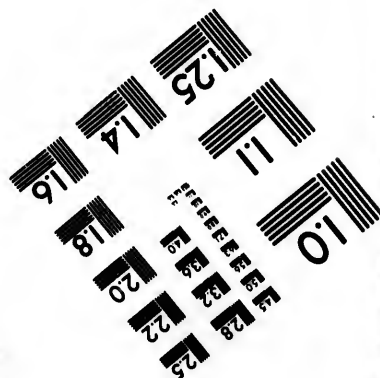
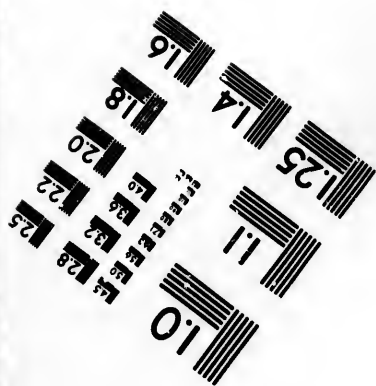
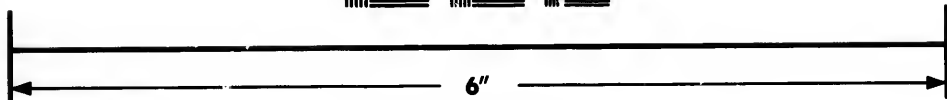
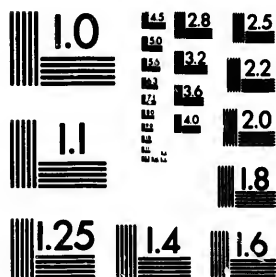


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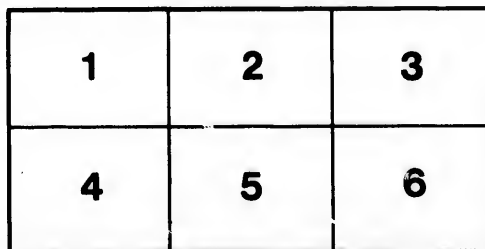
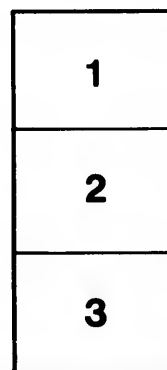
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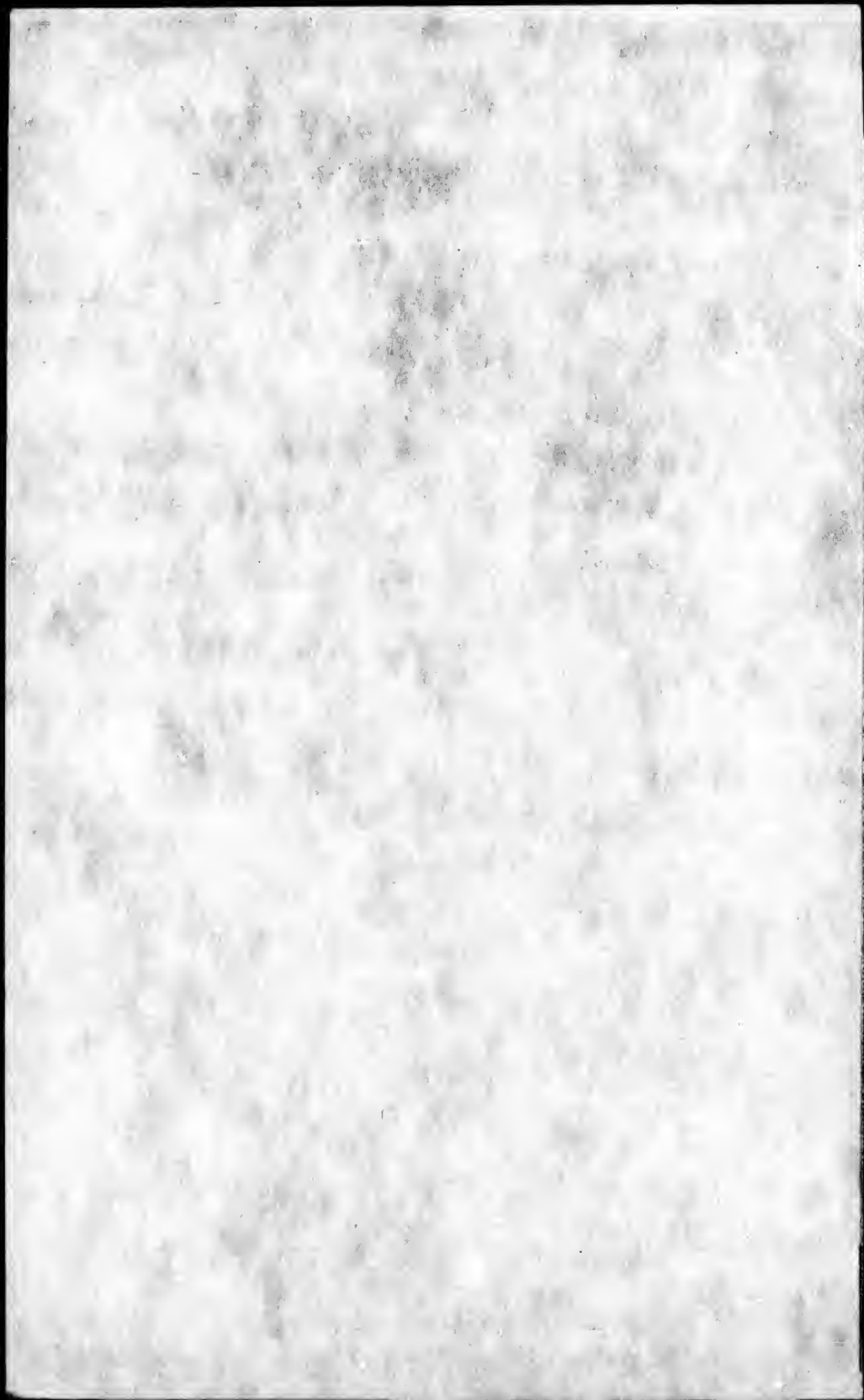
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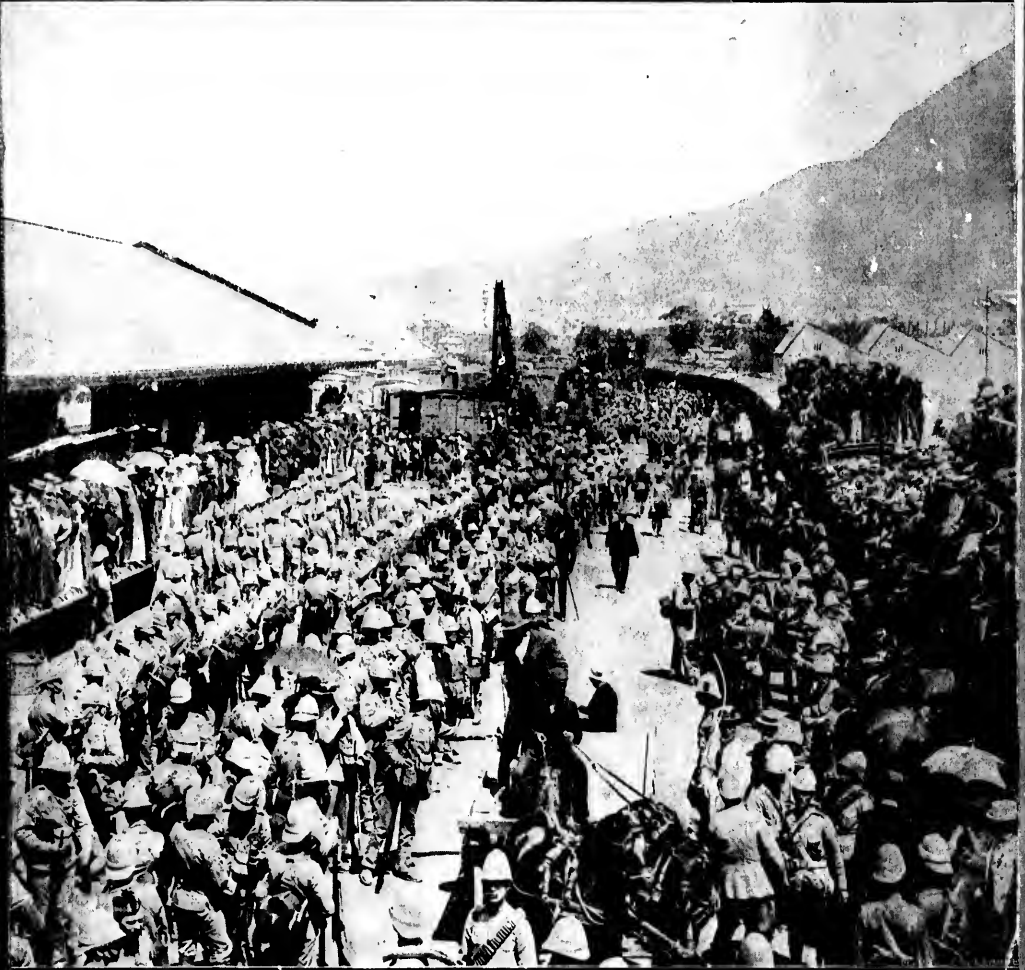
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THE BOERS

