in every form of Materialism and Atheism as I know this Godless England to be. Depend on it, if the "Celtic fringes" can do nothing for the "Predominant Partner," the "Predominant Partner" can do nothing for himself. Nothing short of a moral earthquake can avail aught.

In these columns, many readers of *Reynolds's* will remember, I advocated Federation or Home Rule All Round, for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, for nearly a couple of years before the idea found expression in any other quarter, and at no time more than at the present hour of stress and storm was this primary remedy—this *sine qua non*—a more obvious necessity. Is it Centralization that is stifling us. Mammon has irretrievably captured the Westminster Palaver, as it has captured Pulpit and Press, and if legislative decentraliza-

tion cannot save us, our boasted liberties are an empty bauble. We are at the mercy of the merest handful of Jew usurers and Gentile sharpers. And yet, in spite of appearances, when Federation comes, it will come with a rush, to the verification of the precious words of that wise protagonist of Home Rule All Round, the gallant Fletcher of Saltoun:—

"If the three (four) kingdoms were united on so equal a footing as for ever to take away the suspicion and jealousy of separation, virtue and industry will be universally encouraged, every part will contribute cheerfully and in due proportion to the security and defence of the whole (Federal) Union, which will preserve us so effectually from those two great calamities—War and Corruption."

Federation is the first link in the chain of Democratic Reforms, of which the *Referendum* is the last.

"SCOTLAND'S SHAME!"

No. II.

"Who would have thought of living to a day when a large number of Scotsmen by their attitude towards England's piratical war in South Africa, are vilifying the memory of their great countryman, the Patriot Wallace? Here are a few extracts from Wallace's defiance of England's insolent claim of Suzerainty over Scotland":—

"If the whole Scottish nation were to submit to the King of England, or if everyone else should abandon the cause of freedom, I and those who may adhere to me will stand for the liberties of the country, and neither to the King of England, nor to his representatives, God being gracious, will we yield obedience."

"I cannot be a traitor to Edward, as I never was his subject. I was born and bred a Scotsman, and as such owe no allegiance to a foreign monarch. . . . For what am I in chains? For defending my country. For raising my arm in defence of a land dearer to me than life itself. Was this a crime? Are we calmly to sit down and bow our necks to the yoke of the oppressor? Is this the manner of England? No, nor of Scotland either. My country shall yet be free. Not Edward's armies or his tyranny shall subdue her, or enslave her children. Her mountains and her valleys shall again re-echo with the cry of Liberty; her brave sons shall again expel the invader from the land. It avails not that ye have me in your power. Do with me what you will, Scotland shall yet be free! Other patriots shall arise to assert her Independence and maintain her Rights, though I perish in the attempt."—*Wallace on his defence at Westminster, 1305*

"And now for a couple of quotations from Boer leaders:—

"I desire to give you the assurance that nothing you may do to our women and children will deter us in continuing the struggle for our Inde-

pendence."—*Commandant General Louis Botha to Field Marshal Lord Roberts.*

"No, if God wills that we lose our Independence, then it is better that we should all pass away. Wherever a Boer would live he must ever brood over his thoughts. The women will never forget that their husbands died at the English hands; the children will grow up to hate the conqueror, and wherever is such bitterness there could no happiness be. No, it is better that we die, for then each Burgher can say to himself I have finished my course, I have kept to the faith."—*President Kruger in an interview in which he was asked whether he and his people would accept an asylum in America.*

Reynolds's Newspaper, June 9, 1901.

The above extracts must have struck an acute pang of mingled grief, shame, and remorse into many a loyal Scottish heart, so telling are the historic parallelisms.

William Wallace, the stainless knight of Ellerslie, was the Scottish Kruger and Steyn, Botha, De La Rey, and De Wet rolled into one. He had to combine the office of Statesman with that of Soldier and to both he added the Martyr's Crown. His blood was the seed of all that Scotsmen throughout the world are supposed to hold most dear, and yet among his compatriots of to-day are to be found many of the vilest and cowardliest violators, with voice, pen, and rifle, of the liberties of "peoples rightly struggling to be free."

In an Englishman of the regular John Bull pattern, one almost naturally expects to discover an unreasoning Anti Boer. "Tis his nature to." Witness unhappy Ireland, unhappy India, to go no further afield. But an Anti Boer Scot always impresses one—at least he does me—as an impious, misbegotten creature, a something between Judas and Caliban—*monstrum horrendum cui lumen ademtum*. A "mafficking" Englishman may be forgiven, because he has never known any better. Since the Norman Conquest to this hour his outrages on the weak, at home and abroad, have been limited only by his base, half-serf, half-bully possibilities. But with the "Pro-Gore" Scot it is different. He is a deliberate sinner against the clear light shed by the history of his own country and deserves to be beaten, and (thanks be to God!) he has been beaten, as at Magersfontein, with many stripes. If Sir William Wallace were alive to-day I make no doubt at all what his sentiments would be in regard to the dastardly part played by Scotland in this most infamous of wars, so shamefully forced on the two miniature but matchlessly heroic Republics of South Africa.

After the disastrous field of Falkirk, Edward Longshanks, "the Hammer of the Scots," we read, "mercifully caused him (Wallace) to be recalled to his (Edward's) peace." And this is how the foremost Scotsman in the file of time replied to friends who urged him to accept terms which, to Edward's credit, appear to have been by no means of the "unconditional surrender" order so dear to poor little "Bobs the Burner" and our "Imitation Bismarck," Lord Milner:—

"O desolate Scotland, ever-credulous of decep-

tive speeches, and little foreseeing the calamities that are coming upon you! If you were to judge as I do, you would not readily place your neck under a foreign yoke. When I was a youth I learned from my uncle, the Priest of Dumpace, this proverb—a proverb worth more than all the riches of the world—and ever since I have cherished it in my mind:—

*"Dico tibi verum. Libertas optima rerum;
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito fili.*

(My son, I tell thee soothfastlie,
No gift is like to Libertie;
Then never live in slaverie.)

And therefore, in brief, I declare that if all Scotsmen together yield obedience to the King of England, or part each one with his own liberty, yet I and my comrades who may be willing to adhere to me in this behalf, will stand for the Freedom of the Realm, and neither to the King of England, nor his representatives, God being gracious, will we yield obedience."

HOW ENGLAND TREATED WALLACE.

Well, we all know how it ultimately fared with this most strenuous foe of tyrants and tyranny. By base treachery the Lion of Scotland fell into the hands of the English and was hurried to his ghastly doom in London. In Westminster Hall he was sentenced to be dragged at the tails of horses "from Westminster to the Tower, from the Tower to Aldgate, and so through the midst of the City to the Elmes, Smithfield; to be there half-hanged; cut down alive; his heart, lungs, and liver to be cut out and cast into a fire; his head, arms, and legs to be struck off and publicly exposed in London, Newcastle, Berwick, Sterling, and Perth, in terror to all beholders."

And this dreadful sentence, to the everlasting disgrace of the English name, was carried out to the letter, with the additional horror of the last insult to manhood, which I must retain in the original—"abscissis genitalibus." Only once in England's long career of public crime has she managed to signalise her depraved inbred spirit of "Imperialism" more brutally—WHEN SHE BURNED ALIVE THE INSPIRED JOAN OF ARC, THE SAINTED MAID OF ORLEANS. The Maid's offences were precisely the same as those of the Knight of Elherslie.

SCOTLAND'S DEFIANCE OF ENGLAND.

But, if anything will turn my deluded countrymen North of the Tweed away from their foul mammon-inspired debauch of blood to an older and infinitely nobler national ideal, it ought to be the venerable manifesto from which I am about to quote. There is not, I venture to say, in the archives of any nation—not excepting the ever-memorable American Declaration of Independence—a document reflecting higher honour on the manhood of a people than this unique protest, addressed to Pope John XXII. by "the Eurls, Barons, Freeholders, and the Entire Community of Scotland," and dated, "Monastery of Aberbrothwick, April 6, 1320." It is at once a defiance, six years after Bannockburn (1314), to King

Robert Bruce, the greatest Captain of his age, and to the Sovereign Pontiff with whom the English King (Edward II.) had been intriguing. It should inspire every Scot, worthy of the name, with the sternest determination to demand back from the "Predominant Partner" the native Legislature so shamefully filched from Caledonia by the unhallowed "Union" of 1707. Scotland, it is clear, can assimilate none of England's virtues (such as they are) — only her vices:—

"The wrongs which we suffered under the tyranny of Edward are beyond description and, indeed, they would appear incredible to all but those who have actually felt them. He wasted our country, burned our houses, and slew our people, without discrimination of age, sex, or rank. Through the favour of Him who woundeth and maketh whole, we have been freed from so great and innumerable calamities by the valour of our Lord and Sovereign Robert. He, like another Joshua or Judas Maccabeus, gladly endured toils, distresses, the extremity of want, and every peril to rescue his people out of the hands of the enemy. To him, in defence of our Liberty, we are bound to adhere, as well of right as by reason of his deserts; for through him Salvation has been wrought to all our people.

"BUT SHOULD HE ABANDON OUR CAUSE, OR AIM AT REDUCING US OR OUR KINGDOM UNDER THE DOMINION OF THE ENGLISH, WE WILL INSTANTLY STRIVE TO EXPEL HIM AS A COMMON ENEMY, THE SUBVERTER OF OUR RIGHTS AND HIS OWN, AND WE WILL CHOOSE ANOTHER KING TO PROTECT US; FOR WHILE THERE REMAIN A HUNDRED OF US ALIVE, WE WILL NEVER SUBMIT TO ENGLAND. FOR WE FIGHT NOT FOR GLORY OR RICHES OR HONOUR, BUT FOR LIBERTY ONLY, WHICH NO GOOD MAN WILL LOSE BUT WITH LIFE ITSELF.

"Wherefore we most earnestly beseech your Holiness as the Vicegerent of Him who giveth equal measure to all, and with whom there is no distinction, either of persons or nations, to admonish Edward to content himself with his own dominions, esteemed in former times enough for seven kings (the Heptarchy), and allow us Scotsmen, who dwell in a poor and remote corner and seek nought but our own, to remain in peace. And in order to procure that peace, we are ready to do anything that is consistent with our national interests.

"Everyone knows, and we now declare it to your Holiness and to all Christendom, that our King and we are ready to undertake the Holy Expedition (to rescue the Sepulchre of Christ), if Edward will permit us to depart in peace.

"SHOULD YOU, HOWEVER GIVE TOO CREDULOUS EAR TO THE REPORTS OF OUR ENEMIES AND PERSIST IN FAVOURING THE ENGLISH, TO OUR CONFUSION, IN SPITE OF WHAT WE TELL YOU, THEN THE SLAUGHTER OF OUR BODIES, THE PERDITION OF OUR SOULS, AND ALL THAT TRAIN OF EVILS THAT SHALL FOLLOW—WHICH THEY SHALL DO TO US AND WE SHALL DO TO THEM—WILL THE MOST HIGH, WE BELIEVE, IMPUTE TO YOU.

"And to Him as the Supreme King and Judge we commit our cause; we cast our cares on Him,

and we steadily trust that He will inspire us with valour and bring our enemies to nought."

Five hundred and eighty years ago that was the language of us Scots; to-day it is the language of the Boers. In vain do we erect Valhallas to Wallace on Abbey Craig or elsewhere. Our hearts, alas, are far from him and no longer vibrate to his trumpet-call to do and suffer all things in the sacred cause of Freedom. *O desolata Scotia!*

'Shame on the ghastly mockery of piling stone on stone,

To those who won our Liberties, the Heroes dead and gone;

While we look coldly on and see law-shielded ruffians slay

The men who fain would win their own; the Heroes of to-day."

THE BRITON-HUNTED BOER.

No. III.

"The Boers of South Africa, of all human beings on this planet, correspond nearest to Horace's description of the Roman peasant-soldiers who defeated Pyrrhus and Hannibal. There alone you will find obedience to parents as strict as among the ancient Sabines, the *severa mater* whose sons fetch and carry at her bidding, who, when those sons go forth to fight for their country, will hand their rifles to them and bid them return with their arms in their hands—or else not return at all.—J. A. FROUDE, THE HISTORIAN (THRICE VISITED S.A.): "OCEANA," P. 37.

"First of all I must tell you that I think very highly of the Boers. I found them in every instance to be honest, truthful, and God-fearing. In all my experience no Boer ever lied to me or prevaricated in any smallest particular. I wish I could say as much for our own countrymen in that quarter of the globe. The English settlers in S.A. appeared to me as miserable a set of good-for-nothings as I have ever met. Given over body and soul to cants, wedded to humbugs, and averse from truth and honest labour, they could prate of their Attorneys-General, and become eloquent in regard to their 'Constitution'; but in all real faculty and manhood they compared badly with the Dutchmen.

"Here in Bechuanaland or the Transvaal, as once before in North America, it will in short time be proved whether the heart of Englishmen is sound or whether it has been emasculated by the lies they have learned to regard as moral truths. Here, once again, our arrogance and want of high intelligence have put us in the wrong. It remains to be seen whether we can retrieve this by obstinate courage and downright force. If not, we lose our Empire in S.A. And I am sorry to confess that I think we shall lose it."—FROUDE INTERVIEWED, "EVENING NEWS," DECEMBER 1, 1884.

Why Historian Froude, or any reasonably

upright human being, should sorrow for the loss of "Empire" by such a pack of vapouring "humbugs" and labour-dodging "good-for-nothings," as he found his countrymen in S.A. to be, passes my comprehension. Surely such "emasculated" impostors have enough to do governing themselves. In Ireland, in India, in every one of our Crown Colonies—wherever, in truth, the "Empire" is strong enough to show her cruel beak and claws—the rule of the "Predominant Partner" notoriously spells political bondage and economic ruin. There is nothing really exceptional or unintelligible in the South African tragedy. Our persecution of the Boers is neither an affair of to-day nor of yesterday. Though it has not now culminated, it has been going on for generations, the fatuous British public knowing nothing and caring less about the matter. The tale is one not easily told in brief; but it is worth trying.

HISTORY OF THE "CAPE."

