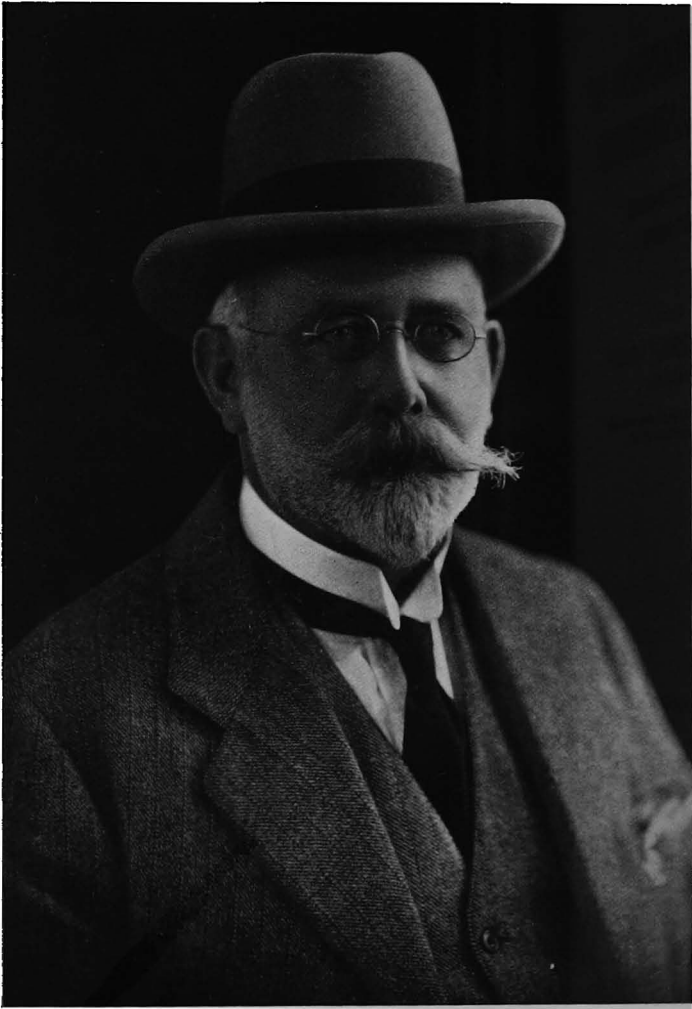


Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-003570

**THE DOMINION OF
AFRIKANDERDOM**



J. J. Mollen

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

RECOLLECTIONS PLEASANT
AND OTHERWISE

BY THE HON.

SIR JAMES TENNANT MOLTENO
B.A., LL.B., K.C.

LAST SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, AND FIRST SPEAKER
OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

WITH THREE PORTRAITS

METHUEN & CO. LTD.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First Published in 1923

V63.N2

F3

3570

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

DEDICATION

To that gallant band, my colleagues in Parliament,
who, rooted in faith and love of country, stood staunch
and undismayed amidst the storms that convulsed
South Africa in the dying years of the late century.
To those who have passed on I bend in reverence;
to those who survive I send thoughts of gratitude and
affection.

JAMES T. MOLTENO

ELGIN, C.P.

9 June, 1922

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| I EARLY DAYS | I |
| II BEFORE I BECAME A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT | 10 |
| III FIRST RHODES MINISTRY | 16 |
| IV FIRST RHODES MINISTRY (<i>continued</i>) | 21 |
| V FIRST RHODES MINISTRY (<i>continued</i>) | 26 |
| VI SECOND RHODES MINISTRY | 32 |
| VII SECOND RHODES MINISTRY (<i>continued</i>) | 37 |
| VIII SECOND RHODES MINISTRY (<i>continued</i>) | 43 |
| IX SECOND RHODES MINISTRY (<i>continued</i>) | 50 |
| X SECOND RHODES MINISTRY (<i>continued</i>) | 55 |
| XI THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID | 62 |
| XII THE JAMESON RAID | 69 |
| XIII THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID (<i>continued</i>) | 73 |
| XIV THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID (<i>continued</i>) | 79 |
| XV THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID (<i>continued</i>) | 84 |
| XVI THE JAMESON RAID | 90 |
| XVII THE JAMESON RAID (<i>continued</i>) | 98 |
| XVIII THE JAMESON RAID (<i>continued</i>) | 106 |
| XIX THE JAMESON RAID (<i>continued</i>) | 112 |
| XX BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR | 118 |
| XXI BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (<i>continued</i>) | 126 |
| XXII BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (<i>continued</i>) | 132 |
| XXIII BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (<i>continued</i>) | 139 |

viii THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| XXIV BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (<i>continued</i>) | 146 |
| XXV BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (<i>continued</i>) | 155 |
| XXVI BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (<i>continued</i>) | 162 |
| XXVII BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (<i>continued</i>) | 166 |
| XXVIII WAR | 172 |
| XXIX THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM | 178 |
| XXX THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM (<i>continued</i>) | 186 |
| XXXI THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM (<i>continued</i>) | 194 |
| XXXII AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER | 198 |
| XXXIII AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (<i>continued</i>) | 205 |
| XXXIV UNION DAY | 213 |
| XXXV AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (<i>continued</i>) | 215 |
| XXXVI AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (<i>continued</i>) | 223 |
| XXXVII AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (<i>continued</i>) | 230 |
| XXXVIII AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (<i>continued</i>) | 237 |
| XXXIX AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (<i>continued</i>) | 243 |
| INDEX | 249 |

LIST OF PORTRAITS

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| SIR JAMES TENNANT MOLTENO | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| From a Photograph by NAVANA, LTD. | |
| | <i>Facing Page</i> |
| THE RT. HONBLE. JOHN X. MERRIMAN | 14 |
| Last Prime Minister of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. | |
| From a Photograph by VANDYK | |
| LORD ROSMEAD OF TAFELBERG | 86 |

INTRODUCTION

THESSE are the early autumn days of the year 1922. This is perhaps the most lovely part of the Western portion of the Cape Province. The Elgin District of the Caledon Division. It is harvest time, and such a harvest. It is a paradise, a garden of Eden and a Haven of Rest. Here I purpose to write down my memories of men and happenings in the most eventful period of the history of South Africa.

I have leisure and inclination. For a long time my friends have urged me, before it becomes too late, to record my experiences. I think the time has arrived when I can safely do so. The major portion of my public life has been spent in opposition, when the political passions of men were at boiling point. Now, things and events that were fiercely debated, and contended for, have become settled, and the common stock and heritage of the Union of South Africa. I shall without doubt evoke controversy, but that at the present time can do little harm. New ground will be broken and things that have never seen the light of day will be revealed. Much will depend upon the spirit which animates the writer and the time when this book is published. In a word, I think I owe it to myself and to the public who trusted me during those long and intense years.

Time has a mellowing effect, and one can take a more or less philosophical view of things that at the time burned into the vitals of life. And more than

xii THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

that, things that my friends and I struggled and contended for have been accomplished and one has the satisfaction of fulfilment. It is now nearly four years since the Armistice and a sort of peace obtains in the world. More than six years have elapsed since I retired from active public life. Twenty years almost to a day since the Anglo-Boer War came to an end with the Peace of Vereeniging. Thirty-two years ago I was first elected a member of the House of Assembly. Fifty years have passed since the inauguration of Responsible Government and twelve years of the Union of South Africa. I cannot be charged with overhastiness.

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

I

EARLY DAYS

FROM my cradle until I was twenty years of age, when I went to Cambridge University, I grew up in an atmosphere of politics. My grandfather on my mother's side came to South Africa as quite a boy. His father had died at Shoreham on active service, while his regiment, the Royal Montgomeryshire Militia was marching along the English southern coast to guard against the threatened attack of Napoleon. This was in 1808, when my grandfather was only four years old. His father bore the family name of John Jarvis, the same name as his great relative, the Earl of St. Vincent, and also at a later period of Chief Justice Sir John Jarvis, both of whom derived their lineage from the same family.

His elder brother was introduced in the year 1816 by the famous Lord Castlereagh, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Leader of the House of Commons, to Mr. John Hudlestone of the East India Company, who nominated him to a cadetship at the Military Seminary at Addiscombe, from which he passed into the Military Service of the East India Company in the Artillery.

My grandfather himself came out in the same year

2 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

with influential introductions to Mr. Henry Alexander, then Colonial Secretary, who introduced him to Mr. Daniel Dixon of the firm of Hudson Donaldson Dixon & Co., with whom he became associated for the whole period of his active life.

There was no Church of England in those days at the Cape, and being of a religious disposition he joined the Dutch Reformed Church, of which he later became a Deacon and Elder. Lord Charles Somerset, the then Governor, befriended him, and he settled down to business in Cape Town. He became many times the Mayor of the city. He took a leading part in the Anti-Convict Agitation. He became its first member of parliament under Representative Government in 1854, and later a member of the Legislative Council.

To him we owe the name of Adderley Street. Sir Charles Adderley, before he was raised to the peerage, befriended the Cape inhabitants in the House of Commons in the great anti-convict agitation, and out of gratitude to him, on the motion and in the mayoralty of my grandfather, the old Heereingracht Straat was named Adderley Street. Much of the early history of those times I learned from personal intercourse with that dear, stately, old English gentleman. He married a lady of Dutch and Huguenot extraction, one of the then belles of Cape Town and became the father of many noble daughters. He died in February, 1889, at the age of eighty-five and he corresponded with me up to the day of his death. My father, who had settled in South Africa in the early 'thirties of the last century, was at the date of my birth in the zenith of his political career and seven years after my birth became first Prime Minister under Responsible Government. His ministry lasted longer than any other down to the present day, and though retired from political life, he was persuaded to help the third ministry under

Sir Thomas Scanlen in the years 1881-1882, when in July, 1882, he retired definitely from public life and died in September, 1886.

My early days were happy ones, full of interest from many points of view. Our home was a little Republic, my father the president, a genial, humorous, but withal a stern, handsome man, but our respect did not dim our love. There were ten children and when my father married again four more, all brought up in the home, day boys and day girls but no out-boarders until practically grown up. That was the family custom at the Cape in those days, and in my opinion it tended to the development of character in the children. We were not hedged round by unnecessary discipline, but put on our honour, and I suppose the multitude controlled the more restless. Hunting, fishing and all kinds of sport were to be had for the taking. We boys were fortunate in our school. There are ten of us living to-day to testify. The majority of us were educated under the mastership of the late Canon Ogilvie, the Principal of the Diocesan College at Rondebosch, five miles from Cape Town. There is no necessity than to more than mention his name. Throughout the length and breadth of South Africa, in English and Dutch homes alike, the name of George Ogilvie is an inspiration and a lasting memory.

As a youngster I loved the open life after hounds, upon the cricket field, upon the plains of the great Karro after springbok, every field and range of sport was ours. No boys or girls could have had a better time, many acquaintances and close friends. This, after all, is not the whole truth about my early days. I suppose there is something in us all very elusive, undefinable, very private and partly melancholic. At such times one withdraws oneself, goes apart, seeks privacy and introspection. My horse was then my

4 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

only companion, and my thoughts, but not for long. The scenery, the atmosphere, the ranges of mountains, the long sandy stretches of the sea coast, the moonlight and my beloved horse coming home, across the sand dunes of the Cape Flats, trembling with a sort of nervous, eerie feeling, smothered all melancholy and made me dream dreams of things to be. Besides I was precocious. My father kept open house. The politicians, civil servants, naval and military men frequented the old home, amongst the oaks of Van der Stel, and we youngsters had to fag and be useful, and of course we were curious and we listened.

There was no monotony in South Africa in those days, and I think there has been none since. I remember Sir Henry Barkly and Sir Bartle Frere, the Governors and their Staffs. I can see Mr. Froude, he was often at our house and he stayed with Mr. J. H. De Villiers at Letterstedts house at Newlands. I have talked over those days with Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell. He told me that those five years, when as Captain Grenfell, on Sir Arthur Cunninghame's Staff, were the happiest years of his life. Of course it was all before the first Boer War. In those days politics were on a different plane. One never heard of Boer and Briton. The divisions in those days were East versus West, the Seven Circles Bill, a State Church, and similar questions. Everybody knew everybody else. There were no races except the coloured races and tribes. It was one big picnic. Then came the Gaika and Galeka Wars. The Zulu War. The war with Seccoceni. The first Boer War and the Basuto War. And after that the race war.

My father was not reticent in the home. He discussed political problems, both South African and world wide, and welcomed our participations in the conversations. We were loyal partisans, and sub-

consciously absorbed his constitutional and political views. We noted with sorrow and dismay the break-up of his fine constitution upon the reversal of his policy, and the dismissal of his ministry by Sir Bartle Frere. At that time he sought peace and consolation at his seaside resort, and well I remember Sir Garnet Wolseley, after the disaster in Zululand, and on his way to replace Lord Chelmsford, driving down to Kalk Bay in his four-in-hand to discuss the settlement with my prematurely aged father. In 1881, after Sprigg's fall, he consented to help Sir Thomas Scanlen form his Cabinet and took the office of Colonial Secretary.

In that year I matriculated with honours, and it was arranged that my wish to be a barrister should be fulfilled. I thought that by taking up that profession I could kill two birds with one stone and become a member of Parliament as well. A condition precedent to my going to an English University was that I should graduate at the Cape University. My father had an aversion to the children leaving South Africa at too early an age, because he feared that they might lose their interest in and love of South Africa. My eldest brother had been my father's private secretary, but when the former went to Europe in the early part of 1882, I was taken from college and acted in his place until my father's resignation of his office in July, 1882. Thus at seventeen years of age for six months I did my best in that capacity. It was my first practical contact with public affairs and the political world.

At that time the House of Assembly met in the Good Hope Lodge, and I well remember the Speaker and members at that time. It was in the later 'seventies that I was present at the laying of the foundation-stone of the present Parliament House. As a precursor to my father's premature death, at the age of seventy-

6 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

two, his eyesight became defective. I did all his reading aloud for him and his correspondence. Many an hour was spent under the old oaks reading the "Nineteenth Century" and "Contemporary Review" and discussing the interminable controversies of Gladstone, Huxley, Herbert Spencer and Lubbock of those days. I could write much of what my father related to me of his early days, of the Kaffir wars, and the rough and tumble of early colonial up-country life and of the men of those days.

My intercourse with the old first Prime Minister of the Cape was destined to mould my views of the men and problems of South Africa. At that time also I met General Gordon, who was one of my childhood's heroes. I had to call on him officially, for he was for a short time a servant of the Government. He was appointed by the Scanlen Ministry to try to wipe up the mess in Basutoland that Sprigg's futile disarmament policy had made. Shortly afterwards my father retired to Europe and remained abroad till six months before his death.

In the meantime I resumed my lectures and studies and graduated with honours, with an exhibition at the University of the Cape of Good Hope. I can never repay my professors; they were all Oxford and Cambridge men, my intellectual masters but also my friends. At that time Sir Leicester Smyth was the General Commanding in South Africa. I mention his name with gratitude, because whilst my family was in England he was peculiarly kind to me. Once I was engaged to dine with him one evening at my old home at Claremont, but in the afternoon he sent Colonel Montgomery, his Chief of Staff, to tell me not to come, that the General had just heard of Gordon's death at Khartoum and was so upset that he had taken to his bed. I was very sad at the news and

remember walking up Wynberg Hill, standing on the Hen and Chickens, with the famous view before me, and composing the following boyish lines :

GORDON

We must not weep that thou hast gone
The way the good shall go ;
We weep to think that thou alone
Of right didst only know.

But if thy life to us doth say,
And say though others frown,
That virtue is the roughest way,
At night a bed of down.

Then gladly should we hail the death
Of those that us can teach
That right is right whoever saith,
Too high I cannot reach.

In the year 1884 the Cape Town line of railway was linked up with the Port Elizabeth Line at the Junction of De Aar, five hundred miles in the interior of the country, a great consummation of my father's railway policy. To celebrate the event, the first inter-colonial cricket tournament was held at Port Elizabeth, at Christmas, 1884. Four teams met together, Western Province, Eastern Province, Border and Griqualand West. That was the beginning of Cricket in South Africa and I was lucky to be one of those chosen to represent the Western Province. I often linger in thought on those pleasant days, the little seed sown from which has sprung the Sporting Union of South Africa, and that winter also saw my last run with the Hounds. It was on the Cape Flats, before the days of fencing, at a time when the slaughter stock came in on foot to Cape Town and jackals were plentiful. It was three o'clock in the afternoon before we found, and Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor, and the

8 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

majority of the followers of the Hunt had turned home in disgust hopeless of finding. Two hours to a minute before we killed. I wonder if General Rimington forgets; I shall never.

In the middle of the year 1885, my young brother Barkly and I left the Cape for England, my brother, a naval cadet, destined for the *Britannia* at Dartmouth, and myself to Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Inner Temple, London. At that time two of my brothers were pursuing their studies in England. The elder, Percy, had graduated at Cambridge from Trinity, and had been called to the Bar at the Inner Temple; the younger, Victor, was studying for medicine at St. Bartholomew's, London. After seeing my young brother entered for a naval career, my brother Victor and I went up to Cambridge, the former entering Clare College. It is unnecessary to pursue my course at the University. It was all delightful and I enjoyed every new experience. I took great interest in the academic, social and political life and became a member of all the leading societies of that time.

My vacations were spent mostly travelling on the continent of Europe. I was fortunate in meeting many well-known public men and I followed the controversies on Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bills of the 'eighties, and met some of the leading actors of those times. I was on the Committee of the Union and the first president of the Trinity College Debating Society. Amongst one of my most treasured memories was meeting and conversing with the G.O.M., whose niece, the wife of the Master of Selwyn, I had the honour of knowing. Some of the present leading members of the Imperial Parliament were fellow-students, friends and acquaintances of mine and several have held the highest offices under the Crown, as Cabinet Ministers and Governors.

I passed some months in Paris at the time of MM. Boulanger and Ferry, and was passing the House of Deputies when Ferry was shot at and witnessed the excitement. My most vivid recollection of those days was the sight of M. de Lesseps and his crowd of children daily riding to the Bois, along the Avenue Bois de Boulogne, where I resided. I spent many days beer drinking and fraternizing with German students at Bonn and Heidelberg in my rambles on the Continent. I was fortunate to become a prizeman of my college, Trinity. I graduated with honours in the Law Tripos in 1888 and was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple, on the motion of the late Sir William Grantham, the Judge, and a personal friend, seconded by the famous Sir Harry Poland, Q.C., in the first term of 1889. I was back in South Africa in February, 1889, and was admitted Advocate to the Supreme Court in the same month, at the age of twenty-four. Thus far it had all been *couleur de rose* and at that time I thought that "manners makyth man" and the world was ruled by sweet reason.

II

BEFORE I BECAME A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

A SHORT survey of the position in South Africa, when I arrived back in the year 1889, contrasted with the situation when I left in 1885 should not be amiss; before I recount my active connection with public affairs, upon my entering the House of Assembly in October, 1890. I left for England in July, 1885, in the ill-fated *Drummond Castle*. At that time the country was suffering from depression and drought and everybody was downhearted. Sir Hercules Robinson was Governor and High Commissioner, and the fourth ministry under the Premiership of Mr. Upington ruled the Cape Colony.

The Cape Colony at that time was bounded by the Vaal River and Orange River in the north and the disputes about the Griqualand West boundary between England and the Orange Free State had been adjusted. Griqualand West was already an integral portion of the Cape Colony with parliamentary representation in both Houses. The Free State was pursuing its placid and even course. Natal under Crown Colony rule was developing and breathing more freely after the destruction of the Zulu power, and the Transvaal Republic had regained its independence in 1881 reinforced by the Convention of London of 1884. The Bechuanaland expedition, under Sir Charles Warren, had come to an end, and the frontier between the Transvaal and

Bechuanaland was defined and stabilized. Peace reigned in South Africa outwardly.

Men's minds, however, had been disturbed all over South Africa, European and Native alike. Mr. Gladstone's Government and the wise rule of Sir Hercules Robinson as High Commissioner had made a political settlement. The whites all over the sub-continent were angry, suspicious and discontented. Englishmen as a whole were smarting under the defeat at Majuba, and the Dutch Afrikanders were awakening from their slumber and becoming self-conscious. The Afrikander bond had sprung into life, and from being a Farmers' Association had become the most powerful political force in South Africa. I do not enter into the reason of things at present, I only state the facts. No one was comfortable in mind or pocket at that time. The diamond diggers also had their troubles and gold had not in appreciable quantities entered at that time as a disturbing factor. A great victory, however, had been won in the meantime, and it had become inconceivable that a Governor on a purely Cape Colony question could act as Sir Bartle Frere had in dismissing his ministry in 1878.

On the long voyage in 1885 I was fortunate to have the companionship of the late Sir George Baden Powell, a member of the House of Commons, who died shortly afterwards, a wise and well-informed man who had come out especially to study South African problems. Also I heard at first hand of the conditions on the diamond fields from Barney Barnato and Woolf Joel, two young men in their twenties but so early in life financially very powerful, and Mr. Rhodes's chief opponents a few years later in the great diamond amalgamation.

On my return to Cape Town four years later things were very different. The gold fields had broken out

12 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

at the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal, the diamond mines had been amalgamated under the financial genius of Rhodes and Beit, and the whole of South Africa was pulsating with activities of every description. The centre of gravity had shifted in that short period from the coast a thousand miles into the interior. It was all excitement. The manners and customs of the people amongst whom I had been accustomed to move before I left were changing. The steamers and mail boats could not carry the people fast enough to our shores. The clothes, speech and provisions, both solid and liquid, were changing, and it took me some time to understand the language of my friends.

A monster upheaval! The most prosaic and matter-of-fact no longer spoke in shillings and pounds but in hundreds, thousands and millions. A new language, a new set of ideas had taken possession of the people, not only the worldly but those also whom I had revered as the most evangelical and godly. It was a revelation, and my letters and newspapers had not prepared me for the change that I was to witness. Politics, Dutch and English, vendettas and hatreds, all fixed ideas were forgotten in the rush for gold. What a strange and changing world is South Africa! Drought or flood. Plenty or starvation. Peace or war. I could not get my bearings for some time, especially as many old friends and public men that I had known and expected to meet were away and time and patience would solve their whereabouts and their fortunes.

I arrived on the crest of the first great Boom and I wondered what was to become of myself. Was I to rush in and to become a millionaire? The only words I heard for a time were "options," "shares," "scrip," "time bargains," "differences," but the one that most appealed to me was "ground floor." Was it all a

dream, a romance! What was the psychology underlying it all? The old mountains were there and the lovely colours and atmosphere. The oaks and pines, the vineyards, the flowers, all the mystery and call of South Africa, but where was the soul of the people?

I was called to the Bar of the Supreme Court within a few days of my arrival, and in a week I was on my first circuit in the south-western districts and the Great Karoo, and for the next six weeks I was beyond the din of the strange jargon. The circuit was delightful. The scenery grand. The country people and the country villages and towns recalled happy days, and many I had not known before were soon acquaintances and friends. I never felt a stranger, it was all home.

The political situation was much the same as in 1885, the same old trusted Governor and High Commissioner, the same Ministry but under a different Premier. Sir Gordon Sprigg had replaced Sir Thomas Upington, a mere political family shuffle. The season was good, the rains plentiful, and the prices of wool and products in the world markets were booming. Politics were out of fashion, Parliament was not in session, and politicians were on the material and financial "make," a then-favoured word of speech.

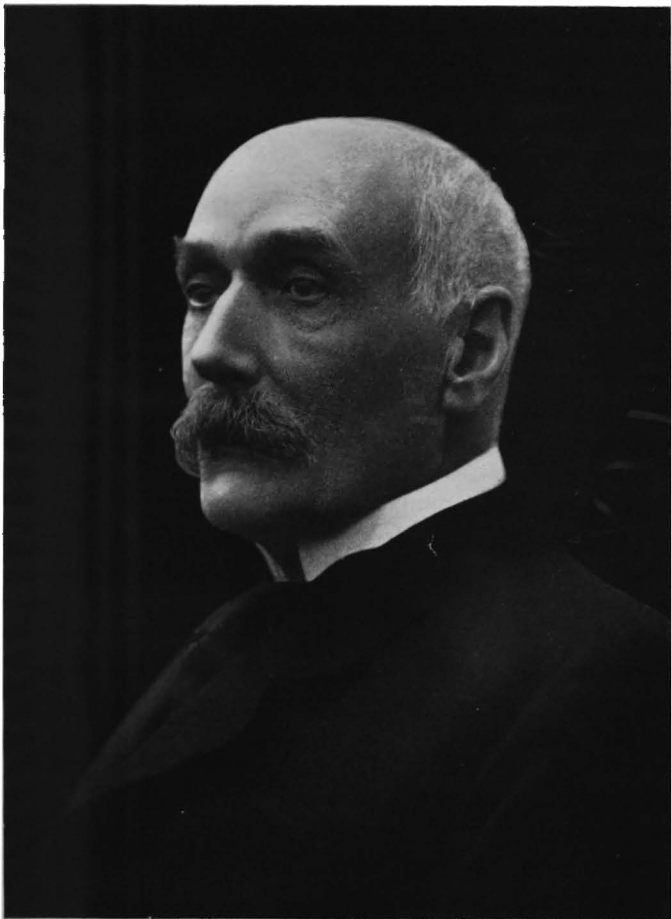
I must needs go and see for myself. And the following months I visited Kimberley, the terminus of the railway to the north, and then by road to Johannesburg, Pretoria and the Free State. Over the Drakensberg to Ladysmith and thence by rail through Natal to Durban and home by sea to Cape Town. No railways in the Transvaal or the Free State. Most of my old school friends, and many of the public men I had known, I came across. The same generous camaraderie, that South Africa, fair weather or storm, has been and ever will be famous for, was mine. Many a new acquaintance was made amongst Boer and

14 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

Briton, and then for the first time I met President Kruger and most of the leading men of the Republic. I met Olive Schreiner at Kimberley. And in a little tin house at Langlaagte, near Johannesburg, also John X. Merriman, my father's old lieutenant in politics and my lifelong leader and friend. To-day, well over eighty, after fifty years of strenuous and honourable public life, still the same Sir Galahad, pure and incorruptible, the oldest and yet the youngest, the noblest and most beautiful face and public character I have known. It is my greatest honour to feel he has been my friend, and despite all my shortcomings and the weakness of human nature, I feel in my bones and every fibre of body and mind that never a disloyal thought or doubt has come between us since my boyhood to the present time. If even a small percentage of colonists of English extraction had been like him, how different the history of South Africa in my time.

