Origin of the Fight With the Boers

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MISREPRESENTATIONS EXPOSED.

By the REV. RICHARD LYTTLE.

KANTOOR

ORIGIN

OF THE

FIGHT WITH THE BOERS.

THE friction between the British and the Boers in South Africa is not of recent development. Questions of franchise and taxation, dynamite monopoly and language are now to the fore, but the conflict has its roots in 21 centuries of South African history. He who would understand in any comprehensive way the latest phase of the struggle in all its bearings on the future of the white race in South Africa, must know in outline at least the story of the white man's colonization of Cape Colony, Natal, The Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. These countries, which cover the southern part of the continent, have been the theatre of the white man's successful struggle with the coloured race, and the sometimes friendly, but more generally hostile, rivalry between the two great colonizing races, the British and the Dutch. According to the latest available returns, largely from pro-British sources, the Dutch in South Africa number 431,600, and the British and all other white men, 388,400. The Dutch are generally known as Boers, from a Dutch word, 'Boer," which simply means "farmer." As the appellation signifies, the Dutch are generally devoted to pastoral and agricultural pursuits, while the British are more generally engaged in commerce and mining; so to a very large extent the conflict between the British and the Boers is a conflict between an urban and commercial people on the one hand, and an agricultural and rural population on the other. But the Boers and British have much in common. Both are predominently Teutonic in race and Protestant in religion. Both can make the proud boast of having been the earliest and most successful champions of Civil and Religious Liberty in Europe. Both claim to have the highest traditions of personal freedom and political liberty running in their veins.

The Boers are the descendants of Dutch peasants, who, under the leadership of William the Silent, the great grandfather of King William III.

ORANGEMEN. of England, routed the power of Spain in the Netherlands and set up the Duch Republic at the end of the 16th century. They are of the same race as the men with whom William of Orange won the Battle of the Boyne, and no others

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have so good a right to the title of Orangemen. The spirit of this people is the same to-day as when William III., on being told that his refusal of the bribe of the Dutch Crown offered him by France and England would lead to the ruin of his country, replied "he had one way still left not to see that ruin completed, which was to die in the last dyke."

How the Boers got into the Transvaal is a roundabout story that cannot be told in a sentence. They settled first in Cape Colony, their initial colonization of which dates back more than two and a half centuries. The Cape of Good Hope, which forms the entrance to Cape Colony, was only discovered in 1486 by Bartholomew Diaz, who had been sent by the King of Portugal in search of an ocean route to India. Immediately after a few Portuguese settled near Table Bay at the Cape. But in 1625 Cape Colony was colonized by the Dutch.

The original settlers received frequent accessions of new comers from the Netherlands, and A FRENCH they also received a very important element of PROTESTANT French Hugenots, Protestant refugees who were ELEMENT. expelled from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and who first sought a shelter in Holland, but were driven against their will to the Cape. Thither they carried their skill in vine culture, from which sprang subsequently the once famous trade in Cape wines, as some of their brethren brought the linen trade to Ulster. The original settlers intermarried with them, but prevented them preaching or educating their children in French, and so they were merged in the Boer population, which became a powerful fusion of strong Dutch and French Calvinistic peasants. It is estimated that one-third of the Boer population of the Transvaal is sprung from the Hugenots, as evidenced by the prevalence of French types of feature and French names, e.g., "Joubert," Commandant-General of their army, and "De Villiers," "Du Toit," &c.

In 1795 Cape Colony came into temporary possession of Great Britain by agreement with the anti-French party in Holland to prevent its seizure by the French Republic. It was restored in 1802, but seized four years later by Great Britain. After Napoleon was disposed of, England made an effort by state-aided emigration to introduce among the Boers a number of British settlers. The British denied the Boers any

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representative Government, abolished their Burgher Senate, their Courts of Landrost, and suppressed their High Courts of Justice.

The Boers, who had traditions of Republican liberty, learned under the banner of the House of Orange, and nourished on the Old and New Testaments which have remained their only literature, could not content themselves under British rule. They objected to pay taxes to a foreign government: they resented the arrogance of British officials; they felt themselves insulted by the arrival of British missionaries to convert them, since they regarded themselves as among the elect; and because the missionaries incited the natives against them; they objected to the substitution of the English for the Dutch language in courts of law and all official transactions. Above all, they were not ready for the abolition of the slave trade (1833), and resented this interference as did English slave-holders in other parts. They had treated their slaves as farm servants, and not as plantation slaves. (See Froude's South Africa). The majority of them never made their claims for compensation, partly from the difficulty of establishing them in London, and partly from disinclination. So, after armed resistance and defeat at Slaghter Nek, in 1816, when five of their leaders (who are still celebrated as the "martyrs of Slaghter Nek") were hung, the Boers came to a momentous decision. They decided to leave their

homes in Cape Colony rather than remain in

"THE GREAT British territory, and to carve out for themselves a new country far beyond the sphere of British influence. Packing their moveable property on their long waggons, and gathering together their flocks and herds, they rose up and crossed the Orange River in companies of from 20 to 40 families This "Great Trek" took place from 1833 to 1838 Their first effort to establish themselves was in the country now known as the Orange

The story of their hardships, the dangers which they encountered from roving Kaffirs attracted by their cattle, and from wild beasts, the courage which the men and women alike showed as they travelled and fought by day and entrenched themselves behind their long waggons at night, is one of the most heroic chapters in the history of pioneering. The result of this exodus was a Dutch colonization of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal. It is unnecessary to follow in close detail the separate threads of British interference with these three colonies.



The British made a determined effort to prevent the Boers from setting up a separate government, but the Boers turned like stags at bay and fought desperately, and when beaten, determined to continue the struggle. They were in collision with the Griquas; and in 1845 the British defeated the Boers, and in 1845 annexed the State, calling it "The Orange River" British Sovereignty. Pretorious and his Boers drove out the British, but a second force was successful, and established British authority in 1853. In 1854 however, the British consented in the Bloomfontein Convention to their establishing an independent Republic, which they did under the title of the Orange Free State.

Meanwhile large numbers of the Boers had trekked further north and crossed the Vaal TRANSVAAL River, hence the name of the country into which AND they entered—"the Trans-vaal" But the farm-NATAL. ers in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal required a port for exporting their wool, and so they made a determined effort to cut their way to the sea in the territory now known as Natal. This they did (after some serious defeats) against the opposition of both Zulus and British, and built the town of Pietermaritzburg, so called after the names of two of their leaders, and founded the port of Durban. This was accomplished by the year 1840. But in 1843 the British seized the Natal Republic, and the main body of the Boers retired in two bands, the one going SW. into the Orange Free State, and the other N. into the Transvaal. The Boers who remained in Pietermaritzburg were swamped by an inroad of British, thus giving the Boers a foretaste of their threatened fate in Johannesburg. But in 1852 the Sand River treaty was signed, in which Great Britain recognised the political independ-INDEPENDENCE ence of the Transvaal, and guaranteed in the OF THE fullest manner to the Boers the right to manage TRANSVAAL. their own affairs.