In 1652, the Dutch East India Company formed a "Refreshment Station" for its passing vessels at Capetown. The settlers were few in number, but of excellent Dutch fibre. In 1689 they were reinforced by a contingent of still more admirably-equipped French Huguenots, expelled from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But even then the Colonists, at the close of the Seventeenth Century, wives and weans included, did not exceed 1,400 souls. The language (Taal), used in common conversation, was Dutch so simplified, or stripped of grammatical forms, as to be understood by natives with the mental capacities of children. But in Boer pulpits and in family devotions correct Dutch is still in general use. The Republican Jouberts, De Wets, De La Reys, Krugers, Bothas, and Steyns can all boast of heroic, uncontaminated ancestry, unmatched in this or any other Empire or Kingdom in Europe.

In 1795 the "Patriot Party," as opposed to the "Orange Party," in the Netherlands entered into close relations with Revolutionary France and established the Batavian Republic. The Stadtholder escaped to liberty-hating England in a fishing-boat, and the British Government at once fitted out an expedition to seize on Cape Colony, in virtue of a mandate from his fugitive Highness requiring the authorities at Capetown to admit English troops into the Castle and forts. This accordingly was effected, under the name of "Protection," after a Dutch rule of 143 years. But retrocession followed close in 1802 and recapture in 1806; and it was not till 1814—after a dubious payment of £6,000,000 to the "restored" Stadtholder—that Great Britain entered into undisputed possession. The Treaty of Vienna was supposed to regulise what was at best a very shady transaction, the Stadtholder's title to sell and the Britisher's to buy the unconsulted Colonists being equally hollow. The British occupation has now lasted for 101 years.

At first the Franco-Dutch Colonists, who now numbered about 40,000, in the entire absence of British Emigrants, were treated with con-

sideration. Their Religion, Law, and Language were respected, and some Municipal Rights were conceded to them. But this lasted no longer, *more suo*, than the Pirate Empire began to find her feet. Says that most virile and accomplished foe of oppression—whenever and wherever it is most menacing—Mr. Frederic Harrison:—

"But secure in their title, the British Rulers now began to tighten the reins. The Dutch language was suppressed in Courts of Justice and Official Acts, though five-sixths of the people understood no other tongue. Their Municipal Rights were abolished; but what was most offensive of all, Hottentots were enrolled as soldiers and police, and were employed in enforcing civil process. That was as if in Virginia to-day, negroes were to be employed in arresting white landowners.

"An affair of this sort led to a wild countryside riot (1815), which was at once suppressed by Martial Law. There followed the summary execution of five ringleaders in the disturbance, though no soldier or official had been killed. The gallows of Slachter's Nek, where a Botha and a Kruger were hanged, amidst the frenzied outcries of their brethren, sank deep into the Boer mind. Even now, after eighty-four years, it is spoken of with indignation and hate, and has left bitterness behind it, such as animated the clansmen of the Highlands after Culloden, or the Irish tenants after the hanging of those they revere as martyrs of their race and country."

BRITISH ALIENS ARRIVE.

In 1820 poverty-stricken, State-aided British emigrants began to arrive in the Colony, and matters did not mend. They were much too stupid or obstinate to learn a new tongue, and, though they formed only one-eighth of the Whites, the Imperial Government, in its wisdom (1828), made theirs the official language of the entire country! "It is not a pleasant admission for an Englishman to make," writes Dr. Theal, the very conscientious Official Cape Historiographer of S.A., "*but it is a truth that it would be difficult to find, in any part of the world, a people with so much cause to be discontented as the old inhabitants of the Cape Colony for many years after 1827.*"

In particular, in respect of slave-holding, they were lied about by the great Ecclesiastical Societies in England with a persistency indistinguishable from positive malignity. "The testimony of everyone competent to form a correct opinion," says Dr. Theal (*South Africa: Story of the Nations Series*), "concurred that IN NO PART OF THE WORLD WAS BONDAGE SO LIGHT. The English Governors were of opinion that they enjoyed more comfort than labourers in Great Britain, and that the Dutch Laws gave them sufficient protection against ill usage."

Anyhow, when the Emancipation Act of 1833 was passed by the Imperial Parliament, the Boers accepted it in good faith. The sum of £20,000,000 was voted to compensate the owners in the nineteen Slave Colonies of Great Britain, the

share of each Colony to be determined by the appraised value of its slaves. In the Colony there were 39,000 slaves, appraised value just over £3,000,000. Less than £1,200,000 was actually assigned, each individual claim having to be proved before Commissioners in London! This triumph of administrative Imperialism brought a swarm of petty "Agents" into the Colony, who purchased claims at about half their real value, so that a Colonist, instead of getting even two-fifths of the appraised value of his slaves, often received one-fifth, one-sixth, or nothing at all. Hence it came to pass that the Emancipation Act—a most righteous measure in itself—brought nothing to the unfortunate Boers but red ruin. In the West Indies it, indeed, spelled "Compensation"; in the Colony it signified "Confiscation."

THE "GREAT TREK."

Let us, for a moment, once more call in the aid of Mr. Harrison's winged words: "We now (1836) come to the Great Trek—one of the most extraordinary stories in the history of the Empire. Smarting under their grievances, and despairing of living under British rule, Dutch farmers put their families and movables into waggons, and crossed the Orange River to the Northern veldt to seek a new home in the Wilderness, where they could be free from what they regarded as intolerable oppression. The Government found it could not stop them; but it claimed them as subjects, and had them searched for arms and powder. They trekked slowly on, month after month, into the wilderness, meeting wild beasts and wandering tribes of Blacks, cut to pieces by hordes of savages, by famine, by drought, by fever, or again in ambushes, or losing their way in the arid veldt. One party pushed up some 800 miles to the Northern part of the Transvaal; another party were slaughtered and exterminated—men, women, and children; one party trekked on till a feeble remnant, stricken with fever, at last reached the coast of Delagoa Bay.

"In one of these parties was a little boy of ten, just old enough to drag his musket—Paul Kruger, now President of the Transvaal. In another party was Pieter Joubert, father of the late Boer Commander-in-Chief, himself fourth in descent from the old Huguenot of 1689. It is a thrilling story how one party of trek-farmers drove back the terrible Moselekatze across the Limpopo, how another took a fearful revenge on the treacherous Dingaan at the Blood River, a little North-East of Dundee. These Zulu and Matabele armies of 8,000 and 10,000 strong were at least as brave and as well-disciplined as the warriors whom Lobengula and Cetewayo, their descendants, led in recent years against us."

NATAL.

Eventually the pleasant land of Natal was struck by the heroic Trekkers under Pieter Retief. They descended into it through a Pass they had discovered in the mighty wall of the Drakensburg, at a time when there were, perhaps, not more than 7,000 inhabitants between the Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers. They founded Pieter-

maritzburg, Weenen, and other townships, and inaugurated the independent Republic of Natalia. But the Pirate Empire loves not independent Republics on her frontier, especially if they be weak; and least of all, if they have access to the ocean. She never, therefore, recognised Natalia; and as she had control of the Port of Durban, it was found comparatively easy to send up a force by sea sufficient to extinguish the promising infant Republic, after a life-span of six years. Thereupon the majority of the sorely bested wanderers resumed their weary Trek; sullenly recrossed the mountain wall of the Drakensberg; and settled down, partly in the Orange Free State and partly in the Transvaal. In 1845 the Republic of Natalia became the British Colony of Natal.

SIR WILLIAM BUTLER ON BOER WRONGS.

I had got thus far with the story of the Trekkers, when my attention was considerably drawn by Mr. Alexander Strahan—at that time Editor of *The Contemporary* and otherwise famous in the world of literary Liberalism—to a remarkable article in that monthly (February, 1881), on "The Boers and the Transvaal," by General Sir William Butler, then Lieut.-Colonel W. F. Butler, C.B. It reveals very plainly why the most eminent of living British Commanders, to his everlasting honour, steadfastly declined to perform any "surgical operation" on the Boer Republics. He says:

"These French Huguonots, and the much larger number of Dutch *employés* of the old East India (Dutch) Company, were the ancestors of the people whom to-day we call Boers—a people slow to think, but not easily to be turned from their thought when once they have found it; slow to embark in any movement, but certain to follow it to its extreme end when it has once been begun. A HOMELY, SOBER, VIRTUOUS, QUIET, DULL RACE OF BEINGS, AS FULL OF FAITH IN GOD AND OF FAIR DEALING BETWEEN MAN AND MAN AS THIS WORLD HOLDS HUMAN SAMPLE OF

"But to return to the Dutch, whom we left settled in Pietermaritzburg, in 1839, in the belief that they were at last at rest in their 'Promised Land.' Three years passed away. 'The Republic of Natalia,' as they called their land, was beginning to put forth the first shoots of progress; peace reigned around the frontiers; the homesteads were numerous from the Drakensberg to the Indian Sea. All at once the clouds gathered and the storm broke. In the year 1842, a body of regular troops appeared at Port Natal, overland, and took possession of that place in the Queen's name. The Boers at once rose in arms and besieged the troops in a hastily constructed fort near the present town of Durban. Reinforcements came from the Cape; the beleaguered garrison was relieved; and the Boers, finding resistance hopeless, once more turned their farms into flocks, 'inspanned' their oxen, and set their faces towards the bleak wilderness again.

"Before, however, finally quitting their Promised Land they determined to try the effect of appealing direct to the Governor of the Cape Colony. For this purpose they despatched as

their representative their ablest man, Mr. Pretorius. It was the wet season of the year; the rivers were wide and deep, the tracks narrow and difficult. Pretorius made his journey on horseback to lay the accumulated complaints of the Boers before the High Commissioner. He reached his destination after a ride of 900 miles, only to find an audience refused to him. Her Majesty's High Commissioner was only approachable through the medium of pen, ink, and paper; a personal interview he would not grant. There is an old story of a Roman Emperor riding through a gate of Rome, and refusing to listen to the complaint of a mendicant woman who sat crouching in the archway.

"'Thou who canst not stop to hear the story of even a beggar dost not deserve to reign,' cried the woman. The tyrant stopped his horse and listened to the complaint. Perhaps the High Commissioner had not heard the story or had forgotten its moral; anyhow, he persisted in his refusal to see Mr. Pretorius, whose views now found vent in the following words:—

"Where was the (British) Government with its "protecting" power when, surrounded with misery and bloodshed, we (Boers) found ourselves suddenly in the midst of cruel barbarians. True, it was our own choice, and had the Emigrant Farmers been left to themselves they never would have regretted that choice, as they would have chosen for themselves a Protector with whom the word "protection" has a veritable meaning. How is it that since the arrival of the British soldiers in Natal our numbers have not been increased by a single Dutch Boer, although the country invited them by its bountiful fields and fertile soil? Think of the discomforts they must suffer in the (Transvaal) wilderness, and then ask what is the reason. It is because Her Majesty has extended her gracious "protection" to Natal, and that "protection" is interpreted—by the great majority who have had experience of it in the old Colony—as ALIENATION, OPPRESSION, EXTERMINATION. I resume my journey to Natal to-morrow with a heavy heart. The object for which I braved every difficulty, and left my wife and family almost unprotected, I have not attained. I have performed a long journey to no purpose, and I go back to my Constituents to inform them that I have not seen or spoken to the Lion of the Colony—Sir Henry Pottinger."

With such prancing Proconsuls as this Pottinger—the Milner of his day—the marvel is that the "Empire" has not been wrecked long ago. But she deserves to fall and, being impenitent, fall she will.

Rome shall PERISH. Write that word
In the blood which she hath spilt;
Perish, hopeless and abhorred,
Deep in ruin as in guilt.

THE BOER ILLIAD IN BRIEF.

NO. IV.

"The Boer leaders are not angels, but they are men of common sense. What they have sought, what they seek, is that, while they respect British authority outside the Republics, Great Britain shall respect Boer authority inside the Republics. They have never sought more, whatever anybody may say; they have never sought, and will not be content with less.

"Bear in mind this seemingly little known fact, that for long not a dozen British agricultural immigrants have arrived at Capetown. English owners of farms let them out to Native Tenants. The English are Landlords living in towns. The Republican territory would undoubtedly relapse into a Black Man's Country. If we win, we win a wilderness. South Africa will be lost to Civilization, and England will go down in the legendary history of the people now in the Republics as a latter-day Spain and Mr. Chamberlain as a modern Alva."—DE G. M. THEAL HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE CAPE GOVERNMENT: INTERVIEWED, "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," MARCH 5, 1900.

After many a terrible vicissitude, the survivors of the Great Trek contrived to form two Independent Communities, the Northern Boers finding homes between the Limpopo and the Vaal Rivers and Southern between the Vaal and the Orange.

In 1848, Sir Harry Smith, Governor of Capetown, ordinarily a very capable administrator, on the plea that the Southern Trekkers were too weak to maintain order among the Natives within their borders, with inconsiderate haste, annexed their entire territory, calling it the Orange River Sovereignty. But hardly had Sir Harry returned to Capetown when the Boers rose in arms under the heroic Andries Pretorius. Having, however, suffered defeat in the severe engagement of Boomplaats (August 29, 1848), Pretorius retired across the Vaal, with a reward for his apprehension of £2,000 hanging over his head. But the proscribed man's turn was not long in coming. In 1851, Moshesh, the renowned Chief of the Basutos, proved himself too many for the British forces in the Sovereignty, and Pretorius announced his intention of joining him in arms, unless the British Government should acknowledge the Independence of his adherents. There was no help for it, and accordingly (January 27, 1852) was signed the SAND RIVER CONVENTION, which guaranteed to the Trekkers North of the Vaal "the right to manage their own affairs and govern themselves according to their own laws, without interference," under the name of the SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC. In 1854, the Aberdeen Administration, following suit, proclaimed the Independence of the Orange Sovereignty as the ORANGE FREE STATE.

In 1853 died Pretorius the Elder, the Founder of the South African Republic; and this is Dr.

Macall Theal's touching picture of the last days of the Pius Æneas of the Great Trek: "For a month he lay on a bed of sickness, giving directions and counsel. He called the commanders and field-cornets to his bedside and exhorted them each and all to union among themselves, to piety, and to moral duty. The Native Chiefs then came in, and knelt down in tears, and kissed his hand. He devoted his last hours to prayer and praise; and having committed his soul to his Saviour, he calmly and quietly breathed his last." Pretoria was founded in his memory, and his son, Pretorius (Marthinus Wessel) the Younger, was chosen President in his place.