At the Rand and Pretoria I was much urged to settle but, not without misgiving, I decided to settle and remain in the old Colony and returned to Cape Town whilst the House was in the session of 1889. During my absence in Europe the new Houses of Parliament had been completed and both the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly were housed in the same building. A general election had taken place, and the session of the year 1889 was the first session of the Eighth Parliament reckoned from the beginning of parliamentary institutions in the year 1854.

At this time the tidal wave of the first great gold Boom was receding and leaving in its wake shipwreck and disaster, and many of the local banks and financial institutions failed. Phylloxera was devastating the vineyards of the Western Province and financial distress



Yours truly
John Pennington
1910

BEFORE I ENTERED PARLIAMENT 15

made itself felt on a larger scale and in a wider circle than ever before. People had occasion to draw breath and cry a halt. I attended all the important debates in the House, and in the session of 1890 I witnessed the defeat of the Government on its railway bill and the fall of Sprigg's Ministry, with the advent to power of the first Rhodes Ministry, on 17 July, 1890. Those two years 1889-1890 were full of excitement and hope for myself. I was taking stock of public affairs, extending my political circle of friendship and experience, taking on matrimonial responsibilities and, towards the end of the year 1890, finding myself with dramatic suddenness a full-fledged member of Parliament.

III

FIRST RHODES MINISTRY

I AM an early riser, breakfast at eight, true sun time seven, a walk through the oak avenue past the apple orchard and on to the summit of the hill crowned by forest. It is an inspiration, clears the mind and aids memory. What a wonderful thing is the memory, and I think South Africa aids memory and imagination. This morning is cloudless, a little nip in the air, a sign that the hot days of summer are ending, but the landscape and the views! All around are great ranges of mountains and to the east is the pile of Babylon's Tower. The clarity of the atmosphere is the continual marvel of nature worshippers and the despair of artists. Here come only faint sounds of the strike and anarchy of Johannesburg and the storms of the Coalition in England. I must not moralize and dream longer, for I must continue my story.

It was the spring of the south and I was on circuit at George in the year 1890 when I received a telegram from Mr. Merriman that his colleague, Mr. Charles Lewis, was resigning from Namaqualand and would I stand in his place? Yes, I would stand, and within two months I had visited Namaqualand, been accepted and elected without a contest and by proclamation number 316, 1890, was a full-blown member of Parliament, age twenty-five.

In those days Parliament met in the Cape winter months, generally on or about the Queen's birthday,

24 May, and lasted about three months. On Tuesday, 26 May, 1891, the first day of the session and after the Governor's opening speech, I was introduced by Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer, signed the roll, took the oath of allegiance and shook hands with the Speaker, and was invested with all the privileges and duties of a member of Parliament. I do not propose to analyse my feelings on that occasion, how nervous but how proud I felt. I stood as a South African on a broad South African platform and as a supporter of the New Rhodes Government that had been formed in the middle of the previous session of 1890. I had confidence in the Ministry, for did it not include some of my father's old colleagues! Messrs. Merriman and Sauer, the political Siamese Twins, were in my father's administration; Mr. Rhodes had for a short time been in Scanlen's Ministry, of which my father had been a member; Mr. Hofmeyer, though not of the Ministry, was its main support, and he had been a colleague of my father. I deemed it to be an historical continuation of the policy of a manly, virile South Africanism and true Responsible Government.

I may be permitted to review shortly the state of policy and public affairs at that time. The middle of the year 1889 had witnessed the departure of Sir Hercules Robinson, who had for nine eventful years been Governor and High Commissioner, and who had succeeded Sir Bartle Frere upon the latter's recall in 1880. At a public farewell banquet in Cape Town, on 27 April, 1889, the retiring Governor made an historic pronouncement and declared that there was no place for direct Imperial Rule in South Africa. He reviewed the situation and, in one of the most weighty and statesmanlike speeches, used these words "Amateur meddling of irresponsible and ill-advised persons in England which makes every resident in the Republics,

English as well as Dutch, rejoice in their independence and converts many a colonist from an Imperialist into a Republican." Sir Hercules' statement of policy was considered so wise and weighty that the House of Assembly within a month passed the following resolution: "That this House, having learned with regret, that His Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner has tendered his resignation, and that it has been accepted, desires to express its concurrence in and support of the views enumerated by him, delivered in Cape Town 27 April last, and trusts that the future policy of Her Majesty's Imperial Government may be in accordance with those views, which are held by a vast majority of the people of this country, as divergence from them would be detrimental to the interests of South Africa and of the Empire." What a warning note for the days so shortly to come! Sir Hercules was succeeded by Sir Henry Loch, the then Governor of Victoria, Australia.

The state of things and affairs were all over South Africa settling down. Commerce and trade were recovering after the period of collapse consequent upon the breaking of the great Boom and overtrading and, within a month of my election, the railway line to Bloemfontein was opened with great rejoicing, as well as the railways to Vryburg and Simonstown. Railways were expanding and junctions completed, and Customs agreements were being promoted. Steady and peaceful progress in mining, agriculture and commerce were visible in every direction. The public finances were buoyant and the air was full of schemes of progress and betterment. The only little friction that I can call to mind was tribal fighting in Pondoland, consequent on the death of Umquikela. Negotiations dealing with Swaziland were taking place with Paul Kruger. The charter had been secured by Rhodes, but

the occupation of the country was still to be effected.

Seventy-six members constituted the popular House of Assembly and members were elected for five years, two of which had elapsed. The sixth ministry under Responsible Government was in power, Rhodes, Sauer, Merriman, Innes, Sivewright and Faure. Sir David Tennant was the Speaker, John Noble Clerk and old Michael Bergh Serjeant-at-Arms. Of the seventy-six colleagues of mine in 1891, sixty-five have passed to the majority. All the Ministers save two, the Rt. Hon. J. X. Merriman, P.C., and the present Chief Justice, Sir James Rose-Innes, are dead. Of the Parliamentary Staff of those days none save Sir Ernest Kilpin survive. What a reflection! And I am still young, very young. My nickname amongst my critics of a certain class, outside the House, was for years "Baby Molteno," and I refuse to grow old. When I entered the House, my colleague assured me it was the best club in South Africa, and political life the most worth living. He has practised what he preached, for he to-day is one of the most energetic and mentally plastic at the age of eighty-one and after fifty-three years of unbroken membership of Parliament.

The debating hall was the present dining-room in the Union Buildings and was lighted in the daytime by large windows facing south-east. The glare in the faces of the Opposition to the left of the Speaker's chair was enough to convert more than one member in my time into a supporter of the Ministry of the day. Voting together on the same side of the House is a wonderful thing, the relationship that it creates passes analysis, the severance more than tragedy. As Mr. Sauer used to say, "It is easy to vote with me when I am in the right, but I appreciate it the more when I am in the wrong." The bond of loyalty to Party and political friends is one of the most sacred of human experiences.

The aversions of former political friends and colleagues are more terrible than the hatreds of sometime lovers.

The Ministry of the day was called the Ministry of All the Talents, and it was very efficient, both administratively and from the quality of the legislative output. From the commencement I took an active part in the proceedings both in the Chamber and Committee Room, and the Acts passed in the years 1891-1892 were of the first importance from a commercial and social point of view. Five of the Cabinet were in the first rank and Mr. Rhodes had an easy time. Liquor, Banking, Lunacy and Company Laws are the law to-day and the Franchise and Ballot Act of 1892 made far-reaching reforms and still governs our arrangements. There were but four advocates in the Assembly, the rest were farmers and merchants. The debate and proceedings were more decorous and dignified than they are now, and even clothing and head-gear were more austere and synodical. The bell-topper, both black and drab, was much affected, especially on the Opposition benches, whether on account of the glare or to hide certain deficiencies I cannot say. Snuff was used more than nowadays. Catering arrangements were not so elaborate as to-day, and members dined at the clubs and hotels as a rule. The Chamber, though stuffy, was bearable, because we sat in the rainy winter months. Members might on occasion maul one another across the floor, but outside the debating chamber courtesy, good feeling and *bon camaraderie* were the rule ; there was no Labour party at that time.

IV

FIRST RHODES MINISTRY *(continued)*

THIS period was the high-water mark in Rhodes's life. At the early age of thirty-seven he found himself Prime Minister of the aristocratic old Cape Colony. I had met Rhodes in the year 1881 and afterwards until I left for Cambridge. I can remember well my first impressions of him. He had just been elected for Barkly West and was at the age of twenty-eight the leader of the new Griqualand West group of members, and my father said that he was one of the most promising of the younger members of the House. During the sessions he was attracted to Muizenberg, which consisted then of only two houses, Professor Gill's House on the mountain side and the wayside inn "Farmer Pecks" on the Simons-town main road, and a few old forts. Either alone or accompanied by the brothers Solomon, William and Richard, he used to walk along the unrivalled beach and breathe the bracing air from the southern ocean. I myself on horseback, or on foot, often met him or them walking briskly far out along the sands. One may say Rhodes discovered Muizenberg thus early and how attractive its solitary grandeur and bracing air to those whose lives were cast in the dry uplands of the interior I can well imagine. The nearest railway, ten miles off at Wynberg, secured privacy and isolation and the Hirschs were good and sympathetic hosts at the inn.

During the interval 1885-1890 Rhodes had been a

poor attendant of the sessions of Parliament. He had had other fish to fry. On his return to active politics at the Cape in 1890 he found himself Prime Minister and his appearance had much changed. He had filled out, and in place of the sprightly, tall, active young man I had known he had become broader and heavier both in stature and face, and his hair was turning slightly iron grey. He always had had a great shock of hair and if ever a man belied the Yankee saying that hair won't grow on brains he did. There was not a single sign of a bald patch.

I am writing about men and affairs of more than thirty years ago, but the old House of Assembly with its occupants and its furniture where members sat, their habits and gestures, the angels up aloft behind the Speaker's chair, the Press, the private secretaries and the frequenters of the public galleries; where the snuff-box and the water-bottle stood, where the carpet had worn thin, and old Michael Bergh, the genial, gouty old sportsman, permitted to wear trousers in place of regulation knickerbockers on account of the gout; what sweets and peppermints, and even scent, some of the members affected. Tragedy and mirth, drama and melodrama. That House of Assembly was the most human of all.

In the time of the first Rhodes Ministry there were no parties; for decency's sake there were a few sham fights started by Sprigg, Upington, O'Reilly or Schermbrucker, but from the high political standpoint the lion and the lamb were affectionate brothers. St. Leger in the corner seat looking out of the window by his side in the angels' loft seemed more interested in the goings on in Grave Street than the proceedings on the floor of the House; perhaps it possibly might have been when the debate was "gliding over the shallows of the Taal," which he could never understand.

Certainly there were some evening sittings towards the end of the sacred ninety days, but not without a protest from the mock fiery old Colonel Schermbrucker, who asserted that only wolves and robbers were abroad at night-time. But for a few dog fights got up by youngsters like Tamplin and myself, you would have thought that the dignified House of Assembly was a sedate and well-conducted ladies' seminary. The simple explanation was that every one was satisfied; peace, plenty and progress were in the land, and the Ministry of all the Talents was on the Treasury bench; every dog had his bone. The Cabinet was the strongest that had ever come together, it had wealth, imagination, capacity and large-heartedness, and it comprised every interest, even the natives. Its strength and comprehensiveness was its weakness, and the Opposition, such as it was, was content to bide its time and take advantage from time to time of any differences that might appear in its personnel.

To be more concrete, and to leave generalities, the facts as they appeared to me at the time were as follows: The Imperial factor had for the time being been eliminated. The two things that had been a thorn in the side of South Africa were Downing Street and its amateur interference, and Exeter Hall and its group of well-meaning busybodies. The Bechuanaland question and the road to the interior had been settled favourably to the Colonial instinct. The destiny of South Africa appeared to be in the hands of its inhabitants and the course of evolution and natural selection that had been interrupted was to have fair play. The Transvaal and the north were revealing their hitherto hidden wealth. The charter had been secured and the great interior was being opened up on well-known colonial lines. The old sores and heartburnings were being healed, and people of every shade of nation-

24 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

ality and creed were experiencing what a good place and a prosperous one South Africa really was to live in.

I was proud of our Premier and the Ministry, and not only of their persons, but the policy they embodied. There was Rhodes, the Prime Minister, no new-comer, an old friend, his person was pleasing, he stood for what I believed in, he was rich beyond the dreams of avarice, but withal unspoilt, simple and natural, he understood and sympathized with the Dutch and Colonial Afrikaner. He was a great man of affairs, for had he not conquered Barney Barnato and the others in the realms of finance peculiarly their own on the Diamond fields and the Goldfields. There was no scintilla of snobbishness, he was *par excellencq* a good fellow, and I, the young man of twenty-six, took immensely to Rhodes, the Prime Minister of thirty-eight. I was cocksure I was right, and I would have despised myself had I thought for a moment that Rhodes had any ulterior motives or could do anything politically unfair. I did not see or feel any danger ahead. For two and a half years my relations were very personal and intimate, and Rhodes was peculiarly charming to his friends. During times when the session was on and he was at the Cape, he would invite me often to drive out in his cape cart to the "Grange" at Rondebosch and dine and spend the evening with him. At that time I lived a couple of miles farther on the same main road at Claremont. .

I could write much about the social side of Rhodes's life at the time, the conversations, the progress of the pioneers in Mashonaland, his ideas on the philosophy of life and men. He was known by the nickname of "The Young Burgher" on account of his admiration of the Dutch, the old Dutch days of the Cape, their architecture, their furniture and their sterling qualities. As for the opening up of the raw places of Africa and

the pioneering instinct of the old Boer he could never say enough. I had no suspicion of danger ahead and my particular friends Merriman and Sauer were working wholeheartedly with him. There is a true American saying, "Hind sight is better than foresight," in other words it is easy to be wise after the event.

Political life at the time was both easy and delightful and I treasure the memory of those days. I attempt, however feebly, to picture the atmosphere at the time. Cynically and baldly the Great Amalgamator was the uncrowned king of the destinies of the southern continent of Africa. Paul Kruger may have been suspicious, and the "Knights of Labour," the liquor sellers, the I.D.B.'s and all that motley crowd at Kimberley who had been deprived of their livelihood by the amalgamation of the Diamond Mines and the compounding of the natives may have been his bitter enemies. Rhodes was Prime Minister, with the Diamond Mines, a great portion of the Rand Gold Mines and the Charter in his pocket, and with a private income so fabulous and staggering that he could not compute it himself. At any rate his personal private income was at that time thrice what the whole income of the Cape Colony had been twenty years prior, at the time of Responsible Government, and without any obligations as to expenditure, and it was growing year by year.

That was only a part of the picture, he had much more than that, he had the Cape Colony Parliament, Mr. Hofmeyr and the Bond, the British Government, the Irish Party, the son-in-law of the Prince of Wales. He was at that time the most powerful individual man in the British Empire, perhaps in the whole world. But all the same he was at the time I write of one of the most engaging personalities, simple in his private life, charming in his personal character, a true South African in outlook and an adorable friend.

FIRST RHODES MINISTRY (*continued*)

THE most powerful man in the House was Hofmeyr. Rhodes sat on the front Treasury bench, Prime Minister, Hofmeyr sat on the back bench against the wall at the head of the gangway in the second row, right behind Rhodes. Hofmeyr never left his seat, Rhodes often in two strides was beside the former, I sat beside Hofmeyr. Hofmeyr was a true patriot, he cared nothing about money or titles. Mr. Garrett, at this time on a visit to South Africa, called him the Parnell of South Africa; he was much more than Parnell, he was a successful Parnell. He was the wise leader of the Afrikander Bond, that organization's heart and brains. He was supported also by many who were not Bondsmen. Hofmeyr appealed not only to his political admirers, both inside and outside the House, but also to the young growing world of South African sport. He was an ardent devotee of cricket. I was not a Bondsman at any time of my political life, though later on, when the Bond widened its outlook and organization, I became one of the first members of the South African Party. I was in sympathy with the Bond except for the period of the second Rhodes Ministry. Rhodes without Hofmeyr would have counted for very little in the House of Assembly. I doubt whether Rhodes would have continued even a private member without the support of Hofmeyr.

Hofmeyr was somewhat of an enigma judged by the standards of other politicians. He never took open official responsibility. The Hofmeyr umbrella was like none that I had ever seen. Rain or sunshine he was never without it. For only a few months he had held a seat in the Cabinet during Scanlen's Ministry, but without portfolio. After that he was never a Minister of the Crown. Even in the organization that he moulded and perfected he never held office. It was always his boast that he was a simple private citizen. Once I said to him, "Why do you not form a ministry yourself?" The answer was, "I know my countrymen better than you, some of them would be the first to drag me down from the office of Prime Minister." A strange trait in the character of the Afrikaners of the Cape Colony! In the mass they could not tolerate one of themselves to be their ruler. Hofmeyr's great power was knowledge. He knew his people and his own limitations imposed by circumstances. It was always the plea of health. I never knew a public man who was so free from petty aversions and jealousy as Hofmeyr. Courage he had, and the events that were soon to follow fully proved his courage. It is a pity that great people could not write their own "Lives." I fail to recognize some of the characters that I have known from perusing their "Lives" Dry bones, without life, and the atmosphere of a vault.

Hofmeyr's nickname at that time was the "Mole." Thus British South Africa at that period was guided by the "Young Burgher" on the back of the "Mole" under the Bond umbrella. Hofmeyr was forty-five, medium height, broad, compact and stolid, close-cut moustache, no beard, and hair cropped short, not an Adonis to look at. We mutually liked each other, we both wore spectacles. When I first entered the House

he had just returned from Pretoria after helping Sir Henry Loch and Paul Kruger to settle the Swaziland Convention.

Merriman and Sauer I always couple in my mind, they worked together and they were the ministers with most experience ; when Rhodes was a youth they were already Ministers of the Crown. They and Rhodes had later in Scanlen's Ministry served together. These two ministers typified what was best in South African public life. Merriman, the son of an English bishop, Sauer of Dutch descent, the son of a farmer. The David and Jonathan of South Africa. Merriman still active at eighty-one and Sauer too early dead in 1913. All my long quarter of a century of active public life was spent in the closest public and private and personal intimacy with them. Merriman was my colleague. The one was the complement of the other. Merriman chivalrous, eager, hasty ; Sauer solid, cautious, well balanced. Merriman the Rupert of debate ; Sauer the greatest orator and master of the English language. There was debating and oratory in those days. Merriman was Treasurer, Sauer Colonial Secretary.

James Siyewright was Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, which included the railways. He had been a Civil Servant and was a pensioner and also a member of the Bond. As a boy I knew him when one of the head officials in the Cape Telegraph Department. I was fond of cricket and we met constantly on Southey's cricket ground at Plumstead. He was clever, some thought too clever, a Scotchman, the son of a mason and stonecutter and owed everything to the splendid system of education in Scotland which reached all classes. He was too gushing and was himself to blame if people thought him insincere.

Rose-Innes, the Attorney-General, was, like Sive-

wright and Faure, new to office. Sir David Tennant was the Speaker and was a trusted old servant of Parliament, having first stepped up on to the chair in the year 1874. Since parliamentary institutions began in 1854 he was only the second Speaker; his predecessor Sir Christoffel Brand had occupied the chair for twenty years and the present Speaker had since been continuously elected. Hockly, a Bedford farmer, was the Chairman of Committees. Sir Thomas Uppington was still a member during my first two sessions and afterwards accepted a judgeship. I greatly admired his ability and charming personality, but I never voted with him. Sir Gordon Sprigg was Leader of the Opposition, and Sir Thomas Scanlen was still a member. Thus there were three former Prime Ministers in my first years still in the House.

The great majority of members were farmers. Forty-five out of seventy-six earned their living by farming and many of the others were interested directly or indirectly in farming pursuits. Curiously enough not one of the members of the Ministry was a farmer, though Messrs. Merriman and Sauer subsequently became practical farmers.

There was one external excitement, however, brought about by one Adendorff and his trek into the sphere acquired by the Charter, but after some fuss and apprehension, and owing to Hofmeyr and Kruger, the suspense was removed and the danger averted. Railways were being extended and trade was expanding in all directions and new mines floated and developed. Burning questions resolved into whether trade should go by way of Port Elizabeth and the Midland Line or East London and the Border to the Transvaal. Rhodes was busy at times telling the farmers why he loved them so much, for was he not descended from a farming family? Were not farmers producers? Were not

all producers in the same boat, whether producers of potatoes or diamonds? The interests of the producers were one and their wants the same, namely labour, and that coloured cheap labour, and hence the native question was the peculiar solicitude of the farmers and the miners. And of course all that led to the consideration of the position of the merchants and the importers, and of course their interests were opposed to the producers and hence protection of the products of the soil versus free trade.

As regards the North, it was the heritage of the Cape both as regards colonization and the consumption of the products of the farmers. And Rhodes was a great admirer of the big families of the Colony, being careful himself not even to have a wife, and the sons of the big families must have land and hence the importance of the Hinterland, and the world was waking up to the importance of land, and we must be quick or it would be all parcelled out and occupied before we could have a look in. I give just a few of the lines of argument at the time.

Dear old Rhodes. He took himself so seriously when in the country at the Paarl or some other congenial climate, he would expand with a "Thought." It was all so simple and logical and every one was making money and no one could see any end to this earthly paradise of mineral riches, riches of the soil and good positions for the sons of South Africa. In this hopeful and contented atmosphere who could be so churlish as to criticize and put another "Thought." I do not blame anyone and least of all myself. Take the Church, the Press, our guides in times of doubt. They were all satisfied. Take the Church, many of the sometime fiery members, clergymen were so enamoured of Rhodes and the new world that they cast aside their gowns and hastened to preach the new

FIRST RHODES MINISTRY 31

gospel, all good fellows and sportsmen. Take the Press, miracles were just as frequent, and if the "New Thought" did not work quickly enough a new paper would spring up and flourish and the old wither, and after be charitably absorbed. Many a talk I had with Rhodes about the University, with him I inspected the site, but even Hofmeyr in his innocence could not inoculate the worthy fathers of the Stellenbosch Seminary and the Victoria College. They were just past praying for, and their faith was too orthodox and fixed for the invasion of "New Thoughts."

VI

SECOND RHODES MINISTRY

THE earthly paradise that I have attempted to describe and recall was soon to vanish, and in a dramatic way. The sword of malice, envy and all uncharitableness was soon to stand sentinel and forbid entrance to the late political Garden of Eden. Cupidity, concession, monopoly were soon to raid the hitherto staid, dignified and correct atmosphere of the Cape Parliament. It came, like all things South African, unheralded, like a bolt from the blue. I find it extremely distasteful to think of those times, and still more to put on paper my recollections. It is one of the tragedies of life that one cannot always have it both ways. The Rape of Helen was the seed of the downfall of Troy and the decay of Greece. The choice Rhodes made was his downfall and, like Samson, his downfall was the collapse of the Temple of South African Brotherhood for a time. The years from 1893 till 1902 were South Africa's Gethsemane. The ways of Providence are past finding out. In those years I became a changed mortal, and now from the heights of things accomplished and the Union of South Africa I must descend again into the Valley of the Shadow of Death, the Death by Violence of Public Morality and the highest political ideals.

29 August, 1892, witnessed the end of a peaceful, useful session, and in a month's time Rhodes and

Sivewright were on the voyage to England. Sauer and I were on a tour of the Border Districts, and at Queenstown Sauer heard of the Logan Contract and returned to Cape Town. Innes, the Attorney-General, had heard rumours of the contract in the Clubs and streets of Cape Town but did not believe them for the simple reason that no contract had come to his office for drafting and approval, and nothing was known of it by the persons who should, if any, know, Ministers of the Crown. The rumours were so categorical and persistent that the Attorney-General sent to inquire at the Railway Department, and to his utter amazement rumour was for once not a lying jade. The contract had been entered into by the Commissioner Sivewright on the eve of his departure for England.

Now what was the Logan Contract? A contract for the supply of refreshments and liquors, advertising, and book-stalls, over the thousands of miles of railroad, for a period from seventeen to twenty years. The contract was given to Logan and his friends without any public tender being called for, given secretly by Sivewright without informing any colleague or the Cabinet as a whole. Logan was a personal friend of Sivewright and the custom of calling for tenders had been dispensed with. It was in effect a secret contract, creating one of the most powerful monopolies for a period of twenty years, and a monopoly that carried great political power. The whole Colony, and Parliament in particular, had during the past years looked very unfavourably at what was happening in the neighbouring State. Monopolies and concessions were the order of the day in the Transvaal at the time and were eating like a cancer into the public and private life of the State. Rhodes's and Sivewright's colleagues met and discussed the ugly business

34 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

and communicated with their absent colleagues in England, and after much controversy and even cables from Hofmeyr and Graaff, Rhodes and Sivewright consented to the cancellation of the contract.

The Railway Administration was the greatest spending and contracting department in the land, and it was found that the Logan Contract was not the only contract of the kind. Messrs. Merriman, Sauer and Innes came to the conclusion that their confidence in Sivewright was gone and they could not with any sense of honour work with him any longer. Logan naturally got damages out of the Government for the breach of contract, the plea in the action being that the contract was broken in the public interest. The scandal was one of the first magnitude and new in the history of the Cape Parliament.

Rhodes returned in March, 1893, and Sivewright in the following month of April. Thus on the very eve of the coming session of 1893 Rhodes found himself on the horns of a dilemma. Merriman, Sauer and Innes told him that they would not remain members of a Cabinet that included Sivewright and that they had lost all confidence in his character. Rhodes admitted that they were right, but said that Sivewright was also a friend of his, and could they not shake hands and forgive and forget and continue in the same Cabinet. The trio refused. Sivewright was a Bondsman and at that time a great friend of Hofmeyr. In the end Rhodes tendered his resignation to the Governor and was then called upon to form a new ministry and thus ended the Ministry of All the Talents.

