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THE TRANSVAAL FROM WITHIN: A Private Record of Public Affairs; by J. P. Fitzpatrick, author of "The Outspan." Toronto: William Briggs.

Whoever wishes to have a clear understanding of England's case against the Boer oligarchy, and to be able to answer intelligently and fairly the many questions which arise about the causes of the present war, should read Mr. Fitzpatrick's book. The writer is a South African by birth, has lived in the Transvaal since 1884, and was secretary of the Reform Committee in Johannesburg at the time of the Jameson Raid. He calls his book a presentation of the case for the Outlander. It was written in August, 1896, in the hope of removing the very grave misunderstandings which existed concerning the occurrences of 1895-6 in the Transvaal, and the conditions which led up to them; but its publication was delayed for three years by the bond which the reformers were required to give on their release from prison, May 30th, 1896, "for the term of three years, neither directly nor indirectly, to meddle in the internal or external politics of the South African Republic." In June, 1899, the book, as first written, was privately circulated, and in September it was published, with the addition of several chapters, treating of later events. In his preface, the author says: "The reader is not invited to believe that the case is presented in such form as it might have been presented by an impartial historian. It is the Transvaal from within, by one who feels all the injustice and indignity of the position."

We would then not unnaturally be prepared for a somewhat passionate and intemperate appeal for our sympathies, but the calm and reasonable statement of facts that meets us is in itself a strong argument for the justice of the cause. The facts themselves are so damning to the Boer government that no violence is called for in their presentation.

From the closely woven narrative dealing with matters of the keenest interest, it is difficult to select passages for quotation, and, while presenting a few extracts, we confidently refer our readers to the volume itself for a satisfactory consideration of the whole subject.

"It is not too much to say," writes Mr. Fitzpatrick, "that the vast majority of people in Europe and America are indebted to Dr. Jameson for any knowledge which they may have acquired of the Transvaal and its Outlander problems. Their's is a disordered knowledge, and perhaps it is not unnatural that they should in a manner share the illusion of the worthy sailor who, after attending divine service, assaulted the first Israelite he met because he had only just heard of the crucifixion. A number of worthy people are still disposed to excuse many things in the Transvaal because of the extreme provocation given by the Jameson Raid." The restrictions upon English education are considered to be "not unnatural when one remembers the violent attempt to swamp the Dutch." The excessive armaments are held to be "entirely justifiable, considering what has happened." The building of forts is "an ordinary precaution." The prohibiting of public meetings is "quite wrong, of course, but can you wonder at it?" Many of these worthy people will no doubt learn with pained surprise that all these things were among the causes which led to the reform movement of 1895-6, and are not the consequences of that movement as they erroneously suppose. The Press Law and Public Meetings Act had been passed; arms had been imported and ordered in tens of thousands; machine guns and quantities of ammunition also; forts were being built, the suppression of all private schools had been advocated by Dr. Maunula—all long, long before the Jameson Raid.

Of the Boer soldiers, raiding a farm in the northern part of Cape Colony, is reported to have said: "We don't mind Rhodes, but we want old Franchise; that's the man we want. And this illustrates the attitude of the majority of Boers towards the extension of the franchise. This subject, complicated as it is by the many and peculiar changes in the laws, is clearly set forth by Mr.

Fitzpatrick. He quotes from a speech made by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons, July 28, 1899: "On May 10th, 1881, at a conference between representatives of her Majesty and representatives of the Transvaal, the president, Sir Hercules Robinson, asked this question: Before annexation had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal? Were they on the same footing as burghers of the Transvaal?"

"Mr. Kruger replied: They were on the same footing as the burghers."

"Sir H. Robinson: I presume you will not object to that continuing. Mr. Kruger: No. There will be equal protection for everybody."

"Sir Evelyn Wood: And equal privileges?"

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

Now there is a distinct promise given by the man who was president of the Transvaal State that, so far as burgher rights were concerned, they made and would make no difference whatever between burghers and those who came in. The root of the difficulty which I have been describing lies in the fact that this promise has not been kept.

In 1876 was passed the first law on burgher and electoral rights, and this remained in force till 1882. "By it the possession of landed property, or else residence for one year, qualified the settler for full burgher privileges." In 1882, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, successive laws and amendments were passed limiting electoral rights. Finally, in 1894 a law superseding all others left the matter in this position:

"The immigrant, after fourteen years' probation, during which he shall have given up his own country and have been politically emasculated, and having obtained the age of at least forty years, would have the privilege of obtaining burgher rights, should he be willing and able to induce the majority of a hostile clique to petition in writing on his behalf, and should he then escape the veto of the president and executive."

"In 1893 a petition signed by upwards of 13,000 aliens in favor of granting the extension of the franchise was received by the Raad with great laughter. But notwithstanding this discouragement, during the following year a monster petition was signed by 35,483 Uitlanders—men of an age and of sufficient education to qualify them for a vote in any country. The only response made to this appeal was a firmer riveting of the bonds."

Mr. Fitzpatrick speaks in warm terms of the few progressive (relatively speaking) members of the Volksraad who opposed the president on this measure, and reports fully in the appendix the speeches of those members of the committee who favored the extension of the franchise.

The attitude of the president throughout is illustrated by the following passages:

"When remonstrated with on this subject of the refusal of the franchise, the president, who was in his own house, stood up, and leading his adviser by the arm, walked into the middle of the street and pointed to the Transvaal flag flying over the government buildings, saying: 'You see that flag! If I grant the franchise I may as well pull it down.'

"When, before resorting to extreme measures to obtain what the Uitlanders deemed to be their bare rights, the final appeal or declaration was made on Boxing Day, 1895, in the form of the manifesto published by the chairman of the National Union, President Kruger, after an attentive consideration of the document as translated to him, remarked grimly: 'Their rights! Yes, they'll get them over my dead body.'

In dealing in committee with the petition spoken of above, the president said: "He had been told by these people that 'if you take us on the same van with you, we cannot overturn the van without hurting ourselves as well as you.' *Ja*, that was true; *Maar*, the president continued, 'they could pull away the reins and drive the van along a different route.'

How needful it was that the reins should be pulled away is