TRANSVAAL ANNEXED.

Twenty-five years now elapsed before Boer and Briton again seriously collided. But in 1877 came fresh trouble. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was then sent up to Pretoria, with very large powers as British Commissioner, to "inquire" into the disturbed condition of the country. Cetewayo, with a formidable Zulu impi, threatened the frontier of the Republic, within which a struggle with Sekukuni was raging. This fact, combined with the existence of certain civil dissensions, was sufficient warrant in the Commissioner's eyes for tearing up the Sand River Convention and for the proclamation of the South African Republic as British territory (April 12, 1877). Sir Theophilus, it need not be doubted, meant well. He guaranteed a liberal measure of Home Rule and Municipal Rights; but he fatally failed to recognize that the Boers loved INDEPENDENCE a hundredfold more than they feared the impi of Cetewayo and Sekukuni. They could not endure the sight of the Union Jack and never will.

Personally Sir Theophilus Shepstone was well liked; but in 1879 there arrived as Administrator of the "Transvaal Territory" Sir Owen Lanyon, "a man of haughty disposition, who was incapable of even attempting to conciliate the people of the country." He introduced Censorship of the Press, suppressed meetings, gave no franchise, held no elections, granted no self-government—was in fact "a law unto himself." Pretorius the Younger was imprisoned as a "rebel." A memorial against annexation was in consequence signed by 6,500 heads of families, practically representing the entire rural population, and two successive deputations—the one consisting of Paul Kruger and Dr. Jorissen, the other of Kruger and Pieter Joubert—were in vain sent to London to expostulate. It was officially announced that under no circumstances would the British flag be withdrawn from the Transvaal. The Boers refused to pay taxes, and on "Dingaan's Day" (December 16, 1880), Boer Independence was proclaimed and warfare commenced.

MAJUBA.

Disaster after disaster attended the British arms. At Bronkhorst Spruit, Lang's Nek, and the Ingogo River, the British loss amounted to 600 men, about half of whom were killed. The farmers had 17 killed and 38 wounded. "Military critics," that is to say, professional homicides,

attributed this difference to the steady aim of the Boers in shooting. The farmers themselves ascribed it to the favour of God for the justice of their cause.

"But (says Dr. Tael) the crowning disaster was yet to come. During the night of 26th February, General Colley left his camp with 600 men, and climbed to the top of Majuba Hill, posting two pickets on the way. From this position he hoped to command the Farmers' Camp at the Nek 2 000 feet below, and when at dawn on the next morning Commandant-General Joubert observed the soldiers on the crest above him, he at once realized the danger. Some 150 volunteers now offered to try to take the hill, and actually made their way up in face of the superior force above, the bullets passing over them as if they were charmed. A little before noon 70 or 80 men reached the crest at different points, and then the soldiers were seized with a panic and fled. Ninety-two (92) killed, 134 wounded, and 59 prisoners [Hector Macdonald among them] represented the British loss that day, against one (1) man killed and five (5) wounded on the Farmers' side. General Colley himself was among the slain."

Our "Liberal Imperialists" (save the mark!) lay much stress on "efficiency"—Army efficiency. "Efficiency, forsooth!" Why, Majuba Hill and scores of fights in the present conflict teach, if they teach anything, that the more "efficient" your hired "Imperial" manslayer is, the less competent is he to face the naked valour of uncorrupted Republican Freemen, fighting for hearth and home. Sir William Wallace knew the Boer secret—though so many, alas, of his degenerate compatriots have forgotten it—when he adopted as his motto, "Patriæ Amantem Armat Deus" (God armeth the Patriot). Imperialism is, in truth, but another name for Materialism. But to my narrative.

"Sir Evelyn Wood (I quote Frederic Harrison for succinctness) at once brought up a strong force, and within a few weeks made terms with the Boers. The Government, of which Lord Kimberley, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr Chamberlain, and the Duke of Devonshire are surviving members, restored to the South African Republic complete Independence, subject to an acknowledgment of the Suzerainty of Her Majesty's Government. Paul Kruger became President. In 1883 he came again to England and obtained the revised Convention of London, wherein the claim of 'Suzerainty' was purposely omitted. The South African Republic was recognised as independent, subject to this—that it could conclude no Treaty with any Foreign Power (other than the Orange Free State) until the same had been approved by Her Majesty. The Transvaal Boers thenceforward certainly regarded themselves quite as independent as their Orange State brethren; and were so described in Public Law and in official language. They are now called 'rebels' in revolt."

THE CONVENTION.

It may be well to emphasise somewhat, even at this stage, the complete extinguishment of the

Suzerainty-affirming Coivention of 1881 by that of the London Convention of 1884, the chief pillars of Imperialism themselves being witnesses:—

Lord Salisbury, Jan. 31, 1896: THEY (the Boers) HAVE ABSOLUTE CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

The late W. H. Smith: IT IS A CARDINAL PRINCIPLE OF THAT SETTLEMENT (the 1884 Convention) THAT THE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC SHALL NOT BE INTERFERED WITH.

A. J. Balfour, Jan. 15, 1896: THE TRANSVAAL IS A FREE AND INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT AS REGARDS ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Joseph Chamberlain, Dec 3, 1895: A FOREIGN STATE (the Transvaal) WHICH IS IN FRIENDLY TREATY RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Chamberlain, May 8, 1896: TO ENFORCE UPON PRESIDENT KRUGER REFORMS IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF HIS STATE—THAT WOULD BE A COURSE OF ACTION WHICH WOULD BE IMMORAL.

Yet, incredible as it may well appear in face of such explicit testimonies, the Colonial Secretary did not hesitate *immorally* to resurrect the corpse of the "Suzerainty," when he could find nothing better to serve as a pretext for interfering with the INTERNAL AFFAIRS of the South African Republic, in the interest of Brigand Rhodes and the "Helots" of Park-lane. Joseph Mazzini was wont to describe European Diplomacy as "a cesspool of lies," and no one at all conversant with the ways of "Sovereigns and Statesmen" is in the least likely to look in such quarters for a lofty standard of honour and integrity. But here was what even Sir Edward Clarke described as a "BREACH OF NATIONAL FAITH," so palpable that even "the man in the street" could not fail to see it. He saw and, alas, applauded the contemptible subterfuge, *mafficking* the while like a maniac.

The monstrous assumption of Suzerainty was first revived by Chamberlain as an ignoble excuse for refusing an offer of Arbitration tendered by the Transvaal. He knew perfectly well that, in no conceivable Court of Arbitration with the Convention of 1884 before it, would he be permitted to dictate the Franchise Laws of the S. A. Republic. But, having set out as Colonial Secretary with the vain determination to show the country that he was the strongest of Ministers and the most potential of Premiers, it was gall and wormwood to the ever successful Man of Screws and Orchids—how would "Baron Orchid de Screwe" serve the ex-Republican for a title when he takes his seat upstairs among Our Old Nobility?—to find that he could do nothing more with Old Farmer Kruger than protest and remonstrate. He therefore grasped desperately at the Suzerainty, *well knowing it to be a gross "breach of national faith,"* as a ground of threats of armed intervention. Yet I feel perfectly certain the inflated Brummagem huckster never really expected to plunge the country into war. He made sure that he could, with the "Empire" at his back, "bluff" Oom Paul; but he found, when too late, that the God-fearing old Burcher, a warrior from his

youth up, was not to be intimidated by any mere man of "words, words, words," at St. Stephen's or elsewhere. And hence the S.A. Carnival of Blood and all our woes! Heaven help us for a nation of knaves, hypocrites, and imbeciles!

But my "Iliad" lags, so great is the temptation to digress on such a theme.

THE GOLD AND DIAMOND CURSE.

No. V.

"They met together in the Council-tent, and then the Priest began. He told them (the Black-feet) that 'their recent loss was only the beginning of their destruction, and that the Long-Knives (Americans) had countless braves, guns, and rifles beyond number, fleet steeds, and huge war-canoes, and that it was useless for the poor wild man to attempt to stop their progress through the Western solitudes. Why were their hearts heavy? Was it not for their relatives and friends so lately killed, and would it not be better to make peace while yet they could do it, and thus save the lives of their remaining friends?'

"And now," answered the Indian, 'listen to what I say to you. It is true that the Long-Knives must kill us, but I say still to my children and to my tribe, fight on, fight on, fight on! go on fighting to the very last man; and let that last man go on fighting too, for it is better to die thus, as a brave man should die, than to live a little time and then die like a coward. So now, my brethren, I tell you, as I have told you before, keep fighting still. When you see these men coming along the river, digging holes in the ground and looking for the little bright sand (gold), kill them for they mean to kill you; fight, and if it must be, die, for you can only die once.'—GENERAL SIR WILLIAM BUTLER: "THE GREAT LONE LAND."

"Gold and Diamonds have been South Africa's curse, bringing swarms of human locusts down upon the country, corrupting the simple people, debasing their political life, and filling the land with the false and demoralising lure of sudden wealth. To us also, to all Europe, these precious minerals have been anything but a blessing. Their discovery and extraction have been the means of developing habits of gambling and of reckless living—among all classes of the people—utterly subversive of their morals. 'People do not now-a-days ask for safe investments,' said a broker to us the other day, 'they want to buy something certain to give them a profit'—A. J. WILSON, *Investors' Review*, JANUARY 12, 1901.

It is now time to say a few words regarding two events of most sinister import for South Africa and for the "Empire"—the discovery in Boerland of Diamonds and the discovery of Gold. 'One day in 1867, a Boer child, on the Orange River, was found playing with a brightly effulgent pebble. A trader, on being shown the curiosity, submitted it to an expert in Grahamstown, who

reported that it was a diamond of 25 carats weight, worth £500. In 1868, several such "pebbles" were picked up on the Vaal River, and in 1869, a Korana Hottentot was found in possession of the "Star of South Africa"—a magnificent brilliant of 83 carats, fetching £11,000. Presently the region of the Lower Vaal (where Rhodes now has his *vi*e Kimberley "Compounds" or Slave-prisons) was invaded by a host of fortune-seekers, gamblers, and 'ne'er-do-weels" of all nations and climes. Quiet, simple, pious Pastoralism suddenly found itself confronted by Commercialism the most hustling, scheming and Godless.

A SHAMELESS FRAUD.

These Diamond Fields (about twice the size of Wales) were mostly Free State domain, the residue belonging to the S.A. Republic. But soon a third claimant to the entire 15,000 square miles appeared in the person of Nicholas Waterboer, a sort of Gipsy King over some 500 Griquas. Nicholas, needless to say, had an "Agent," one Arnot, a notorious Capetown Attorney. This worthy offered his client's Rights of Sovereignty "for a consideration" to the British Government, which, of course, magnanimously accepted them. For a wonder, Britain proposed Arbitration. Free State President Brand very properly declined, there being nothing to arbitrate about; but Pretorius for the S.A. Republic accepted, and Keate, Governor of Natal, was appointed Umpire. A forged treaty was submitted and accepted as decisive, even as against the unrepresented Free State. "And (says Mr. Frederic Harrison) by a judicial proceeding fit for comic opera the two Republics and all the Natives were solemnly ousted from an immense and most valuable tract of land. It was (1871) declared a British Dependency; armed forces were sent up, the Boers were driven out, their Magistrates expelled under protests. Soon after, a Special Court under a Capetown Judge, found that the Chief, Waterboer, never had any rights in the Diamond Fields at all; and the Gipsy King was sent back to his village!"

Nevertheless, the Pirate Empire, *more suo*, stuck to her plunder, and it was not till after years of negotiation that the Free State ultimately received a *solatium* of £90,000 for a district worth £90,000,000! In twenty years £65,000,000 were raised in Kimberley, "conveyed," as has been seen, to Britain by a process which James Anthony Froude has not hesitated to pronounce "the most discreditable in the annals of English Colonial policy." The "Punic faith" of Pagan Carthage was proverbial, but worse, from first to last, than that of "Christian" England in her dealings with the Boers it can never have been. Yet so far as the Free State was concerned, the Waterboer fraud was really a blessing in disguise. She was well out of the dirty, demoralising scramble. She addressed herself instead to honest industry and not merely became the Model Government on the African Continent, but, in some respects, an example to mankind at large. For one thing her Public Expenditure on Education was relatively the most liberal in the world. And, assuredly, of living statesmen there

is none nobler or more capable than her hunted President Steyn the Steadfast, nor of Captains in War one to match De Wet the Wallace of the Veldt, unless it be the doughty De La Ruy.

ANOTHER ATTEMPTED THEFT.

But with the South African Republic it fared very differently. In 1886 it was unfortunately discovered that most prolific goldfields existed in the Transvaal and from that moment trouble was in store for the Burgers. Gold and Godlessness ever go hand in hand. The *sacra auri fames* brought the very scum of the world to the auriferous Witwatersrand. In eleven years Johannesburg became not merely the wealthiest and the wickedest, but the largest town in South Africa. The annual output of that most useless of metals, gold, rose to about £14,000,000 and the Outlander male population began to exceed that of the Boers, who soon found themselves powerless to prevent the subversion of their Government except by a somewhat strict—but, in the circumstances, by no means too strict—Law regulating the Naturalization of Aliens. As early as 1886 a very small number of Outlanders resented this wholesome restraint on their power to harm the Republic from within and began to air their "grievances" and talk treason. But there is not the slightest evidence that any real oppression was suffered either by the Capitalists, the Professionals, or the Workers of the Transvaal, and it was not till the autumn of 1894, when, in a stormy interview, Brigid Rhodes threatened President Kruger that "he would lose his country unless he changed his mode of Government," that the Capitalists were induced to join in the conspiracy which culminated in Whiteflag Jameson's inglorious "Raid" of 1895. Most of the Mining Capitalists, not being Englishmen, were naturally averse to British Imperialism. They preferred the idea of a Reformed (or Deformed) Republic and scouted the proposal of hoisting the Union Jack. The lead had, therefore, to be taken by the Rhoads-inspired Millionaires who controlled the overshadowing concerns of Wernhers and Beit, the Consolidated Goldfields, the Kimberley Diamond Compounds, and the Chartered Company.