AND —

The Cause of
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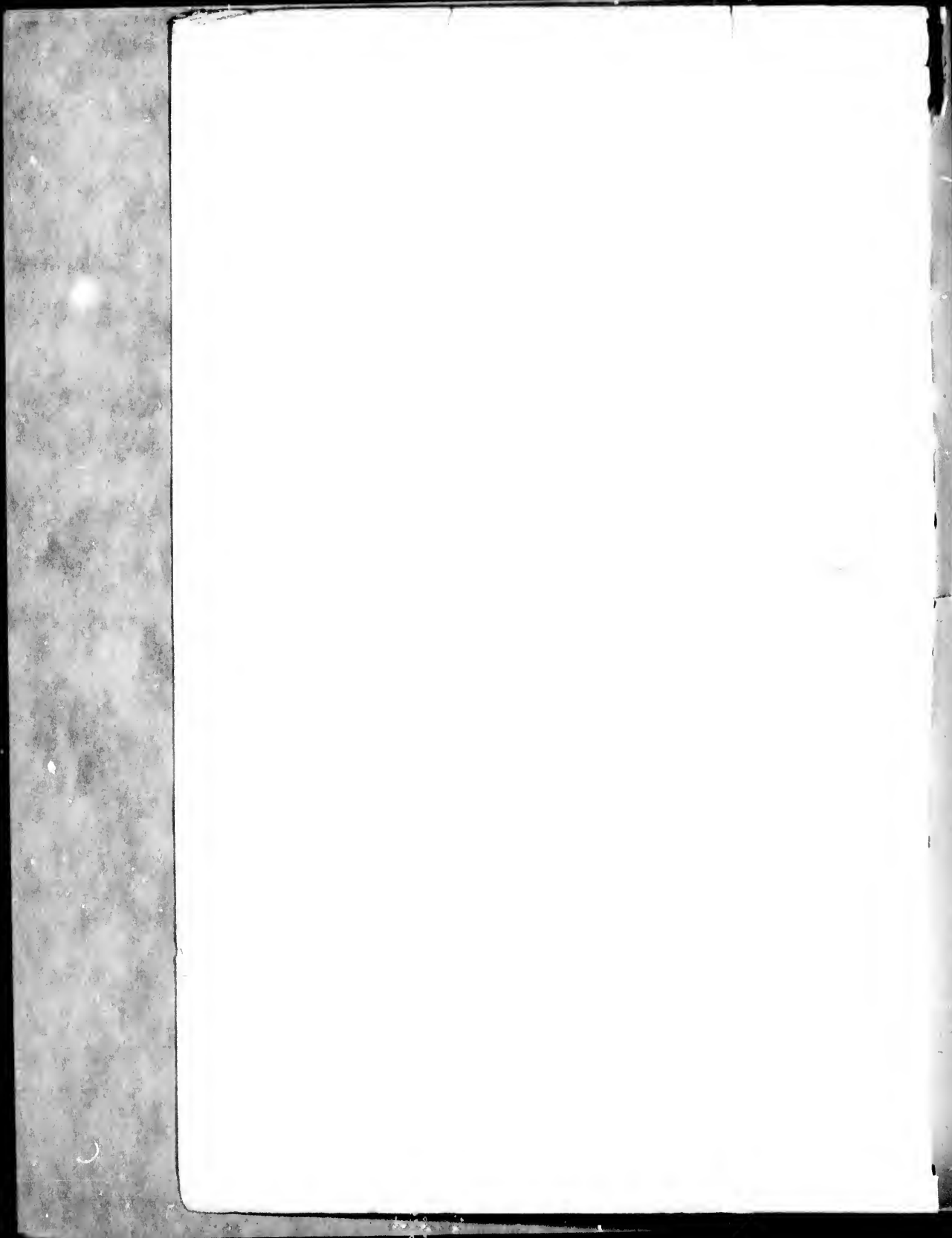
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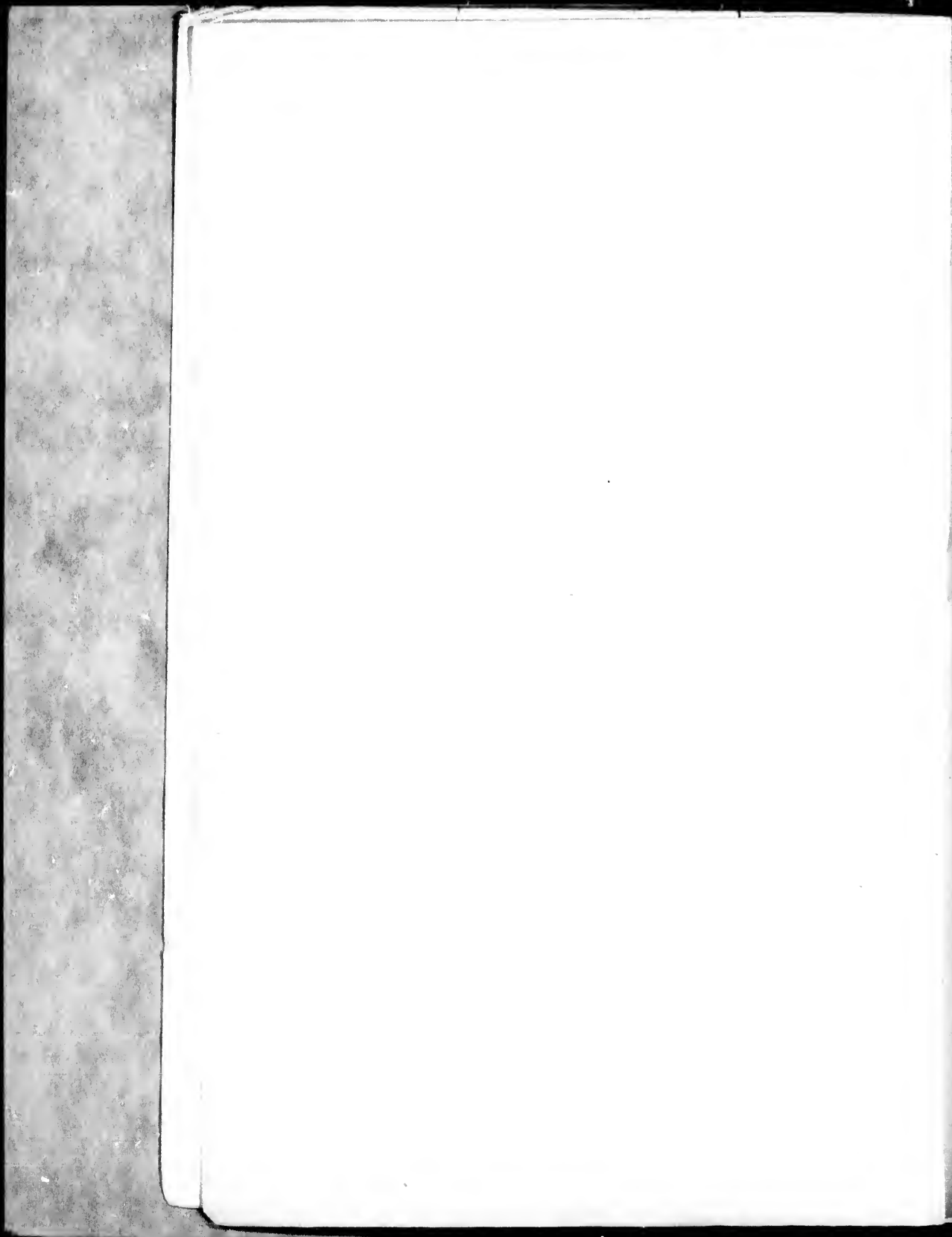
THE BOERS

AND THE CAUSE OF THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By CAPT. JOHN ROSS
LATE OF HER MAJESTY'S BORDER REGIMENT.