The ministerial crisis was all over within a week, early in May, and the new Cabinet was sworn in as follows: Rhodes, Prime Minister; Faure, Colonial Secretary; Sir Gordon Sprigg, Treasurer; Schreiner, Attorney-General; Laing, Commissioner of Public

Works and Railways, and John Frost, Secretary of Native Affairs. Rhodes's first ministry had lasted just under three years, to be precise two years and ten months. His second, with the same personnel throughout, was destined to last two years and eight months, until the Jameson Raid brought about its collapse.

I sympathized entirely with the position adopted by Merriman, Sauer and Innes and could not discover any other course. Before the final breakup, on Rhodes's arrival from England, I was invited to "Groot Schuur" (the "Grange" had been renamed and was now known under its old Dutch name), and after dinner Rhodes and I had a full discussion of the crisis. My final words were, "If you are going to throw over Merriman, Sauer and Innes, who are wholly in the right, for Sive-wright, you are going to tar your northern enterprises with the Sivewright tar-brush, and regretfully I must support the ministers whom I consider are in the right." We parted, never to meet again, at "Groot Schuur," and so terminated my most loyal and devoted service to Rhodes.

Soon after he took the fatal step, the first step on that downward road to disaster. Great man that he was, he lacked moral courage and ballast. I have always thought, remembering many a talk we had, that he was obsessed with the idea that he could not survive the age of fifty. He often said to me that he knew he could not live after the age of fifty. His ambition was to bring about the Union of South Africa in his lifetime. He knew the time was short and he was as a man in great haste; and was the race to be his ere the enemy Death could win? Was not every short cut permissible? Time was of the essence and patience a fool.

I was to witness a personality wholly changed and eventually a morose, egotistical, intellectual bully, who

36 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

could not bear to hear the truth and could tolerate only flatterers and court fools. Rhodes's ambition was no ordinary passion, his passions were not as other men's. Love of money, love of woman or child, love of literature, art or sport were none of them for him. We often in those far-off days, and yet so vivid, discussed all kinds of ethical problems. One day I said to him, "Why go on amassing money?" He replied, "Money, why money is power, and what can one accomplish without power; that is why I must have money. Ideas are no good without money."

Rhodes was rightly worshipped for his many sterling qualities. He was a good South African, he lived her ways, he loved her scenery and her simple country folk. For all his wealth, his circle of flatterers, from Great Britain and South Africa, he was free from any taint of snob. He was childless, unmarried; there would be only his name to succeed him.

Look round Rhodes as I may from every point of view, by the aid of every little circumstance of intimacy, he was not as other men. He was as much a heathen as Lo Bengula, Cæsar or Napoleon, and when I knew him charming and to be loved as men can love each other, but in later years to be avoided. The ordinary man cannot judge Rhodes, for he cannot understand him. The world can tolerate few men like Rhodes, and certainly only one at a time. Some think and say he was the last great Englishman. One may not say it aloud, but think it, Thank God, and Rhodes was man enough to not only think but say it. His ambition and his knowledge of his bad health were his only excuses. Man proposes, but God disposes.

VII

SECOND RHODES MINISTRY (*continued*)

INSTEAD of assembling in May, Parliament was opened on 16 June, 1893. Thus time was given to allow the new ministry to formulate its policy and the new members of the Cabinet to get into touch with the duties of their several offices. Schreiner was not even a member of Parliament on accepting the office of Attorney-General. Old Tom Lynch, one of the members for Kimberley, kindly resigned his seat, and Schreiner met the House as one of Rhodes's members for the Diamond fields. Rhodes had always a few dummies in the House; their votes were secure, and in a contingency they were always amiable and complacent. Lynch, who had never for years opened his mouth in the House once, I remember, attempted to stand on his legs and make a speech, but got no further than the words "Mr. Speaker," and collapsed; however, he never voted on the wrong side.

The Governor's opening speech contained no reference to the ministerial crisis or the formation of the new Ministry. In listening to the reading of it one might well have supposed that things had not happened. The only indication of a change was that mention was made of new proposals for the harbour of East London, and the new Treasurer was that fighting port's representative. Members had hardly taken their seats when Rhodes in a few words announced the change of Ministry, and from that moment till the close of

38. THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

the session, on 29 August following, the Logan Contract in all its bearings, and the administration of the country, occupied the whole time of the House. The legislative output may be summed up in the one Bill creating a new ministerial portfolio and department, that of Agriculture.

The members of the new Ministry were all strange to their offices and could be forgiven for their unpreparedness to meet Parliament. All the same the session of 1893 stands out in my mind as one of the most useful and important of the old Cape Parliament. The character of Parliament and of Public Affairs was definitely formed. Since those times the Administration of the affairs of the public has been pure and above suspicion and reproach. Despite all the abuse and personal recrimination members and ministers were taught a wholesome lesson. The moral atmosphere of Parliament was toned and purified for future generations. Messrs. Merriman, Sauer and Innes deserve all praise and thanks that they put the purity of Parliament before personal ambition and gain.

I was sorry for Hofmeyr. He was in a false position and that not of his own seeking. He was the chairman of the Select Committee that investigated the conduct of late ministers with regard to the Logan Contract and he faced heavy weather in shielding his Bond confrère, Sir James Sivewright. The Bond was riven in twain despite all his efforts, aided by the new and powerful Afrikaner paper "Ons Land," which had been started during the previous year to counter the old "Zuid Afrikaan," which had not been sufficiently subservient to Rhodes. Mr. Hofmeyr had to confess that he was weary and tired of active politics and that he was ill both in mind and in body. It was a terrible session both in its debates and its consequences to individuals. My place was no more beside Hofmeyr

on the back bench of the Government side of the House, but I crossed over and took my place on the Opposition benches.

I revelled in that session and fought for all I was worth. There was no question of Dutch and English, Dutch Members aided English Members to stamp out the fire that threatened to consume all public morals, and Hofmeyr was to witness that he had tried the loyalty of his followers too far. He never again took part in political life as a member of the House, and it was at this period of his remarkable career that he began to exercise his powerful influence from behind the scenes. True, he stood for Parliament at the ensuing general election of the year 1894 and was elected after a bitter contest at Stellenbosch, but he was away at Ottawa in Canada during the session of 1894. Early in the following year he definitely resigned his seat and never after was prevailed on to accept another constituency. Those two years were bitter years for myself, from the moment that Hofmeyr decided for expediency and against what he must have known was the unshakable standpoint of honour of Messrs. Merriman, Sauer and Innes. Hofmeyr's false step at this time was to bring to him a cup overflowing with bitterness and repentance. Only after the Raid were the bonds of friendship and common purpose in political life to be renewed and never severed till his death.

The Committee on the Logan Contract unanimously condemned it and approved of the Government's action in its cancellation. Ever after the chief actor in the drama was known as "The Stainless Knight," a sobriquet coined by himself. Of the new Cabinet, Schreiner was the prizeman and the model boy, and was most worthy from every point of view. He had hitherto had no connexion with active political life,

though for years he had been the Parliamentary Draughtsman and the confidential legal adviser to the High Commissioner. His name was well known as the brother of the gifted Olive Schreiner, a sometime friend of Rhodes. There was no more popular member of the Supreme Court Bar than Schreiner, he was a tower of strength to the new Ministry, their brain carrier and their soul. His strength in some directions was his weakness. He had a unique ethical and metaphysical outlook on life, probably due to his Teutonic descent, well marked in the various members of his family, which was a large and talented one. He was also the brother-in-law of Frank Reitz, the late President of the Orange Free State Republic. His mysticism often obscured his vision, and he was always cocksure that he was in the right, and I never heard of his expressing at any time doubt that he might have been wrong on any subject or occasion, great or small. A lovable type to his friends, a mystery to his political opponents. He was obsessed with Rhodes, though at this period of Rhodes's life his sister Olive, with that uncanny intuition that some women are possessed of, had weighed Rhodes in the moral balance and had found him wanting. Not so the cocksure Schreiner, and that good man, good in the estimation of all his friends, but better in his own, was, like Hofmeyr, to drain the cup of bitterness to the dregs.

And so on a beautiful Saturday morning at a quarter after eleven o'clock the House adjourned and was prorogued by proclamation in place of the time-honoured Governor's formal speech from the throne. It had always been customary in the formal speech of prorogation to announce to all the world the good deeds done by the Government and Parliament during the preceding session. Since that time this formal

prorogation of Parliament by the Governor in person has fallen into desuetude and Parliament has invariably, ever since those days, got its quietus for the session either by proclamation announced in the House or, after adjournment, in the Government Gazette.

I remember that spring morning twenty-nine years ago not so much for the freshness of the air and the scent of the freesias in the Parliamentary grounds, as for the fact that it was the end of the eighth Parliament, whose five years' life had come to an end. Many of my old friends, and perchance myself, would not be there when next Parliament met. We were to face a general election, and the good-byes are always more poignant at such a time. The public think that members have hides like hippopotami, but I have found them the most human and sentimental of mankind, and they are not happy in the contemplation of death in any form. All wholesome alive members contemplate life without the House as a living death, for was it not a membership of the most select club in South Africa. A member whilst not a member is a vacuum abhorred by Nature and a target for rotten eggs, dead cats and unchristian remarks. King Demos is for a time supreme and one must endure fools gladly.

The only change in the Government before the general election was the resignation of Schreiner and the appointment of Henry Juta as Attorney-General in his place. This change was only temporary and lasted during the next ten months and then Schreiner resumed the portfolio, and Juta retired. In the early months of the new year 1894 the general election took place and the country reverberated with the echoes of the storm of the recent session. Merriman and I stood for our old constituency Namaqualand, and the electors were not called upon to take sides in a contested election. Our old constituents were satisfied,

42 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

and although we were attacked in the coloums of Hofmeyr's new paper "Ons Land," no harm was done, and we were amongst the first to be proclaimed members of the ninth Parliament of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

My relations with my constituents had been so far satisfactory, and it was Mr. Merriman's and my own practice to tour the constituency annually, to take the electors into our confidence and to explain the questions of the day as they affected not only general policy but local requirements. Whilst member for Namaqualand I received nothing but kindness and hospitality from all sections of the community regardless of colour, creed or nationality. My relations were very pleasant ones with the Copper Mines, the Farmers and the Missionaries, with their far-flung communities and congregations. I looked forward to these annual excursions up to the Orange River, with hundreds of miles of travelling by sea, rail and mule wagon, with great zest. Relations between constituents and members were more human and Christian than nowadays. Wrapt up in a kaross, after a fifty miles' trek over mountain and down valley, nothing amiss with the chops and the coffee, the clear star-spangled heavens above, with youth, health and hope, what more could one desire. Neurasthenia was not discovered in those days and the "Progressives" had not invaded the land.

VIII

SECOND RHODES MINISTRY *(continued)*

THE first session of the ninth Parliament of the Colony was formally opened on Friday, 18 May, 1894. Of the seventy-six members elected twenty-three were new faces, and thus fifty-three of the old hands returned once again. Abrahamson, a Bondsman, had defeated the Chairman of Committees of the House at Somerset East. Schreiner was returned as the colleague of Rhodes for Barkly West in place of Kimberley. Matabele Thompson replaced Vintcent, who had died at George. Dr. Rutherford Harris, Rhodes's factotum and later on "cactus" of the conspiracy, was returned as one of the four members for Kimberley. Dr. Berry, presently to be the Speaker of the House, came from Queenstown. Dr. Vanes, a Bondsman, replaced John Mackay at Uitenhage, and Dr. T. W. Smartt, also a Bondsman, an Irishman, lately a ship's doctor and now a farmer, represented Wodehouse. Graaff-Reinet returned Dr. Te Water. The new House was full of medical talent and the health of the body politic should have been secure. I can hardly think that if the Bond was a disloyal association and busy concocting a great Afrikaner conspiracy to oust the Union Jack from South Africa, so many ardent Britishers and Imperialists would have crowded themselves under the Bond umbrella of Mr. Hofmeyr. The Bond was not the head centre of a great Afrikaner conspiracy at that time or at any

other, but it was a convenient stepping-stone to public life for ambitious young Britishers who aspired to parliamentary honours. The Bond was animated by a desire to bring the Dutch and English together, and Hofmeyr often said he welcomed more the membership of one Britisher than one hundred of his own fellow-countrymen. Two years were to elapse and then we were to witness the "Uitlander" Bondsmen the worst foulers of their own political nest.

Our old Speaker, Sir David Tennant, was for the fifth time unanimously chosen as the Speaker of the House, and in Mr. W. H. Hockly's place as Chairman of Committees, the Secretary of the Bond Theron was elected by ballot after a contest. Richard Solomon, Q.C., who had represented Kimberley for a year and had not been found always to vote with Rhodes, had to give way to Dr. Rutherford Harris. Solomon, however, still continued to hold the general retainer of the De Beers Company at Kimberley.

This ninth Parliament, the second of my experience as a member, was to witness the volcanic disruption of parties and the downfall of Rhodes. The greatest *bouleversement* of our times. The sessions of 1894 and 1895 were to precede the cataclysm. Never again was Hofmeyr to figure on the floor of the House but once, and that the occasion of the election of Theron to the Chairmanship. Hofmeyr spoke in support of Theron in the first week of the session, and then sailed for Ottawa to attend the conference held there.

There is much of human interest in the first session of a new Parliament. New members, some of them come to the House with reputations gained outside. It is like a show-ground, the new members have to go through their paces; they metaphorically amble round the House, trying for the performers, but good sport for the old stagers. The old members take notes, form

opinions and classify, but always on the side of charity and good feeling, and give way for any new importation who rises to speak, pretend not to see when rules are infringed and encourage the raw material. Ere long the new-comers' third of the House, after some few weeks of breathing the atmosphere of Parliament, feel less uncomfortable, more at their ease and do not fear being "pinched for wearing new clothes." The atmosphere of the "Best Club" in South Africa in those days was calm, if not bracing. There was not one Labour member. The officials were the same, but John Noble, the Clerk, was ailing, and old Michael Bergh, the Serjeant-at-Arms, wore a few more bandages round his gouty legs and laboured more heavily with the mace up the floor of the House. But having once been a member himself could do no wrong, and did not even wear the regulation breeches; I doubt whether he always wore his sword. He thought he could last out the ninety days of the session and rest on the sofa in his home at Malmesbury for the remaining nine months of the year. The pay was a consideration, and he could not afford to retire. The sunshine in the nature of that huge derelict carried him on, and the House could not miss any of the old furniture. We all loved him, and his sudden death would be the penalty of his retirement.

The Government was more inefficient than ever, only one minister experienced in administration, and that Sir Gordon Sprigg. Schreiner for a time had deserted the ministerial crew, and Rhodes himself took little part or interest in the executive and administrative work. He had "ideas" and "trains of thought," but others must carry them out. The debating was all on one side, and that of the Opposition. The whole House supported the general policy as regards Rhodesia, the opening up of the North, and

the neighbouring States. Criticism and opposition were confined to the internal affairs of the Colony. The Scab and Glen Grey Bills were the most debated and the annexation of Pondoland was unanimously agreed to. From the Ministerial point of view the session was not a success. Hofmeyr was away, the Bond thoroughly divided and ministers distrusted.

On the Transvaal question, however, the House was unanimous and the internal affairs of that State were for the first time debated in the House during this session. Sir Henry Loch, our Governor and High Commissioner, at this time visited the Transvaal and was the guest at Pretoria of President Paul Kruger. Certain disaffected persons took the occasion, when Loch and Kruger were driving out together, to grossly insult the old President and tear down and trample upon the Transvaal flag. This flag incident gave rise to a debate in our House. I give some of the speeches verbatim. Colonel Schermbrucker said "He did not believe that any Englishman worthy of the name in the Transvaal had supported that disorder." Mr. Rhodes, Prime Minister, said, "We all feel that we are deeply sorry at the circumstances and we all feel deeply that our own countrymen should have misbehaved themselves, especially on the occasion when our Governor had proceeded to Pretoria in order to improve the friendly relations that have always existed between Her Majesty's Government and the President of the Transvaal." Mr. Sauer followed on the same lines: "We do not want our Colony, even innocently to aid, even accidentally to avow it, to abet or encourage a state of things in a neighbouring State or anywhere else in South Africa which may seriously affect the whole future welfare of South Africa." Mr. Venter, one of the Colesberg members, and a great supporter of Rhodes, said, "He believed the people of the Cape

Colony would as one man express their deepest disapproval of the occurrences in the Transvaal." Mr. Schreiner, the future Prime Minister, said, "He shared the very strong feeling that had been expressed by so many members already with regard to the insult which had been offered to the President of a neighbouring State." Sir Gordon Sprigg, the Treasurer, concurred, and the whole House was unanimous in condemning the action of the misguided individuals.

The Ministry, for its inefficiency and misconduct of its principal measure, the Scab Bill, was so discredited amongst its Bond following that some stern action must be taken. The opportunity was afforded during the passage of the Glen Grey Bill dealing with the Native question. The Bill was introduced at the tail end of the session. In the form as introduced the second reading of the Bill was carried almost unanimously by sixty-two votes for and three against. At that late period of the session, Rhodes intimated that he would content himself with no further stage. Later on he changed his mind and thought that by pandering to some of the worst elements in his party he could regain some of his lost prestige. He stooped to make the Native question the rallying point of his shattered forces, and introduced a number of contentious amendments at the Committee stage of the Bill. Cheap labour, lessened restrictions on the alienation of Native Lands to Europeans. Liquor and all-night sittings were to do the trick. The Bill passed, with infinite harm to the Native question, but what did the natives count for as long as Rhodes could achieve a consolidation of his disgruntled followers!

The Bill, as passed, became a dead letter in administration so far as all the points to which the Opposition had objected were concerned. The Opposition had stood for the total prohibition of liquor amongst the

48 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

natives in the native territories; Rhodes had abandoned that in favour of the liquor interest and the liquor sellers. The Opposition had stood for equal rights for every civilized man, irrespective of colour, Rhodes forced through a labour tax applied to the native only and withheld from the lazy poor whites. The individual ownership of land with safeguards was common cause and the constitution of district councils. Strong speeches were made by all the best elements in the House, regardless of party, and opposed the opportunist tactics of Rhodes. Once the Bill became law, the vicious parts were never enforced, and not a sixpence was ever collected from any native on the ground of his refusal to leave his farm in the native territory, and to go out to work in some neighbouring district or mine.

Happily under Union native affairs are considered too sacred to be handled thus cavalierly. The responsibility of the whites, where the millions of natives are concerned, has been raised into another sphere of action, and a better and purer atmosphere than that of the cat-and-dog fight of party warfare. Rhodes had always voted for any retrograde or antiquated policy such as the extended use of the lash for trivial offences under the Masters and Servants Act. The reason was not far to seek, for the black man was almost voteless, and Rhodes had always praised the system of from two to four pence a day of the Egyptian fellaheen, and the serfdom of the Malay States, and its great possibilities for South Africa. The white master had the votes, the dumb silent native had very few or none. The pathos and ignominy, when one considers that all our docks, harbours, railways, roads, mining and agriculture were the product of the labour of the natives. The natives are in my opinion the greatest asset of South Africa. They are docile, hard-working,

SECOND RHODES MINISTRY 49

cheerful and easily governed. The curse and degradation of South Africa is many a time the unjust, ill-conditioned, worthless white master. In his early stage of civilization the native requires firmness with justice ; in his more advanced and civilized stage the great hope and inducement held out of the equal rights, the equal treatment and the sympathy of civilization. The session ended for me with a bitter taste in the mouth, and a growing suspicion that Rhodes, with his untold wealth and his want of scruple, was growing dangerous to the best interests of the country.

IX

SECOND RHODES MINISTRY (*continued*)

IT may be useful if not amusing to give a pen picture of the House at the time before the Raid. I take the "Thee Kloof Road" in the Fraserburg Division for example. Abraham Stephanus Le Roex was the member for Victoria West, which included the fiscal division of Fraserburg. The worthy member was a sheep-farmer residing in the latter fiscal division, a Bondsman; he was always known as "Phanie Le Roex," a short and endearing version of Stephanus, a tall, handsome, blue-eyed man of about sixty years of age. Had he been a public-school boy when a youth he would have been champion boxer and runner and the darling of the academic gods. His nickname was "Thee Kloof," and he was a thick-and-thin supporter of Rhodes, a man after Rhodes's own heart. He could speak no word of English but understood a little, he always deplored his lack of education and employed English governesses in his home. He was a non-smoker but a great coffee drinker, and always carried a parcel of strong peppermints in his right-hand waistcoat pocket. You could not help liking him, he was so naïve.

The fact that Rhodes was unmarried troubled him greatly, for this to him was the only blot on Rhodes's character. He complained often to me about the matter, and I suggested he should go and himself tackle Rhodes on the subject. One evening he came and sat beside me on my bench in the House, took out a parti-

cularly large and highly scented peppermint and offered it to me. I took it and popped it into my mouth. He was in no hurry, watching the influence of the sweet on me, but presently he inquired of me, "Don't you think Rhodes will ever get married?" We always spoke together in "Afrikaans." I regarded him solemnly, as if Rhodes's matrimonial affairs were of the greatest import to the State. Suddenly I suggested that he should cross the floor of the House and tackle Rhodes on the subject and I would act as interpreter, for Rhodes knew no Dutch. We crossed, and this conversation took place. I: "Rhodes, Oom Phanie is very troubled that you are unmarried and he thinks you should marry." Rhodes: "Yes, Le Roex, you are quite right; I myself would like to be married and I have often considered it, but you know that a wife needs a lot of attention and she takes up a great deal of any man's time. I am such a busy man and am always on the move that it would be unfair to a wife, and that is the reason in all fairness that I cannot ask any woman to marry me." With that answer "Oom Phanie," though unconvinced, was to be put off, and the old giant never could comprehend any merit in single blessedness.

Some amusing stories I could relate of Rhodes before he turned sour and morose. It is quite human to have a hobby and that all to oneself. Le Roex had an overpowering motive for all his political action well known to members, for he had from his first entry into Parliament been a warm supporter of the Government of the day, a veritable old Afrikaner Vicar of Bray. The great purpose that controlled his actions was to obtain a new road, a short cut over the mountains, passing by his farm. A former Government had started the "Thee Kloof Road," a white elephant, serving no public use, repudiated by the local

Divisional Council, unfinished and half washed away at the time I am writing of. Though he deserted the Government on the Scab Bill, he had made amends on the Glen Grey Bill. Lo and behold! Supplementary Estimates, always brought in at the very fag end of the session, and containing plums and rewards for services rendered, showed the item three thousand pounds for the road from "Thee Kloof" to Fraserburg Road Station. I thus accounted for the milk in the coco-nut of the Glen Grey action of my dear friend Oom Phanie.

I stooped and was mean enough to devise a plot. I steeled my appetite against more than one peppermint and sharpened my stiletto for a duel with the Government and my friend. I quote two speeches. "Mr. Le Roex, who was received with applause, spoke of the large sums which were contributed to the Treasury by the Fraserburg District. He asked the honourable member for Namaqualand if he spoke from his heart when he said that Fraserburg had no need of the 'Thee Kloof' Road. (Mr. Merriman: "Certainly.") The Hon. Member condemned the road and knew nothing of it, while he, the speaker, was acquainted, so to speak, with every stone on it. If the 'Oude Kloof Road' was better than the 'Thee Kloof Road' he would consent to lay his head on a block and have it chopped off. (Laughter and applause.) The portion of the road already constructed had been partly washed away by storms of almost unprecedented severity which had worn kloofs in the mountains which would endure for ever. It was the Hand of the Lord, the Hand which no one could turn, that had done it and had caused so much money to be spent. He stood there and he pleaded and begged and prayed the House for this road." Queer theology, but eloquent pleading, and that in the voice of Karoo thunder that reverberated from the walls and roof of

the Assembly Chamber. "Mr. J. T. Molteno said: The House well knew how much and how sincerely he admired the Hon. Member for Victoria West. (Laughter.) Knowing that, Hon. Members would perceive with what pain he felt constrained to vote against this grant. ("Hear, Hear.") He had, in fact, great distrust of himself in so doing. (Renewed laughter.) Now if there was one matter which had distinguished the House of Commons in the past, it was the exceedingly handsome manner in which it had recognized the services of distinguished men and had helped them to establish families. The Marlboroughs and the Wellingtons had all been established out of the National Purse. Now if the Government would only come down, put a sum of £10,000 on the estimates and ask the House to vote £10,000 and hand it to the Hon. Member for Victoria West, Mr. Le Roex, to do what he liked with it, he could understand it. We would never become a great people until we recognized distinguished services rendered to the State by a handsome money vote. (Loud laughter.) He could see the logic of the vote if it were for the purpose of establishing a distinguished colonial family.

Mr. Le Roex: Would you vote for it?

Mr. J. T. Molteno said he would vote for it on condition that the House heard no more of 'Thee Kloof' or of the little propositions arising from the Hon. Member. (Laughter.) Mr. Rhodes said the House wanted to get rid of the 'Thee Kloof Road' question. If they decided to vote the £3,000 they would get rid of a difficulty and find useful employment for a number of convicts. They did not like to waste £7,000 of public money if another three thousand would finish the work."

The Chairman then put the question that the vote be expunged and declared the Noes had it. "Oom

54 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

Phanie " smiled complacently, but he was too previous, for Mr. Sauer called for a division, with the following result : Ayes, 28 ; Noes, 17 ; majority against the vote, 11. Thus the hand of man supported the hand of God.

Poor old Phanie ! a lovable type, fast being replaced by the more nimble lawyer of the Union Parliament. The old ox-wagon of the Voortrekker replaced by the up-to-date motor-car ! The " Thee Kloof " disaster saw an end to that nickname, for members at that period were too sympathetic and nice to perpetuate a reminder of the disaster to the great cause Le Roex had cherished. From that time Oom Phanie wilted and the next Parliament saw him no more. The sturdy old Karoo type of farmer member is vanishing like the springbok, the vast spaces of the Karoo are being fenced. Where are the Coetje Burgers, Jan Luttings, Pieter Weebers, Ignaas Van der Walts to-day ? Their childlike faith, old-world manners and genuine courtesy, even their dress, were witness to their outlook on life. Their Church gave them their tone. Church and State were one with them. The portrait of Queen Victoria was in good company with their ancestors and their beloved parsons upon the walls of their homesteads, surrounded by tens of thousands of acres, with the far-off blue ranges of mountains that lent mystery to the unknown world beyond. I was indeed honoured by the friendship and political comradeship and example of those Nature's Gentlemen. When I was taunted a little later on with my association, politically and otherwise, with the ignorant barbarian Boer because perchance I had had a university education and the benefit of English nurture my answer was, " Well had it been had I not have had those advantages had they made me false and traitor to my best instincts." Poor South Africa was soon to learn the lesson that " things are not what they seem."

