British and Dutch alike.

What added to the grievance of the

them received as compensation orders

on London which they were compelled

was the result. Some 6,000 Boers by a

concerted movement abandoned Cape

interior. The bitter memory of their

from the attacks of savage natives re-

their descendants to this day.

to cash on the spot at rulnous rates.

STATEMENT OF THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE LED TO THE CLASH IN SOUTH AFRICA. BY CYRUS SYLVESTER. a stratariorariamentaliania alakaria katarioraria alakaria kataria kataria kataria kataria kataria kataria kat

THE BOER SAYS THE BRITON SAYS This is our coun-We helped you ry. We anatched fight the Kaffirs.

sulta.

ought to rule.

religious bigots.

We are here to stay.

We developed the

deserve a vote! The majority

only half civilized. You are

ages. We made mines and made farmland of the yourieh. We built wilderness. the cities. We seek only to enuse of the mald protect our suband diamonds. jects in their legitimate pur

You demand equal franchise. We pay nine-This would mean political ex- tenths of the taxes. Don't we tinction for us.

it from the sav-

By the conventions of 1884 Conditions have changed. you promised never to inter- Your rule has become tyranfere in our internal govern- nical. You rob us se every ment. Now you ignore those hand. conventions.

We want no English among No nation has the right to our citizens. You are immoral isolate itself in a land full of and victors. You would not gold and diamonds. You are

If our laws please you not,

on are free to go away. If God wills it, we will fight

Remember Majuba Hill.

The quarrel between the British and

the Boers has its complications, but

even at this distance it is possible to

distinguish the main points of the con-

It is not the whole truth to say that

this is merely another case of British

land grabbing. Neither is it entirely

fair to charge the blame wholly to

Boer stubbornness. There are two

sides to this as to every other ques-

PRESIDENT KRUGER

[From his most recent photograph.]

tion. Before you give your sympathy

to either contestant there are a few

facts which ought to be considered.

The Boers were the original settlers

Here they are:

make good burghers.

to the death.

in a particular de la p or trek. Sometimes they fought; some times they trekked.

When they finally moved beyond the Vaal river, they thought they were safe from the English. The country was a savage infested wilderness. But somebody discovered gold and diamonds in the Boer territory. Then the English moved in and began to work the mines. The Boers are not miners. The golden rocks of the Rand would remain uncrushed forever if they had their way. They wish only to till their farms, raise their stock and read their Bibles.

But the glitter of gold and the glint of diamonds attracted more and more sons of Britain. Men of other countries came too. There were some Germans and a few Americans. The Boers call them all uitlanders, or outlanders. It is an expressive name.

Finally the uitlanders became more numerous than the Boers. There are now in the Transvaal about 245,000 whites. Of this number more than founded Natal. Both states were con- to vote for president of the Boer re-100,000 are English. Besides these, there are 30,000 Germans, 10,000 Americans and a few hundreds of almost ish thraidom, crossed the river Vaal who carried arms for the government every other race on the globe. So the Boers are actually in a minority in present position in the Transvaal. their own land. The remainder of their 1,000,000 population is composed of blacks, chiefly Kaffirs.

But this little handful of, say, 90, 000 Boers has retained absolute sway in the territory which was wrested from the savages. For all practical purposes only native Boers have full rights of franchise. They make the laws, levy the taxes and grip with jealous hands the reins of government.

Toward the uitlanders the Boer attitude has been aggressive, autocratic and possibly oppressive. It depends on the point of view. The British miners have had to pay handsomely for the privilege of taking out the treasures which the Boers themselves neglected. They have been heavily taxed. They have been bled by government monopolies.

True, they have prospered and grown enormously rich in spite of it all. But so have the Boers, and it is the English who have done the work. Year

SIR FORESTIER WALKER. [Who commands British forces in South Africa.] were finally harmonized by a union into one republic. In 1848 the gronwet, or fundamental law, was passed by a special volksraad elected for the purpose, and it still remains as the nomi nal constitution of the country.

But the Boers found themselves un able to cope with the savage natives, who harassed them on every side and threatened the security not only of the Boers themselves, but of their British neighbors. Yielding partly to a desire for self protection, partly to a show of British force, the Boers consented to annexation with the British empire in spite of the protest of Oom Paul Kru-

So for awhile the Boers and British fought the blacks side by side, but the Boers fretted under the British voke, and under the plea that Britain had not performed her promises they rose in rebellion in 1880 and, after the bloody victory of Majuba Hill, succeeded in again establishing their independence "subject to the suzerainty of her maiesty." The treaty which contained these words was signed at Pretoria in August. 1881.