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THE BOERS

AND

THE CAUSE OF THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY CAPT. JOHN ROSS, LATE OF H.M. BORDER REGIMENT.

DURING my service in the British Army, over a quarter of a century, I was stationed part of the time in South Africa and saw considerable portions of Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and Zululand. Ever since then I have taken a deep interest in that part of the British Empire, more especially in its history, of which I have been a fairly diligent student. At the beginning of the present war, I prepared the following historical sketch of the Boers and the circumstances which culminated in the invasion of Natal and Cape Colony. I was induced to undertake this work on account of the erroneous opinions I heard expressed regarding what Britain was fighting for, more particularly about her position as paramount power in South Africa, points which many pro-Boer partizans seemed to ignore or to be profoundly ignorant of, for to rightly understand the cause of the war, it is necessary to consider the history of South Africa since its occupation by the British.

The first white men to settle at the Cape of Good Hope were the Dutch, but the credit of its discovery must be given to the Portuguese navigator, Bartholomew Diaz, who, in his search of an ocean road to India, first sighted South Africa in 1486. After long intervals English, Dutch and French ships called at Table Bay on their way to and from the East. In 1652 the Dutch East India Company, with the object of aiding their own commerce and at the same time hindering that of other nations, took possession of Table Bay and established there a post where their ships could be supplied

with water and provisions. At first it was not intended the station should be anything like a colony, but the course of events ruled otherwise, for as the population kept steadily increasing through the arrival of fresh comers, more land had to be taken up. This encroachment brought about the inevitable quarrel with the Hottentots and Bushmen who inhabited the south-west corner of Africa. The country to the east of Algoa Bay was held by the more warlike Bantu people, who possessed a higher degree of civilization and lived in settled communities with a recognized system of government. The Kaffirs, Zulus and Basutos of our day are regarded as the best representatives of this race. The government of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape was thoroughly despotic. Like the British Uitlanders in the Transvaal, the colonists were terribly hampered by restrictions, which made them almost slaves of the Company. They were allowed no voice in the management of public affairs. The restrictions upon trade were so very arbitrary that the exclusive right to sell various articles in the colony was put up at auction and sold as a monopoly to the highest bidder. The Company was the only wholesale merchant in the country and everything that was exported in bulk had to pass through its hands. The government fixed the price of anything it required. Thus, beef might be two cents a pound to the inhabitants of Cape Town but to the Company's ships only half that amount, whereas, ships of other nations were charged four times as much. Many of the dissatisfied settlers, therefore, began to move away from the vicinity of Cape Town into the interior, where they might lead a more independent life. The Company, however, imported slaves from Madagascar and the Malay peninsula. These were sold to the Dutch farmers, and in this way the Cape became a slave-worked colony. These slaves were treated fairly well, but the people to be pitied were the unfortunate Hottentots, the original owners of the soil, who were forced to become serfs to the Dutch farmers and were driven away by degrees from the fertile, well-watered lands back into the inhospitable deserts. In 1685 Louis XIV. of France unwittingly dealt a severe blow to his country, in the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which resulted in thousands of French Protestants emigrating to other countries where they might enjoy freedom of religion.

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and the Netherlands Company decided to give free passages and grants of land to a number of these refugees. About 200 French emigrants availed themselves of this offer. On landing in Cape Town, however, they were not allowed to form a separate community, but were scattered amongst the Dutch settlers, their children were taught Dutch and in a few years they were thoroughly absorbed. Traces of their presence can still be met with in the many French surnames amongst the South African Dutch at the present day, and in the dark eyes, dark hair and handsome features which mark the better type of Frenchman. Handsomer men and women than are some of the Afrikanders it would be impossible to meet, but this personal beauty is invariably traceable to Huguenot ancestry. Time will not permit me to dwell at any length upon the slow but steady expansion of the Dutch colony in South Africa during the eighteenth century. Gradually the settlers pushed their way into the interior. The life led by these pioneers of civilization was rough and wild, in constant conflict with the Bushmen, who were hunted down on every hand.

Their principal occupation was cattle raising, and they had the most perfect freedom. The only direct tax to the general revenue was £5 (about \$25.00) a year which each grazier had to pay, and for which he had a legal right to the use of six thousand acres of land, with the privilege of moving into the Karoo for a couple of months every year to give his stock a change of pasture. During these migrations, he and his family slept in a great tent waggon, and passed the day in the open air. A distaste for town life soon became part of their nature, and grew stronger with each succeeding generation, so that in time they reverted in habits and thought to the condition of semi-nomads. In the languages of South Africa these people were called *trekboren*, that is wandering farmers.

The terrible revolution in France which brought about a republican form of Government, found many of the people of the Netherlands in sympathy with the French. At the instigation of this party, French troops occupied Holland in 1795, and turned it into the Batavian Republic. The Prince of Orange, the ruling sovereign, fled for shelter to England, and prevailed upon the British Government to occupy the Cape on his behalf. In the autumn of 1795, a British force took possession of Cape Town, which surrendered

after a slight defence. The colony was found to be in a state of anarchy, the burghers in the outlying districts having rebelled against the rule of the Dutch East India Company and set up a republic of their own. For eight years the British held the Cape, and carried on the government of that colony. As the British proclaimed they only held the country on behalf of the Prince of Orange, this created a spirit of unrest, and made the Dutch uncertain as to whom they owed allegiance. The British rule, however, gave some satisfaction by its policy of free trade, open markets, and the institution of a Burgher Senate, but the seminomad Boers of the interior, were for some time much opposed to the British occupation. Meanwhile, matters in the colony were very unsettled by a renewal of Kaffir raids, and the Hottentots who were serfs to the Dutch, rebelled, and rose against their former masters. In 1799 the first agents of the London Missionary Society arrived in South Africa. Unfortunately, from the day of their landing, a feud began between them and the Boers, who charged some of the missionaries with taking a more prominent part in politics than in elevating the heathen, but doubtless it was more on account of the work these messengers of the Cross were engaged in of shielding and befriending the helpless natives that aroused this feeling of animosity in the Boers. As an illustration of this spirit of antagonism to the missionaries I might quote a resolution passed by a large assembly of Boers at Winburg in 1837, which provided that every member of the community and all who should afterwards join them must take an oath to have no connection with the London Missionary Society. By the terms of peace between Great Britain, France, and the Batavian Republic signed at Amiens on 27th March, 1802, the Cape Colony was restored to its former owners. From 1803 to 1806 the Dutch Government ruled Cape Colony direct, the East India Company having ceased to exist, during this short period the foundation of an excellent system of Colonial Government was established.

But the peace of Amiens proved delusive, for shortly after the restoration of the Colony, war broke out again between Great Britain and France, Holland joining in the league formed by Napoleon against England. In 1806 Cape Town was again captured by a powerful British force under General Sir David Baird. The

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Dutch governor with the troops and all civil officials who desired to return to Europe were embarked in transports provided by the English, and sailed for Holland. In 1813 the victorious career of Napoleon Bonaparte was on the decline, the French having met with great reverses in Europe. One of the first results was that the Prince of Orange returned to Holland and was received by the people as their ruler.

By a convention dated August 13th, 1814, the Dutch Government, with the Prince of Orange at its head, ceded Cape Colony and the American possessions of Demerara to Great Britain against the payment of \$30,000,000, and the claim of the Netherlands to South Africa was extinguished forever. And the hopes the colonists entertained of coming again under the flag of Holland were dissipated.

In the Cape peninsula where alone Englishmen were met in considerable numbers, intermarriages were already so common that race antipathies were rapidly dying out. The absorption of Holland by France weakened the attachment the colonists had felt for the Batavian Republic, so that altogether the prospect was fair that in the course of time the Europeans in South Africa would forget their old aversion to British rule, unless something untoward happened to revive it. Yet in an indirect way, Dutch Africa exists still, though the flag of Holland no longer waves over any portion of South African soil as a ruling power. The old rivalry between the English and the Dutch, which began as soon as they became competitors for the trade to the East and West Indies, created a feeling of jealousy between the two races which still continues.

After Cape Colony had been definitely ceded to Great Britain, its governors in the early days, though often able and just men, took no pains to understand the Boer character, or to conciliate these suspicious farmers. Another source of trouble, was due to the action of the missionaries, in shielding the natives whom the Boers were determined to enslave.