X

SECOND RHODES MINISTRY (*continued*)

SHORTLY after the close of the session of the year 1894, Schreiner succeeded Juta as Attorney-General on 10 September, 1894. Schreiner was to play a great part for the next five years of the stirring history of South Africa. Very resentful of opposition, clothed in a garb of self-righteousness, not amenable to counsel and advice, he was a difficult man alike for his political friends and opponents. He was essentially true to himself, and, though short tempered and self opinionated, he was a power to any Ministry and inspired confidence and love in his followers. The Second Rhodes Ministry, on his return to office, regained prestige, weight and character.

During the recess the active annexation of Eastern and Western Pondoland was accomplished without bloodshed. Before executive action was put in train Lerethodi, the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, and his chief advisers were invited down to the Cape, ostensibly on a visit to witness some military parades and evolutions of the Fleet in Simons Bay. The real reason was that the Pondos and Basutos had close relations and fellow feelings as the only tribes that had never really been conquered. The Basuto king and his followers were housed in a villa at Wynberg, near my residence. I had recently visited the Quithing District and the neighbourhood of Basutoland. I had always taken an interest in the welfare of the natives and I called on

56 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

Lerethodi. I met him in the large drawing-room of the house, surrounded by his chief advisers; I saw at once that he thought he had been distrusted and was resentful, but though silent himself his uncle and chief councillor, Moshesh, was very genial and grateful for my visit, and before I left I was cordially invited to be the guest of the Basuto nation and to visit that mountainous Switzerland of South Africa, the chiefs offering to supply ponies and all accessories and to accompany me to the Mont-aux-Sources. The spirit of genuine hospitality and good feeling is not confined to the whites, but is shared by all the indigenous races of the sub-continent.

The annexation of Pondoland was accomplished almost without incident. In Eastern Pondoland the Chief Sigcau did not diagnose the situation correctly, and gave a little trouble. He was arrested without warrant for no crime known to the law. Subsequently Rhodes and Schreiner were called to book for their misuse of the process of Proclamation *ex post facto*. After all said and done the Pondos were then and ever afterwards infinitely more happy, prosperous and contented. I do not for a moment condone what was done, but it was only a foretaste of that arrogant and monstrous course of conduct which was to cast White South Africa into the melting-pot. You can do things, seemingly with impunity, to inferior races which if done to White fellow-subjects, though not of your own race, bring down the blows of Nemesis and the just wrath of the Gods.

At this time Mr. Hofmeyr returned to South Africa. For reasons of health, and because of matters to which I have made reference above, he resigned his seat for Stellenbosch and retired from active public life at the age of fifty. The railways from Delagoa Bay and Durban were reaching Johannesburg and the pros-

perity of the whole sub-continent was seemingly without limit. In this atmosphere Sir Henry Loch retired to England, and our old veteran Governor Sir Hercules Robinson was reappointed Governor and High Commissioner by the Marquess of Ripon and the Liberal Government, but not without adverse criticism at the hands of Mr. Chamberlain, who within a month of Sir Hercules's arrival was to become Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord Salisbury's Government.

On Thursday, 2 May, 1895, Parliament was opened in the usual way by General Goodenough, who was Acting-Governor until Sir Hercules should arrive from England. I have often thought of that session of Parliament in the light of what happened a few months later. We of the Opposition were as vigilant as ever, but good feeling prevailed everywhere and in every part of the House. On the first day of the session we all deplored the retirement of Hofmeyr and we all sang his praises. The Government also was much reformed. Unlike their conduct in the previous session, they came before Parliament with a good programme, well digested, of useful and necessary legislation. They dished up the repast in a smarter and more efficient manner. Ministers were nimble and alert and seemed to have more grip; this applied even to the lazy and jolly Colonial Secretary, Faure. The previous session had taught them a wholesome lesson. Railways, tramways, electric powers, irrigation bills, all were dealt with, not omitting bills dealing with cruelty to animals, destitute wives, pretended witchcraft and art galleries. Every human emotion was catered for in a really up-to-date manner and our old Speaker, Sir David Tennant, had the busiest session of his long career of twenty-two years in the Chair.

We ended up the session with another annexation of far more importance than that of Pondoland, that

58 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

of the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland. Thus the northern boundary of the Cape Colony was advanced beyond the twenty-sixth degree of latitude north of Mafeking. On the west we were no longer bounded by the South Atlantic alone but also by German territory, and on the east we were direct neighbours for hundreds of miles with the Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

Peace reigned in South Africa, Great Britain was proud of us, more so the city of London and Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, called by some of my irreverent friends "Pushful Joe" and for short P. J. Not only was the body politic flourishing, but individuals, and fortunes, sometimes fabulous, were being made daily. Dinner parties and entertainments, more lavish than ever before, were the order of the day. We also, poor members of Parliament, were not left out in the cold. We gave Hofmeyr, in the great hall of Parliament, a sumptuous and loving banquet, and we adjourned parliament for a whole day to troop down and welcome Sir Hercules Robinson at the docks on his arrival. In those days of 1895 it was good to be alive. Church and State joined hands, and there was enough in the land for the lion and the lamb to lie down together in sympathetic regard for one another. There was only one churl amongst us and that was Sir Gordon Sprigg, the Treasurer. He was so prosperous that he lost his head and was rude enough to say of some of Rhodes's closest Dutch friends that they were "demons of ignorance and prejudice," but before he was rebuked for his narrow and unchristian view of some of the Ministry's most reliable supporters, he had already regretted the slip of the tongue, and the life-giving sun shone once more unclouded.

South Africa was a land of enchantment, and even the soon to be helots of the Transvaal did not realize

their servitude and were lost to all sense of self-respect in the eager accumulation of wealth. Many of my old-time friends, on pleasure bent from the Transvaal, used to say to me, "Do you imagine I want to exchange my British Nationality for the Burghership of Oom Paul?" What a romance is hidden in the word "Gold!" It may well be that that long-headed, simple-lived patriot Jan Hofmeyr, with his unerring instinct, yearned and longed for the mountains and peace of Somerset West. We common people trip and dance through life lighthearted, with the conviction that an All-Loving Deity overlooks us, but that comfort is not given to all, and the bravest at times are the timidest.

The last time Rhodes as Prime Minister spoke in the House was on Saturday, 3 August, 1895, at a quarter to ten in the morning: "I beg to announce, on behalf of the Governor, that it is his intention to prorogue Parliament by Proclamation published in this day's 'Gazette.'" And then he moved that the House do now adjourn and thus ended the last session before the Jameson Raid. This session also proved to be the last of our old Speaker, Sir David Tennant. Forty-four years of Parliamentary Government had passed away in the Cape Colony and there had been only two Speakers. It was a great tribute to the loyal and conservative character of the people. Sir Christoffel Brand ruled the House for twenty years, until Responsible Government had been won. Sir David Tennant succeeded him in the year 1874, and retired from Parliament only on his appointment as our "Agent-General" in London on the death of my father's old secretary, Sir Charles Mills, who had been the first Agent-General of the Cape Colony.

I had known Sir Charles intimately from my boyhood and during my university days I had never omitted

to call on him when in London. He had been a rare old friend to me. He was a son of a Duke of Portland and mystery attached to his birth and career, but he had been one of King Edward's personal friends at the time when the late King was Prince of Wales. He was the most courteous and chivalrous of men and was the doyen of the Agents-General in London. The late Dr. Montagu Butler, Master of Trinity, often spoke to me of his admiration for Sir Charles and the unique position that Sir Charles occupied in the diplomatic and select society of London. Whenever I called, whether up or in bed, he received me with the same charm and friendship, and when I went to England in my University days I was told by my father never to visit London without calling on Sir Charles. He had been an officer in the German Legion in the Crimea and had settled at the Cape when that Legion was planted on the frontier at the end of the Crimean War. He was the most tactful man, even in the modulation of his voice, that I have ever met, and none of our Agents-General and High Commissioners since could approach him in charm and effectiveness. Such a representative lent distinction to the Colony he represented.

The superstitious may well be pardoned if they had misgivings on the death of Sir Charles Mills, the retirement of Hofmeyr, and the evacuation of the Speaker's Chair by Sir David Tennant. To this atmosphere of well-being and prosperity, soon after the rising of Parliament, another excitement was added in the advent of the English cricket team, under the leadership of Lord Hawke. Everybody who was anybody, from all quarters of South Africa, including far-away Rhodesia and the neighbouring Republics, were assembled for the holidays, and to witness the cricket test matches. Many distinguished visitors

SECOND RHODES MINISTRY 61

from Europe were, like the swallows, seeking sunshine, health and happiness at the Cape at this momentous Christmastide of the year 1895. Rudyard Kipling was always amongst us at those times, and I reckoned him almost a good South African and a friend, but like so much in South Africa, things are not always what they seem. To add lustre to the old Cape Colony, the Liberal Government had before its retirement from office advised the Queen to promote Rhodes to the Privy Council. This was the first South African appointment to that high office, and both political friends and opponents were pleased and congratulated the distinguished and lucky recipient.

XI

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID

IT was holiday time, apricots, peaches and strawberries at their best, the famous Newlands cricket ground packed daily with enthusiastic followers of the summer national game. Hofmeyr and I never missed a ball. At breakfast on Tuesday, 31 December, 1895, the last day of the year, I glanced over my "Cape Times" and saw the report of a mysterious rumour of Jameson having crossed the Transvaal border. I was living temporarily with my eldest bachelor brother, Charles, member for Tembuland, at Kenilworth, and passing the paper to him said, "What do you make of that?" We both agreed that it was another scare, false rumour and newspaper talk. Having dismissed the subject from my mind, an hour later I was crossing Church Square towards Parliament House when I chanced to meet Captain Sir Graham Bower, the Imperial Secretary, and, thinking of the rumour, I inquired of him if there was anything in it. Captain Bower assured me it was a fact, and by his look and agitated tone of voice I saw that it was more than true.

An amazing drama was then unfolded and enacted. As the day progressed, and news filtered through, the town went mad. In company with a friend and fellow-advocate, I strolled down Adderley Street and we met one of my old sporting friends, a leading stockbroker, and we three discussed the news. I remarked, "I

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 63

hope to God Jameson does not reach Johannesburg." He glared at me and replied, "If you say that again I will knock you down." My friend was a little sickly fellow, who in ordinary life could not hurt a fly. In my amazement, thinking he was going stark mad, I replied, "Don't be a fool. If Jameson gets into Jo'burg your and my friends will be shot down and sacrificed."

The moment the news became public, like a forest fire, the devouring flames of race hatred rushed through the country, consuming all sense of proportion, and evoking the most deadly and violent emotions. It was indeed fortunate that Sir Hercules Robinson, our Governor and High Commissioner, had Hofmeyr not far off at the time. Poor Sir Hercules! Surrounded by traitors and conspirators, innocent of what had been a hatching, unaware of the widespread ramifications of the conspiracy, not knowing that the Press in London and South Africa was in it, the Press that counted, the London "Times" and papers in Johannesburg. Luckily for himself, for South Africa and the Empire, Sir Hercules had on that Tuesday morning at hand the sympathy, the unerring instinct and the cool-headed and wise counsel of Hofmeyr. Even at this time, I find it difficult to record those happenings. I get unnerved, unbalanced and emotional, and live again those dreadful days. Often I pass and gaze at that brazen image of Rhodes by Pegram that stands in the lovely gardens of Cape Town, silent, rugged and cruel as Fate, and I think what a colossal nerve, the consummation of cheek unheard of. One must be calm, there is every reason for being so, despite the fact that one is about to record the years of "Red ruin and the breaking up of laws."

I take heart by the knowledge that those years of South Africa's garden of tears were followed by the

64. THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

glorious fruition of the National Convention and the Union of South Africa. Yes, South Africa has indeed found itself in all proud humility, and she is the architect of her own fortunes, and mistress in her own home, and *una inter pares* in the great British Commonwealth and the League of Nations. So now like a child I feel my hand being held by the Faith of the Present in the Future. I am unconscious of any likeness to Kipling, but on that day a new arrival from England insisted that I was he, and on my appealing to that old sportsman, Captain Simpson of the Dukes, the stranger had to accept the fact that I was myself. I mention this little incident to illustrate how small things are associated with great events in the psychology of the mind. And perhaps the news of the Raid had unbalanced the stranger, who thought that I was his long-lost schoolfellow become famous.

Jameson was over the border for a certainty. The Governor sent messengers to recall him, but in vain, for the call of helpless women and children was stronger. Thwarted by Rhodes and Bower, but with the advice and assistance of Hofmeyr, the Governor wired a proclamation to the Transvaal and Johannesburg disowning and outlawing Dr. Jameson. This proclamation was also sent to my old friend, Sir Jacobus De Wet, the British Agent at Pretoria. On Thursday, the second day of the new year, whilst Johannesburg was all confusion and cross-purposes, Jameson, the most meteoric and chivalrous buccaneer of modern times, was a prisoner at Doornkop, near Krugersdorp, only twenty miles from the people he was out to rescue. The next morning's "Cape Times" told us all about the engagement. The Governor had already left Cape Town the previous day to meet Paul Kruger and straighten out things at Pretoria.

On that Friday morning, 3 January, 1896, I met

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 65

Garrett, the new editor of the "Cape Times," who had replaced the veteran Frederick York St. Leger. New times, new men, other times, other men. I had known Edmund Garrett some years previously, for he and I were fellow undergraduates at our old college, Trinity, Cambridge, ten years before. Though junior to me, I had met him often at our college, and we were at the same time on the Committee of the Union, whilst I was President of the Trinity College Debating Society. I had also known his distinguished cousin, the girl senior wrangler of Newnham, daughter of the blind Postmaster-General Fawcett, Gladstone's friend.

Edmund Garrett started life from talented and sound old Liberal stock, but his ardent soul and pure private life were offered a sacrifice on the altar of Perversion of South African events. Ever in the quicksands of false ideals, and the unequal struggle of making the worse appear the better, he died young, before he had time to realize the nobility of the soul within him. Another lonely grave in the land of graves of public reputations. Rightly or wrongly, I the elder blame myself because I harbour a suspicion that our intercourse at the University had aroused in his enthusiastic nature a fatal fascination for the romance of South Africa, and he had not the strength to withstand the strain of events and the times in which he lived. I met my fair-haired friend with a type of girlish beauty, coming, so he told me, from Government House. He was the first to tell me about the famous Letter of Invitation that the Boers had picked up the day before on the veld at Doornkop. Naïvely he told me how he himself had seen that very identical letter at the Chartered Company's offices next door the offices of the "Cape Times" in St. George's Street, Cape Town, and that some time before it fell into the unsympathetic hands of the Boers.

66 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

I have always been a martyr to the nasty habit of being tickled, and at once I was reminded of those exciting plays of the days of Pope and Addison by Farquharson, Wycherley, and others: "Love in a Bottle," "The Fatal Letter," etc., etc. A few choice spirits and I had formed a literary society at college to improve our knowledge of English literature and to keep ourselves out of mischief on Saturday nights, called "The Mushrooms," and that dear old volume of "Old Dramatists" came to mind. What a good plot, I thought, with the title of "The Dancing Letter," "The Earnest Appeal," "The White Knight," "The Tempting Letter," and then I thought of the reliable maxim "Litera Scripta Manet."

Ever since the Logan Contract scandal, coolness and aloofness had come between Hofmeyr and myself, but now all was forgotten and forgiven, and from this time until in the autumn of the year 1909, when I said good-bye to him in London, I remained a devoted and admiring friend. Daily I met Hofmeyr now, and noted with sorrow how many, who had recently been glad to know him and be recognized by him, not alone cut him but actively insulted him. Men's minds were poisoned and the Press gave no amelioration.

I was soon abreast of the inwardness of things that had taken place and were happening, and now some political friends and myself telegraphed to Kruger, praying for magnanimity and mercy for Dr. Jameson and his co-conspirators. But what a jumble! what a mix-up! and what did people in England think about events? With a flash we knew. The megalomaniacal Kaiser William II must needs at such a time strike an attitude. This interference created a new situation and a new orientation, a cloud of dust and a smoke screen, very welcome to the conspirators, for the blows

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 67

that were to fall on them were diverted to that fatuous mischief-maker.

Sunday, 5 January, 1896, was my thirty-first birthday, and a week had elapsed since Jameson had left Pitsani, and that week was, from hour to hour, full of startling happenings and amazement. I spent my birthday cogitating over the shortcomings of others, more than of my own. During that memorable week I had had a business engagement at the Chartered Company's new offices, the Rhodes Buildings, with one of the richest and most important of the conspirators, Alfred Beit. I could never have pictured Beit as a shedder of blood. I had known him as a peaceable and law-abiding man, the richest and most successful of financiers of diamonds and gold, and Rhodes's financial *alter ego*. It was at the time when the result of the Jameson plunge was unknown, but news was momentarily expected, and in my wildest dreams I could never have thought of Beit being a conspirator, much less of his being in the thick of it, yet soon he had to foot the bill. When I began to piece the plot together I recalled those hours spent at the Company's offices. The day was warm, but I did not remove my coat as Beit did, for he perspired a good deal. He had arrived from England and the tropics only a couple of weeks before and should not have been in that bodily want of condition. Contrary to his usual mental acuteness and alertness, he lacked concentration on the subject in hand, important to me if not to himself. I understood all and forgave him. Beit must have regretted failure even more than Rhodes, for Rhodes had more to occupy his mind and was soon to find himself in the midst of the Matabele and Mashona rebellions.

On Tuesday, 31 December, Rhodes tendered his resignation as Prime Minister, in the first flush of being found out, but Sir Hercules refused then to accept

68 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

resignation, but did so on his return from meeting Kruger at Pretoria. Rhodes confessed his guilt to his friends and promised to ask public forgiveness and to retire for a period from active political life. I would like to have been present with a camera when Hofmeyr met Rhodes in his house, and then they parted for ever. Poor Hofmeyr! I felt for him more than I did for Schreiner.

A few days after his resignation, Rhodes left Cape Town for Kimberley, and once in the atmosphere of flattery and sycophantism forgot the good advice given him in Cape Town, broke his promises to his friends and tried to brazen out his misconduct by publicly asserting that his career was only beginning. It is ever thus, foolish man proposes but God disposes. The Jameson Raid was the first shot fired in the Boer War, but at the same time the beginning of the united states of South Africa within the Commonwealth. After all it is good to be alive and to have taken, however small, a part in the consummation of my father's and my fondest hopes.

XII

THE JAMESON RAID

ON Sunday afternoon at 6.30 p.m. of 29 December, 1895, Dr. Jameson started from the Camp at Pitsani Pothlugo, by arrangement with his confrère and coadjutor Col. Frank Rhodes, the Administrator of Mashonaland, who in the previous month of October had been transferred from Salisbury to command the rising in Johannesburg. The telegraph wires were to be cut between Johannesburg and Pretoria, and around Pretoria on Sunday, 29 December. On the previous Friday, 27 December, Jameson had sent two of his police into the Transvaal to cut the wires between Malmani and Zeerust and Rustenburg and Krugersdorp. On Sunday afternoon by Jameson's orders the wires and communications north and south of Pitsani and Mafeking were cut. By previous arrangement with another of his colleagues, Dr. Wolff, the wires between Krugersdorp and Pretoria and Johannesburg were also to be destroyed on that Sunday afternoon.

By the evening of Sunday, 29 December, Jameson thought that he was thoroughly isolated from the outside world, cut off from Cape Town and England, as well as from his objective the Transvaal and Johannesburg. Silence, secrecy and surprise were the essence of the contemplated invasion of the Transvaal and the rush to Johannesburg. As events turned out, Bates and his police confrère failed to carry out Jameson's

70 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

orders, and through misunderstandings Dr. Wolff at Krugersdorp and Frank Rhodes at Johannesburg failed to fulfil their part of the scheme.

Before leaving the camp at Pitsani Jameson addressed his troops and informed the men of their objective, and their purpose, and assured them that they would get through to Johannesburg without fighting. Col. Sir John Willoughby also addressed the force and congratulated them on their fine and soldierly appearance and predicted complete success. The force that left Pitsani was composed of the Mashonaland mounted police under the command of Col. the Hon. Henry White and comprised four troops and an artillery troop numbering 437 officers and men with 508 horses and mules. The artillery totalled one 12½-pounder and six maxims. The border of the Transvaal was quite near by and the first stopping-place was the little mining village of Malmani due east of Pitsani.

Another force had been assembled at Mafeking in the Cape Colony, some twenty-five miles south of Pitsani, comprising mostly police lately in the employ of the Imperial Government within the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland. This force was also assembled on Sunday evening and the men were addressed by Capt. Coventry, the son of an English peer. These were his words: "It is no good keeping it from you any longer; we are going to Johannesburg. We have got to get through in fifty hours, and I want you all to come along with us." No one moved, and then Col. Raleigh Grey arrived on the scene and said: "What is the matter with you men? Why won't you come with us? We are going to Johannesburg, and I want you all to come with us." A trooper inquired whether the expedition was in the service of the Queen. "No," replied Col. Grey; "you are going to fight, not for the Queen, but you are going to fight for the supremacy

of the British Flag in South Africa." And thereupon some 130 police, with 200 horses and mules, two 7-pounders and two maxims, accompanied by drivers and leaders, set out at 9 p.m. to join the force from Pitsani. At 5 a.m. on Monday morning, 30 December, the two columns met at Malmani in the Transvaal.

This fool's expedition, like a band of pirates of the days of Queen Elizabeth, thought that under cover of darkness and under a cloud of secrecy like a lot of ignorant schoolboys they would bring romance and honour to themselves and add lustre to the Union Jack. Dr. Jameson was surrounded by a group of Guardsmen, his supreme commander being Sir John Willoughby, Bart. There were the two White brothers, Henry and Robert, Hyde Villiers of the Horse Guards, Kincaid Smith of the Royal Artillery, Kennedy, Holden, Farmer, Hamilton, Grenfell, Lindsell, and others, the knuts and the flower of the Guards Brigade. Also Stracey, Foley, Heany, and others.

By 2.30 p.m. on Monday afternoon, 30 December, Paul Kruger and the authorities at Pretoria knew all about Dr. Jameson and the raiders. On Tuesday, in the morning of 31 December, a policeman from Mafeking caught up the column and delivered to Dr. Jameson and four of the chief officers letters and dispatches commanding the raiders to return to British territory. These were the orders of Sir Hercules Robinson, the British High Commissioner. But they failed to impress the leaders of the raid, and they were ignored.

In the meantime the Burghers in the Transvaal were waking up and returning from their New Year holiday. Wednesday, 1 January, 1896, especially the evening, was bad for Dr. Jameson and his force. The expedition had covered about 170 miles and were quite close to Krugersdorp on the western Witwatersrand, and on the outskirts of the Rand line of reefs. It was here

72 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

that Sir Jacobus de Wet, Her Majesty's Agent at Pretoria, informed Dr. Jameson of a further proclamation from Sir Hercules Robinson ordering the cessation of the venture. By Wednesday night many casualties had occurred, and the position of Jameson and his force had become very uncomfortable, and even parlous. No help had been sent as promised from Johannesburg, and poor Sir John Willoughby did not know what to do. His little party was like a little klompje of stray springboks being gradually surrounded by a circle of sporting rifles. At 4 a.m. on Thursday morning of 2 January, in desperation the party turned from the east towards the south.

The Boers had very little ammunition and were cursing the authorities at Pretoria, especially the Commandant, General Joubert, for carelessness. Jameson's position now was hopeless, and at 9.15 a.m., just south of the Reefs, and only fourteen miles from Johannesburg with its tens of thousands of British inhabitants, the white flag was seen floating in the morning breeze, and all was over.

At the time of the hoisting of the white flag the force of Dr. Jameson had suffered some sixty casualties. Sixteen were dead and twenty wounded and some thirty had fallen prisoners into the hands of the commandos. The force surrendered to the Commandant of the Potchefstroomers, Piet Cronje. When Piet Cronje came up to take the surrender these were his words, "Dr. Jameson, I have the honour to meet you," and so at Doornkop "Montes Parturiunt exit Ridiculus Mus."

XIII

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID

(continued)

WHAT was the Rhodes Conspiracy? Who were the parties to it? What were the motives and objects of the plot? I shall endeavour to discuss and answer these questions. A false atmosphere has clouded those times, history has been distorted and camouflage has been employed so that men's minds have been confused with illusion and doubt. All the essential facts have been proved, and no shadow of doubt can reasonably exist as to the character of the conspiracy and the aims of the promoters. Our Parliament had hardly risen when the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland was taken over by our Government in terms of the recent act of annexation. Rhodes, who was the Chartered Company, arranged with Chamberlain all the details, and also secured from Chamberlain transference to the Chartered Company of a strip of country through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to enable the continuation of the line of railway to the north. At this time also Rhodes acquired from the native chief Montsioa transfer of two farms at Pitsani, some twenty miles to the north of Mafeking, in the Protectorate.

In the month of October, Dr. Jameson, Governor of the Chartered Company, came down from Rhodesia, accompanied by a considerable force, and established himself and his troops at Pitsani. A force of disbanded

74 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

police from the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland was also kept in being and stationed at Mafeking, in the Cape Colony. These two forces were thus some nine hundred miles from Cape Town, the seat of the Government, and did not excite suspicion, for it was given out in certain circles that a force was required to protect the construction of the northern extension of the railway to Bulawayo. This force was being continually recruited and enlarged, and was armed with the most up-to-date artillery and maxims and became a very formidable striking force.