THE OUTLANDERS.

Just one word here about the crying "Outlander Grievances," for the redress of which the British Workers have, with such unparalleled self-sacrifice, shot away their Old-Age Pensions, to say nothing of their character for intelligence and humanity. Captain March Phillips, a fighting Outlander, in his book, *With Rimington*, is the latest witness:

"AS FOR THE OUTLANDERS AND THEIR GRIEVANCES, I WOULD NOT RIDE A YARD OR FIRE A SHOT TO RIGHT ALL THE GRIEVANCES THAT EVER WERE INVENTED. . . . I KNOW WHAT I AM TALKING ABOUT, FOR I HAVE LIVED AND WORKED AMONG THEM (SIX YEARS). . . . ROARS OF LAUGHTER [were] ROUSED BY THE *Times* TELEGRAMS ABOUT THESE PRECIOUS GRIEVANCES! WE USED TO READ THE LONDON PAPERS TO FIND OUT

WHAT OUR GRIEVANCES WERE! I NEVER MET ONE MINER OR WORKING MAN WHO WOULD HAVE WALKED A MILE TO PICK THE VOTE OFF THE ROAD. NO MAN WHO KNOWS THE RAND WILL DENY THE TRUTH OF WHAT I TELL YOU."

But Brigand Rhodes, when he insolently told President Kruger, in 1890, "that he would lose his country unless he changed his mode of Government," had a very real grievance against the aged President—the old Burgher and his advisers would be no parties to the introduction into Johannesburg of "Glen Greyism" and the Kimberley Compound System. With cynical frankness this facile princeps of malefactors, "Privy Councillor" Rhodes, "D.C.L.," speaking at Capetown (Oct. 28, 1894), said:—

"We have all got to think over the proposition why the English Labourer works at the rate of twelve shillings a week, why the Indian ryot works at two pence a day, and why we pay (the Natives), including food, £4 a month. . . . And if you ask me for a big Foreign Policy, it is the question whether we can bring these Natives to understand THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR, and whether we can make arrangements with neighbouring States to co-operate in bringing this about."

BRITISH SLAVE OWNERS.

In passing the Glen Grey Act Cape Premier Rhodes's avowed object was to promote "the dignity of labour" by reducing the Black Man's pay to *two pence per diem*, the process being first to crush him with taxes and then to rob him of his birthright in the soil—legally of course—just as those dignified Labourers, the English tiller of the soil and the Indian ryot, have been robbed. But stubborn "Old Kruger" and the "Corrupt Oligarchy" blindly declined to "co-operate" in this enlightened "Foreign Policy," and hence the *fons et origo* of the "grievances" that have served as pretext for a war that has caused the very name of Briton to stink in the nostrils of every lover of Justice, Righteousness, and Humanity throughout the world. Rudd, Rhodes's right-hand man, and a "philanthropist," to boot, even emphasised his Chief's "dignity of labour" gospel: "He was not advocating *slavery*. But if under the cry of Civilization we in Egypt lately mowed down 10,000 or 20,000 Dervishes with Maxims, surely it cannot be considered a hardship to COMPEL the Natives of South Africa to give three months in the year to do a little honest work" (for the deserving Helots of Park Lane).

RHODES'S FREEBOOING RAID.

About feather-headed "Dr. Jim's" raiding fiasco nothing need now be said. He and the officers that served under him were the merest tools and fools and when they fell into Kruger's hands he treated the nobodies with the contempt they deserved. But it is interesting to learn from the redoubtable Rand gold-owner, Mr. J. B. Robinson, who still seems to retain some traits of the old English gentleman in his composition, that the venerable President (whom he knows

intimately) was under no misapprehension with respect to the real Raiders and their motives:—

"The President approached me, and placed his hand on my shoulder. I could see he was making a violent effort to suppress his excitement. He said: 'You mean well; but I have lost all confidence. . . . Do you think we are fools? Do you think for a moment that we do not know the true working of the Raid? Do you mean to tell me that you do not know that the men who engineered this Raid organized it for their own benefit; and that they had decided how they would divide the Transvaal, how each of the parties were to have certain interests in this country, and that many of the (Johannesburg) 'Reformers' who were put in gaol were perfectly ignorant of the schemes of the men who were in the inner circle. There are only twelve men in that inner circle, and they were to share the spoils, and divide the Transvaal among themselves. They and their Companies found the money for the Raid. Do you think that we are so innocent as not to know that Mr. Rhodes, metaphorically speaking, held a pistol at the heads of certain people in England and said to them: 'If you do not support me I will denounce you and your complicity in the Raid.' . . . I will tell you more—some of these twelve men in the inner circle were those who introduced bribery into this country. They were the first to obtain concessions from my Government, and when they could not obtain a large share of the dynamite and railway concessions they organized this Raid for the purpose of destroying the independence of the country. HAD THEY OBTAINED THEIR DESIRE, AND SECURED A LARGE INTEREST IN THE DYNAMITE AND RAILWAY CONCESSIONS, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO RAID."

In a word the "Corrupt Oligarchy" have been denounced by the Corruptionists themselves, because they (the Oligarchy) were not sufficiently corruptible and hence not merely the Raid but this horrible and endless War are the consequences of their "unctuous rectitude." *O Tempora! O Mores!*

THE WAR AND THE WAGE-WORKER.

No. VI.

"In its origin, in its aims, and in its political management, this War has been a Conspiracy to exploit Labour, and its heaviest burdens will fall on the Industrial Class. Unless you (Workers) rouse your Order in time to stop them, you will find these promoters of the 'Empire Unlimited,' will lead you into a Collapse which you and your children's children will rue."—FREDERIC HARRISON.

"Labouring Man and Labouring Woman
Have one glory and one shame—
Everything that's done inhuman
Injures all of them the same."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

It was said of old, "Whosoever the Kings go mad, the Greeks pay the Piper"—*deliriant Reges plectuntur Achivi*—and to-day the same may be affirmed, with even greater truth, of our chivalrous "Captains of Industry" and the Toiling Masses. However it may fare with the Ecsteins, Beits, Barnatos, Wernhers, Wyberghs, Neumanns, Goetzes, De Beerses, Markses, Nobels, Vorstmans, Rothschilds, and other "Fine Old English Gentlemen"—so obviously of long descent and Norman blood—it is very certain that, at the reckoning, the Workers must infallibly come to grief. Their portion is always the same—a pile of empty oyster shells.

Why? Because to promote the nefarious ends of the Capitalist enemy the Worker in his blindness, has been doing his utmost to "exterminate" the Boer—one of the very best friends he has ever yet encountered in the whole world of Statecraft, Republican or Monarchical. The Transvaal Republic could never be induced to sacrifice the plain welfare of the Working Outlander to those of the grasping Hebrew, or Anglo-Hebrew, Capitalist, and hence it stagnated into a "Corrupt Oligarchy," which nought could disinfect but the precious moral carbolic manufactured by Rhodes in his famed Kimberley "Compounds."

But while all this was going on under his very nose, the Samson of Labour saw nothing. Why? His eyes had been put out by a gang of Press and Pulpit operators who, in these latter days, have made the *blinding* of their clients their speciality and boast. And yet, to give the actual war-makers their due, they have all along been singularly outspoken regarding their objects. Before the outbreak of the War, Cecil Rhodes (*Daily Mail*, Aug. 14, 1899) announced: "We are not going to war for the amusement of Royal Families as in the past: but we mean practical business." And what, pray, does "practical business" mean? Let the frank and explicit Hays Hammond, Engineer of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company (Nov. 14, 1899) answer: He "regarded the sum of 6s. per ton as a conservative estimate of the direct and indirect benefits of good Government," said 6s. per ton working out at "an increase of Annual Dividends by £2,413,238 based on last year's tonnage of ore crushed."

So much for the *meaning* of "practical business"; next for that of "good government." "Good government" is just as simple as "practical business." It means a full, cheap, regular, submissive supply of, first, Black and, later, of White Labour—a blessing never to be hoped for under the "Corrupt Oligarchy." "With good government," continued the cheerful Hammond, "there should be an abundance of Labour—there ought to be no difficulty in obtaining 100 000 Kaffirs to work the mines—and with abundance of Labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. His wages are altogether disproportionate to his requirements"; whereas, of course, the "wages" of the Park-lane "helot" are the sorriest fleabite to his legitimate "requiremen's" and conspicuous deserts! Lord, Lord,

how little is it given to mortal men "to see themselves as others see them"!

Let us follow the "spoor" of the Park-lane Helot's instructive reasoning a little further. Before an important Industrial Commission of the Transvaal Volksraad (1897) a notorious "Helot," George Albu, thus testified to the intolerable weight of the "White Man's Burden" in South Africa.

"The native, at the present time, receives a wage which is far in excess of the exigencies of his existence. The native earns between 30s. and 60s. per month, and then he pays nothing for food or lodgings, in fact, he can save almost the whole amount he receives. . . . If the native can save £20 a year, it is almost sufficient for him to go home and live on the fat of his land. In five or six years' time the native population will have saved enough money to make it unnecessary for them to work any more. *The consequence of this will be most disastrous to the Industry (gold-getting) and to the State.* This question applies to any class of Labour, and in any country, whether it be in Africa, Europe or America. I think if the native gets enough pay to save £5 a-year, that sum is quite enough for his requirements, and will prevent natives from becoming rich in a short space of time."

But what of toiling White Men with an evil propensity to "become rich in a short space of time"—a worldly lust abhorred of Park-lane? Interrogated on this point, Helot Albu thus circumspectly replied:

"In some instances the wages (£1 per diem) paid to (White) Miners are abnormal."

"Is there any chance of getting these abnormal wages reduced now that there are so many out of work?"

"Certainly there is: I think the White Labourers are prepared to accept the lesser of two evils. If we close down the Mines a lot of White Labourers will be thrown out of employment."

THE WHITE MAN'S FATE.

If, however, the White Miners ever were in any doubt as to what "Good Government" (*Imperialism*) had in store for them, they could have none in view of the oracle delivered in the inspired *Mining World* (Dec. 16, 1899):—

"White Wages have not been reduced in the past, because the Outlanders desired to work together [that is, Park-lane Helots and the White Workers] for political salvation, and any attack upon the White Labourers' Pay would have caused a split in the ranks. However, when new conditions prevail [that is, when we shall have converted the "British Flag" into a "Commercial Asset"], *White Wages must come down.*"

And, in truth, the saving to be effected out of White Wages is greater than that out of Black; for the aggregate of the Wages paid to White Miners was larger than that paid to Blacks, though the number of the latter was *eight times* as great. White Labour, in fact, was exceptionally well paid under the "Corrupt Oligarchy." Returned Cornish and Northumberland Miners,

whose fondest hopes the War has blighted, tell us ruefully that their wages were over £30 per month; while their taxation, all told, did not exceed 3½d. in the pound. When a "Strike" took place the "Corrupt Oligarchy" readily extended police protection to the "strikers," but declined to intervene on behalf of "blacklegs"—an attitude which, perhaps, explains Featherstone Asquith's animosity to the Boers, as it certainly does that of Rhodes and the inner ring of war-makers. In their expressed opinion the Wages paid to Labour in the Transvaal were much too high. It was necessary, therefore, to cut them down, and, as this could not be done without war on the Boers, they accordingly made war that wages might be reduced to a mere "living" pittance and the Worker—Black and White—be brought to his knees.

AN ANTI-LABOUR WAR.

The war we are waging in South Africa is not an Anti-Dutch or Racial war, as the Simple Simons of politics have come to believe; but a Cosmopolitan Anti-Labour struggle of the profoundest import to the whole world of toil. Some day, the Mafficking B W M will come to learn, when it is too late, that "Old Kruger" and his "Corrupt Oligarchy" were among the best friends he ever had. Says Mr. Edward B. Rose, late President of the Witwatersrandt Mine Employees' and Mechanics' Union (*Daily News*):—

"To assert, as was so frequently done before the War, as part of the policy of working up public feeling in this country against the Boers, that the Uitlanders, and especially the working class portion of them, were treated as mere 'helots,' and that they were living in a state of intolerable oppression by the Boers, was not only false, but grotesquely false; since nothing could possibly have been farther from the truth. So far from that being true, IT IS AN UNDOUBTED FACT THAT THE LATE BOER GOVERNMENT WAS ESSENTIALLY DEMOCRATIC IN ITS SYMPATHIES, AND THAT IN NO OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD HAVE WORKING MEN AND THEIR ORGANIZATIONS POSSESSED THE SAME AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE WITH THE POWERS THAT BE AS THEY EXERCISED IN THE TRANSVAAL."

The above statement, sweeping as it undoubtedly is, I, nevertheless, hold to be substantially correct, if the overwhelming pressure of cunning, godless, Cosmopolitan Capitalism at Johannesburg is duly considered. Indeed, that, under the "Corrupt Oligarchy," Labour should have had any kind of "look-in" whatever is the really surprising thing. Yet one reads (Rose's *White Labour in the Transvaal*, author, 145, Camberwell-new-road, S.E., 1d.):—

BOERS, THE WORKMEN'S FRIENDS.

"When, in 1893, the Executive drafted the excellent Mining Regulations which have been in force since that year, a draft copy was sent to the Chamber of Mines, as representing the Capitalists and Mineowners, and one to the Labour Union, as representing the Mine Employees, together with a request in each case

that the proposed Regulations should be considered and any alterations or amendments, which suggested themselves as tending to make the Regulations more complete and effective, should be forwarded to the Government, with a view to their adoption and incorporation before the measure embodying the Regulations were submitted to the Volksraad. IN THE RESULT, OUT OF TWENTY-THREE AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY THE LABOUR UNION, TWENTY WERE ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT, WHILEST OF FOURTEEN PROPOSED BY THE CHAMBER OF MINES, SIX ONLY WERE ACCEPTED; AND OF THESE, TWO WERE AMENDED WHEN THE REGULATIONS WERE BEFORE THE VOLKSRAAD IN ACCORDANCE WITH REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY THE UNION."