If the native revolted against this treatment, he was exterminated. The Dutch settlers in their dealings with the Hottentots, seemed to cast aside every principle of justice and morality. It was not thought dishonest to cheat them, not thought illegal to rob them, not thought immoral to use their women as concubines.

So entirely without scruple were the Dutch on this last point, that whole races arose, and have since become nations likely to survive and prosper, whose origin was the illicit union of Dutch men and Hottentot women. The Griquas, inhabitants of Griqualand east, and Griqualand west, are the races alluded to. The conduct of the Boers was denounced at Exeter Hall, and on every missionary platform. As the government policy at the Cape was greatly influenced by Exeter Hall, the Dutch regarded the attacks of the missionaries as the result of a British Government and hence withdrew from, or rebelled against, English rule. The dissatisfied Boers began to trek away from the settled portion of Cape Colony into the wilderness behind, where they might still lead the pleasant, unfettered, patriarchal life they had grown to love.

In 1820-21, about 5,000 British immigrants landed in South Africa. They created for the first time a strong British element in Cape Colony which soon began to manifest itself in the founding of the large English towns of Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahams-town, Queenstown and several others. Thousands of the English farmers in the Eastern Province of Cape Colony and Natal are the descendants of these early settlers, men who are the sinew and backbone of the British element in South Africa and who are showing by their loyalty and dauntless courage in the field, that man for man they are more than a match for the Boer invaders of their country. At the time of the landing of the British immigrants there was a slave population in Cape Colony of about 40,000. In 1833 slavery was abolished throughout the British Dominions. It was, however, enacted that although the emancipation should come into effect on December 1st, 1834; complete freedom should not be given the slaves till December, 1838; further that of the sum of \$100,000,000 voted by the Imperial Government as compensation to the slave owners throughout the British slave-holding States six and a half million dollars should go to the Cape. This sum was considered to be only about half the appraised value of the slaves. Emancipation in itself assuredly was a righteous act, for there can be nothing more abominable than one man holding another as property. The compensation, however, was paid to the slave owners in Treasury Bonds, which before being cashed had first to be proved in London. This brought into the Colony a swarm of speculators

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who bought up the bonds from the inexperienced Dutch in many instances at less than half their value, practically ruining them. The Boer regarded the whole transaction as a confiscation of their property. The change caused great misery, as many of the late slaves were mortgaged to the various institutions for lending money, and every bond contained a clause covering all other property. At once there was a demand for the redemption of the bonds and goods and effects were seized and sold for any price that could be obtained. The Dutch objected very strongly to the principle of equality which the abolition of slavery involved. To add to their grievances many of them were by order of the Government obliged to surrender to the natives certain valuable lands on the Kie River which had been annexed. In rage and disgust at what they considered unjust treatment, the Boers began the "Great Trek" or exodus of 1836, which led to the formation of Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

All the various divisions into which the Boers divided themselves, numbering altogether about 10,000, had been warned by the Colonial Government that wherever they went within the British sphere of influence (which extended to the 25° of South latitude) they would still be British subjects and that they could establish no other form of Government except that of the British Crown, and that England should regulate their dealings with the native races whom Britain was bound to protect against oppression. It is accepted as a fact by all who are acquainted with South African history that Great Britain claimed as falling within her sphere of influence, the whole of the interior back country as well as the coast to the 25° of South latitude, or to where it ran conterminous with Portuguese territory. In support of this statement it is only necessary to cite the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act of 1836 by which offences committed by white persons in any part of Africa south of latitude 25° were made cognizable in the Cape Colonial Courts. It was therefore with full knowledge that they could not set themselves free from British Government, except by crossing into Portuguese territory, that the Boers began the "Great Trek." The Boers trekked for the distinct purpose of remaining an isolated community and with the hope of finding a country, where they could govern themselves as they chose, where they could live the untrammelled

life they love, where they would be free to farm their lands, shoot game, with which the veldt abounded, and make the Kaffirs do the hardest work under the lash. The Dutch even to this day speak of the emancipation of the slaves as the real cause of the "Great Trek."

The independence which the Boers talk so much about and which they value so highly, is the right to treat as they like the natives under them, or to use a vulgar phrase, "To wallop their own niggers."

About the year 1830 a small band of British adventurers landed in Natal, and with the sanction of the Cape Governor, founded a settlement on the coast, where the town of Durban now stands. A few years afterwards, the small body of soldiers sent to guard this post having been temporarily withdrawn, the Boers took the opportunity to set up an independent government of their own, under the name of the Natalian Republic, and as they had further transgressed by attacking the Basuto and other native tribes, a British force was sent against them in 1842. After a short struggle they capitulated; in the negotiations which followed the Boers agreed to recognize the Colony of Natal as a British dependency. Some of them, however, who were dissatisfied with British rule, crossed the Drakenburg and joined their kinsmen north of the Orange River, but go wherever they did, the flag of England was ever near them; for the persecuted Koranna tribes having appealed for protection, remonstrances were made to the Trek Boers, but, of course, in vain. So a small British force crossed the Orange River, and having defeated the Boers, declared the country as the Orange River sovereignty, but it was not until 1848, when the British had again defeated the Boers at Boem Plaats that they were forced to submit.

Now arose another "trek" from the Orange Free State. All who were inveterately opposed to the British made their way across the Vaal River. The marked distinction of olden times between the Trek Boers, and the Dutch inhabitants of the Cape has been lost sight of in the excitement of recent events. The Trek Boers were of a distinctly different class. They were the uneducated, restless and nomadic Boers, who disliked the restraints of law and order, and its accompanying civilization, who were rebels at heart, and an

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element of danger and disturbance. As they have refused to assimilate with the enlightened portion of their own race, so they have continued to live for sixty years, a semi-civilized people, and always at war with the neighboring tribes and the British. The Transvaal Trek is the second sifting out of these irreconcilable, restless people. The Transvaal Boers are those who could not content themselves to live under the government of their own people in the Orange Free State, who in 1854 were guaranteed the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws without any interference on the part of the British Government. Similar privileges were also guaranteed to the Boers north of the Vaal by the Sand River Convention of 1852.

The principal conditions of these treaties were, that Great Britain agreed to recognize, within the limit of her sphere of influence, the independence of the emigrant farmers, with the stipulation that there was to be absolute freedom for traders and missionaries to travel and prosecute their business. It was also agreed that no slavery should be permitted or practiced. Thus, by the Sand River Convention of 1852, and the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854, Great Britain granted those two white communities the privilege of establishing self-government, under the names of the Orange Free State, and the "South African Republic."

The Boers, by accepting this gift of self-government from Great Britain, would prove that they acknowledged England as the paramount power in South Africa. The Boers were granted their independence, subject to certain conditions. Conditions to which immense importance was attached, which briefly summarized were: freedom for blacks, and equal rights for all whites throughout the conceded territory. Such was the origin of these two States, containing about 4,000 adult males. Under enlightened government the Orange Free State prospered; such was not the case in the Transvaal, for within its borders there were at least four so-called Republics, each claiming sovereign power, and so bitterly antagonistic in their rivalry that they made war upon each other, and even went so far in their lawlessness as to invade the Orange Free State.

One of the chief ringleaders in these disturbances was Paul Kruger, now President of the Transvaal Republic. Finally one rose

above the others and in 1858 the Volksraad, or People's Council, passed the "Gronvet," or fundamental law, which is still nominally the constitution of the country, but it was not till 1864 that all of the Boers north of the Vaal agreed to recognize M. W. Pretorius as the head of the State. The white population then numbered about 30,000. The aggressive conduct of the Boers brought about frequent quarrels with the natives, whose best pasture lands they coveted and took forcible possession of, driving out the rightful owners, who were shot down on every hand should they attempt to resist, the survivors being distributed amongst the victorious Dutch under long terms of apprenticeship which was only another name for slavery. In 1876 the Boers were badly defeated in an attack on Sekukuni, a powerful chief of the Bapedi. This defeat so disheartened them that the commandoes refused to serve any longer and dispersed to their homes. The Boers also refused to pay taxes; the Treasury was empty, and their paper money was only worth one-fourth its face value. The weakened and disorganized Republic seemed to have lost all cohesion, the people were divided into parties, bitterly antagonistic to each other, and threatening civil war. Menaced on the north by the victorious Sekukuni, and on the south by the powerful Zulu king, the renowned Cetewayo, who was eager to pay off old scores with the Boers, who had encroached on his territory and robbed his people of cattle and lands, the Boers were not only in danger of being exterminated themselves, but failing to repel the common foe of white men, they brought about a condition of affairs that not only threatened their own existence, but the existence of every civilized community in South Africa.