With regard to the Transvaal, intensive agitation was now promoted at Johannesburg. The National Reform Union was formed with Charles Leonard as Chairman and an inner council called the Reform Committee. Rhodes and these two bodies came together and secretly agreed to promote a rising in Johannesburg and the Transvaal for the purpose of upsetting Paul Kruger and the Government of the Transvaal. In South Africa the factors of the conspiracy were Rhodes, Privy Councillor and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony ; Rhodes, Managing Director of the Chartered Company ; Rhodes, Chairman and Managing Director of the De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines of the Cape Colony ; Rhodes, Life Governor of the Gold Fields of South Africa, of the one side, and on the other the Transvaal National Union and the Johannesburg Reform Committee, representing the big gold financial houses, such as the Gold Fields of South Africa, Messrs. Beit and Eckstein, called the Corner House, and all the important Gold Corporations.

In England there were many in "The Secret," but at present I am not concerned with what was taking place in England or on the Continent. Francis Newton was the Resident Commissioner of the Protectorate of Bechuanaland, and his direct superior was Sir Hercules

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 75

Robinson, the High Commissioner, and unknown to the latter Newton was a party to the scheme. Sir Graham Bower, the Imperial Secretary and the right-hand man of the High Commissioner, was also privy and a party.

Having indicated the chief parties and conspirators, we must now discuss what they severally agreed to accomplish. Firstly, they all agreed through their paid Press and through public meetings to promote an intensive agitation directed against the President and Government of the Transvaal Republic. Secondly, they all agreed to arm and equip at least five thousand men in Johannesburg. Thirdly, Rhodes on his part agreed to arm and equip a force at Pitsani and Mafeking, under the leadership of Dr. Jameson, the Governor of Charterland. Fourthly, Rhodes and Beit undertook the major financial responsibility, but the Rand magnates also liberally undertook a minor share. All the language employed between the parties was the language peculiar to finance and company promotion. Fifthly, it was agreed between the parties that on an agreed date the people of Johannesburg and the five thousand armed men should rise and overpower the Boer Government at Pretoria, seize the Government magazines and Government offices and make an effective revolution. Sixthly, Rhodes undertook that on the agreed date Dr. Jameson should be released from Pitsani and Mafeking and help to complete the rout and confusion of Paul Kruger and the Transvaal Republic.

All the parties to the agreement honourably set to work with goodwill to promote the gigantic Flotation, and everything was done with genuine ardour, devotion and secrecy to ensure an undoubted and overwhelming success. Rhodes on his part honourably carried out everything he had agreed to. He placed the De Beers

76 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

Company at the disposal of the Flotation. The workshops at Kimberley, the agencies at the ports and throughout the country, and their General Manager, Gardner Williams, a delightful American citizen, were all employed with diligence and enthusiastic efficiency. By this agency, and the agency of the Chartered Company, men and material and arms were secured, the arms for precaution hidden in oil drums and under coke and coal in trucks, were forwarded to the Golden City. All our laws were set at naught and fraud and deceit were enlisted in the good cause, and fraudulent customs entries and invoices and way-bills and freightage were the order of the day on our railways and our custom-houses and at the ports of entry for customs and railway purposes of the Republic. Things at Mafeking and Pitsani proceeded merrily apace with equal go.

The Intelligence Department worked with wonderful smoothness and efficiency, and everything was known by the conspirators of the corrupt inefficiency and unprogressive ways of the Defence Forces of the Transvaal. The smartest and keenest soldiers of the Guards Brigade could make no mistakes. The line of route of march of the invading force from Mafeking to Johannesburg was stocked with every requirement of man or animal. This gigantic Flotation was good for everybody and business boomed and everything was done on a cash basis. The great triumph of the Flotation was its popularity among Press and public. Like so much in South Africa, often much more is known in London than here on the spot. The greatest triumph was the Flotation's capture of the London "Times" and that altruistic and philanthropic organ, whose existence has more than justified the British Empire, was not behindhand in enthusiastic efficiency, and it gave us that delightful lady Flora Shaw and many

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 77

another. The greatest stroke of genius the Flotation provided was the "Fatal Letter." The mind that chanced on that thought should have belonged to at least a Duchess.

28 December, 1895, was the date fixed for the Flotation, in other words, the Rising. Something disturbing, however, now occurred, not lack of faith, nor sensitiveness, but a genuine difference of opinion between the merits of the Union Jack and Vierkleur. High finance is ever a tender plant, some averred that often it responded to a Republican atmosphere, others that the breezes that ruled the waves and never made slaves were undoubtedly the best. I am recording history, and it was a fact that a spiritual thing like the colour of the bunting was the cause of doubt and delay. Meanwhile old Paul Kruger, in the interval between Bible reading and smoking, made one of his infrequent dry remarks about tortoises and their ways, for he had always been fond of natural history and open-air life.

Far away in the west, Jameson became restless and rude, despite his reputation for chivalry; he openly remarked with regard to flag questions, "It was not the flag so much as cold feet." However, he had the trump card up his sleeve, the "Fatal Letter," and the publication would warm Johannesburgers' feet. And so Doornkop! Would it not have been better to have handed over Jameson and his heroes to the Kaiser Bill?

After a week in London and a trip to the Sphinx, Rhodes spent most of the year of 1896 in Rhodesia, thinking about "the best laid plans of men and mice," the Mashona and Matabele Risings and Rinderpest. If Mr. Chamberlain had now acted with honesty and firmness and a little imagination (which is so lacking in the outlook of some Englishmen), and society in London had refused, as did the Admiral in South Africa

78 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

at the time, to make heroes of men who had broken every code of political honour, the subsequent history of England and South Africa would have been other than it has been. However, nowadays my beloved country and the South African people can afford to laugh long, though through tears, for are we not master in our own beautiful and glorious home.

XIV

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID

(continued)

DURING my long political life one of the most difficult problems that confronted South Africa was the Poor White question. Parliament and the Dutch Reformed Churches were constantly debating the problem and dealing with it. I myself was on the Head Committee trying to awaken the conscience of the country, collecting funds and taking measures to cope with the dead weight of this social and political sickness. People agreed as to the causes, but differences arose as to the treatment. The causes of the disease were deep-seated. The abolition of slavery was a cause, just as in the Southern States of the United States of America it was associated with the creation of "Poor White Trash"; the partition of the land on the decease of the owner among the numerous progeny, in the absence of the law of primogeniture; the rapid growth of railways and the consequent displacement of thousands of transport drivers and conductors; the false pride of race; and the flood of sunshine with easy conditions of life were some of the prominent contributory causes to a problem widespread and baffling.

Thinkers were driven to the conclusion that the surest and safest treatment was the education and training of the children by means of compulsory education and the founding of labour colonies and boarding

and training establishments, with sound environment. In some of the country districts the appalling fact of the poor white girls allied to the raw native startled the country. The problem we have faced for years and it is still with us, but it has in some degree yielded to the good work of the labour colonies, and the splendid and unselfish efforts of the Dutch Reformed Church. In this connection I will ever cherish the names of Reverends Marchand and Pienaar. Our railways and public works have aided the labour colonies and the Churches by absorbing thousands of this class in their activities.

The "Bijwoner" and the "Poor White" problem now with the shallow and specious philosophy of Labour and Bolshevik leadership has resulted in much bloodshed and suffering on the Rand. If you tell a man with surface training and education long enough by day and night that he has a grievance he sub-consciously, unknown to himself, becomes a self-made martyr.

The reader may well ask but what had this to do with the Raid? The conduct of Rhodes and the Raid led to a convulsion and revulsion in South Africa. Rhodes had owed everything political to Hofmeyr and the Afrikaner Bond, and without Hofmeyr and the Bond Rhodes would have been a rich man only, not a world name, and an empire-builder. Just as De Beers was the foundation of Rhodes's enormous fortune, so were Hofmeyr and the Afrikaner Bond the basis and foundation of the political power of Rhodes. Without Hofmeyr and the Bond Rhodes would never have been Prime Minister of the old Cape Colony, and without that he could never have founded and established Rhodesia.

Success and flattery had turned Rhodes's head. Success he thought would attend the Raid, and *ex*

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 81

post facto Hofmeyr with the Bond would come into line, and by the aid of treachery and fraud, as in a moment, there would be accomplished a great and United South Africa, stretching from Cape Point on the South Atlantic to the far-off Tanganyika in the north, under the protecting flag of the British Empire. The richest United States in the world. What a colossal dream! Poor Rhodes! whom I had loved and followed so faithfully, but ere now had learnt to distrust! Now that we are all united in a sane way and on a sound foundation of consent and not trickery and fraud, the present generation can have no conception of the changes and passions brought about by that wicked action. It is not the abuse of liquor nor heredity nor undue avarice only that unbalance the minds of men. Ambition with the conviction that his life's end was in sight induced Rhodes to stoop to conquer.

The change that came over the country was remarkable. In an instant forces that had hitherto been antagonistic ranged themselves at Rhodes's side, while the forces and the policies that had made him were dazed. The decent Dutch with a small minority of English Afrikaners withdrew from all contact with the poisonous thing. The very people who had recently taunted Rhodes with being the "Bijwoner" and slave of Hofmeyr and the Bond, and more Dutch Afrikaner than the Afrikaners themselves, sprang to the side of the wrongdoer. The Raid was a veritable thunderbolt that cleft South Africa in twain. The Poor White and Bijwoner class of Dutch Afrikaner was not noted at any time for patriotism: bread, not patriotism, was of more account in their scheme of philosophy, and more so that the bread was well buttered.

That aspect of the consequences of the Raid was the most contemptible to me, and it nearly broke

Hofmeyr's heart. In delicate health, with his heart in a weak state, strength was given to Hofmeyr as by a miracle for the next few years to prove, not only the great statesman he was, but also the man. It was a great consolation to me that Hofmeyr lived to see his life's work accomplished and could close his eyes in peace. I do not want to think about, much less mention, the names of the leading false Afrikanders of those days, because I do not desire to hurt the feelings of their children, who without exception returned to the faith of their forefathers. Curiously enough none of the actors of that ilk survive to-day. One, however, I cannot avoid mentioning, and that is the Rev. S. J. Du Toit, the great Republican Bondsman and the last of Rhodes's "My Dutch Friends." Have some men no sense of humour? The converted Republican, the last of the loyal Dutchmen! Loyal, aye loyal, loyal to the sovereign in Rhodes's pocket! Reader! You may think I am bitter, but does not bitterness enter into history? Is history a string of platitudes only? I am attempting, however indifferently, to picture the feelings of twenty-six years ago, and how Rhodes could boast in London that half the Dutch had remained by his side after the Raid. Does history and the course of events after bear witness to the truth of that boast? I am not bitter at all. I am retired and on the shelf. I have no political enemy, and I am not concocting propaganda for any cause, for there is no cause now, the victory is won; but in recording my recollections I must, if I am to be honest, propound myself into those days and that atmosphere, the atmosphere of a Vesuvius, with broken hearts all around. Not at all, I love the memory of my political opponents, I love their good points, and, after all, were they not South Africans, and did they not form part of that environment that I love and like to dream about? Those

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 83

many, many years when I sat in the 'Speaker's chair in the old Cape House of Assembly, and later on in the Union Parliament, tamed me and made me perspire the soft and grateful perspiration of the National Convention, Durban moisture, the milk of human love and kindness, and it is not in us South Africans to harbour resentment for long.

XV

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID

(continued)

DURING the years succeeding the Raid I have likened England and South Africa to a mother and her two sons. The two sons: one Dutch, the other English. The Dutch the elder, and English the younger. The stepbrothers ever quarrelling, the Dutch stepson always in the wrong, and the own son ever talebearing and poisoning the mind and love of the mother against her adopted and stepson. The parallel is apposite, the own son growing more overbearing, the mother more fond and trustful of her own spoilt darling, the stepson more sullen, resentful and silent in the presence of unearned and unmerited reproach. Those were the relations of the two races in their common home, South Africa, the home of the one's birth, the home of the other's adoption. England was soon to become the "Horrida Noverca" of classical fame. Is there not some sort of parallel in the relations of England and Ireland? Soon this state of things was to witness the application of all the bad adjectives, by way of dispatch and the Press, hurled at the head of the impossible, lonely, naughty, alien Dutch stepson. And not alone the dispatches from England nor the Press of London, but the hectic outcry and tears of passion of England's cruelly, ill-treated and spoilt South African child.

The disappointed conspirators and their Chartered

Press were determined to have their revenge for the insult sustained at the hands of the temporarily successful stepbrother. That naughty, ill-mannered, barbarous stepbrother who had inflicted the blows of Majuba and Doornkop. The spoilt boy was full of malice and all uncharitableness, and his darling mother was so fond of jewellery, gold, and diamonds. If only the elder could be placed under the younger, and the mother and her natural son could monopolize the South African home all would be well, smiling and bright. What a shame! For was not that mother the most capable, the cleverest, the most self-righteous, with more "unctuous rectitude" than any other mother in the whole wide world? She scorned all pretence of scandal. She wanted no more land and no more gold, only the Sermon on the Mount all over the world, and especially in South Africa. Is it well, is it kind, is it Christian, to strip human nature of all its pretences? This vale of tears imposes on humanity many a burden hard to bear, and I would not unearth the corpse were times not changed.

The old mother is grown wiser, the children are brothers, not only in name, and they are growing up and of mature age and sense, and have recognized that it is the better part to love one another and to make the home decent; and, though with sorrow and with eyes dimmed, we now smile with a glorious faith and hope. Adversity, provided it does not kill, makes for strength. So with this preface of philosophy I shall proceed with my tale, and to prevent misunderstanding, before I proceed, I explain, when I say the Dutch were the older and the English the younger, it is with the meaning that the Dutch were holders of more land and were more in numbers than the English in those troublous times.

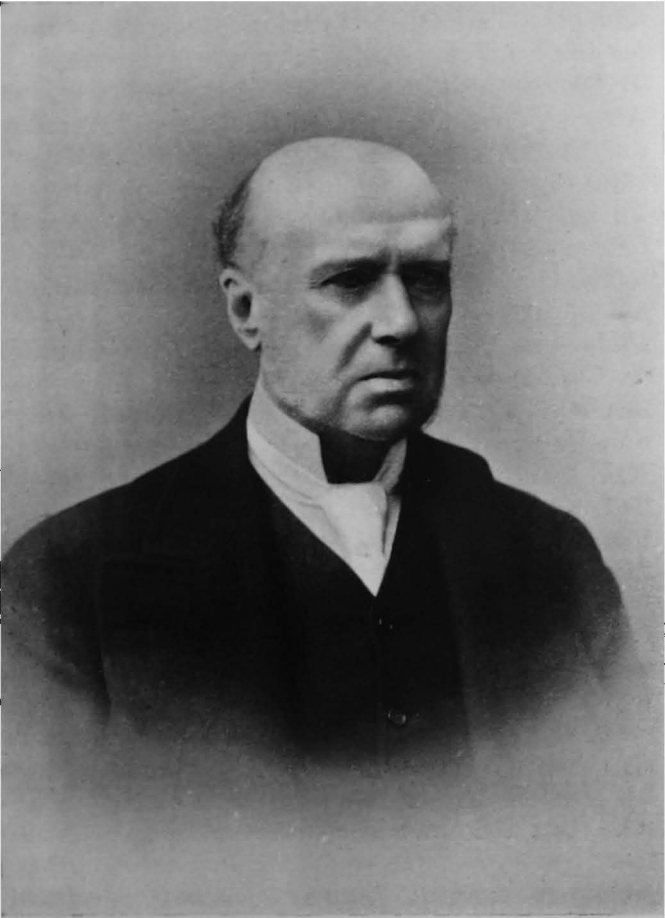
Sir Hercules Robinson, on the resignation of Rhodes,

86 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

called on Sir Gordon Sprigg to form a new Ministry. In the middle of January, 1896, the new Ministry was announced and was composed of Sprigg, Prime Minister for the third time, with the office of Treasurer ; Dr. Te Water, Colonial Secretary ; Sir Thomas Upington, Attorney-General ; Sir James Sivewright, Railways and Public Works ; and Sir Pieter Faure with Agriculture, three Bondsmen and two Independents. Sir Thomas Upington exchanged the Bench for politics once more.

The third session of the ninth Parliament was opened by Sir Hercules on 1 May, 1896, but we members of Parliament had a meeting on Thursday, 30 April, and we elected my old friend and fellow advocate, the member for Oudtshoorn, Jutta, as Speaker. This was a very solemn session, and the turmoil created by the Raid was fully reflected in the House, but members had not as yet definitely sorted themselves out, and found themselves in the light of the new phase of South African politics. The membership of the House had been increased from seventy-six to seventy-nine by reason of the annexation of Bechuanaland, and we welcomed two new faces for Vryburg and one for Mafeking.

On the first day of the session we were alarmed at the news of the Governor's early approaching departure to England, for we felt that South Africa could not miss that wise and well-balanced head, and all the more so as the Chartered Press was agitating his recall, especially the London "Times." Several of us, including Hofmeyr, Merriman, Sauer and self were unwillingly compelled to cable a protest to England against the scandalous character of the news appearing in that influential paper. On Thursday, 7 May, we unanimously passed this resolution : " That this House having heard that His Excellency, Sir Hercules Robin-



LORD ROSMEAD OF TAFELBERG

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 87

son, Governor and High Commissioner, is about to proceed to England on official business, takes this opportunity of expressing its deep sense of the great services rendered by him to South Africa during the recent unhappy crisis, and desires to express the hope that he will speedily return to the same, believing that his prolonged absence might be detrimental to the best interests of South Africa." We were nervous at losing him, for we did not know what dangers might lurk on his departure.

On 8 July, the Premier announced the following message from Chamberlain: "I am confident that it will have been gratifying to your ministers to learn that Her Majesty the Queen has marked her sense of the long and distinguished services of Sir Hercules Robinson by elevating him to the peerage (cheers), especially as the most conspicuous of his services have been rendered in and to South Africa." (Cheers.) At once, without any notice, we unanimously passed the following motion: "That this House has received with gratification the announcement of the elevation to the peerage of Sir Hercules Robinson (cheers) in recognition of his long and distinguished public services, especially in connection with South Africa." (Loud cheers.)

This session was almost entirely devoted to discussions on the Charter and the Raid, and all the incidents and circumstances surrounding it. The old Cape Parliament was true to itself, its high level of oratory and wide and generous outlook was more than maintained. It is good to recall the speeches of Merriman, Schreiner, Sauer, Innes and Beard, and eventually Schreiner's motion was adopted: "That this House, having taken into consideration that part of the speech of His Excellency the Governor dealing with the recent armed inroad into the territory of the South African

88 . THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

Republic, (1) condemns the said inroad and deeply deploras its lamentable consequences ; (2) trusts that Her Majesty's Government will institute a searching investigation into the originating and carrying out of that inroad, and undertakes to give Her Majesty's Government all the assistance in its power in such investigation ; (3) recognizing the steps already taken in that direction, trusts that Her Majesty's Government will establish effective measures as regards the future administration in Rhodesia or otherwise to render impossible a repetition of any such event ; (4) feels assured that by proceeding in a spirit of mutual conciliation and forbearance, complete tranquillity will be restored and further discord, so fatal to the peace and best interests of South Africa will be prevented ; (5) is of opinion that a select committee of seven members to be nominated by Mr. Speaker should inquire into the circumstances as affecting this Colony in connection with the preparations for and carrying out of the said inroad, and that Her Majesty the Queen be informed by respectful address of this resolution." In terms of this resolution Jutta, the Speaker, appointed Upington, Innes, Du Toit, Merri-man, Schreiner, Jones and Fuller, with Upington as Chairman.

That committee of Rhodes's old friends and comrades did their work well, and after a long and arduous inquiry, they brought up a finding, unanimously adopted by Parliament. The Raid commenced the Boer War, and was to plunge South Africa into chaos and inconceivable horror. The report of the Committee, though long, is so complete and so important that I devote the next few chapters to a verbatim report.

After the session closed I left for England, and on 20 September, having been a few hours in London and

THE RHODES CONSPIRACY AND RAID 89

on emerging from luncheon at the Holborn Restaurant, I was accosted by a voice saying, "I want you to sign this, sir." I looked round and on a throne surmounted by the Union Jack lay a large volume. I read: "Petition for the release of Dr. Jameson." It is not polite to record my rejoinder, but the highly decorated commissioner almost fell flat, for I suppose it was his first and last refusal, because all London was fallen in love with Jameson and his heroes. I told Jameson of the incident later on, and he remarked, "You were quite right." This thoughtless and otherwise engaged public of England, dazed by lies and led by prigs, was to pronounce in all levity a little later on, South Africa's death sentence.

XVI

THE JAMESON RAID

REPORT of the Select Committee appointed by orders of the House of Assembly of 28 and 29 May, 1896, to inquire into the circumstances as affecting this Colony in connexion with the preparations for and carrying out of the recent armed inroad into the Territory of the South African Republic, the Committee having power to take evidence and call for papers, and consisting of the Attorney-General, Mr. Innes, Mr. Du Toit, Mr. Merriman, Mr. Schreiner, Mr. Jones and Mr. Fuller; the Attorney-General being Chairman.

1. On the evening of 29 December last Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of the territories belonging to the Chartered Company, entered the South African Republic at the head of over five hundred mounted men and a strong force of artillery fully equipped. The expedition consisted of two parties, one of which started from the camp at Pitsani-Pothlugo, where they had been gradually accumulated, and the other from Mafeking, in Colonial territory. This invasion, occurring as it did at a time when the relations of the Government of the South African Republic and those of the other States and Colonies of South Africa were on the most friendly footing, created a profound sensation, and the effect upon the whole country has been extremely prejudicial and beyond measure

disastrous. As a result of a discussion that took place in Parliament upon this subject a Committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances as affecting this Colony in connexion with the preparations for and carrying out of the said inroad. In accordance with this decision your Committee have used their best endeavours to unravel as far as possible the circumstances surrounding this astounding breach of international comity.

2. They have examined a number of witnesses, and in some cases their unwillingness to give evidence, to use a mild word, while perhaps not unnatural under the circumstances, has caused your Committee great difficulty in carrying out their task. On the other hand, the written evidence is of the greatest value.

3. The volume known as the Transvaal Green Book No. 2 contains a most remarkable series of documents, including not only intercepted code telegrams with the decipher, but also private letters, sketch maps and other papers, which afford a general clue to the plot of which the inroad was the direct result. Your Committee has thought it well to republish the greater portion of the volume.

4. The passage of a special Act enabling the Committee to call for documents from the telegraph department has resulted in the discovery of important evidence, and your Committee wish to place on record their sense of the prompt assistance afforded them by the officials of that department.

5. Your Committee desire to report that they have notified to the Rt. Hon. C. J. Rhodes the fact that they had been entrusted by the House with this inquiry in order to afford him an opportunity to lay before the Committee such evidence or statements as he might wish to adduce, but no such evidence or state-

ments have been submitted. And your Committee have caused communication, through the Acting Secretary of the British South Africa Company, Mr. Stevens, to be made by cable to the British South Africa Company in London and to Dr. Harris, intimating to the Company and to him that in the opinion of your Committee his attendance to give evidence in respect of issues upon which the Acting Secretary, Mr. Stevens, professed his inability fully to explain the facts was desirable. The reply is annexed.

6. Your Committee have also thought it proper to invite the Government of the South African Republic to tender any evidence that they might consider pertinent to this inquiry. The correspondence is annexed.

7. It is difficult to fix a date for the inception of the plot that led to the inroad which forms the subject of this inquiry, though it is comparatively easy to trace the initial steps for carrying those plans to a practical issue. We find from the documents before us that as soon as the proclamation placing a certain portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate under the British South Africa Company was issued in Bulawayo on 19 October preparations were made for moving the force known as the Mashonaland Mounted Police down country, the first troops starting on 25 October and being followed by others, in all two hundred and fifty men, two hundred and ninety-three horses and one hundred and sixty-eight mules, six maxims and two field guns. These men on their arrival were located at a camp at Pitsani, the site for which had been acquired from Montsioa in exchange for two other farms. On 1 November this site was inspected by Dr. Jameson, who arrived from Bulawayo that morning, and it was entirely approved by him. Dr. Jameson proceeded from Mafeking to Cape Town, where he

arranged for the dispatch of more men and horses. Reference to the requirements are made in a letter from Sir J. Willoughby of 18 November to Major R. White, where he puts the strength of the force required at six hundred men and seven hundred horses, and goes into great detail. Colonel Rhodes, who had been acting Administrator of Mashonaland, was appointed manager of the Gold Fields of South Africa Mining Company, and dispatched from Cape Town to Johannesburg, which place he reached on or about 19 October.

FINANCING THE MOVEMENT

8. On 24 October Colonel Rhodes drew a sum of £1,000 by a sight draft on the British South Africa Company, Cape Town, on account of the new concessions account. The draft was duly advised in a letter which stated that it was drawn by arrangement with the drawer's brother, Mr. Cecil Rhodes. It was carried to an account in the books of the B.S.A. Co. headed "New Concessions Account," and was followed by many others, amounting in all, according to that account, to £61,500. In the books of the Standard Bank, Johannesburg, the amount on this account is given as £71,000. The last three drafts on this account were drawn on 6, 7 and 9 January respectively. The draft on 9 January is not included in the copy of the New Concessions Account furnished to your Committee by the accountant of the B.S.A. Co., though it was presumably honoured by the Company. The two drafts of the 7th and 9th, according to the deposit slips furnished by the Standard Bank to the authorities in Pretoria, were drawn on account of the New Concession Syndicate, as well as one drawn on the 6th according to the actual draft, while those before that date were

drawn on the "New Concessions Account." This point is, however, immaterial as all the sums, with the exception of £5,000, were carried in Johannesburg to the account above mentioned, which was opened for account of and operated on by Colonel F. W. Rhodes. The sums thus advanced by the B.S.A. Co. were used partly for preparations in connexion with the Raid, to which end cheques amounting to £18,500 were handed over to Dr. H. A. Wolff, who expended them in erecting stores and purchasing supplies and remounts, as fully described in the memorandum appended to No. 26, Appendix "A." A large part of the remainder was transferred to an account called "The Development Syndicate," opened with the Standard Bank of South Africa in Johannesburg, in the names of Colonel Rhodes, and Messrs. Hammond, L. Philips and J. P. Fitzpatrick, which will be found fully described in Annexure "E" to Appendix "A," to which was afterwards appended, as a kind of subsidiary, an account called the "Relief Fund," opened on 31 December, 1895, at Johannesburg in the names of L. Philips, F. Rhodes and George Farrar. There can be no doubt that these accounts were used for the purposes of the revolution at Johannesburg, which is a subject without the scope of the inquiry of this Committee. The "New Concessions Account" opened in the books of the British South Africa Company, amounting to £61,500, was closed by cheque from Mr. C. J. Rhodes on 15 January of this year.