The key to this change of British policy was furnished in the perilous position of the white race in South Africa at the moment. The English found they were making a great political blunder in harassing and dispossessing and weakening these Dutch settlers. The powerful Kaffir tribes that had dispossessed the less warlike Hottentots were swarming everywhere on the borders of the Dutch and English settlements, and the white race, Dutch and English alike, were likely to be overrun by these limitless hordes of the coloured race. The independence of the Orange Free

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State and the Transvaal was desirable for the safety of the white man. At the time the English had as much as they could deal with to hold the "bloody Basutos" in check. In a word, it was discovered that the two Boer States which lay between English territory and the howling wilderness in the North were a splendid bulwark and defence for the British settlements against the dark barbarian tribes that were drifting steadily Southwards.

Mr. Froude, in his book on South Africa, says, p. 17. 'We bound ourselves never more to interfere between the Boer and the natives. The Orange River was to be our future boundary, which under no conditions were we evermore to

pass. Natal, to our sorrow, we did not give back. Natal we chose to hold in the same spirit in which we destroyed the manufactures of Ireland The miserable resemblance of policy meets us at every turn. We did not wish the I utch to be too prosperous, so we shut them out from the sea." However, this settlement of the respective territories of the Dutch and English in South Africa proved satisfactory for 17 years. In this period it is admited on all hands that "the success of the Boers was extraordinary." They made thousands and thousands of miles of roads, raised suitable farmsteads, built churches and towns, and established a firm system of Republican Government, with an effective police.

Their success and rapid increase in numbers FLUCTUATION excited not a little jealousy and alarm. It was of felt that these two flourishing Boer republics BRITISH POLICY. stood awkwardly in the way of realising a dream of an English South African empire, to parallel the British Empire in India, that began to be dreamed both at Downing Street and among the British South Africans. So notwithstanding her treaty obligations, Britain began to interfere between the Boers and the natives on their borders.

The Foers, like their brother British colonists,
THE SLAVERY often increased their territory at the expense
QUESTION. of native tribes. They had much to do to keep
the Kaffirs from raiding. In their offensive and
defensive wars with the natives, they sometimes destroyed a
native village; children would be found there whose parents had
been killed in battle. These the Boers took and made servants
of them, partly (as Mr Froude remarks) as an act of charity and
partly as an easy way of obtaining useful serfs. Mr. Froude
went out to South Africa on the invitation of Lord Carnaryon,

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when he was Colonial Secretary, to investigate the condition of affairs for the guidance of the British Government immediately prior to 1880. Being an Englishman, a trained historian and a delegated enquirer on behalf of the British Government, his testimony is not likely to be strained in favour of the Boers. He says, "I enquired much about the slavery which was said to prevail there. I never saw a slave or anything like one. By far the most thriving native villages which I saw in South Africa were in the neighbourhood of the Dutch towns. The worst and most miserable was at Port Elizabeth, the great English commercial capital, where notwithstanding the coloured people have votes at the elections."

TREATY OF
ALWAL IN
1869.

In 1869 the British interfered in favour of the Basutos against the Boers. This was contrary to treaty stipulations, and the Boers were ready to fight Great Britian over it. To settle the matter Britain renewed at Alwal, in 1869, the

Sand River Convention, and once more pledged her word not to interfere north of the Orange River. This probably would have ended the conflict for some considerable time,

THE but a few months afterwards the richest diamond mine in the world was discovered within the western border of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal An Irishman, named O'Reilly, found the first diamond. English

enterprise instantly pounced upon it as its natural heritage. A Griqua chief, Waterboer, was set up by the British for a purpose as claimant, and on that pretext it was seized by the British. Subsequently it was admitted that the claim of Waterboer was purely imaginary. In the event, he was relegated to "a slip of the wilderness," and Britain kept the Kimberley Diamond Fields, seizing a bit of both Orange Free State and Transvaal territory. The indignation of the Boers at this violation of a treaty made a few months previously, was deep and lasting. They were in no mood to quietly acquiesce. No race of men are amenable to such diplomatic trickery, and the stolid, obstinate Boers, least of all. They may be led but cannot be driven. They claim never to have broken a treaty with the British, and if they hate the British it is because the British have so often broken faith with them.

A Mr Southey was sent out as English
ARMING OF Governor of the Diamond Fields, but he had not
THE NATIVES. a sufficient British force to hold them, and Cape
Colony having now a Parliament in which the
Dutch settlers were and are in a majority, refused him troops,

Ask for GALLAHER'S SILVER PLATE CIGARETTES, 8d per Ounce. and so he did something hitherto unheard of in South Africa, and contrary to the understanding that white men had always held by. He distributed half a million rifles among the natives as a means of hemming in the Transvaal and injuring the Boers. (See Froude's "South Africa," p. 27). But this fatal policy in time brought its own revenge. These rifles were turned, it is true, on the Boers, but they were also turned on the British at Isandwana It was with these very weapons that Cetewayo and his Zulu warriors mowed down in later years so many British redcoats

To arm the natives against the Boer Republic was to the Boer such a selling of the white man's ANNEXATION OF THE pass-such an act of villany-that he cannot easily forget it. The Transvaal was in dire TRANSVAAL. straits with the natives on the north and east and south; the treasury was empty. Had the British even then helped their brother Dutch colonists with a loan, and the assistance of a British regiment, it would probably have done much to make the Boer trust the British. But no: the British earned the hatred of all Dutch South Africa by stepping in and annexing the Transvaal in 1877. It is true the British had interfered lest Sekukuni, a warrior Kaffir chief, should overrun the Transvaal But this grabbing of the Transvaal in 1877, in its moment of temporary difficulty, which England had largely brought about by arming the natives against it, bore some very bitter fruit. It provoked the lasting hatred of the Boer, and for the time being he ceased to be Britain's bulwark against the coloured warrior tribes. While the Transvaal was independent Britain took the side of the native tribes and armed them against the Boer.

When Britain distributed those half million rifles to hurt the Dutch farmers, she was sowing dragons' teeth, that sprang up armed men all around her. She had to face Zulus and Secoceni, Becuanas, Koranas, and Griquas. It is true they were but naked Barbarians from the wilderness, but they were no easy prey, tor many of them had British rifles and knew how to use them. After such results let no man say that trickery, deception and injustice constitute good statemanship. England has been pursuing a dream of a confederation of South African States under the British flag; but the tortuous course of unfair dealing and utter selfishness towards both Boer and Kaffir has proved not the shortest cut but the longest way round to the goal.

