

BOER HATES BRITON.

A PLAIN STATEMENT OF THE CAUSES WHICH HAVE LED TO THE CLASH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY CYRUS SYLVESTER.

THE BOER SAYS—

This is my country. We fought it from the savages. We made it a home for the white man.



You want it because of the gold and diamonds.

You demand equal franchise. This would mean political extinction for us.

The conventions of 1854 promised never to interfere in our internal government. Now you ignore those conventions.

We want no English among our citizens. You are immoral and vicious. You would not make good burghers.

If our laws please you not, you are free to go away.

If God wills it, we will fight to the death.

Remember Majuba Hill.

THE BRITON SAYS—

We helped you fight the Kaffirs. We developed the mines and made your rich. We built the cities.



We seek only to protect our subjects in their legitimate pursuits.

We pay nine-tenths of the taxes. Don't we deserve a vote? The majority ought to rule.

Conditions have changed. Your rule has become tyrannical. You rob us on every hand.

No nation has the right to isolate itself in a land full of gold and diamonds. You are only half civilized. You are religious bigots.

We are here to stay.

So will we.

We do.

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 controversy.

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. Here they are:
 The Boers were the original settlers of the country now known as the Transvaal republic if we leave out of

or trek. Sometimes they fought; sometimes 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 100,000 are English. Besides these, there are 30,000 Germans, 10,000 Americans and a few hundreds of almost every other race on the globe. So the Boers are actually in a minority in 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

the native tribes. The British contested the alleged right. In 1834 emancipation was proclaimed in the Colony, which till then had been peopled by British and Dutch alike.

What added to the grievance of the Boer was that the slaveowners among them received as compensation orders on London which they were compelled to cash on the spot at ruinous rates.

The great exodus, or trek, of 1835 was the result. Some 6,000 Boers by a concerted movement abandoned Cape Colony and moved on to the unknown interior. The bitter memory of their sufferings from hunger and thirst and from the attacks of savage natives remains as a legacy of hatred among their descendants to this day.

At the Orange river the trekkers di-

ly disposed as was Mr. Gladstone, de- clared that the alien laws of the Transvaal republic constitute a breach of the London conventions and that consequently said documents are annulled. However, he argues, the suzerainty is still in force.

Probably there is a flaw in Mr. Chamberlain's argument, but it is backed up by British guns. This sort of reasoning has won before, but not against the Boers.

Although in 1884 England definitely and specifically renounced all right to interfere in the internal government of the Transvaal, she now makes a very distinct demand. She says the voters must pass a law which will make any white man eligible to full rights of citizenship after a five years'

is contributed by uitlanders. The state which they found nearly bankrupt has now an accumulated surplus of some \$15,000,000.

They are not mere birds of passage flitting through the land, accumulating wealth and returning to spend it in their own country. The uitlander, so far as the laws allow him, has made his home in the Transvaal. His children have been born there. The magnificent climate and the wealth of the soil, neglected by the Boer, give every guarantee of the permanent settlement 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 do 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 done to eliminate the Anglo-Saxon

sent the number of able-bodied Boers who can bear arms.

The real army is the nation in arms. It is impossible to give exact figures concerning its strength. A German army officer who recently made a report on the Boer fighting strength says he asked men and boys of all ages in all stations of life in all parts of the Transvaal whether they would go to war, if it came to war, without ever receiving a negative or even a doubtful answer. Even the oldest men he met thought they would be good for



MAJUBA HILL.

[Where the Boers thrashed the British in 1855.] 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 1,150 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 so much exaggeration that it is hard to say what is the truth and what is mere romancing. But even the English admit that a Boer with a rifle is a dangerous customer, even at a distance of 1,000 yards, and Tommy Atkins must be much nearer than that to do effective work.

The best defense against an invading army, however, is found in the character of the Transvaal border. Shut in on all sides by mountain ranges, the Boer could not be safer if he had a Chinese wall all around his



YOUNG BOER AND BRITISH SOLDIER.

vided into two parties, one of which founded the Orange Free State. The other, continuing farther eastward, founded Natal. Both states were conquered by the English. A majority of the Boers, once more fleeing from British thralldom, crossed the river Vaal and entrenched themselves in their present position in the Transvaal.

Here four rival sovereignties were established whose intestine feuds

residence without forswearing allegiance to his native country.

At present the only citizens entitled to vote for president of the Boer republic are those who were residents of the Transvaal previous to 1876 or who carried arms for the government in any of the various wars of independence. Of course this applies only to white males. Voters of these qualifications are known as first class burghers, and, so far as numbers go, they are in a ridiculous minority.

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 government to the uitlanders. Do you wonder they object?

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 not of this description.

The first hordes of immigrants were naturally enough composed in part of gamblers and adventurers, but these were soon succeeded by earnest, practical workers, by men of brawn and brains. They worked the mineral wealth of the country; they spent their savings in opening out mines, in putting up the finest machinery, in costly experiments of every kind; they collected the cleverest engineers and managers, 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-



SIR FORRESTIER WALKER.

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

But the Boers found themselves unable 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 Kruger and other sturdy minded young patriots.

So for a while the Boers and British fought the blacks side by side, but the Boers fretted under the British yoke, 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 majesty." 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 led up to the present state of affairs. Mr. Chamberlain, not being so kind-



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 handed.

And they paid and have paid and are 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



TYPES OF BOERS.

yeast that has been leavening the Dutch lump of that distraught republic.

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.



STREET SCENE IN JOHANNESBURG.

These figures throw a lurid light upon 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 uitlanders, 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 defend their country or not is a disputed question. On the face it would seem absurd that a nation which shows a fighting force of only 20,000 could successfully resist the great armies which England could send against it. But those figures do not truthfully repre-

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 north extends British Africa. The Boers' only path to the sea is blocked by Portuguese East Africa, 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 Colony. Trouble with the English led them to move farther inland and farther north. They would build their homesteads 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 stages.

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