9. In addition to the sums provided for the New Concessions Account the British South Africa Company made advances to Dr. W. A. Wolff direct, which were subsequently carried to the account of Mr. C. J. Rhodes. Part of these advances consisted of a credit on the Standard Bank at Mafeking, and inspection of Dr.

Wolff's account makes it clear that the sums so advanced were used for purposes connected with the Raid.

10. A similar advance of £500 was made to Colonel R. White, and inspection of whose account, coupled with the evidence of Bates, leaves no doubt that the money was intended for incidental expenses in connexion with the same matter. This advance was ultimately debited to Mr. C. J. Rhodes.

11. In addition to these accounts, which may be considered as closed as far as the British South Africa Company is concerned, an account was opened in their books called the Pitsani Camp Account, to which in January and February were carried amounts due for expenses in connexion with the expedition, as also the sundry sums paid to escaped troopers, who drifted through Cape Town. This account is not yet adjusted, and a considerable balance still stands open in the books of the Company.

12. It is in evidence that transcripts of the cash books and other accounts were regularly furnished to the head office of the Company in London, and that no queries were made as regards the very considerable sums advanced from time to time on the new concessions and other accounts.

13. In addition to finding large sums of money, which to a great extent financed the revolutionary movement in Johannesburg, it is in evidence that the British South Africa Company, by means of its agents and employees, imported and smuggled large quantities of arms and ammunition from this colony to the South African Republic. During the months of October, November and December, 1895, large quantities of arms and ammunition were forwarded by the British South Africa Company over the Cape Government Railways to Kimberley and Mafeking. In the case

of the former they were, as on previous occasions, consigned to Mr. Gardner Williams, the General Manager of the De Beers Consolidated Mines. Full details of these consignments will be found in Appendices "J," "K," "L," "M," "N" and "O" and "EE" and in Annexure "C" to Appendix "A."

14. Early in November, a Captain Holden, an officer of the British South Africa Company, was sent to Kimberley. He is referred to in a letter from Dr. Jameson, then Administrator of the British South Africa Company, to Major White. According to Mr. Williams's evidence he seems to have been placed in control of the De Beers stores and workmen in relation to the illicit forwarding of the arms and ammunition into the South African Republic.

15. On 23 November, the Acting Secretary of the Chartered Company, Mr. J. A. Stevens, directed the transfer of eight cases, containing three maxim guns and one hundred and twenty-five cases of ammunition, from Mafeking to Kimberley. These together with rifles were subsequently forwarded from the De Beers Works, concealed in drums of oil, consigned by De Beers in the first case to Port Elizabeth to the address of Pickering & Co., and subsequently by personal direction of Holden to Johannesburg, the carriage being paid by Holden partly by cheque on the New Concessions Account. A full description of this remarkable transaction will be found in Appendix "O" and in the evidence of Mr. Pickering. Later on a further consignment was made of rifles concealed under truckloads of coke. The principal agent in this special business seems to have been one Kellow, who was storekeeper of De Beers, and who assumed the name of Warren & Co., and has since gone to England. This was the case that led to the prosecution of Mr. Gardener Williams. In connexion with the investi-

gation of these matters your Committee have been pleased to notice the clear and businesslike records kept by the Railway Department, which have enabled them without difficulty to follow the several transactions.

XVII

THE JAMESON RAID

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE (*continued*)

THE JAMESON LETTER

16. **I**N the middle of November, Dr. Jameson left Cape Town for Johannesburg. He was again in Cape Town on 27 November, which fixes the date of his visit to Johannesburg between the twentieth and twenty-fifth of that month. While there, acting in concert with Mr. Charles Leonard, he procured the signature of Mr. J. H. Hammond to a letter addressed to himself, printed in Appendix "A," No. 61, which is also signed by Messrs. C. Leonard, L. Philips, G. Farrar and Colonel Rhodes. This letter is of the utmost moment and your Committee desire to draw special attention to its terms. Having obtained this letter so signed, Dr. Jameson returned to Cape Town and proceeded thence to Mafeking.

17. From the evidence before the Committee it cannot be questioned that Mr. Rhodes was acquainted with the tenor of this letter, and we find that on 19 December Dr. Harris telegraphed to Dr. Jameson as follows: "Mr. Rhodes says send me registered at once a copy of that letter from Charles Leonard." Great importance was attached to the document from the fact that it was referred to in two important messages from Dr. Jameson.

18. After the Raid had taken place on 30 December, when the High Commissioner was telegraphing to stop Dr. Jameson, this same letter appeared, according to the evidence of Mr. Cassidy, to have been cabled by some person for account of the Chartered Company to the London "Times," in which journal it appeared on 1 January with the following heading: "Cape Town, 30 December. The following letter signed by the leading inhabitants of Johannesburg was sent on Saturday to Dr. Jameson, Mafeking." For the purpose of this inquiry it is sufficient to note that this urgent invitation, couched in most moving terms, was signed by at least one signatory at the request of the person invited about a month before it was dated, at a time when there was no apparent indication of any serious outbreak in Johannesburg. To show that this letter was intended by Dr. Jameson to serve as a pretext for his subsequent movement against the established Government of the South African Republic, attention is drawn to Dr. Jameson's of 27 December in which he says that "We will make our own flotation with help of letter which I will publish," and to his message, sent on 29 December, to Dr. Harris in which he gives his version of his final arrangements with the writers of the letter.

19. Before Dr. Jameson's return to Mafeking, preparations were actively pushed forward. Dr. Wolff and his assistant, Mr. Liesching, were employed under the name of the Rand Produce and Trading Syndicate in building and stocking a line of stores on the road between Mafeking and Krugersdorp, and numerous telegrams and references testify to Dr. Wolff's activity. In addition to this function he appears to have been a medium of explanation and communication. Dr. Jameson in the interesting letter which he writes from Johannesburg on 19 November, to the Hon. R. White,

after detailing the general scope of the enterprise, winds up, "Dr. Wolff will tell you the rest." Both Stevens, Charter, and Colonel Rhodes later on, on 12 December, are referred to the same gentleman for explanations. Mr. Stevens, Charter, again relies on him to explain reasons against postponement at "Directors' Meeting." On 24 December Dr. Harris informs Dr. Jameson of the improved feeling "Since Dr. Wolff left," and on the eventful morning of 29 December Dr. Jameson telegraphs "That Dr. Wolff was to meet him to decide destination and make cutting without fail." The history of this confidential agent concludes when we find him helped off from Cape Town by Mr. Stevens of the Chartered Company after the fiasco had taken place.

20. By the early part of December the preparations for the inroad were complete. Sir John Willoughby, who on 18 December had complained that "He will not let me move yet," finally left Bulawayo early in December, after leaving very full instructions as to the calling out of the Rhodesia Horse on the receipt of a code wire ostensibly for a camp of exercise, but appears from detailed instructions really for the purpose of marching down country.

21. On 11 December Dr. Jameson wires to Stevens, Charter, tell Mr. Rhodes that "Everything is very satisfactory also ready here the entire journey occupies two and a half days." A few days previously, on 7 December, Colonel Rhodes had telegraphed from Johannesburg that "The polo tournament," which was apparently the sporting name for the rising at that place, "is postponed for one week, as it would clash with race week," which drew a protest from his correspondent the Hon. R. White, who pointed out that any delay would be most injurious, and this was followed on the 12th by a message from Dr. Jameson

to Stevens, Charter, Cape Town, requesting them to advise Colonel Rhodes of the immense risk of discovery daily expected and asking them to "Do all you can to hasten the completion of the works." On the same day he telegraphs direct to Colonel Rhodes in the same sense. In compliance with these urgent telegrams we find Stevens, Cape Town, on Chartered Company's service on 13 December, forwarding Dr. Jameson's request urging no postponement to Colonel Rhodes, with the following addition, that "The London 'Times' also cables confidentially to that effect postponement of meeting would be a most unwise course."

22. On 17 December Mr. A. Beit, a director of the Chartered Company, and Dr. Harris arrived from England. On the 18th Mr. Hammond, one of the signatories to the letter of invitation, telegraphs to the Hon. C. J. Rhodes stating that they "Cannot arrange respective interests without Beit. Flotation must be delayed until his arrival. How soon can he come?" As to the meaning of "Flotation" Mr. Hammond's evidence is clear that it applied to the rising in Johannesburg. On the same day Dr. Wolff telegraphs from Johannesburg to Major R. White that "There is not likely to be postponement." In reply to Mr. Hammond, Mr. Beit pleads inability to move owing to ill-health and "urges immediate flotation." Mr. Beit again, on the 20th, after mentioning his health, telegraphed to the confederates on Johannesburg, "Immediate flotation is the thing most desired as we never know what may hinder it if now delayed." That this was considered a most important message is obvious from the fact that Dr. Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company, telegraphs both to Colonel Rhodes and to Dr. Jameson that the message had been sent and urges Colonel Rhodes to fix the actual date of the rising.

23. On 23 December, Dr. Harris was able to inform Dr. Jameson that the rising would take place on next Saturday, namely 28 December, at 12 o'clock, "They are very anxious you must not start before eight o'clock and secure telegraph office silence, we suspect Transvaal is getting aware slightly," and again on 24 December he takes occasion to express his confidence in the rising taking place on Saturday night and cautions Dr. Jameson not to move before that date.

24. There had previously been some hitch as to the outside co-operation with the Johannesburg movement. On 21 December, Charter was asked by Colonel Rhodes to inform C. J. Rhodes that it was stated "That Chairman will not leave unless special letter inviting him. Definite assurance had been given by all of us that on day of flotation you and he will leave, there must absolutely be no departure from this and many subscribers have agreed to take shares on this assurance, if letter necessary it can still be sent, but it was agreed document left with J. A. Stevens was sufficient and that you are responsible for Chairman's departure. It is very important to put this right. Reply to Lionel Philips." To which Dr. Harris replies on 23 December to Colonel Rhodes that "A. Beit has telegraphed Lionel Philips assuring him that Chairman starts immediately flotation takes place, no invite necessary." In the foregoing communications it may not be very certain to whom "Chairman" refers, but there can be little doubt that "You" refers to Mr. C. J. Rhodes.

25. Dr. Wolff, who at this time was at Mafeking, appears to have brought discouraging reports, for on 24 December we find Dr. Jameson informing the Chartered Company, Cape Town, on his authority that "Plans Johannesburg too unsettled. Probably

would be quite afraid to act if I start before Saturday although meeting held Zeerust and Southerly towns. Will endeavour to delay until Saturday. If you can by cable do all you can to hasten it, every day is of the utmost importance. On receipt of telegram I am quite prepared to move on date of delivery." And he adds, "Colonel F. W. Rhodes etc. intolerable." It was in answer to this that the reassuring message was sent informing him that "Since Dr. Wolff left feeling our subscribers greatly improved."

26. At this date, up to 24 December, that is a few days before the actual inroad took place, Cape Town, Pitsani and Johannesburg seemed to have been in complete accord. The force was ready, the date for the rising was fixed, and the Cape Town confederates were doing their best to hurry things forward. On Christmas Day eleven trustworthy men were sent from De Beers Consolidated Mines to Colonel Rhodes to be at hand in case of need. Full accounts of this transaction will be found in the very straightforward evidence given by Mr. Scott.

THE SUDDEN CHECK

27. On 26 December there was a sudden check. On the afternoon of that day Colonel Rhodes telegraphed to the Chartered Company, Cape Town, "It is absolutely necessary to postpone flotation. Charles Leonard left last night for Cape Town." Messages to the same effect were sent from Mr. S. W. Jameson to his brother, and from Dr. Harris for the Chartered Company to Dr. Jameson, the latter concluding, "So you must not move till you hear from us again. Too awful, very sorry." As to the nature of the hitch that occurred there is some light thrown on it by the statement from Mr. S. W. Jameson to his brother

that any movement must be postponed "Until we have C. J. Rhodes's absolute pledge that authority of Imperial Government will not be insisted on." A point that is further alluded to in telegram No. 6537 of Appendix "QQ" of 28 December. Whatever the exact nature of the obstacle was there can be no doubt that some at least of the Johannesburg confederates were much alarmed and took all possible steps to stay proceedings. In addition to urgent telegrams special messengers were sent to impress on Dr. Jameson the necessity of delay. One of these, Captain Holden, made his way across country. According to Mr. Hammond's evidence, Holden arrived at Mafeking on 28 December and went in with the column.

28. The other messenger was Captain Maurice Heany, who left Johannesburg on 26 December, and on the 27th telegraphed from Bloemfontein to Charter, Cape Town, informing them that "Zebra-wood" (Colonel Rhodes) had asked him to "stop 'Zalibar' (Dr. Jameson) till Heany sees him," and asking that a special train might be arranged for him. Dr. Harris replied to Kimberley on the 28th informing him that a special train was arranged and added, "Lose no time or you will be late." It is in evidence that this special train was provided by the Chartered Company, that Heany left by it, caught up the ordinary train at Vryburg, and that he reached Mafeking at 4.30 a.m. on Sunday the 29th. The evidence is that he was coming with an urgent message to stop Dr. Jameson, that on his arrival at Mafeking he waked up Mr. Isaacs, a local storekeeper, and purchased a pair of field boots and a kitbag and proceeded by special cart to Pitsani, and that he subsequently on the same evening accompanied Dr. Jameson on his inroad and was captured at Doornkop.

TELEGRAM DISCLOSURES

29. On the 27th, after receiving the discouraging telegrams mentioned above from Johannesburg, Dr. Jameson telegraphed to Harris, Charter, Cape Town, "I am afraid of Bechuanaland Police for cutting wire. They have now all gone forward but will endeavour to put a stop to it. Therefore expect to receive telegram from you nine to-morrow morning authorising movements. Surely Colonel F. W. Rhodes advisable to come to terms at once. Give guarantee or you can telegraph before Charles Leonard arrives." This doubtless alludes to the necessity for guarantee mentioned in the message from S. W. Jameson, and the alternative suggestion was that authority to proceed should be given before the arrival of the Johannesburg Delegate at Cape Town.

30. Two hours later, on the same day, he sends another message of the utmost importance. He informs Harris, Charter, Cape Town, as follows, "If I cannot as I expect communicate with Bechuanaland Border Police Cutting then we must carry into effect original plans. They have then two days for flotation. If they do not we will make our own flotation with help of letter which I will publish." On the same day Dr. Jameson telegraphed to his brother in Johannesburg as follows, "Guarantee already given, therefore let J. H. Hammond telegraph instantly all right." To this Mr. Hammond sent a most positive reply, absolutely condemning his proposed action at present.

XVIII

THE JAMESON RAID

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE

(continued)

31. **A**S bearing upon the attitude of the force at Pitsani it may be noted that on the same day that the foregoing correspondence was taking place, Mr. A. Bates was dispatched from Mafeking into the Transvaal with instructions from Major Raleigh Grey to collect information and meet Dr. Jameson *en route*. He was supplied with a horse and money, and seems to have done his best to carry out instructions.

32. Early the next day Dr. Jameson telegraphed to Harris, Charter, Cape Town, "There will be no flotation if left to themselves, first delay was races which did not exist, second policies already arranged. All mean fear. You had better go as quickly as possible and report fully or tell Hon. C. J. Rhodes to allow me." The reply to this was, "It is all right if you will only wait. Captain Maurice Heany comes to you from Colonel F. W. Rhodes by special train to-day." And again two hours later Dr. Harris for the Chartered Company telegraphs, "Goold Adams arrived Mafeking Monday and Heany I think arrives to-night, after seeing him you and we must judge regarding flotation but all our foreign friends are now dead against it and say public would not subscribe one penny towards

It even with you as a director. Ichabod." Still on the same day two further telegrams to Dr. Jameson were sent from Cape Town, almost together, of a strongly discouraging tenor. One of them concluded by saying, "We cannot have fiasco," and the other informs Dr. Jameson that Lionel Philips anticipates complete failure of any premature action. On the same day Dr. Harris informs Colonel Rhodes at Johannesburg that "Have arranged for Captain Maurice Heany, Dr. Jameson awaiting Captain Maurice Heany's arrival. Keep market firm." And later, "Charles Leonard says 'Flotation not popular and England's bunting will be resisted by public,' is it true, consult all our friends and let me know, as Dr. Jameson is quite ready to move resolution and is only waiting for Captain Heany's arrival." A few hours later Dr. Jameson telegraphs to Harris, Charter, Cape Town, "Received your telegram Ichabod re Captain Maurice Heany. Have no further news. I require to know unless I hear definitely to the contrary shall leave to-morrow evening and carry into effect my second telegram (Appendix "A," No. 82) of yesterday to you and it will be all right."

33. On the next morning Sunday, the 29th, Heany arrived at Mafeking and, after making the purchases detailed above, he left by special cart for camp at Pitsani, where he probably arrived about 8 o'clock a.m. At five minutes past nine Dr. Jameson telegraphed to Harris, Charter, Cape Town, "Shall leave to-night for Transvaal. My reason is the final arrangement with writers of letter was that without further reference to them in case I should hear at some future time that suspicions have been aroused as to our intention amongst the Transvaal Authorities, I was to start immediately to prevent loss of lives as letter states. Reuter only just received. Even without my own

information of meeting in the Transvaal compel immediate move to fulfil promise made. We are simply going to protect everybody while they change the present dishonest Government and take vote from the whole country as to form of Government required by the whole." It would appear that a message was also dispatched from Pitsani to Captain Spreckley, Bulawayo, instructing him to call out the Rhodesian Horse.

34. The intended movement was known in Mafeking shortly after noon on the same day, and in the evening the force from that place and from Pitsani Camp crossed the border of the South African Republic, having previously destroyed the telegraphic communication with the Colony. Full accounts of what took place will be found in the evidence of Mr. George Boyes and in the report of Inspector Fuller.

35. The further proceedings of Dr. Jameson's force and the disastrous results are beyond the scope of the investigations of this Committee.

36. It is in evidence that the telegram from Dr. Jameson on the evening of the 28th, as well as that of the morning of the 29th, were duly handed to an official of the Chartered Company some time between 10 and 11 a.m. on that morning. They were by him taken out to Dr. Harris, who proceeded without delay to Mr. C. J. Rhodes, and brought back a draft telegram to Dr. Jameson from Mr. Rhodes. It purports to be from "Umbegangen," which represents Mr. Rhodes, but is not his ordinary code name, and it reads, "Heartily reciprocate your wishes with regard to Protectorate but the Colonial Office machinery moves slowly as you know. We are however doing our utmost to get immediate transference of what we are justly entitled to. Things in Johannesburg I yet hope to see amicably settled and a little patience and common sense is only necessary. On no account

whatever must you move. I most strongly object to such a course." Mr. Stevens endeavoured to send this message off both on Sunday and early on Monday morning, but the line to Mafeking was closed and it was cut by Jameson's orders on Sunday evening. The message, therefore, was never sent, and when the communication was restored at noon on the 30th, there is no evidence that any attempt was made to send either this or any other message disapproving of Dr. Jameson's action. On that day, however, the letter of invitation which was relied on as a pretext to justify his action was cabled from the Chartered Company to the London "Times."

37. Having briefly detailed the events leading up to the inroad as far as can be gathered from the evidence before us it only remains to consider the principal points as they affect this Colony.

38. Your Committee are of opinion that no member of the Colonial Government, with the exception of the Prime Minister, to whom reference will be made hereafter, had any knowledge whatever or suspicion of the intention to send an armed force across the border of the South African Republic.

39. Your Committee are satisfied that with the exception of a subordinate officer, when on leave and only recently transferred to the Colonial Service, no officer in any department of the Government Service of this Colony can be charged with any breach of duty.

40. After careful inquiry, it has been ascertained that there is nothing to show that any officer of the Customs Department connived at the unlawful importation or delivery of munitions of war for use in the South African Republic. And although the Government lines of railway were at the time undoubtedly used for the transport of arms, ammunition and military equipment, unlawfully exported from the Colony into

110 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

the South African Republic, officials of the Railway Department are exonerated from any blame in connexion with such unlawful exportation.

DE BEERS

41. Your Committee is convinced that the stores and workshops of the De Beers Consolidated Mines were for some time previous to the inroad used for the storage and for the unlawful exportation of arms, destined for the South African Republic in connexion with this inroad, and also that even men were sent from De Beers to Johannesburg who were afterwards allowed to resume their positions. The evidence is clear and leaves no room for doubt on this point. The local directors give an emphatic denial to any guilty knowledge on their part and your Committee must acquit them of anything beyond negligence, which looking to the magnitude of the transactions and the length of time over which they extended must have been very marked. It is not conceivable that such proceedings could have been permitted without the knowledge and approval of the Chairman and Life Governor, Mr. C. J. Rhodes.

B.S.A. CO.

42. With regard to the Charter Company your Committee find that the principal officials in Cape Town either knew or were in a position to have known the existence of this plot. Two at least of the directors, Mr. Beit and the Rt. Hon. C. J. Rhodes, were, together with the Administrator, Dr. Jameson, and Dr. Harris, the South African Secretary of the Company, active as promoters and moving spirits throughout, and they were from time to time kept informed of the preparations. The date of the inroad was fixed weeks before-

THE JAMESON RAID

iii

hand, and the Letter of Invitation was obtained four weeks before the ostensible date of signature. During the month of December, the pressure for what was called the "Flotation" came either from Pitsani or Cape Town, the whole movement was largely financed and engineered from outside, and in both cases certain directors and officials of the Chartered Company of British South Africa were active throughout.

XIX

THE JAMESON RAID

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE (*continued*)

MR. RHODES

43. **A**S regards the Hon. C. J. Rhodes, your Committee can come to no other conclusion than that he was thoroughly acquainted with the preparations that led to the inroad. That in his capacity as controller of the three great joint-stock companies, The British South Africa Company, The De Beers Consolidated Mines and The Gold Fields of South Africa, he directed and controlled the combination which rendered such a proceeding as the Jameson Raid possible.

44. It still remains to consider Mr. Rhodes's position with regard to Dr. Jameson's entry into the South African Republic at the precise time when he did. There is no evidence that Mr. Rhodes ever contemplated that the force at Pitsani Camp should at any time invade the Transvaal uninvited. It appears rather to have been intended to support a movement from within. In this connexion it is important to refer to the telegrams which passed between the confederates during the last few days of December. On the 25th of that month, after the preparations at Pitsani—which had been made with the approval and concurrence of the Chartered Authorities in Cape Town

—were apparently complete, some hitch occurred at Johannesburg the whole nature of which is not clearly shown by the evidence, but an element in which was doubtless a dispute on the question of hoisting the English Flag should the revolution prove successful. The result of the hitch was that those interested in Johannesburg determined to stay proceedings and dispatch Mr. Charles Leonard to Cape Town. He left on the evening of 25 December, and his departure was notified the following day in a telegram from Colonel Rhodes to Charter, Cape Town. A perusal of the messages which were exchanged between Dr. Jameson and Dr. Harris on 26, 27 and 28 December, and with the contents of which your Committee cannot doubt that Mr. Rhodes was fully acquainted, will show that the Chartered Authorities in Cape Town were fully impressed, more especially after the arrival of Mr. Leonard, with the advisability of delaying the advance from Pitsani until the Johannesburg confederates were ready. And Dr. Jameson was repeatedly counselled to wait until the arrangements were complete. At the same time there is an absence of such peremptory command direct from Mr. Rhodes to Dr. Jameson not on any account to take action as might reasonably have been expected from one resolutely determined to do all in his power to prevent a subordinate officer from committing a gross breach of the law. About noon on the morning of 29 December, Mr. Rhodes became aware that Dr. Jameson had definitely made up his mind to invade the territory of the South African Republic that evening, and after a conference with Mr. Rhodes, a draft telegram to Dr. Jameson was drawn up by Dr. Harris. More than half of that draft, strangely enough, has no reference to the contemplated inroad, and is not explained by any evidence before your Committee, but the latter part of it

114 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

contains a distinct and peremptory injunction on Dr. Jameson not to carry out his contemplated movement on any account, as "I Mr. Rhodes strongly object to such a course." This message could not be sent on the 29th because the line had been cut, nor had any communication with Mafeking been restored on the morning of the 30th, but by noon of that day the damage had been repaired and the line was open. The message, however, was never forwarded at all. Upon these facts it would appear that Mr. Rhodes did not direct or approve of Dr. Jameson's entry to the territory of the South African Republic at the precise time when he did do so, but your Committee cannot find that that fact relieves Mr. Rhodes from responsibility for the unfortunate occurrences which took place. Even if Dr. Jameson be primarily responsible for the last fatal step, Mr. Rhodes cannot escape the responsibility of the movement which had been arranged with his concurrence to take place at the precise time it did if circumstances had been favourable at Johannesburg. Mr. Rhodes never visited Cape Town on Monday, nor did he think it right to communicate the fact of the inroad to his colleagues in the Ministry. The only message actually sent from Cape Town to arrest Dr. Jameson's progress after he had started was the one dispatched by the High Commissioner about noon on 30 December, and the one conveyed through the British Agent at Pretoria, both of which were disregarded.

45. In conclusion, your Committee cannot but express their deep regret that Mr. Rhodes was not present to give to the Committee his own account of the proceedings on which they are instructed to report, the more so as they are reluctantly forced to the conclusion upon the evidence before them that the part taken by him in the organization which led to the inroad,

headed by Dr. Jameson, was not consistent with his duty as Prime Minister of the Colony.

THOMAS UPINGTON

W. P. SCHREINER

P. J. DU TOIT

CHARLES T. JONES

J. ROSE INNES, Junr.

THOMAS E. FULLER

JOHN X. MERRIMAN

THE LETTER OF INVITATION

Annexure "A" No. 61.

JOHANNESBURG,

20 December, 1895.

DR. JAMESON.

Dear Sir,—

The position of matters in this State has become so critical that we are assured that at no distant period there will be conflict between the Government and the uitlander population. It is scarcely necessary for us to recapitulate what is now matter of history. Suffice to say, that the position of thousands of Englishmen and others is rapidly becoming intolerable. Not satisfied with making the uitlander population pay virtually the whole of the revenue of the country, while denying them representation, the policy of the Government has been steadily to encroach upon the liberty of the subject, and to undermine the security for property to such an extent as to cause a very deep-seated sense of discontent and danger.