Earlier in the same year, the Volksraad, at the instance of the Labour Union, ignominiously rejected a wholly infamous Gold Thefts Bill, drafted by the Chamber of Mines. Had it become law, no one would have been exempt from summary arrest on suspicion of possessing "illicit gold"—arrest, too, not by the ordinary police, but by "trapping" spies, fortified in the discharge of their monstrous functions by power to violate the domicile of their victims and break up their Post Office correspondence.

Scores of similar services rendered to Labour by the "Corrupt Oligarchy" have recently been brought to my knowledge, among them a resolution (by three to one)—just a month before the war began—in favour of the Eight Hours Day. But the following little incident speaks volumes: "In 1894 (says Mr. Rose), having decided upon our political programme for the coming Session, we issued an invitation to each member of the two Raads to meet a deputation consisting of Five Members of the Labour Union, in order to discuss with us, at first hand, our wishes and requirements. Over fifty per cent. of both Raads accepted our invitation; the President Theatre at Pretoria was hired for the Meeting; and for over three hours the Raad Members listened to our statement of grievances and requirements—the Secretary of the First Raad acting as interpreter—asking questions and discussing in the most friendly and cordial manner the various questions raised by us; and with the happiest results. One cannot help wondering what would be the response to a similar invitation to the Members of the Houses of Lords and of Commons in this country, and especially if, as in our case, it were an invitation not from men of their own nationality, but by a body of Foreigners."

O that "Corrupt Oligarchy!" To what abyss of depravity was it not capable of descending?

Natives of their territory, and brutally ill-treated them afterwards. He wished Hon. Members would read the Papers before they came to this rash and inconsiderate conclusion. "THE ABSOLUTE REVERSE OF THIS WAS THE FACT."—RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, 1881.

"I have done what I could to dissipate the charge against the Boers of slave-holding, or rather slave-making, which, whatever ground there may have been for it in the past, ought not to be brought against the present generation."—BISHOP COLANZO, "TIMES," JUNE, 1881.

"They (the Boers) are now a very humane and merciful race. I have lived among many nations and in many countries, and I may with all truth say this: I KNOW NO PEOPLE RICHER IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VIRTUE THAN THE BOERS."—GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY, *The Humanitarian*, 1893.

Throughout South Africa, the Negroid Races, or "Kaffirs" (i.e., "Intidels" in Mohammedan parlance), as they are generically called, comprise the vast majority of the population. In Cape Colony and the Transvaal they outnumber the Whites by three to one; in Natal by ten to one, in Rhodesia and the other Territories—British, Portuguese, and German—the proportion is much greater. While the Whites South of the Zambesi cannot much exceed 800,000 the Blacks muster probably 8,000,000.

Of these millions some six, more or less, still live the old tribal life, though others, like the Zulus, Basutos, and Bechuanas, endure a certain surveillance by White Magistrates and Native Commissioners, in the interest of "civilisation" and what Raider Rhodes and his fellow-brigands call "good government," which I have already endeavoured to explain. Among the Natives the birth-rate is far higher than among the Whites and their longevity also is greater. Some of them, like the Basutos, Zulus, and Masabeli are redoubtable warriors, and it is only possible dimly to surmise what is their inmost thought regarding the horrible blood-feud now being fought out in their midst by their "Christian" masters—Boers and Britons. The "Black Peril" may, any day, become more serious for all South Africa than a score of "Corrupt Oligarchies" at Pretoria. That, at least, is the best "expert" opinion on the point.

South Africa has been most justly called "The Land of Lies"; but there was one Supreme Lie which could find no manner of credence there—namely, that the Boers are ruthless slave-drivers, while Rhodes, Chamberlain, and Milner are the armed vindicators of the Gospel according to "Exeter Hall" and the "Aborigines Protection Society." But there has been an abundant Home Market even for that fable and, to this hour, it is a leading article of belief in many, perhaps in most, "religious" and patriotically credulous circles. In point of fact, the alleged existence of Slavery in the Transvaal was a main pretext for the Annexation of 1877. But what happened in the four years of British Rule? NOT A SINGLE

BOER AND BRITON v. BLACKS.

No. VII.

"They appeared to be under the impression that the Boers in the Transvaal were fierce and unjust aggressors, and that they dispossessed the

SLAVE COULD THERE BE FOUND TO EMANCIPATE, NOR A SINGLE LAW TO REPEAL OR AMEND IN ANY PARTICULAR. Indeed, my old friend Mr. Fox Bourne, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, whose admiration for the Boers is by no means extravagant, candidly concedes (*Blacks and Whites in South Africa*: P. S. King and Son, Great Smith-street, Westminster, Is.) :—

"The condition of the Natives in the Transvaal has been greatly altered and in many ways improved within the past twenty years, SCARCELY, IF AT ALL AS A RESULT OF BRITISH INTERFERENCE, BUT THROUGH CIRCUMSTANCES AND DEVELOPMENTS THAT MUST BE PLACED TO THE CREDIT OF THE BOERS THEMSELVES. . . . Whatever wrongs South African Natives may have incurred in the past from Boer encroachments and persecutions, and however desirable it may be that continuance or revival of these wrongs should be rendered impossible in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, there is manifest danger of the mischief being merely aggravated, and much widened in area, if the policy to which the British Government has been incited and is now committed is persisted in. Unless it is accompanied by very great and comprehensive changes in British policy towards the Natives, the contemplated overthrow of Boer Rule can bring them no benefit. From such a result only further evils and injuries must be expected unless prompt and effective means are taken to prevent them."

BRITISH SLAVERY.

In brief, I have weighed pretty carefully the effects, respectively, of Boer and British treatment on the Natives of South Africa, and conclude, from the evidence, without hesitation, that, if I were a "Nigger," I would ten times rather trust myself to the tender mercies of "Old Kruger" and his "Corrupt Oligarchy" than to those of "Empire-builder Rhodes" and his "Chartered Libertines." Nay more; if the practice of Slavery among the Boers is a thing of the past, did not Commissioner Sir R. Martin's Report (1897) show conclusively that it is by no means obsolete in British territory. The scandals and crimes authoritatively pilloried in that remarkable document are unheeded to this day, and their guilty authors are without rebuke. A very competent critic ("Another Abolitionist") of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler's loose and illogical *Native Races and the War* has thus luminously summarised the damning facts of the situation :—

"1. In the strip of East African Coast—a British Protectorate—which faces Zanzibar, the full "legal status of slavery" is maintained, and fugitive slaves have even been handed back to their owners by British officials.

"2. In Natal the *Cervé* System prevails, and all Natives not employed by Whites may be impressed to labour for six months of the year on the roads.

"3. In Bechuanaland, after a recent minor Rebellion, Natives were parcelled out among the Cape Farmers and "indentured" to them as virtual slaves for a term of years.

"4. Under the Chartered Company in Rhodesia the Chiefs are required, under compulsion, to furnish batches of young Natives to work in the Mines, and the ingenious plan of *taving the Kaffir in money rather than in kind* has been adopted, so that he may be forced to earn the pittance which the "prospectors" are willing to pay him.

"5. In Kimberley what is known as the 'Compound System' prevails. All Natives who work in the diamond field are required to 'reside' under lock and key, day and night, in certain 'Compounds,' which resemble spacious prisons. So stringent is the system that even the sick are treated only within the prison yard. On no pretext whatever is a Native allowed to leave his compound."

WHITE LABOUR NOT WANTED.

When Rhodes succeeded in amalgamating the Kimberley Diamond Mines under a Single Trust the town was large and flourishing, with Two Hundred Companies at work and many private "claims." He speedily reduced the population by one-half, converting the remnant of unevicted Whites into overseers of the Black Slaves in his Labour-prisons or "Compounds." And whence the Boer War and all our woes? Even that the Gold Reef City might be fashioned after the model of the Diamond City and the nose of labour, Black and White, be brought irrevocably to the grindstone of bowelless Cosmopolitan Capitalism. The utter shamelessness of the Anglo-Hebrew Capitalist witnesses, who strove in vain to convince the Industrial Commission appointed by the "Corrupt Oligarchy" in 1897, of the necessity and rectitude of re-enslaving the Blacks was truly amazing:

Said Mr. G. A. Denny, Vice-President of the Klerksdorp Chamber of Mines: "The pay of the Kaffir should be reduced by nearly one-half its present rate. From his earliest infancy his wants are practically supplied by Nature. He lives in a climate which is one continuous sunshine. Whence then the necessity of paying him coin in the quantity he demands? It only arises from the fact that he has a natural aversion to work, and therefore the demand for his labour exceeding the supply creates a competitive market of which he is not slow to take advantage. The one final method of reducing Kaffir pay rests with the Government. It has the power to create laws which shall *compel* every able-bodied Kaffir to perform a given amount of work per annum."

"Helot" Albu being asked by Railway Commissioner Smit how he proposed to cheapen Kaffir labour manfully replied: "By simply telling the 'boys' that their wages are reduced. The maximum at present is 2s. 3d. per shift, and we can reduce it to 1s. 6d., that is for skilled labour. For ordinary, 1s. or less for the shift."

"Suppose the Kaffirs retire to their kraals, would you be in favour of asking the Government to enforce labour?"—"Certainly."

"Do you think you would get the majority of the people on the Rand with you in trying to make the Kaffirs work at a certain pay?"—"I think so."

"Would it not be called slavery?"—"Not so long as the men earned a certain amount of money."

"If a man can live without work, how can you force him to work?"—"Tax him."

"Then you would not allow the Kaffir to hold LAND in the country unless he work for the White Man, to enrich him?"—"He must do his part of helping his neighbours."

Asked by Mr. Joubert, Minister of Mines: "Is there a law in England to get forced labour?"—"No; nowhere in the world, so far as I know; but I, as an Employer of Labour, say it would be a good thing to have enforced labour."

"Do you know that two-thirds of the Natives in the Mines are not subjects of this State?"—"Yes."

"How then can we go and tax the Natives who are not our subjects?"—"I do not know what the other countries would do. In the Colony there is a law which compels the natives to work. It is the Glen Grey Act."

RHODES'S SLAVE ACT.

And that brings me to the crux of the whole business. The Glen Grey Act, specially devised by Rhodes himself when Cape Premier in order to reduce Native pay to "2d. per diem"—though not yet in extensive operation—is perfectly lethal in its aim, so far as the Kaffir population is concerned. Its object is to introduce among the Blacks the always fatal *Institution of Private Property in Land*. What then is the true inwardness of *Glen Greyism*? "According to Native Customs (see Report of Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs, 1882) the Land is theoretically the property of the Chief; but, in relation to the Tribe, he is a Trustee holding it for the People who occupy and use it, on Communistic Principles. The history and traditions of the Natives have established a deep and ingrained prejudice in favour of this tenure." Well, *Glen Greyism* removes this "ingrained prejudice" by dividing the arable soil into separate allotments "of four 'morgen' each" (about nine acres), "granted to such persons as the Governor shall approve," the holder paying for his "title deed" from £4 to £5, besides a "quit-rent" of 15s. or more per annum, with liability to forfeiture of entire holding if payments are a year in arrear!

It is not too much to say that ten years' rigorous *Glen Greyism*, with its 10s. "Labour Tax" for *morgenless* males, would reduce the Blacks to complete *landlessness* and to a consequent condition of helpless and hopeless servitude to Cosmopolitan Capitalism unknown before in the history of mankind. Their salvation depends on two main factors—(a) their determined adhesion to the *Land Communism* of their forefathers and (b) the triumph of the heroic Boers, who—however dimly they may realise the fact—are fighting the good fight of Labour, Black and White, the world over.

HE THAT HATH EARS TO HEAR LET HIM HEAR!

"BOER ULTIMATUM" SOPHISTRY.

No. VIII.

"Nor is the opinion of some of the Schoolmen to be received, that war cannot justly be made but on a precedent injury; for there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of war."

—FRANCIS BACON: *Essay on Empire*.

"It was on the 29th of September last (1899) that the Government came to the decision to send an armed force to South Africa. It undertook to send out 48,000 troops in addition to those sent out already, to march through our Colonies to the frontier of the Transvaal; then, having done that, our ultimatum was to be sent to President Kruger formulating our demands. If President Kruger declined our demands, we would either have to order that Army of 75,000 men to the right about, and ship them back to England without fighting, or declare war. I venture to say there is not a Statesman or Military Man in the world who would not say there were only two alternatives before President Kruger after we decided to send that force for purposes of Invasion—EITHER COMPLETE SUBMISSION OR WAR."—BRYN ROBERTS: HOUSE OF COMMONS, FEBRUARY 2, 1900.

"Whiteflag" Jameson's "Raid" was a sorry enough fiasco; but its sequel, the infamous War of Boer Extermination in which we are now engaged, is a crime of almost inconceivable magnitude. Let us see how the one sprang out of the other.

Jameson crossed the Transvaal Border, December 29, 1895, and, within three weeks after that event, we had Chamberlain cabling to Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner, "intimating that he was considering, in concert with his Colleagues, the propriety of immediately sending a large force, including cavalry and artillery, to the Cape, to provide for all eventualities." Sir Hercules (Lord Rosmead), like a wise man, replied "deprecating the proposed despatch of large force," and for a time the Brummagem Bismarck got off his war-horse, but not without a significant threat to the Transvaal Government: "THE DANGER," Sir Hercules was informed, "from which they have just escaped (!) was real, and one which, if the causes which led up to it are not removed, MAY RECUR, THOUGH IN A DIFFERENT FORM."

Chamberlain's contribution, be it noted, to the Raid had alone made that particular "form" of peril to the S.A. Republic possible. As Colonial Secretary he had absolute control of the Protectorate of Bechuanaland. He, moreover, was lord of the Mounted Police among whom "Dr. Jim" had to find his armed Raiders. Unless, therefore, Chamberlain had consented to transfer, as "jumping-off ground," necessary Bechuanaland frontier territory, along with the Mounted Police, to Raider Rhodes, the Raid could never have taken place at all. But the Man of Screws, Orchids, and

Duchesses was naturally equal to both performances. Indeed, it is difficult to say which of the two "Right Honourables"—Joseph or Cecil—has proved himself the more dis-honourable throughout the whole of this nefarious S.A. business. *Arcades ambo!* In the farcical House of Commons Committee of No Inquiry each of them, with a front of brass, stood out a perfect monument of moral obliquity in the eyes of every beholder of normal integrity of conscience. Even Roman Verres might have doffed his cap to English Cecil as an embodiment of proconsular effrontery. Assuredly, there is no affectation of "unctuous rectitude" about this up-to-date "Thinker in Continents." But why he has not for years been reflecting on the problems of life in some up-to-date Penitentiary, assisted by his Colonial Office "pal," is the question—a question which Posterity will ask with no little amazement.