The Boers did not settle down quietly to the loss of their independence. The had carved out their state from the howling wilderness. They had gone hundreds of miles beyond the British

boundary. They were Republicans by conviction. They determined to be free, or die in the attempt Every man carried a rifle as frequently as we would carry a walking-stick or umbrella; and as the children crossed the open Velt from school 8 or 9 miles distant they brought home as much game as furnished the morrow's dinner. How they annihilated British

MAJUBA HILL. troops at Laing's Nek and at Majuba Hill with their rifles are items of history that make

the Boer feel invincible, and make the British Jingo thirst for vengeance. Two courses were open for Great Britain, after that Boer victory. One was to add wrong to wrong and dishonour to dishonour by sending out the might of the British Empire to

overwhelm a small state of farmers—rightly struggling to be free. That would have been a ten thousand times blacker dishonour than any military defeat. Mr. Gladstone raised his voice

March 1881, a Convention was signed which restored the Republic to the Boers, under the Suzerainty of the Queen, with only a British Resident as High Commissioner, with the functions not of a Colonial Governor but of a Consul-General. But the Boers were dissatisfied and impatient, and asked for a fresh treaty, so the Convention of 1884 was signed in London on 27th February, and ratified by the Volksraad or Parliament of the Transvaal on 8th August of that year. The State was recognised as the South African Republic, the word Suzerainty was struck out by Lord Derby on behalf of Britain. The Transvaal was recognised as absolutely independent of British control in the regulation of its internal affairs. It might even make treaties with foreign powers, and they came into force unless Great Britain lodged an objection within a certain time.

The discovery of thin but wonderfully regular deposits of gold (not in nuggets as in other parts) beneath the velt in the very centre of the Transvaal has proved an even greater source of friction between the Boers and the British than the discovery of the diamonds. The mines could only be worked by elaborate and expensive machinery. The individual miner was out of it. The great capitalists and

The individual miner was out of it. The great capitalists and financiers found it their own field. Soon adventurous spirits, thirsting for gold, eager to be rich in a hurry, but not at all anxious to settle down except for a season, flocked into the Transvaal from every country in Europe, and from America and Australia The British greatly predominated. The new comers were known as Uitlanders—i.e., outsiders or foreigners. The

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Transvaal did not send for them. They sought the Transvaal. They entered a State founded and governed according to Boer or farmer notions. They purchased claims and began to work them. They enjoyed a settled system of government already established. New roads and new streets were made for them, and they were afforded ample protection under the Burgher police of the Republic—a great advantage to a huge mining camp, conglomerated so suddenly from the good, bad and indifferent of so many The law courts were available, and it was natural that they should conduct, for a time at least, their proceedings in Dutch with the aid of interpreters. In no country in the world are newcomers instantly admitted to a share in the government, but the constitution of the South African Republic was such as to make very fair, if not ideal, provision for the admission of the alien to a share in the Constitution in a shorter time than under most governments, as shown below.

THE BOER two Chambers, known as the First Raad (or System of Senate) and the Second Raad, corresponding to GOVERNMENT. the British House of Commons, but not a perfect analogue thereto.* Both Chambers consist of

twenty-seven members each, who must be thirty years of age, possessed of fixed property, profess the Protestant religion, and have no criminal conviction against them The First Raad is elected by the first class burghers—viz., (a) those resident in the Republic before 1876; (b) those who lought in the 1881 war of independence; (c) who took part in repelling the Jameson Raid, 1895-6; (d) those who joined in the expedition to Swaziland in 1894, or the Malabach war; (e) children over 16 of such burghers The second Raad is elected by the first-class burghers voting with the second-class burghers, who are as follows—viz, the naturalized white male population and their sons

over 16 years of age. An alien is granted naturalization after two years' residence, registration, THE OLD and the payment of £2, and a vote for FRANCHISE. what corresponds to the British House of Commons. This is a greater privilege than the foreigner enjoys in England. He cannot become naturalized in England under five years' residence and the payment of £5, and five months must elapse before he gets a vote. But in the Transvaal the alien, or new comer. enjoys a still greater privilege. Twelve years after naturalization he becomes a first class burgher by resolution of the First Raad. and children of aliens born in the State become first class burghers ten years after they become second class burghers The Constitution as it stood provided that Uitlanders should have a vote for the First Raad, which corresponds to the English House of

^{*} President Kruger said, after the Uitlanders began to arrive:—" Until now we have had only one Chamber, one Volksraad. There are new duties and new questions coming up which we do not know much about. What I propose to do is, divide our Raad into two—a First and Second Chamber. We will give all business matters—everything affecting the mines, the gold laws, and so on, to the Second Raad.'

Lords, after fourteen years' residence. Here was a considerable privilege when we remember neither alien nor home-born can enjoy a vote for our House of Lords, though he were a resident

in England for three times the age of Methuselagh !*

Had the Uitlanders been willing to become naturalized, and therefore entitled to the franchise, they would ere this have had a powerful vote in the Transvaal, and they could have righted their own grievances. They were unwilling to become burghers, as they would be liable to be commandeered for military service in the

same way as a citizen of France or Germany, but this did not suit the ideas of the British, who only went to the Transvaal for a season to make money, and not to settle down permanently. Being unwilling to fulfil the duties of burghers, they preferred to forego their rights to the franchise. To this extent at least their

main grievance was self-imposed.

But in the present year, 1899 (see The Times, THE NEW 14th July) it was agreed, in response to the Uitlander agitation, that "Persons domiciled for FRANCHISE. two years may get letters of naturalization, and the ful! franchise five years afterwards, provided six months' notice has been given in each case." This could begin at 16 years of age. As the franchise is a lever for enforcing all other reforms, this was a considerable concession It is a great concession in face of the fact that the Uitlanders already outnumber the Boers, and in the course of time are bound to become the ruling force. Without exaggeration, it may be said the Boers were signing their own death warrant as the ruling force in their own Republic when they passed that new Franchise Act. And yet Britain is ready to go to war because they have stubbornly refused to reduce the qualification by two years more!! On the question of franchise, which is the key to unlock all other doors of reform, Great Britain has not the shred of a case.