A foreign corporation of Hollanders is, to a considerable extent, controlling our destinies, and, in conjunction with the boer leaders, endeavouring to cast them in a mould which is wholly foreign to the genius of the people. Every public act betrays a most positive

116 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

hostility, not only to everything English, but to the neighbouring States as well. In short, the internal policy of the Government is such as to have roused into antagonism to it not only, practically, the whole body of uitlanders but a large number of the boers, while its external policy has exasperated the neighbouring States, causing the possibility of great danger to the peace and independence of this Republic.

Public feeling is in a condition of smouldering discontent. All the petitions of the people have been refused with a greater or less degree of contempt, and, in the debate on the franchise petition, signed by nearly 40,000 people, one member challenged the uitlanders to fight for the rights they asked for and not a single member spoke against him.

Not to go into detail, we may say that the Government has called into existence all the elements necessary for armed conflict. The one desire of the people here is for fair play, the maintenance of their independence, and the preservation of those public liberties without which life is not worth having. The Government denies these things and violates the national sense of Englishmen at every turn. What we have to consider is, what will be the condition of things here in the event of conflict?

Thousands of unarmed men, women, and children of our race will be at the mercy of well-armed boers; while property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We cannot contemplate the future without the gravest apprehension, and feel that we are justified in taking any steps to prevent the shedding of blood, and to ensure the protection of our rights.

It is under these circumstances that we feel constrained to call upon you to come to our aid should disturbance arise here.

The circumstances are so extreme, that we cannot

THE JAMESON RAID

117

avoid this step, and we cannot but believe that you, and the men under you, will not fail to come to the rescue of people who would be so situated. We guarantee any expense that may reasonably be incurred by you in helping us, and ask you to believe that nothing but the sternest necessity has prompted this appeal.

We are, yours faithfully,

(Signed) CHARLES LEONARD
FRANCIS RHODES
LIONEL PHILIPS
JOHN HAYS HAMMOND
GEORGE FARRAR

XX

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

THE stormy session of Parliament closed on Wednesday, 29 July, 1896, and on this closing sitting Mr. Danie Haarhoff, Dr. Harris's colleague for Kimberley, moved that leave of absence be granted to Dr. Harris. A stormy debate ensued, and on division resulted in the negative. I remember that division well, for it was the first time that the House of Assembly had refused to grant leave to an absent member, and the result created a precedent. I was one of the tellers. Dr. Harris, the Secretary of the Chartered Company, Member for Kimberley, Rhodes's right-hand man and "Cactus" of the conspiracy and raid, was then no longer a member of Parliament. Richard Solomon, a personal friend of mine, was elected as one of the members for Kimberley in the place of Dr. Harris, whilst Rhodes was absent from South Africa. In five weeks' time I was on the voyage to England and arrived at Plymouth on 19 September, and left Southampton on my return on 26 December, 1896, a year after the Raid.

Whilst in England I found people ignorant of the happenings and the course of events in South Africa. Was it to be wondered at, when their information was polluted at the source? I visited the Colonial Office in Whitehall, saw Spender of the "Westminster," gave him a copy of the Jameson Raid Report of our House, together with the evidence and all the annexures, and

made a speech in Glasgow warning the British public that they might expect danger in South Africa unless they ceased petting Rhodes and Jameson. We in South Africa had our own opinion of Chamberlain, but I never referred to him. I met J. W. Leonard, who had left South Africa after the Raid, often at the Temple, and other plotters and conspirators, Beit, Dr. Harris and Lionel Philips amongst them. I returned to South Africa with the conviction that South Africa, and especially the Cape Parliament, must rely more on themselves to promote the salvation of the country.

I was indeed sure that the fountain-head of action was corrupt and was being corrupted, and thus early I warned my political friends at the Cape. Chamberlain had, hot-foot, within a week of the Raid, begun a course of nagging the authorities across the Vaal, but whilst Sir Hercules Robinson remained Governor and High Commissioner things were safe. The high honour of a peerage that had been conferred on Sir Hercules made me suspicious, for euthanasia was such a well-known art of high diplomacy. South African leagues and loyal leagues now were started all over the Cape Colony, and my personal fire-eating friend, Captain Brabant, the member for East London and the leader of the new war party, in his enthusiasm boasted that with two thousand British Colonials he guaranteed to walk right through the Transvaal.

It was in this atmosphere that the fourth session of the ninth Parliament was opened. Rhodes, though absent in England in body, was the uncrowned head of the new constitutional party, and like a vigorous young politician, his spirit and personality were everywhere felt. For had he not boasted within a fortnight of the discovery and defeat of his policy of violence that his political life was only beginning, and that he would secure "by constitutional means" what violence

had denied him? The nucleus of success was there. Untold money, an obedient British Press, and all the flames of race hatred fanned by violence. The memories of those times are not quiet and restful ones. The year 1897 was a red-letter one in the history of the British Empire, for it was the year of the great Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, and she was a household goddess of all in South Africa, English, Dutch and native alike. To enable us to be worthily represented in London we met early on 2 April, 1897, so as to be in ample time to make provision, by way of sending our Prime Minister and our troops to participate in London on 22 June, the appointed day.

Sir Hercules Robinson, now Lord Rosmead of Tafelberg (Table Mountain), was ill, and unable personally to open Parliament. The session was opened by General Sir William Goodenough in terms of a commission, under the great Seal of the Colony and under the hand of Lord Rosmead. One of the results of the Jameson Raid was native unrest all over the sub-continent. It had been a universal experience in South Africa that whenever the whites quarrel amongst themselves, much more fight against one another, native unrest has arisen. Following on the rising in Mashonaland and Matabeleland, we had two risings, one in Bechuanaland and one in Pondoland and East Griqualand. The Bechuanaland Rising was the more serious and lasted the longer, in the Pokwane and Langeberg districts of that territory. A few months before, and that even after the Raid, President Kruger, with his insight of native character, had offered to send his Burghers to aid the Colonists in Rhodesia and to assist Rhodes in dealing with the Mashona and Matabele Rebellions. He recognized that however whites might fight amongst themselves, when it came to the authority of the white man over against the

black man, there must be co-operation in the interests of all ; but Rhodes's pride caused refusal to co-operate, and the consequence was native unrest in all parts of South Africa. One result of the native rebellion in Bechuanaland was more land for the whites. We passed an Act during this session parcelling out more native lands amongst the white settlers. The ravages of rinderpest caused great disturbance, and we experienced famine in certain parts of South Africa, for millions of horned cattle perished. Thus native unrest and rinderpest occupied much of our time this session.

The Transvaal question, however, took up the major portion of our time, and in that connexion the question known as the " Drifts Question " came to light. Parliament discovered, thus late, about eighteen months after the event, that Chamberlain had as early as November, 1895, agreed with Rhodes to make war on the Transvaal in certain contingencies, which, however, did not at that time mature. The papers and correspondence were produced and created a profound sensation, but the " Drifts Question " had become academic in the light of the present course of policy being pursued by Chamberlain, aided and abetted by Rhodes and his party. In this session we were informed of our final severance from association with Lord Rosmead. Our House felt the loss of Lord Rosmead and passed unanimously a vote of recognition of his splendid services to South Africa. " Its sense of the great services during his long tenure, its high appreciation of his unwearied devotion to his public duties." Lord Rosmead replied to our expressions of sorrow on his departure in feeling terms of gratitude to the House, and on Wednesday, 21 April, within three weeks of the opening of Parliament, we gave ourselves a holiday, and members trooped down to the Docks to grasp his hand in farewell for ever. On 14 May following, we

had read out to us a cable stating "That since his arrival in England the health of Lord Rosmead has been progressing favourably," and even Chamberlain wrote to us on 14 June informing us that he endorsed the sentiments expressed by us on Lord Rosmead's retirement. Two days afterward Chamberlain sent us another cable saying "That Her Majesty's Government were confident that the results achieved under his guidance during his two terms of office at the Cape of Good Hope would occupy a prominent place in the annals of South Africa." What a prominent place the representative of the Queen had occupied in the hearts of us her simple subjects in South Africa.

The most important debate of the session circled about the Peace in South Africa and the principal discussion arose on a motion, proposed by the mildest man in the House, P. J. Du Toit, member for Richmond and the President of the Afrikaner Bond. His motion was carried and reads as follows: "That this House being of opinion that the occurrence of hostilities between the European communities of South Africa would for many years to come prove disastrous to the best interests of the country, and earnestly desiring to secure peace and establish mutual confidence in and between the various South African States and Colonies, wishes to express the conviction that these objects can best be obtained by the faithful and reciprocal observance of all obligations under treaties, conventions, or agreements, and whilst averse to the intervention of any foreign power in any dispute with Her Majesty's Government, means could be devised to obtain an amicable settlement of any differences which may arise in the interpretation of such obligations, and that by the adoption of a policy of moderation, mutual conciliation and fairness in the discussion of

and dealing with all differences, the tranquillity of South Africa would be further assured."

The discussion lasted many days and gave rise to weighty speeches. In the midst of the debate Schreiner arrived from England, on his return from giving evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Jameson Raid inquiry. He made a weighty contribution to the debate. Rhodes also arrived a week after Schreiner, but took no part in the debate, and voted with the minority against the motion. This was Mr. Rhodes's first appearance after the end of the session of 1895, and he looked aged and haggard, after his appearance in the Committee Room in the House of Commons, but this motion was out of the road he was now travelling. In this debate, Thomas Fuller, the member for Cape Town, for the first time, showed his hand and that on the side of violence, and he was attacked by his fellow-members for Cape Town, Messrs. Beard, and Weiner. The last important debate of this session arose over a vote of "No Confidence" in the Ministry. The no policy or want of policy of the Government was giving rise to uneasiness in many quarters of the House and the resulting division was a tie. Sir Gordon Sprigg departed from South Africa to attend the Jubilee celebrations as Prime Minister on the casting vote of the Speaker.

Rhodes voted against the motion of "No Confidence," but broke silence only once on the second reading debate of the "Bechuanaland Natives Reserves Bill." Our parliamentary domestic affairs were disturbed by the resignation of the Clerk, John Noble, who became Clerk of the House in the year of my birth, the year 1865, and he now resigned on account of ill-health and old age, and was succeeded by Ernest Kilpin, the Clerk Assistant. Poor old Michael Bergh also resigned from the Sergeantship. The gout had

made him a helpless cripple. Both the old and beloved officials received every honour at the disposal of the House and retired to enjoy their well-earned pensions on full pay for life, but only for a lamentably short time. There was too much grief and anxiety in the country, and their deaths, shortly after retirement, escaped more than passing public notice. The new order of things was too much for their conservative outlook on life. These retirements took place before the close of the session, and Mr. J. R. Hofmeyr became Assistant Clerk in succession to Ernest Kilpin, and Mr. Ensor succeeded Michael Bergh. John Noble was an eminent intellectual and historian of South Africa. Having created Tuesday, 22 June, a public holiday in honour of Queen Victoria's sixtieth anniversary of her coronation, the House rose on Thursday, 24 June.

Lord Rosmead was succeeded as Governor and High Commissioner by Sir Alfred Milner, a recent Egyptian official and a late scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. He arrived in South Africa in the midst of the session, in the month of May, and was welcomed from many parts of the Colony, and amongst others by the South African League. My fierce and fiery old friend, the veteran Captain Brabant, the President of the Loyal League, presented him with an address containing these significant words: "And trusts that your appointment at this critical period may result in securing a satisfactory settlement of our difficulties. At the same time the League would respectfully but emphatically submit that the sentiments and opinions of Colonists of British extraction are not represented by the majority in the Colonial Parliament. That in their opinion the action of that majority tends to the advancement of a State whose aim is to secure all ascendancy in South Africa and whose aim is distinctly hostile to Great Britain." To this address His Excel-

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR 125

lency replied that "He would be obliged if you, Captain Brabant, would kindly communicate to the members his best thanks for the same." The Speaker of the House, referring to the address, remarked: "Whether it was perilously near a breach of privilege or not, he did not consider it was within the rule of the House under the Privileges Act a breach of privilege." Thus early an attempt was made to secure Her Majesty's representative as the leader of a party, instead of the governor of all parties in the Colony. Another wail from the spoilt child, and another hint of the disloyalty of the adopted son towards the common mother.

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (*continued*)

THE five years 1898 to 1903 inclusive were to become the most strenuous of my life. In my speech on the Jameson Raid debate in the House, on 18 May, 1896, I had warned the House that the present Government was a mere smoke screen and cloak to shield Rhodes and his policy of violence. The Government had given the country no lead, and in both the sessions of 1896 and the last session it was left to private members to try and shape our policy. In the session of 1896, Messrs. Merriman, Schreiner and Sauer unravelled the conspiracy and plot. For all the Government had said or done men could not tell what was in the minds of Sprigg and his colleagues, and on the great question of the peace of South Africa raised by the motion of Du Toit in the session of 1897, it was not till the voting came that Parliament or the country knew what was the policy or the opinion of the Government of the day. Their want of policy and leadership resulted in a line of no policy, Micawber-like waiting on events and with no attempt to guide or control them. They were playing the policy of Rhodes and his confederates. After the session closed, and Sprigg was in England at the Diamond Jubilee, it was then that the Government, through their Prime Minister, showed its hand.

By speech and letter to Chamberlain, Sprigg made light of the offences of Rhodes, and even went so far

as to say that half of the Dutch Afrikaners had forgiven Rhodes and stood once more at his side. Chamberlain used Sprigg and our Government and Cape Colony to whitewash Rhodes in the House of Commons, and we in South Africa witnessed the amazing antics of the British Colonial Secretary, fresh from signing the Raid Inquiry Report, stating to the bewildered House of Commons that Rhodes had done nothing inconsistent with his honour and his political character. Mr. Chamberlain, the very man who was under accusation and who helped to make the House of Commons inquiry one of "No Inquiry," closing the proceedings when the scent became too warm, and the guilty nearly rounded up, condoning Rhodes's refusal to permit Hawksley to produce the cables and telegrams that were known to exist. Safely in England, Sprigg informed Chamberlain that the Cape Colony would be pleased if Chamberlain restored Rhodes as the head and managing director of the Chartered Company, and that Her Majesty should restore to Rhodes the Privy Councillorship which had been taken from him. No, the smoke screen was dissipated and pretence at an end. The whole of South Africa, both sides, knew where they stood and Rhodes, not Sprigg, was the leader of the party.

The Raid had failed. The "Constitutional Means" was to effect what trickery, deceit and violence had missed in gaining, and now I was to become better acquainted with myself. The great danger, the great emergency, the great crisis, was to provoke undreamt-of sacrifices and to provide unsuspected energy of soul and body. We in South Africa knew where we stood, though we still believed that constitutional law would prevail in the British Empire, and only if we to ourselves proved true the old trusty Parliament of the Cape Colony, the oldest and most powerful political

body in South Africa would give such a lead that even Chamberlain and all the works of darkness in South Africa would be controlled and the union of the people would come about through nature's plan of patience and consensual growth. And so it came to pass that by the end of the year 1897, two years after the Raid, Rhodes on the one side rehabilitated, supported by ninety-five per cent. of the English, Hofmeyr on the other side, sorrowful, supported by ninety-five per cent. of the Dutch Afrikanders, entered the greatest political contest in the history of South Africa. All would have been well had outside interference been absent. As my old friend, General Sir William Butler, at Grahams-town so wisely said, "South Africa needs no surgical operation," and that from a soldier of wisdom. For very shame and seeing that we are all one nowadays, I shall not harrow myself or reader with any great detail of the happenings of that great political contest, the elections of the year 1898. I shall touch on them only lightly, but before we come to the victory of the South African Party and the Bond in the latter part of the year 1898, I must shortly review what led up to that general election.

The end of the year 1897 saw the Upper House, the Legislative Council, expire by refluxion of time, and the elections for the new Council took place at the commencement of the year 1898. Roughly the parties were called Bond and Progressive. I was Chairman of the Bond election committee of the Western circle, and our party secured the return of my old friend Neethling to the Upper House, defeating a most respected candidate of the Progressive Party in Fredric York St. Leger. It was a great triumph of organization, and to cheer us up and honour Jan Hofmeyr, our leader, we gave the latter a rousing banquet on 28 March, 1898, in Cape Town. I shall never forget

the speech that Mr. Hofmeyr made on that occasion. It was the greatest speech I had ever listened to from that single-minded patriot. It was and remains to-day a classic, and deserves to be framed and hung in every South African home, and was an inspiration to all of us so soon to be in the thick of the political fray.

The fifth session, and which proved to be the last of the ninth Parliament, lasted from 20 May to 25 June, 1898, when Parliament was dissolved on the defeat of the Sprigg Ministry. Sir Alfred Milner opened the session in person, and we listened to a speech full of platitudes. He thanked the members for the welcome he had received from all parts of the Colony and by all classes of inhabitants, and condoled with us upon the death of Mr. Gladstone. He announced the complete suppression of the native rebellions, and then as regards the thing nearest our hearts said: "The official relations between the Government of the Colony and the Governments of all the other countries in South Africa are of the most cordial character." Moreover we learnt that the rinderpest was dying down, and the weather was kind as regards the drought. The speech ended up by telling us that some were over-represented and others under, and consequently we would have to devote ourselves to the thorny and very contentious subject of additional Representation and Redistribution. The sting was in the tail. After listening to the Governor's speech, we returned to the House of Assembly and two new members were sworn in and welcomed. They were Colonel David Harris of Kimberley, who replaced Barney Barnato on his death by drowning on the voyage to England from the Cape, and Hercules Christian Van Heerden, who succeeded Sir Thomas Scanlen as member for Cradock. These two members, both of them, have proved sterling acquisitions to the House, and they are happily both

living to-day and still in harness. The Colonel, Sir David Harris, still represents Diamond interests in the Union Parliament, and Hercules Van Heerden is the much respected President of the Union Senate. The latter always of my party, the former a moderate Independent and more often than not voting with the South African Party, and now after all these years a very honoured member of the South African Party. I refer to these two new members for they have always been, storm or sunshine, very particular friends of mine down till to-day.

Chamberlain thanked us for our address on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen, and we concluded the first day of the session in commemorating the imperishable memory of the late W. E. Gladstone, and sending a message to the bereaved widow and family. Sir Thomas Upington, the late Attorney-General, looked very poorly, and the Speaker granted him leave to bring a stick into the House to assist him. On the first day of the session, Sprigg introduced the "Bill to provide for the Better Representation of the People in Parliament," and it was read a first time, and proved to be a foretaste of Bills of that nature which were some of the weapons of the "Constitutional Means." On Tuesday, 31 May, Schreiner gave notice of the following: "That the Government does not possess the confidence of this House." Schreiner's speech, though moderate, as was the man, was none the less a scathing indictment of the Government, and the debate ensuing was of a high order. A few days before the session opened, Sir Thomas Upington had been compelled, through ill-health, to resign the portfolio of Attorney-General, and shortly afterwards died. Thomas Lynedock Graham, who had been elected recently to the Upper House, succeeded Sir Thomas Upington and became Sir Gordon Sprigg's

Attorney-General. At this time also Dr. Te Water resigned as Colonial Secretary and was replaced by Dr. Smartt.

The result of the motion of "No Confidence" was the defeat of the Progressives and the Rhodes party, the figures of the voting being forty-one for the motion as against thirty-six. The vote was taken on Wednesday afternoon of 22 June, 1898, and I was one of the tellers of the "Ayes." I was satisfied with the division. After voting money to carry on the services of the Colony and thanking the Speaker, the session closed on Tuesday, 28 June, and Parliament was immediately afterwards dissolved and members were once again on the mercy of the electorate. During this short session, we passed a vote expressing our sorrow and regret on the death of our late Governor and High Commissioner, Lord Rosmead of Tafelberg. Before the session closed, members voiced their feelings in very plain terms with regard to the misrepresentation of the Colony's views in England by the Prime Minister, and Rhodes became more lively than ever since the Raid, as the recognized leader and financier of the new "Progressive Party." We members parted from one another determined to work our hardest, and do our best for our respective parties, in the stormy general election facing us, and the ninth Parliament of the Colony was on 29 June, 1898, dissolved by proclamation, and the political dogs of war were instantly released and in full cry throughout and to the remotest ends of the country.

XXII

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (*continued*)

THE general election that now took place was the most strenuous and violent in the political annals of South Africa. The peace of South Africa was in the balance, and we of the South African and Bond party thought that by winning the election and replacing the Government by one of our own we could carry on the peaceful evolution of South Africa so cruelly disturbed by the Raid and all that that wicked conspiracy stood for. We were up against a tremendous proposition, but faint heart never won fair lady, and we faced Rhodes and high finance. Hundreds of millions were on the other side, and the whole British Press, both in South Africa and the Press that counted at the time in England. Rhodes had even started a new Kafir paper, for the old and much respected "Imvo," edited by Tengo Jabavu, which had never deserted the well-trying friends of the natives. J. S. Du Toit, one of Rhodes's "Bijwoners," edited the new Dutch paper "Het Dagblad," also financed by Rhodes, for money was of no consideration to the plotters against the peace of South Africa. Merriman and I had now to part company. We had been colleagues representing Namaqualand for eight years together, and now we could not stand again for our old constituency. The bulk of the electors were the servants of the Copper Companies, mostly Cornish miners, and High Finance made our standing for that constituency

out of the question, and sorrowfully we parted company and left our old constituency, but not without leaving many friends and admirers behind.

I myself was provided for with a safe constituency, and Merriman left Namaqualand to fight Dr. Smartt, the newly appointed Colonial Secretary, and ex-member of the Bond, at Wodehouse. Richard Solomon stood for Somerset East, having left his old friend Rhodes and become a supporter of our party, but in the midst of the campaign, to our consternation, he retired, convinced that he had no earthly chance of winning, though he had claims by birth, education, and family connexion with Bedford, a town and district of the Somerset East electoral division. His relatives even deserted him in disgust of his siding with our party. A few days before nomination day my friend Hofmeyr approached me and urged me to fill the breach, for was I not young and enthusiastic! And was I not a fighter! I answered that strangely enough, though I knew the Colony from end to end, I had never visited that Midland constituency and was a stranger to the people, though known by name and repute. I was prevailed on to give up my safe constituency and to embark on a quest, the chances of success being so remote as to be seemingly hopeless. Wienand, my fellow-candidate, had returned to his beautiful farm "Bellevue," quite satisfied that the coming contest was a fool's quest for our party.

I reached Somerset East, seven hundred and fifty miles from the Cape, at 2 a.m. in the night before the nomination, and I put six hundred miles by cart and on horseback behind me in the fortnight which remained before polling day. I visited all the far-flung borders of the constituency, Graaff-Reinet, Jansenville, Uitenhage, Albany, Bedford, Adelaide, Tarkastad, Cradock, and Somerset East. My last meeting was arranged

for at Cookhouse on the eve of the day of voting, so that after addressing a meeting at Witmos, farther down the line, I left by afternoon train for Cookhouse, but that train was broken down half-way. I believe to this day that the railway authorities purposely landed me in the midst of the veld.

The Government that we defeated had been left in power for the elections with all the great State services in their hands, and the patronage and power so tempting to unscrupulous and baffled politicians. We had in our innocence made a stupendous mistake in leaving Rhodes and Company in power and voting money for the interim, thereby placing an enormous weapon in the hands of our opponents. The sorry business was all discussed and laid bare in Parliament a few months after. However, now time was of the essence, and in my riding breeches with a hole worn in the seat, and my small handbag, I left my carriage and the railway line and disappeared and was soon lost in the great spaces of the unknown veld. I chanced on a lonely farm-house, belonging to one De Wet, and induced him to inspan and was soon dashing down the valley of the Great Fish River, over the ill-famed Slaghtersnek and down along the river again, and long after nightfall I found myself at Cookhouse. Well it was that I was too late to hold my proposed meeting, for what did I find? During that afternoon Rhodes and a whole bevy of political cronies had, on his way down to turn out my old friend C. T. Jones, member for Port Elizabeth, held a monster meeting and demonstration in support of British supremacy and the Union Jack. The people were wild with excitement, flags and decorations testified to the popularity of the new-found saviour of British honour and British traditions, and it was well for me that I could escape to Somerset East under cover of darkness.

Rhodes had painted me the very Devil, with horns and hoofs, and the poor deluded railway employees and loyal British subjects were prepared to serve me, the disloyal traitor, in the way that one Edwards had been recently served at another railway junction, Kei Road, with tar and feathers. No, the stainless knight, the worthy railway commissioner, the ill-famed Sir James Sivewright, did me unknowingly the best turn he had done me in his whole variegated life.

I reached the town of Somerset East at midnight, a physically broken-down candidate. I was too hoarse to speak from overspeechifying, but my spirit was all serene, and in my enthusiasm I scorned the idea of defeat. The day of decision had arrived. I donned my best Bond Street frockcoat, patent-leather boots and top hat, and thus arrayed I mounted a magnificent prancing steed and ambled and pirouetted down to the town hall as fresh as paint, not a smile, dire determination depicted on my face, and at the steps of the town hall I dismounted and without a word threw the reins to a Kafir headman, took off my bell-topper to the assembled crowd and gave them a taste of my favourite maxim, "Manners makyth man." People may well have exclaimed, "Was this the Bond Devil?" The man who wanted to dance on the Union Jack? Surely not. He was not clothed in "moleskins" and "veldschoens," and then into the chief polling hall of the chief town of the constituency. That was at 9 o'clock in the morning. Eleven o'clock saw a reaction setting in, and I left the town hall for the local club.

I had seen no English papers since leaving Cape Town and I opened the last London "Times," when one of my opponents, an aforesaid ardent Bondsman, but now one of Rhodes's lieutenants, with the local English editor, and the principal of the Gill College, came into the reading-room. "Hallo, Molteno," said

dog's chance." I looked up from my "Times" and arm-chair and replied, "I lay you an even thousand pounds I beat you." The three looked surprised, and the Christian Jew, my opponent, more so. He had always been very wise and often remarked, "Money talks." "No," he replied. "Make it five hundred," I suggested. "I will make it fifty," he replied. Memories are short in South Africa, so I recorded the transaction with the three as witnesses. The local Jingo editor took ten pounds worth, and I remarked, "First past the post." The election day was Saturday.