THE BOGUS INQUIRY.

For what was the finding of the Select Committee appointed by the Cape Colony Assembly to inquire into the circumstances of the Jameson Raid?

"AS REGARDS THE RIGHT HON. C. J. RHODES, YOUR COMMITTEE CAN COME TO NO OTHER CONCLUSION THAN THAT HE WAS THOROUGHLY ACQUAINTED WITH THE PREPARATIONS THAT LED TO THE INROAD THAT IN HIS CAPACITY AS CONTROLLER OF THE THREE GREAT JOINT STOCK COMPANIES—THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY THE DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, AND THE GOLD FIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA—HE DIRECTED AND CONTROLLED THE COMBINATION WHICH RENDERED SUCH A PROCEEDING AS THE JAMESON RAID POSSIBLE.

And what said even that most astounding Committee of No Inquiry at Westminster, adorned by the virtuous membership of "C.B.," Harcourt, and "Labby"?"—

(1) "THAT AS A PRIME MINISTER OF CAPE COLONY, MR. RHODES HAD ASSISTED WITH MONEY AND ADVICE AN ATTACK UPON THE INTEGRITY OF A NEIGHBOURING AND FRIENDLY STATE;

(2) "THAT, AS A PRIVY COUNCILLOR, HE HAD ENCOURAGED A GROSS BREACH OF INTERNATIONAL COMITY;

(3) "THAT, AS A MEMBER OF THE CAPE MINISTRY HE HAD WILFULLY WITHHELD INFORMATION FROM HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE CABINET OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE."

Now, in plain non-official language, what does this mean? It means (a) that Rhodes is a convicted Brigand; (b) that he is a non-purged Traitor; and (c) that he is the meanest of Tricksters. And among the other members of the Committee who signed this most damatory of Reports was the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Rhodes's faithful friend!!! Was there ever such dishonour among thieves? But there was no help for it. Joseph had to convict Cecil, or have his own guilty knowledge of the Raid exposed by the production of the suppressed incriminating cablegrams. To escape both horns of the dilemma—to save both himself and the Colossus and, peradventure, personages still more

exalted—seemed utterly impossible, and yet the feat was accomplished. How? What Joseph had said in the *Committee of the House* he could unsay in the *House itself*. And this accordingly was done. *Josephus loquitur*:—

JOSEPH AS APOSILE OF "PERSONAL HONOUR."

"AS TO ONE THING I AM PERFECTLY CONVINCED, AND THAT IS, THAT THERE HAS NOTHING BEEN PROVED, AND THERE EXISTS NOTHING WHICH AFFECTS MR. RHODES PERSONAL CHARACTER AS A MAN OF HONOUR. SO FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, IN CONSIDERING THE POSITION OF MR. RHODES, I DISMISS ABSOLUTELY THESE CHARGES, WHICH AFFECT HIS PERSONAL HONOUR."

Exit Cecil with knowledge of the Raid—admitted but honourable knowledge—and exit Joseph in total ignorance of the whole business! And exeunt both, with the benison of Parliament, Press, and Platform, to forge "IN A DIFFERENT FORM" fresh and more potent weapons for the destruction of a neighbouring and friendly State!

I agree with Mr. W. T. Stead that there is no piece of "Imperial" cant quite so nauseous as the pitiful plea that the Boers are waging war upon us; that they have invaded our territory; and that we are the poor innocent victims of their insatiable ambition:—

"President Kruger would have been a traitor to his own people if he had not launched the ultimatum. Of course that was perfectly known to Mr. Chamberlain. It was mere child's play for him to play his cards so as to compel President Kruger to take the initiative. The first step was to draw up a scheme to destroy the Independence of the Transvaal in such a way that we could interfere in its internal affairs at our pleasure. Secondly, to prepare a great Army to compel him to accept these terms. Thirdly, to keep back these terms day by day for a fortnight, and all the time to push forward military preparations. After these three moves the fourth step, the Ultimatum, resulted almost automatically. Ministers had then the tactical advantage for which they had played of appealing to their countrymen on the ground that the Boers had begun the war."

THE JINGO ULTIMATUM.

The Boers, in point of fact, merely pushed aside, as President Steyn aptly phrased it, "a sword levelled at their throats." But what is even more to the point—as has been so cogently demonstrated by my friend, Mr. Alfred Marks, in the columns of the *New Age* and elsewhere—a BRITISH ULTIMATUM actually preceded the Boer deliverance by nearly a couple of months. Here it is in the form of a telegram from Mr. Connynham Greene, British Agent at Pretoria (August 15, 1899), to German Satrap Milner:—

"I suggested that I should have a personal interview with the State Attorney. He came later in the day, and I spoke to him very seriously. I explained that I had no idea whether Her Majesty's Government would consent not to press their demand, but that the situation was

most critical, and that Her Majesty's Government, who had given pledges to the Uitlanders WOULD BE BOUND TO ASSERT THEIR DEMANDS, AND IF NECESSARY TO PRESS THEM BY FORCE."

Well, if that is not an ultimatum it would be hard to say what is. Anyhow, if Mr. Greene had talked in that strain to any European Power, it is perfectly certain he would have had his passports handed to him within the hour. And, ye gods, think of the bone of contention—the Democratic Outlander craving for a more extended Franchise! Nor is Mr. Marks content to prove that the prior and real ultimatum, nay, a series of ultimatums, emanated from the Long Firm of Rhodes, Chamberlain, and Milner. He proves extensive criminal preparation by the British Government for a War of Conquest, up to the hilt. In the House of Lords, March 15, 1901, Lord Lansdowne "gave away" the Pirate Government, *urbi et orbi*, in this astounding manner:

JINGO HYPOCRISY.

"He (Lord Wolseley) wished us to mobilise an Army Corps. He suggested to us that we might occupy Delagoa Bay. He suggested an appeal to the Colonies for Contingents. He proposed that we should land 11,000 or 12,000 mules in S.A. I would remind him that he pressed these measures on me, as he says, in the month of June (June, 1899)—our months before the Declaration of War—with an expression of his desire that the operations might begin as soon as possible. Why? In order that we might get the war over by the month of November, 1899. My Lords, the idea of FORCING THE PACE, in such a manner as TO COMPLETE THE SUBJUGATION OF THE TWO REPUBLICS by the month of November, 1899, was, I frankly confess, one that did not at all commend itself to Her Majesty's Government. But do not let it be supposed that all this time we were sitting with our hands folded. Our great desire was, at any rate, to make the Colonies safe during the period of suspense through which we were passing; and with that object we sent out to S.A., as the noble and gallant Viscount will remember, with his concurrence and on his recommendation, large reinforcements. I dwell upon these points because I want to show that Her Majesty's Government did not CONTEMPTUOUSLY BRUSH ON ONE SIDE THE ADVICE GIVEN TO US BY OUR RECOGNISED MILITARY ADVISER. Our policy was a policy of peace, not a policy of provocation. We earnestly desired to have the country with us. WE BELIEVED THE COUNTRY WAS NOT READY FOR WAR IN THE MONTHS OF JUNE AND JULY, 1899, and we, therefore, contented ourselves with taking those measures which we were advised were sufficient to ensure the safety of the Colonies IN THE MEANTIME."

Here we have a rare and almost unprecedented glimpse of the Pirate Empire in secret camera, its Cabinet or Executive Committee planning, in cold blood, the burglary not merely of "a neighbouring and friendly State," but incidentally of Portugal, her oldest ally! Anything more revolting "passes the wit of man." At any rate, it

passes mine. "Have Christ and the Saints gone to sleep?"—as was asked in the worst days of Norman Kingcraft.

BOER WAR IRONIES.

No. IX.

"The Moving Finger writes; and having writ,
Moves on; nor all your Piety nor Wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line
Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it."

"An orphan's curse would drag to Hell
A spirit from on high;
But oh! more terrible than that
Is the curse in a dead man's eye!"

COLERIDGE: "ANCIENT MARINER."

"In vain ministers preach the Gospel of Peace and Righteousness. In vain Peace Societies are established. The "Gold Standard" means inevitable war. Nations cannot possibly remain long under it.

The nations born of thee are fire and sword,
Red ruin and the breaking up of laws."

ARTHUR KITSON: "MONEY QUESTION."

The ironies of the War of Boer Extermination in which the Pirate Empire is now engaged would be, in the last degree, comical if they were not so infinitely sad and humiliating. We went to war with the "Corrupt Oligarchy" because they did not come up to the lofty standard of British Democracy in respect of Franchise Extension. But what are the facts? Mr. Edward B. Rose, late Chairman of the Johannesburg Labour Union, has just rendered excellent service to the cause of Truth and Justice by instituting a comparison, in parallel columns, between the main features of the British Constitution and those of the Transvaal (see *British and Transvaal Laws and Constitutions*: Appendix). And what does he prove *ad lib.*? That if the *National Democratic League of Britain* could but achieve about a third of the objects embodied in *his* Constitution by the "Corrupt Oligarchy," its occupation, like Othello's, would practically be gone! Indeed, the Transvaal Constitution, so far as I can discern, erred only in one particular—the *laxity of its Naturalisation Law*. There are, of course, Aliens and Aliens; but it is not too much to say that there was not a man in the "inner circle" of Johannesburg "Reformers" who was not a prospective *marvais sujet* and State-wrecker, such as no conceivable British Home Secretary would naturalise on any pretext.

But not to labour excessively even this all-important point—the alleged *casus belli*, though it be—what is this that one reads over the name of Mr. Frederick Greenwood, the able veteran Tory publicist, in the current (February) *Nine-*

teenth Century and After? Listen to this singular "Pro-Boer":

"If it should appear that the only way of staying them (ff—i.e., 'social disorder, political danger, and economic ravage, the gross first consequences' of complete Boer subjugation—is to commit in moderation what was considered a fault in Mr Kruger's Government, I hope it will not be rejected on that account. What was this fault? if a policy can be so called which gives us the riches of an incomparable Eldorado in a barely scratched condition. It was the resolve of successive Boer Presidents and Parliaments that the peace of the country and the authority of its rulers should not be jeopardised by swarms of gold-seeking foreigners. To secure this purpose the Gold Laws of the Transvaal went so far as to forbid the search for gold by its own people; and the prohibition worked to the last. Carried to extremes, it was a policy that could be called stupid (?), dog-in-the-manger (?), hostile to the well-being of the human race (??); and as such it was condemned. But now that subsequent proceedings have destroyed the Government, dispersed the people, and made of the Transvaal an English Province (?), *virtue returns to this policy.* I submit that a repetition of it, with abatements and differences, is the truest wisdom.

"And so I come to the point of this brief article: which is that looking to the past, and then surveying once more the darkly teeming future, I would by all tolerable means keep up the barrier against foreign immigration of every sort into South Africa for some years to come. Thus I defend an utter indifference to the spoiling of the (awaited) boom, and, therefore, would recommend a re-start of the Rand industries at the extremely prosperous point whereat they were arrested. I should not scruple in the least to keep out the Levantine and Continental foreigner expressly, among others, to give as much chance as possible to the deliberate, slow moving Englishman at home."

A wonderful deliverance, surely, is the above, my interrogations and italics apart. Mr Greenwood dreads the consequences to the "Empire" of an unexampled world-boom, on the Rand, at the conclusion of the war, and well he may. The dangers of peace are even greater than those of war, and he would fain avert them by turning empty away, "by every possible means, usual or unusual," the very "Levantines" and "Continentials" for whose sweet congeners' sake we are now devastating the two Republics. By such means alone can Mr. Greenwood discern the least prospect of the Pirate Empire ever recovering even a fraction of her enormous outlays, and I even entirely agree with him. Hays Hammond, the calculating Yankee Rand expert, lecturing recently to the Phi-Beta-Kappa Society of Harvard University, estimated the available gold in the Witwatersrand (White Water's Ridge) at £600,000,000, and he may not be so far out.

OUR VAIN SACRIFICES.

But I, also, will hazard a prediction and it is this—that to annex the Transvaal will, from first

to last, cost the "Empire" a good £6 0 0 0,000, not a penny of which will ever be extracted from any other matrix than that of the poor, befooled and be-deviled British Working Man's skin and bone. He will never finger a red cent of the "unscratched" Hammond treasures, which will infallibly find their way into the devouring maw of the "Continentials" and "Levantines," in spite of Mr. Greenwood's notable scheme for reaffirming the old wholesome Mining Laws of the Transvaal "with (or with ut) abatements and differences." But so be it. *Vult Populus decipi et decipitur.* The B.W.M. would "maffik" and he can only expect to reap that which he has sowed—to "pay, pay, pay." In ten years, or twenty it may be, the whole of the base, meretricious "yellow metal" in the Rand will be above ground and safe in the coffers of the Children of Israel and of the more apt of their Gentile Disciples, and then the veldt, the gold-delirium at an end, will once more reassert itself in the deserted streets of Johannesburg and the Boer herdsman will "enjoy his own again," with none to question his right.

Nay, it is not credible that the Human Race—unless it absolutely determines altogether to reject Reason as its guide—will much longer continue to shed its best blood on the altar of the Gold-Money Moloch. Every economist worth his salt knows that Gold is the worst medium of exchange that the perverted ingenuity of man could devise, and that it is, indeed, for that very reason that its utility is so persistently maintained by bankers, usurers, financiers, and similar *hostes humani generis*. "What blasphemy!" chorus they, one and all. "Is not gold sound money? Is not the face-value and the intrinsic or commodity-value of the sovereign identical?"

SLAVES OF MAMMON.