A general complaint has been made by the Uitlanders that they have been excessively taxed, but no sufficiently detailed statement of the charge has been furnished. The present writer does not wish to say that taxation is as low as it might be. Taxation per head of a population varies in different countries according to circumstances. The Transvaal compares very favourably with the neighbouring British province of Natal. From the figures given below, for the year 1897 it appears that the Transvaal is in area more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ times as great as Natal; has $5\frac{1}{2}$ times as great a white population (the native populations being practically equal)

^{*} While Naturalization is the inalienable right of any foreigner in the Transvaal, in the British Isles it is a privilege that can be given or withheld by the Secretary of State. The franchise is given in United States, after 5 years' residence; in Germany, at the discretion of the Government; in Austria after 10 years' residence; in Cape Colony, at the discretion of the Government.

and yet the Transvaal has only drawn a fraction over twice the revenue, and its total State expenditure is less than 23 times that of Natal. The comparison is fair as to the circumstances of the countries generally But when we consider that the figures of expenditure here taken are those for the year after the Jameson Raid, when the Bill for extra military precautions must have been considerable, the Transvaal comes out of the comparsion in a highly creditable manner; certainly, if the allegations against the Transvaal were unreservedly true, the balance of the comparison should have been in favour of Natal. The Transvaal shows still better on a comparison of the figures of previous years. The following are the figures relied on for the above calculation, taken principally from the Statesman's Year Book :- The Transvaal-area, 119,139 square miles; white population (Stat's Almanack), 345,397; natives, 748,759; revenue, £4.480,218; expenditure, £4,394,066. Natal-area, 35,00 square miles; white population (1898), 61,000; Indians, 53,000; Kaffirs, 714,635; revenue (1896-7) £2,213,074; expenditure, £1,624,998. It may be of interest to give the items of the revenue of the Transvaal. They are:—Import duties, £1,276 319; Netherlands Railway, £737,366; prospecting licenses, £427,230; explosives, £300,000; stamps, £258,396; post and telegraphs, £215,320. The expenditure was as follows:—Public works, £1.012.866; salaries, £996,960; war department, £396,384; purchase of explosives, £271,435. If the sum for public works is large, it should be borne in mind that the needs of a new community would be great in the matter of ordinary public works, while the designs on the independence of the Republic, evidenced by the Jameson Raid, and the agitation of the Johannesburg capitalists, compelled the Boer government, as a matter of self-preservation, to expend largely on defensive works. When we remember that the salaries include those of the whole Executive Government, the Civil Service, and the whole judiciary of the Republic and Government Railway officials, and a number of others, we are not alarmed at the comparatively high figure of the total. Nor is a State profit of 281 thousands on Dynamite, so enormous for handling 300 thousand pounds worth of this dangerous article of commerce. Johannesburg alone extracted 101 millions of gold from the Transvaal in 1897, and yet the total mining charges and royalties amounted to less than 1 million.*

On the question of tariffs on commodities it is well known that the Boers, notwithstanding their farmer prejudices in favour of protection, have greatly reduced the tariff on stuffs coming into the Republic in recent years, and President Kruger, in his

O The mining royalties are lighter in the Transvaal than in any British country or in America. In Mashonaland 50 per cent. of the gold mining profits go to the Government

despatch of May 10th, was able to claim "that the customs dues of the Republic are 50 per cent. less than those under the customs union in adjoining British colonies." In Natal and Cape Colony the customs duties are as follows:—butter. 3d per lb.; cheese, 3d. per lb.; coffee, 6s. 3d. per 100 lbs; wheat and corn, 2s. per 100 lbs; flour, 4s. 6d per 100 lbs.; maze, 2s. per 100 lbs.; tea, 6d. per lb.; cattle for slaughtering, 30s. per head; sheep for slaughtering, 5s per head; bacon and ham, 2d. per lb.; fresh and frozen meat, 1d. per lb. In the Transvaal all these are free except tea, on which a duty of 5s. per 100 lbs. is charged. Taxation in the South African Republic is neither as light nor as equally adjusted as it would be possible to make it But who would say that it is a sufficient cause for war? With the instrument of the franchise it can be righted with patience and a little time

It is undoubtedly awkward for Englishmen to THE LANGUAGE have to appeal to courts of law which conduct QUESTION.* their proceedings in Dutch. And no doubt it would be possible with a little patience and friendly entreaty to have this great concession made, and it would be a great boon to have English taught in the schools at the expense of the State. Yet this would not help the German, French, or Scandanavian Uitlanders. The Boers are not to be too harshly judged for desiring to keep their own language (which is in every country the clearest and most cherished sign of a distinctive national existence) in a position of supremacy in State affairs as long as possible. England banished the Dutch language in Cape Colony after she violently annexed it, although the whole body of the white population was Dutch speaking It is true that the Cape Parliament is now bilingual; and the influx of the Uitlander members into the First and Second Raads, which will be the result of the new franchise law, will naturally make the Transvaal Raad bi-lingual. Great Britain would perhaps be justified in going to war to compel the use of the English language, by the force of her own example, if she conducted courts of law in Gaelic in the Gaelic-speaking districts of Ireland, and gave the Gaelic the same position as English in the National Schools of the West of Ireland. But this she has steadily refused. London is teeming with a foreign population. Are any courts of law conducted in London in the language of any foreigners? The 'kitchen Dutch" which prevails over South Africa may be a poor language, without any literature except the Bible, and with difficulty recognisable in Holland to-day. But it is the language of the Boers, and a lower form of it still, known as "Hottentot Dutch." is used in addressing

^{*} There are 5 Government schools at the Goldfields where English is the medium of education. Ten of the teachers are English and 5 are Dutch. In the lower standard no Dutch book is used, and in the higher the maximum time required for teaching Dutch in order to obtain the very highest grant is only 5 hours per week.

Hottentots and Kaffirs, who have lost all other language in many parts of South Africa. A language with such a hold is unlikely to die off at once on receipt of a few despatches from Downing Street. But time and the logic of events would enforce its gradual recognition of a rival that has merits to which it cannot lay claim. To hasten this desired consummation is a slender casus belli on which to set in motion the might of the British Empire.

The one grievance that, from a British point of view, has all the merit of a real grievance is the present system of making the judiciary dependent on the Executive of the Volksraad. So long as this is so Englishmen would fear that the judges might be amenable to official pressure.

It would undoubtedly be reasonable and right for the citizens of the South African Republic to agitate for the absolute independence of the judiciary, and use their votes. Uitlander and Poer alike, to effect the desired change.* It cannot be done in a week. It was long before it was accomplished in England. But for a foreign Government to make war to establish such a change in the judiciary of another country, in whose internal affairs she has four times passed her pledged and written word not to interfere, is surely unheard of in modern times!

Only one other question which is supposed to furnish an excuse for war remains to be noted, and that is the vexed question of suzerainty. The word "suzerain" was used in the treaty of 1881, but dropped out of the treaty of 1884.

But even in the Convention of 1881 the meaning of suzerainty only covered external or foreign affairs. It did not cover questions of franchise, &c. However, it was struck out by Lord Derby in framing the Convention of 1884. The Boers produce Lord Derby's draft of the new preamble, which consists of the old one with certain passages bracketed out for omission and others inserted. The references to suzerainty are all marked for omission. On the 15th February, 1884, Lord Derby sent the following official interpretation with his draft of the Convention:—

"By the omission of those Articles of the Convention of Pretoria (1881) which assigned to Her Majesty 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 requirement 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."

o The Johannesburg Municipality, established 1896, appoint and pay their own police and have more powers than Paris or Berlin.

That the British Conservative Ministry and Mr. Chamberlain held to this view until lately, and repudiated the right of interference, is shown by their own words as follows:—

Mr. W. H. Smith :-

"It is a cardinal principle of that settlement (viz., the Convention of 1884) that the internal government and legislation of the South African Republic shall not be interfered with."