In 1883 the Boers sent a deputation to London to secure the abolition of the suzerainty. Gladstone was in power then, and under his leadership a new agreement was signed by which England gave up her rights of suzerainty except in regard to treaties with foreign powers and the Orange Free State. This was signed in London in 1884, and the documents are now known as the London conventions. The interpretation of this agreement was the subject of the discussion which has

paying practically all the taxes. It is estimated that 95 per cent of all the magnificent revenues that flow yearly into the coffers of the Boer government

banded.

the native tribes. The British contest- ly disposed as was Mr. Gladstone, de is contributed by ultianders. The state sent the number of ablebodied Boers ed the alleged right. In 1834 emanci- clares that the allen laws of the Trans | which they found nearly bankrupt has pation was proclaimed in the Colony, vasi republic constitute a breach of now an accumulated surplus of some the London conventions and that con- \$15,000,000. which till then had been peopled by sequently said documents are annulled. Hence, he argues, the suzerainty is Boer was that the slaveowners among still in force.

Possibly there is a flaw in Mr. Chamberlain's argument, but it is backed up by British guns. This sort of reason-The great exodus, or trek, of 1836 ing has won before, but not against dren have been born there. The magthe Boers.

Although in 1884 England definitely and specifically renounced all right to guarantee of the permanent settlement met thought they would be good for Colony and moved on to the unknown interfere in the internal government sufferings from hunger and thirst and of the Transvaal, she now makes a very distinct demand. She says the mains as a legacy of hatred among volksrand must pass a law which will make any white man eligible to full At the Orange river the trekkers di- rights of citizenship after a five years'

MAJUBA.

They are not mere birds of passage flitting through the land, accumulating army officer who recently made a rewealth and returning to spend it in port on the Boer fighting strength says their own country. The uitlander, so far as the laws allow him, has made all stations of life in all parts of the his home in the Transvaal. His chilnificent climate and the wealth of the soil, neglected by the Boer, give every ful answer. Even the oldest men he of generations.

It is exactly that permanent settlement which the Boer statesman dreads. Nor does he dread it without reason.

The denial of the suffrage is not the only grievance of the uitlander. He complains of unjust and oppressive taxation, of the misuse of the proceeds In corruption of the civil service. The Boer has little reason to complain of either abuse. The taxes by which the treasury is filled are not levied upon him. He consumes his own untaxed products. He has few wants which force him to contribute to the duties levied on imports. So long as it is not his money that is wasted he cares little what becomes of it.

Monopolies have been imposed upon everything from mining machinery to mineral waters, and after enriching their own coffers to the bursting point the shrewd minded Boers have expended a goodly fraction of the remaining revenue to arm and equip their countrymen with the most modern munitions of war in anticipation of coming unrest.

According to the malcontents, it has become a habit with the Boer to hold one hand on the throat of the uitlander and the other on his family Bible.

Then the uitlanders have no voice in educational matters. Their children are taught only the crude Boer patois in the public schools. They are denied the freedom of the press and, in certain ways, even freedom of speech, for it is criminal to hold public meetings. They have no power in the municipal government of Johannesburg. and when they appear for trial they lo so before juries of Dutch burghers.

The president has the right to expel any member of the community from the republic without trial.

In fact, everything possible has been



TYPES OF BOERS. veast that has been leavening the I utch lump of that distraught repub-

The government's method of protecting the Netherlands railroad forms another grievance. The charges for carrying passengers and freight are rightly complained of as exorbitant. The average charge for freight in the United States is half a cent per mile. In

England it is three-fourths of a cent.

who can bear arms.

The real army is the nation in arms. It is impossible to give exact figures concerning its strength. A German he asked men and boys of all ages in Transvaal whether they would go to war, if it came to war, without ever receiving a negative or even a doubt-



MAJUBA HILL.

[Where the Boers thrashed the British in 1881.] something as long as they had fingers to pop a gun with and eyes to see a redcoat.

The kaiser's informant thinks the citizen army comprises at least 20,000 men between the ages of 25 and 35 years. Though the majority of uitlanders are exempted from military duty, the younger men will readily help their neighbors, he thinks. Of the 60,000 blacks able to shoulder arms, 30,000 may be relied upon to fight with a will.

The nation in arms really means an army of mounted infantry, for every citizen soldier reports for duty on horseback, and there are no better riders or sharpshooters in the world. The German observer says it seems to be impossible to tire out a Boer or his mount. "As to getting away from his bullets, the English have tried it once. Their losses in the war of 1880 and 1881 were 1,159 dead and wounded against 113 Boers, who received scratches."