Very far from it, ye juggling priests of Mammon! Demonetise this most delusive of "precious metals" to-morrow, and so far as the useful arts are concerned, it will be an absolute drug in the market for the next hundred years. It will at a blow lose ninety per cent of its value! But though the commodity-value of gold is of little or no account—ininitely less than that of iron or lead—the labour required to raise even an ounce of it is almost fabulous. Alexander D-l Mar, a very high authority, tells us that the £90 000 000 of gold raised in California (I can just recall that frenzy), in 1848-56 inclusive, cost in labour alone £450,000,000, or five times its mint value! Nor is it, as is pretended, an "Unvarying Standard." In point of fact all "standards" involving a commodity-value must fluctuate, and about the least stable among them is gold. Between the years 1789-1839 it fell in purchasing power 46 per cent, and rose again—from 1809 to 1849—145 per cent.; and now Professor Smart of Glasgow tells us that a sovereign to-day will exchange for 66 per cent. more of things in general than it did some twenty years ago.

"We seek no gold-fields!" What a monstrous falsehood! What an unblushing liar! and yet, assuredly, we NEED none. An Inconvertible

Paper Currency, supported by the Collective Credit of the People, the State or Commune itself being the sole Banker, would reduce our present infamous Gold-War to an absurdity, not to mention scores of minor insanities. Neither, in truth, do we require a *Medium of Exchange* of any kind, with or without Intrinsic Value. "Fraud," said Jesus the Son of Sirach, "ever sticketh between Buying and Selling as mortar between stones," and he was a wise man.

"Thus, says Prince Kropotkin (PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM), results the accumulation of Capital, not in its faculty of absorbing Surplus-value, but in the forced position the Worker is placed to sell his Labour-power—the Seller being sure in advance that he will not receive all that his strength can produce; of being wounded in his interests; and of becoming the inferior of the Buyer. Without this the capitalist would never have tried to buy him; which proves that to change the System it must be attacked in its essence, in its cause—*Sale and Purchase*—and not in its effect—*Capitalism*. If the Worker continues to be paid in Wages, he necessarily will remain the slave or subordinate of the one to whom he is forced to sell his Labour-force—be the Buyer a Private Individual or the State."

Yes; that pierces to the very heart of all our social woes and South African Aceldamas. It is this nefarious Custom of *Buying and Selling Lands, Commodities, and Services* that must be uprooted. It is the "Nursery of Cheaters," as wise old Winstanley, "the Digger," called it, two centuries and a-half ago (see my little volume, *Precursors of Henry George*), and its devil's device, Money, is even as good George Herbert quaintly apostrophises it:

"Money, thou bane of bliss, and source of woe,
Whence com'st thou, that thou art so fresh and fine?

I know thy parentage was base and low;
Man found thee poor and dirty in a mine.

"Surely thou didst so little contribute
To this great Kingdom, which thou hast got,
That he was fain, when thou wert destitute,
To dig thee out of thy dark cave and grot.

"Then, forcing thee by fire, he made thee bright:
Nay, thou hast got the face of Man; for we
Have with our stamp and seal transferred our
right:

Thou art the Man, and man but dross to thee.

"Man calleth thee his Wealth, who made thee
rich,—

AND, WHILE HE DIGS OUT THEE, FALLS IN THE
DITCH."

THE UNITED STATES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

No. X.

"Fear not that the tyrant shall rule for ever,
Nor the priests of the bloody faith;
They stand on the brink of that mighty river
Whose waves they have tainted with death.
It is fed from the rills of a thousand dells;
Around them it hisses, and bubbles, and
swells;
And their swords and their sceptres I floating
see
Like wrecks on the shores of eternity."

"Belshazzar's grave is made,
His kingdom passed away,
He, in the balance weighed,
To light and worthless clay;
The shroud his robe of state;
His canopy the stone;
The Mede is at his gate,
The Persian on his throne."

Nemesis is clearly on the track of the "Pirate Empire." In previous articles I gave chapter and verse for the contention that the hideous South African War is not, as alleged, a racial but an economic struggle, criminally forced on the Boers by an unparalleled gang of Cosmopolitan Exploiters with one sole object in view—the *enslavement of the Workers, White and Black alike*. If these Anglo-Hebrew gold-seeking Nomads could only have enlisted "Old Kruger" and his "Corrupt Oligarchy" in their nefarious Anti-Labour Conspiracy, depend upon it they would never have called in the aid of such clumsy operators as "Brummagem Joe" and the "Pirate Empire."

But the Transvaal Gold Mining Law was admittedly the best and most liberally conceived on the face of the earth. Hence both it and the "Corrupt Oligarchy" which had formulated it must go. Even at this hour a British Commission, packed with Anglo-Hebrew Capitalists and their mining experts, is in session overhauling it! This single fact, read in the light of "Lord" Milner's late official re-installation of the notorious "Johannesburg Star," tells but too plainly how completely the Rand Conspirators have "captured" the Colonial Office, nay "annexed" the vaunted "Empire" itself and made its flag their prime "commercial asset."

Howbeit, "the best laid plans of mice and men go aft agley," and the end of this untoward S.A. business is not yet by a very long way. Our bold Imperialists just left out one small but fateful factor in their calculations, namely, that "You've got to git up early if you want to take in God." They imagined that, with the vast resources of the British Empire behind them, they could mock at old-fashioned notions of *Justice* and even convert *Might* into *Right*. But material power,

uninspired by the "still small voice" that ever whispers to man from the Delphic cave of Conscience, has never yet ultimately triumphed in this world, however slowly the mills of God may at times seem to grind.

"Stainless soldier on the walls,
Knowing this and knows no more,
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore;
And he who battles on her side,
God, if he were ten times slain,
Crowns him victor glorified—
Victor over death and pain.
But his erring foe,
Self-assured that he prevails,
Looks from his victim lying low
And sees aloft the red right arm
Address the Eternal Scales."

Now what is the principle of *Justice* for which all we "Pro Boers," throughout this South African Carnival of Blood, have from first to last contended? It is this: THE RIGHT OF THE SMALLEST NATION TO INDEPENDENCE IS EQUAL TO THAT OF THE BIGGEST EMPIRE. This right aggressive British Imperialism has, for the last twenty-nine months, been doing its utmost to trample in the dust, in respect to two tiny Republics with a united population less than that of Edinburgh—and, at this hour, it stands baffled and humiliated in the sight of an unsympathetic and even rejoicing world. Surely, if anything could exceed the wickedness of Imperialism, it is its utter short-sightedness!

"THE BOND."

But there are many signs that, though the heart of the British people (the Irish form a noble exception) is callous and unrepentant as ever, the tide of Jingoism is slowly but surely turning into a new channel of rancour and animosity. Says Mr. D. O'Brien, in an incisive article entitled *The Bond*, in the *Westminster Review*:—

"Nor will the overthrow of the Pirate Power in S.A. be limited to that part of the world. It will be just as real and unmistakable in this country. A great reaction will take place. The people will turn upon their deceivers. They will curse those they have blessed. They will bless those they have cursed. For such is the nature of the British People. *The one unparadisable sin in their eyes is failure.* Be as unprincipled and as bloody as you like, provided that you be successful, and they will honour and follow you; but show yourself before them as a complete failure, and they will cast you from them without pity and without regret. Truly a noble people! They are worthy of their idols. Their idols are worthy of them. Not one spark of affection in their corrupt hearts have they for right, for truth, for purity, or for freedom, as ideals. Nothing but material gain has any attraction for them now, and for this they will sacrifice everything else without in the end gaining even that."

"Material gain" for the British People! Gain

in S.A. gold and diamonds, the counters of gamblers, swindlers, and usurers the world over? But it is not so much a question of "material gain" as of how, in negotiating Terms of Peace with the Boers, to "save the face" of the Pirate Empire that is the problem now before us. By the London Convention of 1834, drafted by Lord Derby on behalf of the Gladstonian Administration, the Rights and Duties of the Transvaal Republic are defined with unusual and praiseworthy precision, and the "bloody sponge," which Chamberlain has striven to pass over that instrument, has not impaired its moral obligation in one jot or tittle, so far as either Boer or Briton is concerned, paper "annexations" and ineffectual "occupations" notwithstanding. Here is the official interpretation of the document forwarded by Lord Derby to the Boer Government (Feb. 15, 1884). It is, in point of fact, the most striking condemnation of Chamberlain's later policy towards the Republic that could be penned:—

"By the omission of the Articles of the Convention of Pretoria (1881) which assigned to Her Majesty (Victoria) and to the British Resident certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations of the Transvaal State, *your Government will be left free to govern the country without interference, and to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirements embodied in the Fourth Article of the new draft, that any treaty with any Foreign State shall not have effect without the approval of the Queen.*"

CHAMBERLAIN, THE QUICK-CHANGE ARTIST.

"Consistency," we have been told, "is the bugbear of little minds"; but consistent inconsistency, without reason assigned or assignable, savours, methinks, of deep innate depravity rather than of magnanimity or any other laudable mental characteristic. How is this for a sample of the Colonial Secretary's quality in the matter of consistency:—

"To go to war with President Kruger to enforce upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, in which Secretaries of State, standing in this place, *have repudiated all right of interference*, that would be a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise"—CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 8, 1896.

Again (August 12, 1825), in reply to Sir Ashmead Bartlett:—

"What would be the policy of the hon. member for Sheffield as Colonial Secretary? We know what it would be. He would send, in the first place, an ultimatum to President Kruger that unless the reforms which he was specifying were granted by a particular date the British Government would interfere by force. Then I suppose, he would come here and ask this House for a vote of £10,000,000 or £20,000,000—it does not matter particularly which—and would send an army of 10,000 men, at the very least, to force President Kruger to grant reforms in a State in regard to which not only this Government but successive Secretaries of State have pledged themselves repeatedly

that they would have nothing to do with its internal affairs. That is the policy of the hon. gentleman. That is NOT my policy."

Three years later, the warlike Knight's would-be behests to the faithful Commons were modest compared with those of the Right Hon. Joseph, who demanded 48 000 men, in addition to the 24 000 already in South Africa, in order to further Sir Ashmead's deprecated policy of "immoral interference" in the internal affairs of a friendly foreign State! And these be your Gods, O Israel! Except in one strictly defined particular—a point having nothing earthly to do with the present war—the Transvaal Republic is, in unquestionable fact, as much a Sovereign International State as France, Germany, or the United States, and the Pirate Empire's assumed right to regulate its Franchise Laws (the preposterous *casus belli*) is equally groundless in all four cases.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATES.

What, then, is the marrow of the situation? The Pirate Empire has deliberately repeated, in South Africa, the criminal folly of George III and his Ministers, in North America, with infinitely less excuse. It must, therefore, go, "bag and baggage," standing as little on the order of its going as its pride, malignity, and piratical rapacity will permit. There will be wailing among the Helots of Park-lane, but that can't be helped. It may take years, ten or twenty, to establish the FREE AND INDEPENDENT UNITED STATES OF SOUTH AFRICA; but the event is as certain as any in the womb of time. The Afrianders are even now more really a united nation than were the British Colonists who first unfurled the Stars and Stripes. They have suffered wrongs so atrocious that it is simply inconceivable that they should ever again live in peace under British Rule. Who that is at all conversant with the historic woes of unhappy Ireland but must feel the keen edge of the Westminster Reviewer's words:

"The Jingo Party must not be allowed to destroy a young nation. The course of Africander development must not go back; it must go forward. Who knows but that they are trying, like the Persians, to kill what may eventually prove to be a second Hellas? If these hon. and right hon. gentlemen are allowed to break loose from their pledges, and from the Bond of their Government, which the *Convention* (1884) is, they will only repeat in Africa what their ancestors carried on in Ireland. In a word, they will favour foreigners and interlopers at the expense of the sons of the soil. From this fate God save Africa! Before me as I write there is a picture of a woman fastened to a wooden cross. On her left is a soldier, a hired assassin. On her right is a crowd of skeleton children clamouring for the food which the soldier deprives her of for the benefit of himself and his hirelings over sea. Just above her head a scroll is nailed to the wood. On this scroll is the word ERIN. Opposite the woman there is another cross which is vacant. SOUTH AFRICA, IF YOU FAIL TO KEEP THE GOVERNMENT OF THIS PIRATE

EMPIRE TO ITS BOND, THAT CROSS WILL BE OCCUPIED BY YOU."

But the Boers cannot fail. Indeed they have already triumphed, inasmuch as their unequalled heroism has touched a responsive chord in the breast of every Liberty-loving man and woman throughout the world. It is ever the blood of the martyrs that is the seed of the Church.

And now let me conclude with some noble verses in praise of "The Little Peoples," which have been ringing in my ears ever since I read them, the other week, in *The New Age*. I know not the author's name—he appropriately cates from Cape Colony—but I will back his inspiring lines against all the Jingo fustian ever penned or likely to be penned by Austin, Kipling, or even Swinburne in his days of melancholy decadence.

"THE LAY OF THE 'LITTLE PEOPLES.'"

"Freedom spake to the Greeks of old
When the Persian hosts rolled on,
And their answer was stern Thermopylae
And the plains of Marathon.
And Leonidas and his Spartan few
Still make us glow and thrill,
And the very name of Salamis
Can move us strangely still.

"Freedom spake to the fierce old Scots
When bid to bow the knee,
And their answer was Bruce and Bannockburn,
And fighting from sea to sea.
And still the name of Wallace wight
And the death he died that day
Breathe upon Scotland the sacred light
That never fades away.

"Freedom spake to the mountain Swiss
When Austria ordered 'Kneel!'
And their answer was Sempach's onward rush
And Arnold's sheaf of steel.
And Switzerland's peaks are crowned with light,
And her fields stand all aglow
For Tell and his sturdy mountaineers
And their deeds of long ago.

"Freedom spake to the Netherlands
When Spain cried 'Down and pray!'
Leave at your peril the Ancient Faith!
Return to the fold this day!
And their answer was eighty years of war,
And the sea's intruding tide,
And the Water-Beggars, and Haarlem's walls
Where women fought and died.