Mr. Balfour, January 15th, 1896 :-

"The Transvaal is a free and independent Government as regards its internal affairs."

Lord Salisbury, January 31st, 1896:-

"They (the Boers) have absolute control over their own internal affairs."

Mr. J. Chamberlain, May 8th, 1896:-

"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 their places have repudiated all right of interference—that would be a course of action which would be immoral." And yet since Mr. Chamberlain uttered these words three years ago, food and dynamite have been cheapened, and a liberal franchise has been granted, and now this Minister is urging on a war which he said would be "immoral"!! He went much further in the same speech and said: "A war in South Africa would be one of the most serious wars that could be possibly waged It would be in the nature of a civil war. It would be a long war, a bitter war, and a costly war, and as I have pointed out already, it would leave behind it the embers of a strife which I believe generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish"

THE Chamberlain's conduct of the negotiations during the present year has been a triumph in the art of "how not to do it." The way in which he has worried the Boers and alarmed them by

raising unnecessary issues, and reading into the Convention of 1884 what it does not contain, and by refusing to state the full measure of his demands, has convinced all fair impartial minds that his "object all sublime" was to manufacture some excuse for a war. In his despatch in July to Sir A. Milner (see Times, July 27th), while acknowledging the satisfactory character of the new franchise for the Senate to those who have resided seven years, not only asks for a further reduction of two years, but he mentions "other points" without stating them, merely adding that "these points involve complicated details"!! This method of keeping a fresh batch of requests up his sleeve was admirably designed for irritating the Boers. However, the Boers offered in reply to submit to the arbitration of a foreign power, or of a court composed of two representatives of each government, with a foreigner as President on all matters in dispute. But this Mr. Chamberlain

refused, and on the 31st July demanded a conference to consider the working of the new franchise law, the British representatives to have power to suggest improvements, and this he follows up with a telegram next day that he will subsequently raise "other matters." As reported in *Times* of 27th August, Mr. Chamberlain calls the South African Republic "a subordinate state," as part of

a game of irritation.

The Boers reply (see Times, August 31st) proposing (1) a five years' franchise; (2) 8 new members for the gold fields, thus securing at once 10 Uitlander members in a house of 36, the proportion never to fall below one-fourth; (3) the new electors to have the same rights of voting for the election of the President and Commandant General as the old electors; (4) all other questions to be submitted to arbitration, but not of a foreign power (this was to meet the British objection to calling in a foreign arbitrator); (5) Great Britain not to make this interference a precedent, and not to revive any claim of suzerainty. Mr. Chamberlain replies (see Times, September 13th) demanding the equality of the Dutch and English languages; refusing to give up the revived claim of suzerainty, and requiring the reformed laws to be drafted by a conference. To this the Boers reply (see Times, September 18th) asking for the appointment of the "Joint Commission" previously suggested by Great Britain, and declining to raise the English language to an equality with the Dutch in State affairs. As a reply British troops were sent to the Free State border (see Times, September 22nd) and later (see Times, September 26th), Mr. Chamberlain wires "that Her Majesty's Government will formulate their own proposals for a final settlement of the issues, and will frame another despatch," but these proposals never were sent. The Boers reply (Times, 30th September) that they stick to the London Convention, and ask nothing further. After waiting 15 days for Mr. Chamberlain's new proposals which never were disclosed the Boers sent (see Times, October 10th) an ultimatum offering "that all points of mutual difference should be regulated by the friendly course of arbitration. or by whatsoever amicable way may be agreed upon by this Government with Her Majesty's Government, and requesting the withdrawal of British troops from the border within 24 hours, non-compliance to be regarded as an act of war."

This epitome of the negotiations makes it quite clear that the object of the Colonial Office was war unless President Kruger should show an unnatural willingness to legislate himself and his countrymen immediately out of any share in the Government of their own country! Had President Kruger done so he

could not have carried his burghers with him. Having consented to and passed legislation that would in the course of time extinguish them as a ruling force in the Transvaal, they naturally refused to go any further. The moral responsibility for an awful. unprovoked and unnecessary war—a war of aggression—rests on the British Government. That Government is violating its written word solemnly pledged in four successive treaties in interfering at all in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. But the Boers have granted a more liberal franchise than England could give to foreigners under the British Constitution. It has been granted in a few months, while it took more than half a century to get the Franchise Bills passed in Great Britain; and, as another of the incongruities of the situation, the soldiers whom England is now pouring into South Africa to wage war, in order to win a slightly more liberal franchise than that already passed, are men the great majority of whom have no votes themselves for the British House of Commons Can absurdity further go? It is not a question of franchise or of language or of taxation. is a game of fraud, selfishness and force. British capitalists want complete possession of the goldfields. British Imperialism desires to seize the territory of the Boers and so all questions of right and justice, of treaty obligations or fair play, are brushed aside as weak sentimentalism. It will be impossible for the future historian of this intended war to explain it on any other grounds than those of unrighteous plunder and unscrupulous aggrandizement. History will repeat itself At the time the British Government professed to believe that they had some ghost of a case for seizing the diamond mines of Kimberley, from which £70,000,000 of diamonds have since been extracted; but immediately after the plunder was secure they admitted that they had made a mistake, and gave the Government of the Free State a compensation of £90,000 as a cheap satisfaction to outraged conscience and a sop to Boer indignation. But now faith has grown so strong in material views of statesmanship, in State trickery and force that it is probable there will be no outraged conscience in Britain to be dealt with after the plunder of the Boers is completed. The present war is a fight for the country, entered on by Great Britain with no better justification than—

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they shall take who have the power
And they shall keep who can."

It is a country worth fighting for, for many other reasons than the inducement of its rich gold mines. The Boers are as likely as any other people on earth to fight for it to the uttermost, even against invincible odds. The recent words of President Kruger to The New York World are a true reflex of the Boer temperament:—

"The Republics are determined if they must belong to England that a price will have to be paid which will stagger humanity."