This subject of the remarkable fighting qualities of the Boer is a fascinating one which has been often dealt

with. In fact, there has been the so much exag geration that it is hard to say J what is thetruth and whate is mere romancing. But even the English admit that a Boer with a rifle is a dangerous customer, even at distance o 1,000 yards. and Tommy Atkins must be much neare than that to do effective work.

The best defense against an invading ar my, however. is found in the character of the Transvaal bor-

der. Shut in on all sides by mountain ranges, the Boer could not be safer if he had a Chinese wall all around his



the potential earnings of a railroad which, like the Netherlands, charges from 6 to 24 cents per mile.

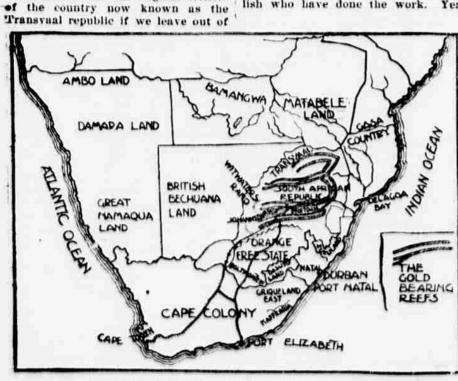
Although there are many minor ones, these are the main grievances of the nitianders, and it is because of these that England demands the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the government, the London conventions notwithstanding.

Whether the Boers are able to dequestion. On the face it would seem absurd that a nation which shows a fighting force of only 26,000 could successfully resist the great armies which England could send against it. But those figures do not truthfully repre-

These figures throw a lurid light upon republic. Each entrance to the Transvaal, except from the north, is through a mountain pass, and the Boers hold these passes.

On the other hand, the Boers are practically surrounded by British territory. Beyond the mountains wait the redcoats. Germany is far away. The only friends upon whom the Boers can count are their brothers in the Orange Free State, just across the Vaal, But to the southeast, to the west and to the fend their country or not is a disputed | north extends British Africa. The Boers' only path to the sea is blocked by Portuguese East Africs, and the

Portuguese are under British influence. These, then, are the causes, this the situation. Now we can watch the making of history.



MAP SHOWING SITUATION OF TRANSVAAL.

question the savage African tribes whom they subdued. Their ancestors went to South Africa from Holland. Boer is Dutch for farmer. That is what the word means, and that is what they are.

The first Boers settled in Cape Colomy. Trouble with the English led them to move farther inland and farther north. They would build their kran's in one place and stay there until the encroachments of the English made it necessary for them to fight

after year the taxes have become higher in spite of the indignant protests

sent to England. In the meantime the political relations of the two countries, the little republic and the great empire, have swung through several interesting

The first time the Boers and the English clashed was when both were settled in what is now Cape Colony. There came up the question of slavery. The Boers claimed a right to enslave

YOUNG BOER AND BRITISH SOLDIER.

pendence. Of course this applies only

to white males. Voters of these quali-

burghers, and, so far as numbers go,

Should the request for a five year

franchise be granted the Boers would

find themselves speedily legislated out

of existence. Such a concession would

hand over the control of the govern-

ment to the uitlanders. Do you won-

Still, there remain the grievances of

the uitlanders. Some of them deserve

to be classed as outlaws, it is true, for

blacklegs from the four quarters of the

earth can be found in the streets of

Johannesburg. Yet the majority are

The first hordes of immigrants were

naturally enough composed in part of

gamblers and adventurers, but these

were soon succeeded by earnest, prac-

tical workers, by men of brawn and

brains. They worked the mineral

wealth of the country; they spent their

savings in opening out mines, in put-

ting up the finest machinery, in costly

experiments of every kind; they col-

lected the cleverest engineers and man-

agers, assayers and chemists from all

the mining centers of the world; they

redeemed the land from desolation;

they built the towns; they constructed

the railroads; they established the com-

GENERAL JOUBERT.

[Commander in chief of the Boer forces.]

merce; they fought in the wars against

the savage native tribes, who, despite

all the courage and fortitude of the

Boers, must finally have triumphed

over them if they had been left single

And they paid and have paid and are

der they object?

not of this description.

they are in a ridiculous minority.

vided into two parties, one of which residence withou; forswearing alle founded the Orange Free State. The glance to his native country. other, continuing farther eastward, At present the only citizens entitled quered by the English. A majority of public are those who were residents the Boers, once more fleeing from Brit. of the Transvaal previous to 1876 or and intrenched themselves in their in any of the various wars of inde-

Here four rival sovereigntles were established whose internecine feuds fications are known as first class

ger and other sturdy minded young

led up to the present state of affairs.

Mr. Chamberlain, not being so kind-