Realizing the helplessness of their condition a petition appealing for British intervention was signed by over 3,000 of the 8,000 voters of the country. In response the British Government sent Sir Theophilus Shepstone as a special commissioner to confer with the Government and people of the Transvaal, with the object of initiating a new state of things, which would guarantee security for the future. After a full enquiry the commissioner became convinced that the only way of effectually bringing safety to the Boers and of protecting British interests in the other colonies was by annexing it to Great Britain. A proclamation to that effect was issued.

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only way of protection from the savage foes who threatened them with annihilation. The natural aversion of the Boers to English rule was overcome for the moment by their still greater aversion to being wiped off the face of the Transvaal by the blacks. The Act of Annexation is so generally condemned by the friends and sympathizers of the Boers, and is so persistently quoted by them as the cause of the war and the present hatred and mistrust of England, that it is well to know what the Boer opinion was at the time. President Burgers, addressing the Raad, said, "I would rather be a policeman under a strong Government than the President of such a State. It is you—you members of the Raad and the Boers—who have lost the country, who have sold your independence. You have ill-treated the natives, you have shot them down, you have sold them into slavery and now you have to pay the penalty." Of the members of the Executive Council and other officials who entered a formal protest against annexation, all took office under the British, except Piet Joubert, the late Commander-in-Chief of the Boer army, who declined. Paul Kruger, although he joined in the formal protest, also took office, but when he found that his repeated applications for an increase of salary had been steadily refused, at last resigned his post, and at once began an active repeal agitation. There can be little doubt, that had the inducement been forthcoming Paul Kruger would have remained a loyal British subject.

It cannot be said that the Transvaal was annexed by force of arms, as Sir Theophilus Shepstone had with him only a weak escort of 25 mounted police. Sir Theophilus Shepstone has been blamed for acting too hurriedly. Had he waited two or three months more the country would have been invaded in overwhelming force by the Zulus on the south and the victorious Sekukuni and his Kaffir hordes on the north, when the Boers would have been compelled to seek British protection. Sir Theophilus admitted he might have waited until the blacks actually made their threatened murderous raid. That would have been Machiavelian statecraft, but it would not have been humanity.

The native population of South Africa is about 3,000,000, whereas the white, at the beginning of the present war, was about 750,000. The step taken by Sir Theophilus Shepstone saved the Transvaal, but it saddled Great Britain with the legacy of fighting

the enemies of the Boers, for in quick succession came the Zulu and Sekukuni wars, which cost England millions of dollars and hundreds of valuable lives. This, however, had no effect upon Paul Kruger, who continued to carry on a fierce repeal agitation throughout the country. The effect at first was slight, but through Kruger's exertions became real. It was helped to a great extent by the dilatoriness of the British, in not convening the Volksraad or holding fresh elections as promised. The delay was due to the outbreak of the Zulu war, which diverted the attention of the authorities. Paul Kruger went on a mission to England to protest; at the same time a counter-petition, signed by many Boers, was also sent to London, protesting against the action of Mr. Kruger. Kruger's protest was rejected. Meanwhile, many Boers were fighting side by side with the British troops against the Zulus. With General Wood's column, in which I served throughout the Zulu war, there was a contingent of mounted Boers, who performed excellent service. Their distinguished leader, brave Piet Uys, fell at the head of his men in the disastrous action of Zlobane Mountain. The government informed Kruger that it was impossible to withdraw the Queen's sovereignty from the Transvaal.

Sir Bartle Frere, High Commissioner for South Africa, proceeded to Pretoria. He reported that many loyal Boers claimed that they were being intimidated and threatened by the disaffected members of the State, who were far from forming a majority of the white population. In 1879 the danger of being slaughtered by the Zulus and Kaffirs was removed by the victories of Lord Chelmsford and Sir Garnet Wolseley. All the benefits which the Boers hoped from the annexation had now been reaped. Their pressing needs were relieved. Their debts had been paid; their trade and commerce restored; their enemies were subdued. Repeal would rob them of none of these; they would, in fact, eat their cake and still have it. On the termination of the war most of the troops were withdrawn from South Africa. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the British Commissioner, was popular with the Boers, he understood their character, and endeavored to conciliate them in every possible way, and if any one could have made the farmers contented under British rule, he would have done it. But unfortunately he was succeeded in March, 1879, by Colonel Sir Owen

Lanyon, a man of haughty disposition, who made no attempt to conciliate the people of the country. The appointment of officers who did not understand the people or their language, and who would make no allowance for their simple, old-fashioned ways, their deep-seated prejudices and opposition to modern ideas, caused great dissatisfaction, and afforded Mr. Kruger and the irreconcilables ample material to work upon.

From that time onward the feeling rapidly gained ground among the Boers that if the restoration of independence could not be obtained by peaceable means, an appeal to arms ought to be made. To add fuel to the fire, Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the opposition in the British House of Commons, in his campaign speeches in England kept on denouncing the action of the Conservative Government in South Africa, in annexing the Transvaal, as an invasion of a free Christian and Republican community. Encouraged by his and other pro-Boer speeches, the irreconcilables persisted the more strongly and openly in their agitation.

After the Liberals, with Mr. Gladstone at their head, came into power, the British Cabinet decided that the sovereignty of the Queen over the Transvaal could not be relinquished. Sir Bartle Frere was recalled and General Sir George Pomeroy Colley succeeded him as High Commissioner.

Then ensued an apt illustration of "sowing the wind and reaping the whirlwind." The refusal to the retrocession of the Transvaal so enraged the Boers that in December, 1880, they suddenly rose in armed rebellion and killed or wounded 157 British soldiers of the 94th Regiment, who were marching, ignorant of danger, on the road to Pretoria.

Following their first victory the Boers proclaimed the independence of the country. The small force of British troops in the Transvaal was broken up into a number of weak detachments at considerable distances apart, and unable to concentrate. The campaign which ensued was conspicuous for its lack of generalship on the part of the British. The Boers, several thousands strong, invaded Natal and took up a strongly entrenched position on Laing's Nek, from which Sir George Colley with an inadequate force of 1100 men endeavored to oust them. The result was a defeat for the British with a loss of 200 men in killed and wounded. On February 8th in a reconnois-

ance at Ingogo Heights, General Colley, with 350 men and 4 guns encountered the Boers about a thousand strong, the fight lasted all day when the British retired under cover of the night with a loss 145 killed and wounded. On February 27th came Majuba, when General Colley with about 400 men attempted to retrieve his fortunes by occupying the top of the mountain which was supposed to command the Boer camp. From this the British were driven with a loss of 92 killed and 134 wounded including the unfortunate Sir George Colley. Instead of permitting the powerful British force advancing through Natal under General Sir Evelyn Wood, to attack the Boers and quell the uprising, the government concluded a hurried armistice and gave back the Transvaal to the Boers, subject to a vague suzerainty on the part of the British Crown. This convention was signed at Pretoria in August, 1881.

It is not necessary to refer at any greater length to the settlement than to say that the Boers gained nearly all they desired. The unfortunate British Loyalists in the Transvaal were heartlessly abandoned and their protests unheeded. The Boers never appreciated the magnanimous action of Mr. Gladstone in restoring self-government and preventing further bloodshed. On the contrary, they believed Mr. Gladstone was actuated by fear, and so intoxicated did they become over their success that they considered themselves more than a match for the whole British army and it grew to be their standing boast that one Boer was equal to ten Englishmen.

From this time onward their treatment of British subjects in the Transvaal grew more intolerant and overbearing. The Boers never respected the terms of the Convention but continued to importune the British Government for an ampler measure of independence. The restraining conditions of the Convention of 1881 were, on the persistent and overbearing demands of President Kruger, still further reduced by the London Convention of 1884, in which, with further fatuity, the Government of the day unnecessarily accorded to the Transvaal the extravagant title "The South African Republic." Perhaps this is the most remarkable act of self-effacement which has ever occurred in the history of the British Empire, and must have seemed to the inhabitants of British South Africa like the admission of a rival ruling power into the British sphere south of the river Zambesi.