THE PRIZE OF

WAR The late Mr James A Froude's description of the Boers and their country is now of great DEFENDERS interest. He says ("South Africa," p. 35):—

"The Transvaal . . . is larger than the United Kingdom. The soil is admirable, the mineral wealth is as varied as it is bound-There is gold and copper, cobalt, iron, coal, and we know not besides. . . . The Transvaal Boer when he settles on his land intends it for the home of his family His estate is from 6,000 to 20,000 acres, and his wealth is in sheep and cattle He comes on the ground in his waggon. He builds sheds or pens for his stock. He encloses three or four acres of garden, carrying a stream of water through it. He plants peaches, apricots, oranges, lemons, figs, apples, pears, olives, and almonds. In a few years they are all in full bearing. The garden being planted, he builds a modest house: a central hall, with a kitchen behind, and a couple of rooms opening out of it at each end. In his hall he places his old chairs and tables, which his father brought from the colony his sofa, strung with strips of antelope hide and spread with antelope skins. He has generally but one book—a large clasped Bible, with the births, deaths, and marriages of the family for half a dozen generations on the fly-leaf. He breaks up 50 acres of adjoining land for his corn and green crops. There he lives and begets a huge family, huge in all senses, for he has half a dozen children, and his boys grow to the size of Patagonians. When a son or daughter marries, another house is built for them on the property; fresh land is brought under tillage; and the Transvaal is thus gradually being filled up in patriarchal fashion by a people who know nothing of the world and care nothing for it; who never read a newspaper, whose one idea beyond their own concerns is hatred of the English, but who are civil and hospitable to English travellers and sportsmen. They are a proud stubborn race, free and resolute to remain free, made of the same stuff as their ancestors, who drove the Spaniards out of Holland.

'I stayed with more than one of them. The beds (I may say this for them) were scrupulously clean, the food plain and abundant. Before and after meals there is a long grace. The day begins with a psalm sung by the girls. They are strict Calvinists, ignorant, obstinate, and bigoted. They are, I suppose, not unlike what Scotch

farmers were 200 years ago."

In addition to what Mr. Froude says, we learn that the Transvaal, which possesses two mighty rivers with many tributaries and two mountain ranges, enjoys an almost perfect climate In summer it is wet, and as it lies so high above the level of the sea the heat, which is great, is not oppressive In winter it is cold and dry, but there is no extreme of cold, and the land which is fertile, is covered with a rich sward.

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The Boers, it should be remembered, have a higher right than the right of conquest and plunder to their territories. By a curious co-incidence immediately before "the great Trek," one of those terrible Kaffir chiefs named Tsaka,

had carried fire and sword through the territories now known as the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the Natal, and had exterminated it is estimated over 1 million members of the weaker Hottentot race. He and his terrible warriors were, like his parallel Cetewayo and the Zulus, of the fierce exterminating Bantu species of the coloured race. He had prepared for the Boers a practically uninhabited stretch of many thousand square acres of uninhabited wilderness, and into this they entered as a practically unclaimed heritage. Where land was occupied by natives, they claim to have purchased it or entered only by treaty with the chiefs, to whom they gave stipulated compensation, either in kind or in protection The British can make no higher claim in their dealing with the natives; but such a question as this only enters into the present controversy as a question of subsidary interest and importance. England being pledged by treaty not to interfere, and having no case for interference on its merits, when examined in detail, we may ask what is the alleged ground of her entering on so great a war. British ministers have surpassed themselves in inventing a plausible pretext; but it must be said that no case has been made out to satisfy any man who knows the facts of the case, that the war is just and reasonable. But unfortunately, only a very few know the facts—a circumstance which made the writer of this article attempt to outline them in a consecutive form. If the truth were widely known, it would surely help to cool the war fever, and it may yet be generally known in the British Isles, for even secret murder will out in the end.

MR BALFOUR'S Mr A. J Balfour, on October 11th, made the only attempt so far at furnishing a philosophical statement of England's case. He said—

"The more opportunities given to the people of this country of considering the question the more they had come round to the views that the Government, if it erred, had erred on the side of patience. War had been forced on them, not by men fighting for freedom, but by an oligarchy fearing that the hour of their domination was at an end. The choice before the Government was either of insisting that all whire races in South Africa should stand on an equality or of irremediably losing the claim to be a nation which not only had a desire, but had the power, to see that justice was done to all regions in which she claimed paramount influence Whatever this country had to go through before war was brought to a conclusive and successful issue the sacrifices they were called upon to make would be sacrifices in the interests of the rights of men and civilisation. (Cheers.)"

Here we have a very clever use or rather abuse of language to hide the weakness of the case. To describe the uprooting of a nation. the destruction of its independence, the grabbing of its territory for the benefit of greedy speculators, as a struggle for "the rights of man and civilization," is a mere travesty of language. Here he makes the word "oligarchy" stand for a whole race—the nation who made the country. And yet this "oligarchy" has passed a law admitting the aliens in their midst to their Constitution, such a law as they know will swamp themselves in the course of a few years. So long as these Uitlanders were citizens of another State they could not expect all the rights of burghers of the South African Republic They must wait until they qualify as citizens of the country of their adoption as foreigners have to do in England, in America, and in every civilized country in the Under the law now passed all whites who become naturalized have the same rights as the original burghers and their sons.

The Boers and not the British have shown patience in this conflict. It was a case in which England should have wrangled with Mr. Kruger for a couple of years before sending troops to his border, even if her case had been good on all the points raised, and if the Boers had refused to yield on any of them. On the confession of the British, from the Queen on the Throne to the humblest of Jameson's troopers, the Boers showed great patience and great magnanimity under the severest provocation three years ago. In December, 1895, Dr. Jameson and his troopers tumbled over the border to seize Johannesburg, in conjunction with the Rand capitalists. The Boers had them at their mercy after their defeat and surrrender at Krugersdorp. By the laws of the State they were liable to be put to death, as the English had hung the Boer leaders at Slaghter Nek. But the Boers dealt kindly and mercifully with their impudent captives They fed them and nursed the wounded so tenderly that the raiders publicly and collectively returned thanks. President Kruger handed them over to be dealt with by their own government, and the English Queen sent a letter of thanks to the Boer President. England's return is the refusal of all reasonable offers of arbitration and a base and unprincipled war, after nearly every conceivable demand has been granted! Thousands of Englishmen have become enriched in an almost fabulous way in this country of the Boers English manufacturers and merchants have found in the Transvaal a splendid market for their wares The total imports of the Republic in 1897 were

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£21,515,000. Nearly all these imports came from Great Britain—the British imports totting up to £17,012,000. Have these gains only served to stimulate British selfishness?

The Boers distrust the good faith of the Uitlanders, and not without reason as the Jameson Raid bore witness. Yet they have treated them well when all the circumstances of the case are looked at impartially The Boers inherit the ideas and sentiments, and, above all, the intensity and obstinacy of the unbending Puritan of 250 years ago, nurtured exclusively on the legislation and warrior chronicles of the Old Testament. So say his British detractors: and surely it is surpassing strange to find the Protestants of Great Britain and Ulster sneering at the Boers as Bible-readers! Evidently the Bible with the awkward declaration that "Righteousness exalteth a nation" is out of date for pro-British politicians! Henceforth all men who do not believe in national injustice, in treaty-brea-ing, in State-lying, in Imperial unscrupulousness in trampling down the weak to enter into their inheritance, will be snubbed as "Bible readers!" British religion and morality is evidently shifting its moorings. It is undoubtedly true that the Boer from his particular religious cultus regards the great majority of the Uitlanders as a God-less, Sabbath-breaking tribe of greedy adventurers who have dethroned Jehovah and placed the golden calf upon the throne of glory in their midst. Seeing that he regards them as being individually for the most part "children of satan," and collectively the adherents of the British Power that has broken treaties with his people and harassed them for nearly a century—the wonder surely is that the Boer has done so well by the troublesome and dangerous Uitlander within his border. Verily the Boer has been broadening rapidly under contact with European ideas, and if he had been given a little more time, and coaxed a little instead of being threatened and coerced, he would have quickly developed the most broad and enlightened ideas of toleration and citizenship. It should have been sufficient that he had begun to walk so briskly in this nineteenth century path of progress without expecting this seventeenth century product to break all at once into a full gallop. It was natural that he should fear his rapid displacement in the government of his own country, that has been built up by the Boer race in blood and tears.