"Freedom spake to the Transvaal Boer
When the Empire shouted 'Yield!'
And his answer was Modder and Spion Kop
And Colenso's flaming field.
Nor Greek nor Scot, nor mountain Swiss,
E'er made a stand so bold,
And the world looks on, for a tale like this
Has never yet been told.

" Freedom speaks to the Capeland Dutch
When England sneers 'Betray!
Betray your land, forsake your sin,
And fight on our side to-day!'
And their answer is still the prison grim,
And the scaffold ghastly high,
And the red, red blood which soaks the ground
Where 'rebels' calmly die.

" Thus Freedom speaks to all and each,
And her touch is a touch of fire,
And the brave still listen with head erect
Though she points to block and pyre.]
And their answer is still the prison's gloom,
And the battlefield's red gore,
And the name they bear of Rebel! Fool!
Which brave men ever bore.

" And still they follow, Basut, Finn,
Filipino, Zulu, Pole—
The Little Peoples of every race—
Her "ying feet to the goal.
And lo! they follow, through blood and tears,
To that shining goal of the Free,
The lead of Him who died the death
Of a rebel, on Calvary!"

LONG LIVE THE AFRICANDER
REPUBLIC!

ENGLAND AND TRANSVAAL.

APPENDIX.

LAWS OF BOTH STATES.

During the last General Election Mr. Herbert Spencer suggested that a comparison should be made between the Constitutions and doings of the so-called Boer Oligarchy and the oligarchy which existed in England prior to the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. Mr. Edward B. Rose, late president of the Johannesburg Trades Council, has just issued a little pamphlet on the subject (published by Bonner, Took's-court, Chancery-lane, Ed.) in which he says it is quite unnecessary to go back so far. He compares the laws of the Transvaal at the time the war broke out with those which exist in England to-day. Here are some of the more striking comparisons—a most remarkable and instructive object lesson:—

ENGLAND.

TRANSVAAL.

1.—FRANCHISE AS AFFECTING BRITISH AND BOER RESPECTIVELY.

A restricted franchise obtained only after fifty years of continuous agitation. In the middle of 1899 the male population aged twenty-

Absolute manhood suffrage obtains. On obtaining the age of twenty-one years every male Boer *ipso facto* acquires full franchise

one and upwards numbered 11,985,900. Of these only 6,161,487 possessed votes, leaving 5,824,413, or nearly fifty per cent., unenfranchised.

rights, while the right to a limited franchise is acquired at the age of sixteen.

2. FRANCHISE AS AFFECTING ALIENS.

Requirements: Five years residence in Great Britain or a British Colony; a certificate of naturalization; payment of £5 naturalization fee; taking the oath of allegiance. But naturalization and subsequent enfranchisement depend absolutely upon the goodwill of the Home Secretary for the time being. "He—the Home Secretary—shall have the right, with or without giving his reasons, to refuse such certificate of naturalization and from his decision there shall be no appeal." *Vide* "Naturalization Act" of 1870. And the mere act of naturalization does not *ipso facto* confer any political rights.

Requirements: Seven years residence in the country; becoming naturalized; payment of £2 naturalization fee; taking the oath of allegiance. Every alien who has resided for two years in the country is entitled to letters of naturalization. These letters entitle him to vote at once for the members of the Second Volksraad and for certain officials of the State. The Seven years residence required to obtain the full franchise include the two years required for naturalization. There is no right in any official, as in the Home Secretary here, to refuse to grant letters of naturalization.

3.—VOTING QUALIFICATIONS.

Various property or rating qualifications required to qualify British subjects for a vote in Great Britain, mostly tending to restrict voting powers to the comparatively well-to-do.

No qualifications whatsoever are required in the Transvaal to qualify Transvaal burghers for the full franchise beyond being of necessary age.

4.—REGISTRATION LAWS.

Complex provisions which render the acquisition of voting powers difficult and in effect disfranchise from ten to twenty-five per cent. of the nominal electors at every election.

There are none. All the registration required is to enter the name in the register kept by the field-cornet on entering the country or on removing from one town or district into another, and that one registration holds good as long as the voter remains in the same field-cornetcy.

5.—NUMBER OF VOTES.

Plural voting largely prevails. Another unfair privilege in favour of the well-to-do.

One man one vote, only.

6.—OFFICE OF HEAD OF STATE.

Hereditary.

Elective. The voters being all registered burghers of full age.

7.—LEGISLATURES.

One House elective; the other hereditary, obstructive, unnecessary, and anti-Democratic.

Both Raads elective and the business of legislation divided between them; the first Raad being, like the British House of Commons, the more important of the two bodies.

8.—DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

House of Commons elected for seven years.

Volksraads elected for four years.

9.—PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

None; a fact which tends to restrict membership to the wealthy.

All members of the Volksraads paid at the rate of £3 per day during the time the Volksraads are in Session; but payment is stopped if members are absent without satisfactory excuse.

10.—ATTENDANCE OF MEMBERS.

Parliament exercises no control over members as regards attendance, &c.

Members are liable to a fine of seventy-five "rix-dollars" (£5 12s. 6d.) if absent without leave of the Volksraad.

11.—ELECTION EXPENSES.

So heavy that they practically debar any but the wealthy from being elected to Parliament.

Non-existent. It is illegal to spend money on elections in the Transvaal; thus preventing corruption and equalising the chances of rich and poor candidates.

12.—THE REFERENDUM.

None. The people have practically no voice in deciding the nature of legislation. Promises are plentiful enough at election time, but the perform-

All laws—except in cases of emergency—having been submitted by the Government to the Volksraad and the principles accepted, are then published for three

months in the *Staatscourant* or *Government Gazette*, to enable the people to consider them and the burghers either instruct their members how to vote thereon or petition the Volksraad direct for or against the proposed law.

ance is invariably very far short.

13.—LEGISLATORS, EXPOUNDERS OF LAWS.

No such admirable principle obtains.

After each Session of the Volksraad each member must repair to his constituency and render an account of his stewardship and in particular must explain to the people the various laws passed during the Session just concluded.

14.—MAKING AND RATIFICATION OF TREATIES.

The nation may be bound to any extent by the Cabinet or even the Premier alone, by treaties with Foreign Powers and by declaring and commencing war. The prerogative of the Crown means in practice the absolute authority of the Cabinet.

The Government makes and enters into treaties, but they must be ratified by the First Volksraad before they become effective and binding. The same holds good as to declaring war.

15.—APPOINTMENT OF HEAD OF ARMY.

Commander-in-Chief; appointed by the Crown.

Commandant-General; elected by popular vote.

16.—APPOINTMENT OF MILITARY OFFICERS.

Army officers appointed by examination; promoted—frequently—by favouritism and influence.

Commandants, field-cornets, &c, who assume military rank in time of war, elected by popular vote.

17.—COMPOSITION OF THE COURT-MARTIAL.

The court-martial composed entirely of officers; with inevitable tendency to class prejudices.

The court-martial consists of the Commandant-General or senior officer present and four each of commandants, field-cornets, or assistant field-cornets and burghers; corresponding to English commissioned officers, non-commissioned offi-

cers, and privates respectively. (If the Commandant-General does not preside at a court-martial its sentence is subject to his ratification.

18.—EXTENT AND INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.

Far heavier than would be necessary under a policy of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," and the bulk of it being indirect falls upon the poorer classes—those least able to pay.

Also heavier than necessary, but the bulk of it so arranged as to fall upon those best able to pay—the wealthy mine-owners and land speculators. The only direct personal taxation amounts to 18s. 6d. per head per annum. Indirect taxation is raised by customs duties, which, however, are considerably lighter than those in the Cape Colony. There is no income tax at all.

19.—LAND TAX.

Legitimate taxes on land shamefully evaded by the landowners and not nearly so heavy as they ought to be.

Every farm bears moderate tax. In the cases of absentee landowners the tax is doubled, the extra revenue thus accruing to the State being devoted to war purposes.

20.—STATE CHURCH.

Supported by enormous endowments monopolized by one religious body exclusively.

None, nor tithes. Formerly sums of money were occasionally voted by the Volksraad in favour of particular churches or ministers. But the latest of these grants was made in 1887.

21.—EDUCATION.

Improving? but still far behind many other countries; notably Germany and America. In the only case where a comparison can be made with the Transvaal it required over twenty-five years of agitation to secure the teaching in Welsh of Welsh children in Welsh schools; and to this day their national language is

After a few years of agitation teaching in an alien tongue—English—was instituted in certain Government subsidized schools, and schools were even established by the Government for the special benefit of English children in which the sole medium of teaching was English. In 1898—the last year for which re-

prohibited as a medium of instruction to Irish children in Irish schools and to Scottish Gaels in Gaelic.

turns are available—the Transvaal spent five times as much per head of the population upon education as England.

22.—PAUPERISM.

One in every thirty-nine of the entire population of Great Britain and Ireland is a pauper.

Not a workhouse in the State and no necessity for one. Owing to the special distress ensuing from the rinderpest visitation of 1897-8 certain of the impoverished burghers were granted assistance by the Government.

23.—RESTRICTION UPON THE IMMIGRATION OF UNDESIRABLE ALIENS.

None.

A law was passed by Volksraad and repealed in deference to the British Government, who declared it to be in conflict with the London Convention.

24.—CORRUPTION.

A Colonial Secretary proved to be interested in firms and companies contracting with the Government of which he is a member. A Civil Lord of the Admiralty, after assuming that office, acquires a large interest in a company contracting with his Department. The commercial life of the nation so rotten that only the year before last the late Lord Chief Justice had to bring into Parliament "a Bill to prevent, by making illegal, the giving or receiving of bribes under the name of commission, &c." The "Hooley revelations" are still fresh in the public memory and the scandals in connection with Kynochs, Tubes, Limited, Hoskins and Sons, &c., still more so.

Certain members of the Volksraad said to have accepted bribes in connection with the Selati Railway Concession, &c. (N.B.—Some of the men making these charges have recently been sentenced by the Belgian Court at Brussels to long terms of imprisonment for fraud upon the Transvaal Government in this very connection.) Members of Transvaal Executive said to be corruptly interested in the dynamite and other concessions. Public officials said to be corrupt and dishonest, but practically nothing proved except a shortage of cash in the cases of a few minor officials.

[Mr. Rose might have added, "and the army meat and horse contracts.]

25.—RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING.

The police may summarily disperse any open-air meeting of more than *fourteen* persons, even although there be no disturbance or breach of the peace. In practice, for months the right of not only public but private meeting has been denied to the advocates of Peace by Jingo roughs; a policy condoned by Ministers in the House of Commons. As regards the right of public meeting in Ireland the less said the better.

No *open-air* meeting may be held without the consent of the Government having been previously obtained. This law was only passed after the Jameson Raid. In practice, this "Public Meetings Law," as it is called, has been enforced three times. On two occasions meetings *in fav ur of the Transvaal Government* were prohibited and once an Outlander meeting, for the holding of which permission had not even been asked, was forbidden under exceptional circumstances, and rightly forbidden.

26.—RIGHT OF APPEAL IN CRIMINAL CASES.

None.

Has obtained to the fullest extent ever since the framing of the Transvaal Constitution in 1858.

27.—LAWS AFFECTING LANDLORDS AND TENANTS.

Grossly unfair and partial, giving landlord an advantage on every possible occasion, as, for example, right of distress for rent and of a preferential claim as creditor, &c.

Absolutely impartial. Landlord has no preference under any circumstances, but ranks as an ordinary creditor and takes the same chances as any other.

28.—THE GOLD LAW.

The gold mining industry in North Wales was crushed by the excessive royalties demanded by the Government.

Admittedly the best in the world and the most lenient. Absolutely the only gold law under which claims may be held for any length of time without a certain amount of work being put into them. Compare the *five per cent. tax* authorized, but never imposed, in the Transvaal, on the profits of the gold mines with the *fifty per cent* levied in Rhodesia on the *out put* under British rule.

29.—CERTIFICATED ENGINE DRIVERS.

No certificate of competence required.

All engine-drivers must have a Government certificate, to obtain which necessitate passing a stiff examination. This, in the case of hauling engine drivers, ensures greater safety to the men whose lives are entrusted to their keeping when raising from or lowering into the mines.

30.—GOVERNMENT INSPECTION OF BOILERS.

None — agitation to obtain it unsuccessful.

A reform long ago effected; also resulting in safer conditions of labour for the workers.

31.—THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The despair of the reformer. Exerts a most powerful and baneful influence, scarcely, if anything, inferior to that of the land-owning classes. Drunkenness denounced as the greatest scourge and curse of the country.

Far more under control than in England. Absolute prohibition as regards the natives. A few years ago the Government effected a reduction of bar licenses in Johannesburg of fully twenty-five per cent. and further reductions were being made at each subsequent licensing session. During nearly thirteen years' residence in the Transvaal the present writer never once saw a drunken Boer. Shortly before the war the Chamber of Mines, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Mine Managers' Association jointly convened a mass meeting, which passed resolutions of thanks to the Government for the improved administration of the liquor law.

It is also worth mentioning that, notwithstanding their extreme religious bias, civil marriage only is recognised by the State in the Transvaal. Even in such a comparatively unimportant matter as the "Pawnbrokers Act" there is a very desirable provision which has no counterpart in the English Law of the same name. This is to the effect that any person desiring to pawn an article shall be required to make a sworn declaration that the article is his or her own property, and no pawnbroker may take an article in pawn without

the production of such an affidavit by the would-be pawner. This not only serves as a safeguard against the facilities offered for disposing of stolen property by pawning, but tends to restrict otherwise legitimate pawning by making it too troublesome a process. It may be mentioned *en passant* that pawbroking was unknown in the Transvaal until the influx of Uitlanders led to its institution at Johannesburg.

It will be thus seen that, from the Democratic standpoint, not only is the Transvaal abreast of England, but very far ahead.

What a commentary, says Mr. Rose, is this

compilation upon the assertion so persistently made that the Boers are a nation of barbarians, if not of savages! So far from that being the case, it may be said without the least exaggeration that in destroying the nationality of the Boers, the British Government is engaged in destroying the nearest approach to essentially Democratic Government that probably the world has ever seen; certainly, that exists at the present time.

Everybody should order this pamphlet, for the compilation of which the public are much indebted to Mr. Rose.

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