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By the terms of the 1884 Convention the Transvaal agreed to conclude no treaty with any state or nation, other than the Orange Free State, without the consent of t' e Queen. These further concessions were granted in the vain hope that a better feeling would be created between the two white races in South Africa. The Boers agreed to confine the Transvaal within fixed limits, but the British Government has been compelled by force of arms to restrain them from annexing all the neighboring states. In the Transvaal itself there is an immense quantity of unoccupied land, more than the Boers can utilize or control, but "land hunger is theirs as a birth curse." The individual cannot bear to see the smoke of his neighbor's chimney, he will not cultivate 50 acres but he wants 50,000. Ever since 1884 the Transvaal Government has been trying to shut off the Cape from the north and to gain a seaport of its own, and to retain all power in the hands of the Boers by denying the franchise to all settlers within its borders, in direct violation of the understanding arrived at with the Boer rulers in the Convention of 1881, who then stated, "To all inhabitants without exception, we promise the protection of the law, and all the privileges attendant thereon." Soon after the Convention of 1884 the vast wealth in gold in the Transvaal began to be made known. The development of the marvellous Witwatersrand brought about the formation of Johannesburg and attracted to the Transvaal an enormous stream of outsiders, mainly British subjects. To counteract the influence of the British element the Transvaal Government had almost ever since its establishment in 1881 been strengthening the Dutch by inviting the settlement of Hollanders from the Netherlands, who were employed in its Government offices, in its schools, its churches and on the construction of its railways. These natives of Holland showed themselves very hostile to British influence, and mainly through their efforts a great deal of sympathy with the Boers has been aroused in Holland and Germany. On the other hand the Uitlanders who settled round Johannesburg and other mining centres and who soon came to outnumber the Boer element in the Transvaal population, to the extent of two to one, became dissatisfied with their position under the Boer Government, who ruled them autocratically, without granting them any voice in the administration or in the spending of the heavy taxes levied on their industries.

Up till 1882 the franchise had been granted to any one holding property and residing in the State; failing the property qualification, then to anyone who had qualified by one year's residence.

In 1882 a law was passed which provided that aliens could become naturalized and enfranchised after a residence of five years, thus attaining the status of the oldest Voortrekker. By 1894 the Uitlander population was estimated at 77,000, including 62,500 British subjects. Many of these Uitlanders had been in the country since 1887, and yet in 1894 not one of them had a voice in the Government, although its treasury, formerly bankrupt, had been filled to overflowing by the taxes on their industry. The denial of the franchise was brought about by the Boer Parliament raising the period of residence necessary to obtain a vote for President and members of the Volksraad to fourteen years; to this law a subsequent amendment was added, by which no alien could ever attain full burgher rights, whereas every Boer on attaining 16 years of age has the right to vote.

The question is often asked, Why did the Uitlanders go to the Transvaal, if the laws were unsatisfactory? The answer is they were invited to go by the Boer Government, and notably by Mr. Kruger himself, and that when they emigrated the laws that were then in force were very favorable to the Uitlanders. It was only after their capital and labor had saved the Transvaal from bankruptcy that the liberal laws were abrogated and the Boer oligarchy proceeded to pass a series of laws calculated to reduce the Uitlanders to the status of helots.

There are those who contend that as the Transvaal belonged to the Boers, they had a perfect right to alter the laws and govern the country as they pleased. Had the Boers from the first refused to sell any of their land or give any mining rights, there might be some force in this argument. But, seeing that this is exactly what they have not done, on the contrary they showed themselves very anxious that the Uitlanders should develop the mineral resources of their country, even going so far as to publish a notice in the English press inviting British capitalists, miners and merchants to come and settle in the Transvaal. To those who came they sold land, mining rights and options to buy their farms at the highest prices they could get. Now that the Uitlanders have spent millions

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to enable the gold to be produced and the Boers realized every cent on the lands and the rights they disposed of, have they still the right to turn round and say, "The gold still belongs to us, a small privileged class of voters, to use as we like and to hand over, if we so wish, to concessionaires and outsiders"? This is the Boer contention, which seems anything but a just one. The Uitlanders have to submit to the most flagrant misappropriation of the Government revenue, which is extracted from them by a most cunningly devised system, which, while unduly favoring the Boers as a class, presses with excessive and ever-increasing weight upon the helpless Uitlanders. In 1896 the revenue from all sources was \$24,432,495, contributed by Boers, Uitlanders and natives in the following proportions:—

	per cent.
From Natives or coloured people.....	\$750,000 = 3.070
From Boers.....	\$1,819,520 = 7.447
From Uitlanders, of whom 80 percent. were British	\$21,862,975 = 80.483
Total.....	\$24,432,495 = 100

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The Boer Government figures show the population of the Transvaal to be as follows:—Boers 66,000; British and other whites 179,000. The Boer estimate of the Uitlander population is considered too high; some reliable authorities say it does not exceed 140,000. The coloured population 649,000. Of the \$24,000,000 revenue, much of it was expended, not for the benefit of the community, but in the construction of fortifications and the purchase of arms and munitions of war. Nothing better illustrates the Uitlanders' grievances of reckless extravagance in administration than the list of fixed salaries, as it has grown since 1886, the year the gold fields started on their course of prosperity. In that year the amount set apart in the Budget for fixed salaries was \$259,160, whereas for 1899 it amounted to the enormous sum of \$6,081,975, a sum sufficient, if equally distributed, to pay \$200 per head to the total male Boer population. Another example which may be quoted is the dynamite monopoly, against the cancellation of which President Kruger fought with the uttermost bitterness, although it was shown, that the State revenue would have benefited to the extent of \$3,000,000 a year, if he had accepted the proposal of the Uitlanders to allow the importation of dynamite, subject to a duty of \$10.00 a case, a tax, which represented the monopolist's profit, and

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would not, therefore, have increased the cost of the article to the mines. No civilized body of men ever had more just cause for complaint than the Uitlanders of the Transvaal. The examples I have quoted are only a fraction of their grievances. Hence their persistent efforts to obtain the franchise, for the possession of the power to vote would provide a remedy which in time would bring relief to all. But this the Boers will never grant, unless compelled, as they are well aware that the granting of the franchise would mean the death knell to the vast system of plunder through the sale of concessions and monopolies by which many of them so largely profit. In this they are aided and abetted by their equally interested Hollander advisers who also feared that there would be a check to the steady stream of gold which for some years has been flowing into Dutch and German pockets and is doubtless accountable for much of the strong pro-Boer sentiment in Holland and Germany.

The Uitlanders own more than half the land, and pay nine-tenths of the taxes. It is they who have made the Transvaal. They found it in a disorganized, bankrupt state. They have raised it to be the first gold-producing country in the world. This is only a tithe of what they have done for the country which owes its prosperity to their energies. This alone ought to entitle them to a share in the government, but no such share is allowed them. They cannot vote, they have no voice in the spending of the money taken from their pockets. They see millions devoted to fortifications and to secret service funds which are spent in subsidizing newspapers, and in paying agents who are engaged in creating a feeling hostile to England in France, Germany, the United States and other countries.

While Johannesburg with over 100,000 inhabitants, and only 250 voters, is not allowed a dollar of the millions contributed by those who have their homes there for anything in the shape of sanitation or public benefit, the place in consequence remains a pest hole, squeezed by a tariff that diverts their profits into the pockets of the Boers. The use of their language, forbidden in the schools and law courts of a city where not one man in a hundred speaks anything but English, and the Boer "patois," a mixed, uncouth dialect, that has never produced anything worthy of being classed as literature, is enforced in its place.

Recently the Volksraad has begun to interfere with the judges in their administration of justice. In fact the judges are made to interpret the laws at the dictation of President Kruger and the Executive, and not as laid down in the Constitution. Consequently the Uitlanders have lost entire confidence in the only institution in the Transvaal for which they entertained any respect. The British Colonial Office tried again and again to obtain for the British residents the electoral franchise after five years, but without success. Petitions for the redress of grievances, signed by yearly increasing numbers of Uitlanders have been sent again and again to the Volksraad, only to be treated with scorn and insult. One, with over 80,000 names, was received with shouts of derisive laughter, a member of the Volksraad even going so far as to challenge the Uitlanders to fight for their rights, if they wanted them. Having failed in their constitutional attempts to secure a reasonable share in the Government, or any redress of their grievances, is it any wonder, therefore, that having despaired of ever securing justice by peaceable means, there came a time, when their thoughts naturally turned to the last expedient—force.