EXAGGERATED FEAR OF THE UITLANDERS. Poers are themselves a very cohesive race, and they probably judge the Uitlanders to be similar and likely to completely combine to oust the original burghers Certainly this would be the case if the capitalists could manage it; but

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diversity of nationality and the inevitable quarrels with the capitalists would tend to disintegrate them as a party and dissipate their political power. As a matter of history, the Johannesburg Uitlanders in the December of 1895 split up into their component parts and formed brigades for each nationality. When the Reform Committee hoisted the Union Jack on the Johannesburg Exchange, the German, French. Irish and American brigades were indignant. They said they had agreed to fight for a reformed republic, but not to turn the Transvaal into a British possession, and so they refused to march out to relieve Jameson.

But the conflict between capital and labour is almost asmarked in Johannesburg as in London or Manchester. The present writer has received letters from Uitlanders in Johannesburg stating that the rank and file of the Uitlanders are not anxious about the franchise, but they are anxious about an eight hours day, and would rather see that ensured than any franchise, however liberal. Whatever happens, we may see some strange and unexpected combinations between Boers and democratic Uitlanders in the future that will surprise the capitalists who have hatched and nurtured this present war for their own purpose, and who have found the jingo imperialistic craze of the moment a ready ally and instrument. The Uitlander is more anxious about getting bread and butter and making a fortune than he is about his franchise. He does not go to the Transvaal to make his home there, and what does he care about the permanent good of the State? He wants to get home again assoon as he has made his pile.

If the mines ran out he won't settle down to a pastoral life. Some experts say the mines will MINES LAST? only last 25 years, less or more, others think they will hold out for 70 or more years, whilethe average estimate gives them an active life of less than 40 years. When they are exhausted, piles of disturbed earth, and the ruins of a decaying city will be about all the signs that will remain of the Uitlander population Future generations will marvel that so terrible a war has been waged as that which is now beginning in the interest of a floating population engaged in an industry that is destined to exhaust itself, and be no more in the course of a comparatively short time. Future generations will. perhaps, ask in jest, was it waged to establish the principle that when a portion of a population consider themselves overtaxed they have a constitutional and moral right to call in a foreign power to overturn the government of the country to give them what

they desire! Future generation of the British people will surely blush with shame that the might of their mighty Empire, of teeming millions and boundless wealth was used at the end of the nineteenth century for the cowardly and ignoble purpose of crushing a farmer State of a few thousands, and without any justification or pretext that will bear the light of day. Is there no great voice among the British people sufficiently great to remind the Government and the people of the high principles of national honour of justice and humanity? To-day it is not the strength and military prestige of the British Empire that is on its trial, it is the honour and the righteousness of the British people. No amount of cant and hypocrisy will prevent England from winning in this contest the contempt of the civilised world. Perhaps she may even rouse the other powers of Europe to action against her policy of universal grab; but, however these things may be, the war will stir a race hatred between Dutch and British in South Africa that will not die, and will show itself in a continuous and perverse thwarting of British policy. Whatsoever a nation soweth that shall it also reap. From the nature of the case the Boer mind will never succumb finally to the loss of its independence. If defeated now, the wound will rankle for many generations; the Anti-British sentiment will spread and grow, it will descend as a heritage from father to son, and when England is involved in war, either in Europe or Africa, the Boer will be ready in his heart and probably also with his sturdy arm, to strike for his stolen rights. Yet this is not the question the British race have to ask themselves so much as the higher question, "What will be the verdict of the universal conscience upon this war?"

RICHARD LYTTLE.

Moneyrea Manse, Co. Down, 10th October, 1899.

THE FAIRNESS OF THE FIGHT.

"Let England clearly understand what war in South Africa means. The largest empire the world has ever seen will hurl its full force against a small State of about 30,000 men, including lads of sixteen and old men of sixty, without a standing army or organised commissariat. The entire little people will have to resolve itself into an army of wives and daughters, who will prepare the bread and meat the farmers put into their saddle-bags. To-day the women in the Transvaal are demanding guns that they may take their part in the last stand. We may crush this little people. We have numbers and wealth on our side; they have a conviction that their God fights with them. Ours is a politician's war; theirs is a people's.

We may take the land and lower the little flag of his independence, so dear to the Foer, but we shall have placed a stain upon our own that centuries will not wash out.

England will have lost in honour, and will have cut the cable of affection and sympathy which alone can permanently bind South Africa to her."—OLIVE SCHREINER.

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AN ENGLISH ANALOGY.

"Rightly to understand the problem before the little Transvaal Republic to-day, it is necessary for Englishmen to imagine not merely that within the space of ten or twelve years forty millions of Russians, Frenchmen, and Germans should enter England—not in driblets and in time extending over half a century, so that they might in a measure be absorbed and digested into the original population—but at once; not merely that the bulk of them did not intend to remain in England, but were there merely to extract wealth but that the bulk of the wealth extracted was in the hands of a few persons, and that those persons were opposed to the continued freedom and independence of England, and were attempting by the use of the wealth to stir up Russia and France against her, that through the loss of her freedom they might the better obtain the command of her wealth and lands When the Englishman has vividly drawn this future for himself, he will hold, as nearly as possible in a nutshell, an image of the problem which the people and Government of the Transvaal are called upon to face to-day."—OLIVE SCHREINER.

WHAT MONEY CAN DO.

A letter received from a usually well-informed source in England, by the writer of this pamphlet, contains the following:—

"People here have caught the war fever badly, and lost their heads and their manners. They seem to have gone back in the scale of evolution to their ancestors, the tiger and the skunk. Simple men and delicate women revel in blood and revenge. It is horrible and detestable, and makes one wonder as to whether all human animals have souls. One grand result of this confounded war will be the total collapse of Joe Chamberlain, whom the Tories admire for his want of principle and hate for his smartness, his overbearing manners and his vestiges of radicalism, and complete knowledge of the caucus system, which won the last election. The cost to the Liberal party will also be very great, owing to the astuteness of Rhodes and the millionaires who have bought up the Liberal Press of this country from the highest to the lowest, with a few unpurchasable exceptions. All are jingo and filled with lies. This war is prompted by greed for gold and will cover its authors with shame and confusion, and those that pat Chamberlain on the shoulder to-day will yet turn and rend him."