The Right Honorable Cecil Rhodes, then Prime Minister at the Cape, and Managing Director of the British South Africa Chartered Company, saw in this discontent at Johannesburg an excuse for his personal intervention. Doctor Jamieson, the Administrator of the Chartered Company's Territories, invaded the Transvaal at the head of about 500 mounted men, and tried to reach Johannesburg, to assist the Uitlanders, in their efforts to obtain redress of grievances. The Boer forces intercepted Dr. Jamieson before he could reach the city, and after an engagement in which he lost a few of his men, he surrendered. This ill-starred scheme, was entirely unauthorized by the British authorities, and the great mass of the Uitlanders were innocent of any part in it. As long as the Reform movement was confined to the Uitlanders in the Transvaal the sympathy of South Africa, and indeed of the world, was with them, but the raid of Dr. Jameson, not only destroyed that sympathy, but it also tied the hands of the British Government in its efforts on behalf of the Reformers, who were treated by the Pretoria courts with inexcusable harshness, seeing they had not taken an active part in Dr. Jameson's inroad, and had surrendered the city to the Boer Govern-

ment. Enormous fines amounting to nearly two million dollars, were inflicted on them, after a somewhat burlesque trial, in which they had been condemned to death, only to be subsequently pardoned or expelled.

In four out of the five states which comprise South Africa. The Dutch and English enjoy practically the same privileges, but in the Transvaal the Boer minority has all the power and the large British element none of it. The contrast between the perfect freedom enjoyed by all classes in Cape Colony, and the galling tyranny under which British subjects have to live in the Transvaal is as light to darkness. The wretched Englishman in the Transvaal has no civil rights, no protection from the law-courts; in his case the verdict of a Boer jury is a mere farce—he is helpless. At last in his despair, he appealed to his country.

On March 29th, 1899, a petition signed by 21,684 Uitlanders, praying for redress of grievances and a restoration of the rights guaranteed to them by the conventions of 1881 and 1884, was presented to Sir Alfred Milner, British Governor of Cape Colony. On May 31st, a conference was held at Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger. The British Commissioner proposed a five years retrospective franchise, a naturalization oath similar to the Orange Free State and a fair representation of the new voters in the Volksraad. President Kruger declined this proposal and offered a seven years franchise, under which every man would have to abandon his old citizenship and not gain a new one for several years, and even then not as a matter of right, but at the will of Boer officials. The conference was a failure. When President Kruger returned to Pretoria, a law was passed, based on his proposals. The British Government declared it unsatisfactory, and on July the 12th, the Transvaal passed another law, granting a seven years retrospective franchise, its action depending upon the approval of Boer officials, and not upon right. On July 31st the British Government proposed another conference to examine it. The Transvaal did not reply till August 19th, but meanwhile went on collecting ammunition and making military preparations.

It then practically declined the British proposal and offered instead to grant a five years retrospective franchise, and increased

representation, provided Great Britain would agree never to interfere in Transvaal affairs, to drop the claim of suzerainty, and to submit to arbitration from which governments, other than the Orange Free State, should be excluded.

On August 28th the British Government replied that while it hoped no further intervention would be necessary, yet it could not pledge itself not to protect its subjects in the Transvaal; that it still maintained suzerainty, and that it would consider the scheme of arbitration, but that some matters fell outside the domain of arbitration and required prompt settlement. Great Britain renewed its proposal for a conference. The Transvaal replied on 2nd September, offering conditionally to enter a conference, but withdrawing the whole franchise offer, and insisted upon the entire abolition of British suzerainty and the recognition of the Transvaal as a sovereign international state.

To these demands Great Britain replied on September 13th, practically renewing the Transvaal's own proposals of a five years' franchise, increased representation with non-foreign arbitration, but leaving the suzerainty question as before, and suggesting that the Uitlanders in the Transvaal Parliament should be allowed to speak English. To this the Transvaal replied accusing the British Government of bad faith and withdrawing all former offers, but in a guarded way suggesting a joint commission of enquiry. On this the British Government denounced as false the charges of bad faith, withdrew its former offers, and announced its intention of submitting a new plan to settle the controversy. Before this plan was submitted the Boer Republic sent a peremptory ultimatum, calling on the British Government to acknowledge the Transvaal as a sovereign power, and to withdraw its troops from the Transvaal border within forty-eight hours. The British troops were not withdrawn and the Boers declared war, following up their declaration by an immediate invasion of Natal, Cape Colony and Bechuanaland, portions of which they proceeded at once to annex by proclamation to the South African Republic.

The Boers claim they are struggling for liberty. That is true, but the liberty they are struggling for is to maintain the tyrannical rule they have established upon the British Uitlanders, who greatly outnumber them.

In 1884 the Transvaal was accorded the title "South African Republic," but the Transvaal is no more a Republic in the true sense of the term than the Empire of Russia. It is in effect a despotic Government; all power is in the hands of a privileged few, who act as if they had a Divine right to dispose of the fortunes and property of the majority exactly as they see fit.

The contempt which the ignorant up country Boers have for the British power is made use of by the ambitious wire pullers of the Dutch party to forward their scheme of driving the English flag out of South Africa, and establishing a Boer Republic from the Cape to the River Zambesi. The action of the Orange Free State in joining the Transvaal Boers against Great Britain unmasks the whole conspiracy. That the declaration of war by the Transvaal and Orange Free State was nothing less than a bold bid for empire, there can be little doubt.

In a letter which appeared recently in the *Cape Times* from Mr. Theodore Schreiner, a brother of the Cape Premier, well-known in South Africa for his temperance and religious work, Mr. Schreiner openly charged Mr. Reitz, State Secretary of the Transvaal, with having admitted over 17 years ago, when busily engaged in establishing the Afrikaner Bond in Bloemfontein, that the ultimate object aimed at by the Society was the overthrow of the British power and the expulsion of the British flag from South Africa. That during the 17 years that had elapsed Mr. Schreiner had watched the propaganda for the overthrow of the British power being ceaselessly spread by every possible means, the press, the pulpit, the platform, the schools, the colleges and the legislature, until it had culminated in the present war. That Mr. Reitz and his co-workers had plotted, worked and prepared for the war, which it was intended should not come until Britain was involved in a struggle with some powerful foreign power. That President Kruger's chief reason for withholding political rights from the Uitlanders settled in the Transvaal was the fear, that the possession of the electoral franchise by these wealth producers, might prove damaging to the success of his scheme of a Boer Afrikaner Republic. In mentioning the Afrikaner Bond Mr. Schreiner wished it to be distinctly understood that he was not attacking that body as it exists in Cape Colony at the present time, or to accuse it of backing Mr. Reitz up

in his declaration of war against the British Empire ; his object was to show that not England, nor England's Queen, nor England's Government, but the two Boer Republics led by Kruger, Steyn, Reitz and their co-workers were responsible for this war and had been consciously plotting for it ever since the "magnanimous" retrocession of the Transvaal by the British and even before the Witwatersand gold fields were discovered ; that the leaders of the Republics had counted upon the dissension incidental to the English party system of Government working again in their favour as in the time of Mr. Gladstone in 1881.

But they failed to realize, as realize now they must, that in declaring war against the Empire they would have to reckon, not with an English political party, but with a united Greater Britain banded together as one man.

Britain has been forced into this war in defence of the principles upon which the Empire has been founded, and by which alone it can exist. If Britain is to maintain her existence as a great power in South Africa, she is bound to show that she is both willing and able to protect British subjects everywhere they are made to suffer from oppression and injustice. British subjects in the Transvaal have been placed in a position of degrading and humiliating inferiority, they are denied the elements of civil rights or civil freedom. They are under intolerable conditions of subjection and injustice.

Equality, promised to the two white races by President Kruger, was the foundation of the negotiations upon which the independence of the Transvaal was conceded, and it was promised to the British subjects in South Africa by Mr. Gladstone, the head of the government which made the convention. The British Government, in their endeavors to maintain peace, have shown endless patience. Throughout the protracted negotiations the great objects they kept in view were, to maintain the equality of the two races and to secure the protection of British subjects.

There are things which are more important than peace itself, and in order to gain these things, it may sometimes be necessary to face the contingency of war. For the sake of peace, Britain will never betray or abandon her subjects, nor allow her paramountcy to be taken from her. President Kruger has settled the question. He has appealed to the God of battles, and Britain with

all reverence accepts the appeal, believing her quarrel to be just. But it is not so much the God of battles as the God of justice that Britain appeals to. Britain is fighting for the cause of justice, the cause of humanity, of civil rights and religious liberty. This war is not a war of conquest or subjugation. It is not to oppress the race whose courage we cannot but admire, but it is to put an end to the oppression imposed upon British subjects by the tyrannical Boers. Britain's object is not to oust the Dutch population from the Transvaal, but to establish in that land, of which the Queen is suzerain, British sovereign law, and to assure to all men an equal share of liberty. And Britain, confident in the righteousness of her cause, can look forward to the time when all white men in South Africa shall have equal rights and privileges and be able to live in peace and harmony from the Cape to the Zambesi under the protecting folds of the Union Jack.