PRESS NOTICES.

Manchester Guardian.

"A better considered view of the crisis (than those under review) is given by the Rev. Richard Lyttle. He is justly and painfully struck with the fact that the public opinion of the civilized world as a whole, with which we were concurring the other day in its judgment on France, has unmistakably spoken again in censure of the part played by our present Ministers in South Africa since the Jameson Raid."

The Irish People.

"The case for the brave South African Hollanders has not been put more forcibly even by the very versatile Mr. Stead himself, than by the well-known Unitarian clergyman of Moneyrea. It is really one of the most illuminating publications yet placed before the public. Does credit to his literary ability."

Belfast Evening Telegraph.

"A couple of pamphlets dealing with the Transvaal war and its causes have been issued. The one by a local clergyman, the Rev. Richard Lyttle the other the St. James's Gazette 'Boers and British.' Readers may choose whichever they wish, both if they care. It is necessary to read both sides."

Irish News.

"It is good reading for people both for and against the present war raging in South Africa."

The Northern Star.

"The story of the relations between Briton and Boer . . . has been graphically and succinctly told by the Rev. Richard

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Lyttle, Moneyrea. Basing his arguments on facts vouched for, he extracts naked truth from the tangle of lies and misrepresentation."

Ballymoney Free Press.

"The Rev. Richard Lyttle has done well in issuing a penny tract. . . Though the historical survey is less contentious than the practical conclusion, the pamplet has merits fitted to command general appreciation."

The United Irishman.

"Mr. Lyttle's pamphlet is the most accurate we have yet read on this subject. That Mr. Lyttle has thoroughly studied his subject, a glance even at his pamphlet will prove to anyone who knows South Africa."

Nomad's Weekly.

"We are revengeful, and at the risk of offending the Moneyrea monitor, we remember Majuba. We are resentful, and like good shopkeekers we are avaricious, and, as R.R. correctly states, we want the gold."

The Bradford Observer.

"A little red penny pamphlet, entitled "Origin of the Fight with the Boers," may be commended to readers who desire a succinct, fairly-written summary of the history of the Transvaal and the events which have led up to the present war. It is quite straight in its opposition to the Government policy, but is moderate in expression and free from heat and bias."

The Evening Herald (Dublin).

"No more damning impeachment of a nation's dishonesty has ever been made, no clearer statement of a people's heroism in a prolonged struggle against oppression has been offered to the public. The author has a kindly regard for William III., has a scent of the Orange in many paragraphs; yet his innate honesty and sturdy resolution smashes into pieces the claim of the every-day Britisher to parade this armed expedition against a free people as anything but a piece of robbery under arms."

WHY THE CAPITALISTS WANTED WAR.

This pamphlet, it has been estimated, has been read by about 20,000 people, while the reprinting of the greater part of it by nearly three-fourths of the Irish Press, has brought it before at least 200,000 readers. The writer trusts it has done something to produce a desire for peace, and a speedy ending of a heart-rending carnage, and so is gratified that a Third Edition is demanded.

From communications received, it is evident the general public are perplexed as to why the Rand capitalists so much desired war. What is their motive? Not better Gold Laws, as these comparative figures show:-"The taxation of gold machinery is 50 per cent. lower than in Cape Colony. The royalty on the value of the output is only a trifle over one-half per cent., the lowest in the world. In Rhodesia it is 50 per cent., in Canada 10 per cent. The miners at Klondike petitioned for the introduction of the Transvaal Gold Laws. There is no income-tax. (G. P. Gooch, M.A., p. 18, "The War and its Causes.") The whole body of the alleged grievances when examined show no sufficient cause for war. Two or three specific reasons other than those dealt with in detail in this pamphlet are forthcoming: -(1) The Johannesburg capitalists and the Chartered Company count on this war relieving them of the payment of the indemnity for the Jameson Raid. (2) It may give many a chance of remunerative office under a new system of Government. (3) The Johannesburg capitalists have long objected to the necessity of employing so much white labour at very high wages, and have clamoured for a larger supply of forced native labour. They wish to imitate the condition of things in some neighbouring British colonies, where all industrial and civil affairs are syndicated and controlled by such men as Mr. C. Rhodes, and where a minimum of white labour is employed at regulated wages, much lower than in the Transvaal, and a maximum of very cheap native labour. This supply of native labour is forced, as appears from the following: -"Compulsory labour does undoubtedly exist in Matabeleland, if not in Mashonaland. The native commissioners in the first place endeavour to obtain native labour through the Indunas, but failing in this, they procure it by force" (Sir Richard Martin's Report to Mr. Chamberlain-Appendix to Report of S.A. Committee.) "The number of natives supplied for labour to the mines and for other purposes from Matabeleland totals 9, 102. . . .

Ask for GALLAHER'S GOLD PLATE CIGARETTES, In Packets of 10, 25, and 50, and per ounce. The number of boys who have gone voluntarily to work is 4,500." (Taylor's Report to Bulaway Chamber of Mines—Bulawayo Chronicle," 29th Feb., 1896).

The Johannesburg Star and other capitalist papers for the past six years have complained that the Boer government did not secure a greater supply of native labour by forcing the Kaffir chiefs to send more "boys" to the mines in payment of the hut tax. The chiefs can do this by withholding a wife and cows from the Kaffir until he has earned enough in the mines to pay for them. This easily explains the apathy of the Uitlanders of the rank and file, who were cute enough to see the hidden aims of the capitalists. They did not want to assist in their own displacement. The writer could give the name and address of an Ulsterman who has been for some years in Johannesburg, and has just returned home, who says he never saw the Uitlanders' petition, and did not know any Uitlander in Johannesburg who had ever set eyes upon it!

Once the masses of the British and Irish peoples realise that this is a MILLIONAIRES' WAR waged at the expense of the British and Irish tax-payers, surely their sense of state economy will assert itself, and the far higher sense of justice and right make itself felt in urging the speedy and humane settlement of a conflict, which if pushed to the last extremity can only tarnish the honour of the British name, whatever military glories may be won by British arms.

In the name of those already made widows and orphans at home and in South Africa, and for the sake of those who have not yet fallen in the strife, in the name of God and humanity let us all pray for peace, demand a truce and a fair settlement by arbitration, which will have to be resorted to in the long run however much blood may be spilled.

RICHARD LYTTLE.

Moneyrea Manse, 27th November, 1899.

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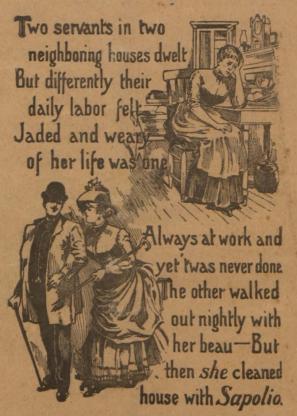
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