As this goes to press the war under the brilliant guidance of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener seems to be within measurable distance of a satisfactory conclusion. The Union Jack is floating over Bloemfontein and Johannesburg. The Boers have opened negotiations for the surrender of Pretoria. The two Boer Presidents, Kruger and Steyn, have fled. The Orange Free State has been proclaimed British territory under its old name "The Orange River Colony." The great humiliation of "the magnanimous back-down" connected with the name of Majuba has been avenged. Two hundred thousand British soldiers, a larger army than has ever before been sent across the same expanse of sea, is now engaged in reducing to the obedience of British rule the territories which ought never to have been released, and in restoring to South Africa the only chance it has of peace, of development and tranquility. It would be a suicidal policy for Great Britain to again recognize the independence of the two Boer republics, an independence which they have so grossly abused. The territories of the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal must be and shall be permanently incorporated in her Majesty's dominions. The lesson gained of how a disloyal government can, in spite of any precautions, accumulate

munitions of war, and artillery and elements of military force, to be used with most terrible advantage, has cost the blood of too many of the noble sons of the Empire to be ever forgotten. The British Empire is determined that never again shall the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal be allowed to become a centre of dissatisfaction and a nursery of conspiracy against British rule in South Africa. In South Africa there must be only one rule—the rule of British justice and British equality ; and only one flag—the banner of the great federation of sister nations known as the British Empire.



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“ HALF MEN!—HALF WOMEN!”

KRUGER'S ESTIMATE OF HIGHLAND SOLDIERS

Tender in love! but fierce in war!
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 Your motto—“ Touch me if ye daur!”
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 Equal in valor,—one to ten!
 Proclaim it to the world again:—
 Earth's brave ones are the tender men!
 “ Half men!—half women!”

Kruger truthfully hath spoken,
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 See! his bravest ranks are broken!
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 Highlanders! charge!—the Boers must feel
 The terrors of your walls of steel;
 “ Cock o' the North ” the bagpipes squeal!
 “ Half men!—half women!”

Remember deeds of valour done,—
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 Remember fields of glory won,—
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 In Britain's battles do your share,
 Bring honor to the name you bear,
 Boers shall respect the dress you wear!
 “ Half men!—half women!”

And when the struggle shall be o'er,
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 Return in peace to Scotland's shore,
 “ Half men!—half women!”
 Your mothers, sisters, brothers dear,
 Will welcome you with many a cheer,
 And soon forget old Kruger's sneer,—
 “ Half men!—half women!”

Toronto, Canada.

JOHN IMRIE.

BRITAIN AND THE TRANSVAAL.

Whimper not in whining murmurs ;
" Britain's power is on the wane,"
For the Lion only slumbers,
Watch him as he wakes again :
See ! he stands in all his beauty !
Hearken to the Lion's roar :
" Britain's sons will do their duty "
As they oft have done before .

War's reverses act like charms,
Britain's heroes smile at scars,
'Tis another call, " To arms ! "
To her sturdy sons of Mars ;
All along the line of Empire
Come her sons from far and near,
Burning with but one desire—
Hearken to that British cheer !

Slavery's shackles we shall sever,
Ere we leave the dark Transvaal ;
Freedom is our watchword ever,
Equal rights for one and all !
Then shall cease that reign of terror,
Peace and progress hold full sway,
Uitlander and Boer together
Welcome in that glorious day.

Hail ! another star of Empire !
Africa, arise and sing !
Out of anguish, blood, and fire,
God shall peace and freedom bring !
Ah, the price we pay for glory !
Yet we think it not too dear ;
Britons, read your nation's story—
Give another rousing cheer—
" Hurrah ! Hurrah ! Hurrah ! "

THE AMBUSHED HIGHLAND BRIGADE.

December 11th, 1899.

Black Watch, Gordons, Argyles, Seaforths !—brave, strong,
 Marched through the darkness of an Afric' night,—
 Noiseless and slow, the tangled veldt along,
 To charge the foe on Magersfontein Height !
 Hark ! a soldier falls—(the cursed barb-wire,
 Treach'rous as a Boer)—traped in blood and pain—
 Discharged his gun !—down came the Boer's red fire,
 Upon the ambushed host, like deadly rain !

We think not less of the Highland Brigade,
 That fell while attempting " a forlorn hope ;"
 They bravely faced death, as if on parade,
 " Now, steady, men !—forward ?"—cried brave Wauchope !
 Search-lights and shells turned midnight into day,—
 Baffled and blinded, charged the Highland host !
 Brave Wauchope, foremost, fell amid the fray—
 " Obeying orders,"—counting not the cost !

See yonder bloody field—dying and dead
 Are strewn like autumn leaves before the blast ;
 While we sleep safely on our downy bed,
 And dream of peace and victory at last !
 Ah ! friends at home ! ye little know the cost
 Our soldiers pay for Freedom's priceless gem ;
 How many valiant hero-lives are lost,
 To keep intact Victoria's diadem !

Next day the sun set golden in the West—
 A holy calm preceded by a storm ;
 A solemn sadness filled each Highland breast
 As to the grave they trod in martial form ;
 The pibroch, wailing, wept in mournful strain,
 Sounds, sighs and sobs,—too deep for human speech,—
 For comrades ne'er to join in ranks again,
 Who fell like heroes in the deadly breach !

Brave Highland chief ! thy soldiers sleep with thee,
Who led them forth on many a bloody field ;
Now take thy rest,—“ the remnant ” yet shall see
A day of victory, when thy foes shall yield !
Sleep on ! sleep on ! while loving friends at home,
With bated breath recite thy virtues o'er ;
Life's battle fought, a meeting-time shall come,
When sundered hearts shall meet to part no more !

Oh ! Scotland ! mourn not for thy noble dead,—
Who die in Freedom's cause know not despair ;
God's angels watch and ward their lowly bed,
Earth's heroes are His own peculiar care !
Whom God elects to serve His purpose wise,
He will protect their loved ones—far or near ;
There is a home for such beyond the skies,
In His great heart of Love a place most dear !

Toronto, Canada.

JOHN IMRIE.

VICTORIA'S JUBILEE.

What means this shout of joy o'er all the earth ?—
A nation's thankfulness ! a nation's praise !
From whence the cause that gives such joy its birth,
And o'er the world such great commotion raise ?
For sixty years our noble Queen hath stood
The trying ordeal of a nation's crown !
Beloved by all—“ Victoria, the good,”
On Freedom smiled—gave slavery her frown !
All through her lonely years of widowhood
She held with dignity a nation's rein :
Was ever Queen so well-belov'd and good ?
Did ever King such lasting homage gain ?
Victoria !—as Mother, Queen, or Wife,
Thou hast adorn'd thy pathway all through life !

Toronto, Canada.

JOHN IMRIE.

 FREEDOM.

Freedom is obedience to righteous law
 Framed for the guidance of a nation great ;
 Made to be kept—not broken by a flaw
 Known only to the rulers of the State !
 Justice that treats the rich and poor alike,
 Defending each from favor or attack ;
 Slow to convict—yet ready aye to strike
 The fatal blow on all that honor lack !
 A nation's strength is measured by her laws ;
 Her safety is the welfare of her sons ;
 Industry and loyalty the power that draws
 In peace her commerce, and in war her guns !
 Freedom—our birthright, sell it not for gold,
 Our fathers bought it with their blood of old !

Toronto, Canada.

JOHN IMRIE.

 LIBERTY.

Sweet Liberty !—thou birthright of mankind,
 Yet which some autocrats would fain destroy !
 How like our God to give !—like man to take
 What God hath given so freely in His love
 To make our life on earth more bearable !
 Though man loves liberty, yet—miser-like—
 Seeks to withhold it from his fellow-man,
 And, boasting, pride himself in larceny !
 Go to ! thou false vile traitor to thy race,
 Thy stony heart is index'd on thy face !
 While loving Liberty *thyself*—deny
 To those within thy power *their* liberty !
 The soul that seeks to bind his fellow-man
 May soon be measur'd by an infant's span !

Toronto, Canada.

JOHN IMRIE.