Monday saw the counting. The first count made my local fellow-candidate head of the poll, Palmer, my opponent, second, self third, my betting opponent last. I was out by ten votes. But I was inspired at the time. I had jotted down the numbers of every field cornetcy on the returns. Instantly by a simple arithmetical calculation I saw that thirty votes more than had been cast figured in the total. None of the agents had spotted the discrepancy, and I said to the magistrate and civil commissioner, Francis Graham, "Sir, a mistake has been made." He replied, "Well, I have counted and I shall declare the result." "Surely not if a palpable mistake can be shown," I replied, and I showed him the simple addition, making thirty more votes than had been returned as cast, and he saw it and recounted. The double votes were in packets of one hundred each, and it was soon discovered that one packet of "Palmer and Abrahamson" contained seventy only instead of one hundred. I was in, and Palmer was out.

This shows the importance of candidates at election time being present on every important occasion during the contest, even up to the counting, and the declaration of the poll. The news had gone down by telegram

to Cape Town before luncheon that I was out, and at lunch time all the clubs and places for news gave out the news that I was out. The official declaration of the poll was fixed by Graham for 2.30 in the afternoon. I have never blamed Graham, and I have never, till now, discussed the incident, but I knew in my own mind, rightly or wrongly, who was to blame. Somerset East had never witnessed such a day as that Monday in mid August. Those elections of the year 1898 were the most exciting in my time, and Palmer, quite serene and sure of success, was driving in from his farm "Cranemere," near Pearston, when people on the road, on the summit of the hill outside Somerset, told him the news. The reins fell from his hands and he remained paralysed till his death. He was the old member and a friend of mine. But times had changed. That Monday afternoon witnessed the greatest excitement and rejoicings on the part of my sympathizers and supporters and, followed by a great company in carriages, carts and things on wheels and on horseback, I was compelled to drive through the streets of the town in a landau drawn by four handsome horses, and beside me sat the belle of the district. One of her male relations since that time has become one of South Africa's great generals, and is of French Huguenot descent. In the meantime, things were growing unsettled, and the Imperialist Party and Press were disinclined to take defeat lying down. I was that night escorted by a commando of my supporters all the way, twenty miles distant, to the nearest station, Cookhouse, on the main line and seen safely off to Cape Town and home.

One incident, that might have terminated by a tragedy, occurred on the way, but I only saw the humour. People of the present day have no conception of the happenings and the passions of those times,

138 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

and on my journey down to Cape Town I met some of my friends in the thick of their contests, but they looked unnatural, and wild from want of sleep and grooming. At that time the elections were not held simultaneously throughout the country on the same day, but they were spread out for about a month. To-day all elections take place throughout the Union simultaneously. The Government in those days took good care to place the contests for their safe seats first on the programme of the general election, because it was thought that a long list of victories would influence doubtful voters, and thus the towns and country districts favourable to the Government of the day were first contested. The return of Mr. Wienand and myself, in a supposedly safe constituency, was annoying to the Progressives, for it counted four votes on a division, and, as it proved, our victory at Somerset East caused the defeat and fall of the Sprigg Government and proved fatal to the "Constitutional Means" of Rhodes's plan.

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (*continued*)

I RETURNED home to my house at Claremont in the evening and found awaiting me an urgent letter from Mr. Hofmeyr. I saw him on the following morning, and he asked me to go up to Bechuanaland and Vryburg that night. After the nomination of the candidates for the two seats in the Bechuanaland constituency, one of our nominees had been killed in a collision on the railway at Matjesfontein. Mr. De Villiers of Sea Point was the deceased candidate, and Charles Sonnenberg was his colleague, and chaos reigned at Vryburg. At that time there was no provision in our law for a fresh nomination if one or more of the candidates died between the nomination and the day of voting and election, and this anomaly is now cured by law and fresh nominations are called for. Exhausted as I was, I caught that night's train for the north, met Solomon at Kimberley and was in the town of Vryburg in two days. The contest had been fixed for 5 September and was the last of the elections. I took charge at Vryburg, and spent the remaining days touring and making speeches along the Harts River Valley, the borders of the Transvaal, Pokwane, Taungs, and other districts, and the night before election day held a great meeting in the town hall of Vryburg. Rhodes and most of the directors of the De Beers Company were in charge of the interests of the Progressive Party and candidates. Fraud, corruption, bribery and im-

personation openly were rampant on the Progressive side, and whilst I was holding the meeting for the South African Party in the town hall, Rhodes and his supporters had to content themselves outside upon the market-place. I had good reason to learn of the depths of electioneering degradation that took place during that contest, for on the return of the two Progressive candidates I was one of the counsel for the South African Party in the election petition that followed. After briefs had been delivered to counsel and all the preparations made for the trial, with scores of witnesses present in Cape Town, on the eve of the trial in the Supreme Court, both the elected candidates threw up the sponge and resigned.

They saw that it was impossible to escape the results of the exposure in open court, and they took refuge in resignation. They were defeated a few months subsequently, when both our candidates were returned for the division of Bechuanaland, and their return was most welcome to us, as at the time we had a narrow majority in the House, while Mr. D. C. De Waal, one of Mr. Rhodes's "My Dutch," gave us much anxiety and trouble.

After the voting had closed and in the evening of that day, 5 September, 1898, I chanced to come across Mr. Rhodes, and he stopped me and invited me to dine with him that evening. I demurred, but he insisted, and said he had things of importance to discuss with me. Rhodes and his friends from Kimberley were living temporarily in the De Beers' railway car on a siding at the Vryburg Station some little way from the town. I dined with Rhodes and his friends, and after dinner, after requesting his friends to leave the saloon, he had a long conversation with me. When we came to the political talk, which was the object of my visit, he began "Molteno, the elections are a

stalemate, and you and your party will have to compromise with me." I replied, "There can be no compromise." He said, "There must be compromise, your majority can be only one and neither side can carry on." He then told me the result of the Uitenhage election which had gone against us and was till that moment unknown to me. He then assured me that the Vryburg election would result in his victory, but I demurred. He knew better what had taken place, and in the result he was temporarily right, to my great dismay. As regards "compromise," he replied to my negative opinion, "Why should you not compromise and support a coalition?" I looked straight at him and answered, "There can be no compromise, we have fought this election with the conviction that you will never rest until you have come even with Kruger over the Raid." Rhodes had a curious manner of lifting his shoulder and nodding his great head, and his voice used to crack, and he spoke at times as though he had a frog in his throat. With emphasis and nods, and his shoulder going up, he replied, "That's a point." I answered, "That is the whole point, we cannot and we shall not compromise, and we are determined to put in our own Ministry and form our own Government." After a pause, Rhodes said, "I tell you, Molteno, I am expecting important news momentarily from the north." I remarked, "What has the north to do with our affairs here?" He replied, "I am expecting great news from Egypt every moment." He saw that I did not understand what he meant and he then said, "I expect every moment to hear of Kitchener having smashed the Mahdi." I replied, "Well, what of that? What has that to do with our affairs?" He replied, "Everything. I have got a promise from the British Government that when things have been settled in the Soudan,

the whole weight of the British Government will be thrown against the Transvaal and in clearing up affairs in South Africa." At the time I thought it was all Rhodes's bluff, and I answered, "Well, whatever happens, we will do our duty and we will never compromise with you, and we are going to form our Ministry." He then said, "Molteno, I am leaving in this car to-night at 11 o'clock by special train for Cape Town. You come with me and we can discuss things further on the way down." I replied, "Much as I would like to get down quickly to Cape Town, I have arranged to catch to-morrow morning's train and pick up Solomon at Kimberley on the way. I have promised Solomon to go down with him." This was a red rag to the bull. "What! What! Is Solomon going down to Cape Town?" I answered, "Yes, Solomon is going down, and what is more he is going to be our Attorney-General, and we are determined to form our own Ministry."

Rhodes left that night, and I was joined by Solomon as arranged at Kimberley. On the way down to Cape Town, at De Aar junction, I met Mr. Edwards, the sub-editor of the "Cape Times," and we discussed the election news. He told me that our party had won the elections on Kruger and Transvaal gold. I was furious, and replied, "Name some member, name myself, and I shall nail that lying tongue to the counter, and pay my election expenses by the damages." People at the time were so worked up, and so excited, that the language used was more forcible than polite, and the charge that the Bond and South African Party had been assisted to win the general election by foreign gold was very galling. It was one of the lies that were put about to account for our victory, but never a penny was ever traced to Paul Kruger and the Transvaal Government in aid of our party or any individual

composing it. It was a terrible election: Rhodes spent tens of thousands of pounds, but the money would not talk loud enough to secure his return to power in the Cape Colony. All his imported agents, electioneering and otherwise, to show us stupid Bondsmen how to do the trick and win the rubber, failed. Poor we were in comparison, but any one of our enthusiastic volunteers was equal to any ten of Rhodes's gilded popinjays. Those forty Bondsmen returned at the general election were welded together with the priceless bond of patriotism and public service. It was good to have lived through those times, and I myself experienced some of the feelings that those Knights Templar felt of old when riding down the Saracen about the Sepulchre.

The one rock in the chaos of movement that men in those days relied on was the absolute purity and impartiality of our courts of justice, and after the elections came the election petitions. About twenty members had uneasy sleep at that time, and I was amongst the number. The Progressives thought first that by scrutiny and recount I could be unseated and they petitioned the Supreme Court, and I did not oppose, but consented, and the Court granted leave to open the sealed votes and voter lists, and under the eye of Hercules Tennant, the Registrar, and in the vaults of Parliament House, the sacred packets of votes and the official voters' registers were opened and examined and compared in the presence of the parties and their legal representatives. The Progressives derived no comfort. The effluvia on opening the supposed buried treasure nearly made my opponents faint. Batches of their supporters were found to have voted twice, once at Commadagga and again at Cookhouse, and instead of my majority of twenty votes being reduced to vanishing point it was discovered that I

had been returned by quite a comfortable majority. That frontal attack had failed, but a turning movement might succeed, for money was of no consideration. My opponents took months to frame their charges against me, and it was nine months after the election that the Court was moved to fix a day for the trial. I naturally opposed on the score of the long delay. No, said the Chief Justice, the Court is curious to learn the truth, and a day was fixed. Then I showed my hand. A long counter-petition was filed against my opponent, including personal charges, and the petitioner then objected that I was too late to file my counter-petition. No, said the Chief Justice, once again, we allowed you when you were late, now we allow the respondent because you made him late, and after all we are curious to hear the truth. Our Courts have been noted for their curiosity and their unerring sense of truth, and so issue was joined, and Cape Town was full of blithe and gay electors from far-off Somerset East and Bedford. Some of them had never seen the sea, and more had never seen the capital. Again it was the eve of the trial and behold the petitioner threw up the sponge, and the night before the day fixed for the hearing of the proceedings I was approached for my consent on terms to end the litigation. I replied that I had not brought the petition and that application must be made to the Court, and in the event the Court granted a rule *nisi*, which was not opposed and eventually made absolute, and that ended the long litigation with entire satisfaction to myself. My gay trippers and constituents were pleased and said, "What a good fellow I was to give them such an outing," and though I hate false pretences I did not deny the soft impeachment, but, after all, Rhodes paid and I got the kudos.

One of the petitions I enjoyed the most was the upsetting of the Stainless Knight. Sivewright was

unseated, and on his standing again for Stellenbosch, I put heart and soul into his defeat. Thus ended a malign career, but all the same I cherished some admiration and respect for his *bon camaraderie* and his consummate audacity. He was a past-master of making use of a very limited Dutch vocabulary, until he was found out. However, he did me a good turn in June, 1902, in London, which made me think kindly of him ever after. He was the most dangerous of the "Uitlander Bondsmen," because he was the most able and the least scrupulous of them. Peace to his ashes. He, like his friend Logan, survived to be hated by the Progressives and despised by the Bondsmen, for whom had they not betrayed in turn, and even old Paul Kruger was reported to have exclaimed, "Save me from my friends."

I had not to wait long, for shortly after my parting from Rhodes at Vryburg Station, the cables, which were not so expeditious as nowadays, gave us the news of Kitchener's victory over the Mahdi at Omdurman, and I wondered at the marvellous grasp that Rhodes had of the news of the world. Then I thought that there might be more in his boast that the British Government was at one with him in his policy in South Africa, but again I in my ignorance remembered that we were in power at the Cape and that the Acting Governor and Acting High Commissioner was Sir William Butler, the General commanding the troops in South Africa.

XXIV

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (*continued*)

THE first session of the tenth Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope began on Friday, 7 October, 1898, by the swearing in, before Mr. Justice Lawrence, of the members of the new Parliament, and the election of a new Speaker. Our recent Speaker, Sir Henry Juta, was amongst the fallen at the general election and would have been chosen again had he not been ousted at Oudtshoorn by Schoeman, a Bond candidate. Dr. Berry of Queenstown was nominated by the Progressive Party and elected unanimously, thus leaving the party of Rhodes in a minority of two on division in the new House. On Thursday, 6 October, I had been approached by the Progressive Party to submit my name for the election of Speaker. I informed the deputation that waited on me that the suggestion was an impossible one and made out of no consideration for myself, but with the purpose of equalizing the parties were I to accept the Speakership. The deputation left my chambers, and the Progressives in their caucus were compelled to select one of themselves and thus further weaken their party, and they chose Dr. Berry.

The formal opening of Parliament took place on Monday, 10 October, and Sir Alfred Milner read the Governor's speech. Thus the year 1898 witnessed two sessions of Parliament, one the last session of the ninth Parliament, the other the first of the tenth

Parliament, with the most strenuous of general elections sandwiched in between. The Governor's speech was unusually short, as becomes the utterances of a dying Government, but it insisted on the necessity of a Bill for the further representation of the people. On the next day, Tuesday, 11 October, a short and sharp engagement, comprising speeches at the hands of Schreiner and Sprigg and lasting but an hour, took place and the Government was defeated on a motion of "No confidence," the division lists telling Ayes 39, Noes 37. On Wednesday, the following day, Sir Gordon Sprigg announced the resignation of the Ministry and its acceptance by the Governor, and the House was adjourned until the following Monday, 17 October, to permit of the formation of a new Government. Passions and feelings were running high, and the narrow difference in the strength of the opposing parties did not tend to make things easier. A member at that time was worth his weight in gold, and the price of defection was firm, but thus far no member of our party had succumbed to temptation, and thousands of pounds had been refused by a needy country Dutch representative. Monday, 17 October, came round, and Schreiner rose early to announce the composition of the new Ministry, and made a statement of Government policy. The members of the new Cabinet were Schreiner, Merriman, Sauer, Solomon, Herholdt and Dr. Te Water, but the latter without portfolio. One of Schreiner's defects as a member, and a leader, was his diffuseness and verbosity. As leader of the Bar he was the same, and the poor Chief Justice and the other judges were often bored to tears, and on the brink of a nervous breakdown. He was one of the most lovable of men, but he was too honest for the age in which he lived. He could never see that there were times when offence is the surest defence. You

are fighting with one fist tied behind your back when you innocently rely on sweet reasonableness and all the arts of ingenuous persuasion. There are times, there are opponents, and when the understanding is greatly aided by one straight from the shoulder and between the eyes. What a hero was Schreiner in those difficult days! I marvelled at his patience, his courtesy and his big and generous outlook in those difficult times, the like of which I would not condemn my worst opponent to witness, nay more to struggle in. My old colleague, Merriman, had fought a great contest at Wodehouse and had defeated Dr. Smartt, the late Colonial Secretary, and Sir Pieter Faure failed to keep his seat at the Paarl. When Schreiner had concluded his announcement of the names of the new Ministry and his statement of the policy of the new Government, Sprigg moved the adjournment of the House to discuss Schreiner's statement. All at once the chagrin and disappointment of the Rhodes Party at their defeat was let loose, and one of the most intemperate debates that I had ever listened to took place. This unseemly state of things occurred day by day from Monday, 17 October, till the last day of the session, Thursday, 22 December, a few days before Christmas. Is it worth while harrowing one's own feelings with more than passing reference to that session? The session was a great triumph for steadfastness and phlegm of the South African Bond Party. The members of our party emerged from the "Human Pigsty," as Rhodes terms it, strengthened in purpose and with a clearer vision of what would happen were Rhodes to return to power. This very day Rhodes showed his hand, and during this session and the following the Progressive Party were to show how degraded and humiliated a great party can become through false leadership and false ideals.

On the very first day of the new Government the conduct of Rhodes was made plain; and that conduct was slavishly followed and supported by the members of his party. The Ministry that Rhodes attacked from this time onwards was composed of his late most intimate friends. Schreiner, his late chivalrous friend and admirer; Merriman, his life-long friend; Solomon, not only his bosom and household friend, but also his legal adviser—these splendid characters were forced against their will and much against their inclination to oppose their former comrade for reasons of patriotism and love of country. I was so disgusted and shocked this session, I was almost stunned, so that I chose to keep my mouth closed, except for a few speeches dragged out of me and much against my will, notably on the committee and during the debates on the attempted bribery of Mr. Gideon Krige, the member for Stellenbosch. Rhodes had become from now onwards until his death more a candidate for mental treatment than serious political canvass. His whole appearance was changing, his great face was becoming redder and more scarlet, his utterance was thicker and more inarticulate, his cheeks and face puffer, and his blue eyes had a cold, watery and detached look. He had never been so active in rising on every occasion to address the House or individual members, for he never addressed the Chair or the Speaker. Poor Dr. Berry, if ever a new Speaker had a baptism of fire, it was he! Countless times Rhodes was called to order and admonished by the Speaker, and that not an unsympathetic Speaker, but a deprecating Speaker. I personally was never attacked by Rhodes, and he had always been kindness itself to me.

My feelings towards Rhodes's conduct were that he was possessed, he was utterly changed, and ill-balanced,

and the one fixed idea that dominated all his thoughts was the union of South Africa during his lifetime. To gain that union by consent, whilst he had anything to do with it was out of the question. The only alternative was violence and war. He refused to face that issue, and he bluffed himself into the belief that the Boer would not fight, and after a good deal of bluff on both sides he would give in and make friends with the force of circumstances. I take some extracts from his first speech on the new situation, and my authority for his words is his own journal the "Cape Times." His speech began: "There was not the slightest chance of a cordial agreement to carry the big measures proposed to this country unless we had an arrangement for redistribution." His plan was a redistribution of seats, securing to himself a majority in Parliament and thus by "Constitutional Means" he hoped to get into the saddle once more and commit the Parliament and the country of the old Cape Colony to the policy of Chamberlain and Milner against the Transvaal. Then he referred to the late Vryburg election: "Vryburg returned two members to the House on his side and he must tell gentlemen opposite that if there was to be an appeal to the Courts they meant to repeat the dose so that if his friends opposite were counting on a seat at Vryburg for Mr. Solomon they would find themselves mistaken." As a fact, despite the threat of Rhodes, our party did appeal to the Courts, and were successful in turning out the two falsely elected members and we put in two of our candidates. We so successfully appealed to the Court that was constituted to try the election petitions that we turned out several other of his supporters and replaced them by our own, and by the arrival of the next session we had a good working majority.

He then made clear that by day and night obstruction

he was determined to have his own way. He charged Schreiner, the Prime Minister, and now member for Malmesbury, with "trying to perpetuate Krugerism. It was an impossible game, and it must fail." Then he turned to Van der Walt, the member for Colesberg, and said, "In the same way that poor gentleman opposite who wished every morning that the north would prove a swamp must abandon his thought. He would remind that honourable gentleman that whether he liked it or not, the north would be the future home of many of their children. He hoped they would be able to work together again. Let them not be again dragged down into human pigsties. Do not let that honourable gentleman and his party remain the libel and lie-low party." Then he turned on Mr. Merriman. "It had reference to the honourable member Mr. Merriman." He insinuated that Mr. Merriman had bribed a Mr. Snyman in his election at Wodehouse. Mr. Merriman: "Then why do you repeat it?"—Mr. Rhodes: "I am giving a sample of the sort of things that are said on both sides."—Mr. Merriman: "At Barkly West you repeated an old Cabinet conversation."—Mr. Rhodes: "What charge does my honourable friend bring against me?"—Mr. Merriman: "At Barkly West you repeated an old Cabinet conversation. At Barkly West you gave what was intended to be an amusing quotation the substance of an old conversation in the Cabinet, a discreditable and a most ungentlemanlike action." After some further sparring, Rhodes then turned to the fact of Solomon being Attorney-General, though not at present a member of the House. Mr. Rhodes, continuing, said, "That if he had said anything which would offend or place an incorrect construction upon the conduct of his honourable friend, he would apologize. He thought it was a pity that the Attorney-General was not a member of the House.

He believed that his party could not see that that gentleman's conduct could be described as being of the highest political morality, for he had deserted his leader, the honourable member for the Cape division, on redistribution. But his post in the Cabinet appeared to be a suitable reward for his conduct in the past. He thought that it must be some sort of bargain with the late member for Kimberley, Mr. Solomon, in connexion with his vote during that last session."—Mr. Schreiner: "Is that a parliamentary remark?"—The Speaker: "The words 'a bargain' in the sense used by the right honourable gentleman are hardly parliamentary, and I hope they will be withdrawn." Mr. Rhodes did not withdraw, and I never heard him withdraw or bend to the advice of the Speaker at any time, but he continued: "If the honourable the Prime Minister would allow him one must look for some extraordinary reason which would make the honourable gentleman pass by the honourable member for Somerset East after his yeoman services, for he, Mr. Schreiner, owed his present position to the member for Somerset East, and acquire this gentleman, Mr. Solomon, who was no longer a member of the House, to be his legal adviser in the Cabinet." And then Mr. Rhodes went on to prophesy that Solomon would not get a seat.

I was amused at Rhodes championing my cause, because I had been consulted and insisted upon Solomon being Attorney-General. Perhaps it was that Rhodes was so sorry for me that he had offered me the Speakership! After Rhodes had resumed his seat, Schreiner rose and said: "It came ill from him when he said that it appeared to them that members of the present Cabinet, the Attorney-General he might say, had bargained for a seat in the Cabinet last session. He, Mr. Schreiner, flung that entirely from him. With

regard to the honourable member for Somerset East, that honourable gentleman had come to him entirely unsolicited and had said how highly delighted he was that he had got such a gentleman as the late honourable member for Kimberley as Attorney-General." It was absolutely as Schreiner stated. I did not want the office, and I thought that Solomon would be a strength to our Government. The Government could rely on my support in every contingency. What a bad judge of character Rhodes had become, for he was weighing every one in his own bushel, and confusing human nature with the abject flatterers and sycophants that surrounded him.

Rhodes was in many ways like a great Kafir chief. He loved absolute power and he liked flattery, and as all Kafir chiefs of consequence had their M'Bongas (people who cry up their champion) so Rhodes had a horde of second-rate people feeding from his hand and shielding him from the world by flattery. When Schreiner resumed his seat, Mr. Krige got up and formulated specific charges of attempted bribery against himself, and created a great sensation on producing documentary evidence. At once the House appointed a Committee of Privileges, through Mr. Speaker, and I was chosen by the Speaker as a member of the Committee, which was composed of five members, and after taking evidence and having the documents before us, the charge was proved up to the hilt. The House adopted the findings of our Committee, and the agents of the principals were admonished by the Speaker at the Bar of the House. This was a unique proceeding in the records of the old Cape Parliament. It is of interest that all those attacked by Rhodes on that occasion of the first day of the new Ministry, Schreiner, Merriman, Solomon and myself, became prominent later on. Schreiner and Solomon are dead. Schreiner,

154 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

the Prime Minister, became a Privy Councillor of the Empire, and died High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa at the close of the Great War in November, 1918, in England. Solomon also became a Privy Councillor and was Schreiner's predecessor as High Commissioner, and died in London whilst acting as such. Merriman became Prime Minister and was the last Prime Minister of the old Cape Colony, and was the moving spirit for union in our Colony. He became a Privy Councillor in July, 1909, and still is hale and hearty, father and Nestor of the Union Parliament, and still young at the age of eighty-one. I am the only failure of the quartet, but became the last Speaker of the old Cape Colony, and the first Speaker of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa. I may have been a failure temporarily, but thank God I am the youngest, the healthiest and the happiest of my age.

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (*continued*)

DURING the whole of this trying session Rhodes was irrepressible. Mr. Basil Williams in his late sketch of Mr. Rhodes, which is the fairest delineation of Rhodes's character that I have seen in print, blurs over the last six years of Rhodes's life, and casually attributes the shortcomings of Rhodes to a weak heart. I do not subscribe to this diagnosis. Many failings of elderly people may be attributed to disease of the heart, but Rhodes was about forty-two years of age at this time, and if Mr. Basil Williams had had daily intercourse with Rhodes, as we members had, I think he would have taken another view. I had never seen Rhodes so alert, so passionate, so persistent and eager to bob up on any and every occasion. It was a new Rhodes that I was looking at every day and a wholly changed man. Passionate and vehement at times, crafty and subtle and seemingly judicial and restrained at others. He was taking a part in the proceedings of the House so unlike when he was Prime Minister. Sir Gordon Sprigg and the others were brushed aside and the whole Progressive Party shouted him on with approval. A great purpose had seized on all Rhodes's being, and I had diagnosed his complaint when I told him at Vryburg that he would never rest till he had come even with Paul Kruger over the Raid and the checkmating of his policy for a time. It was not his heart, it was his brain that was possessed and

obsessed with one overruling passion that flung aside all opposition to the attainment of his ambition. My wonder overcame my pity and disgust at his words and his actions. What heart could stand for long such fury and such implacable hatred of everything that stood in his way?

In his enthusiasm and when in full cry he would suddenly halt, turn aside and for a moment break into reminiscence and glory in some past misdeed. I give an example. The very next day, on Tuesday, 18 October, the day after his violent attack on Schreiner, he spoke on a subject immaterial to his present purpose and policy, on a private members' day, and on the discussion of a proposed amendment by a private member of the Pondoland Laws Act. In connexion with a small proviso, he made a reckless statement. This man, who had been the "Father of the natives" in their millions, made an assertion of the glory of breaking of laws, and of contempt, not for a parliamentary committee, but for the highest court of appeal of the Empire, the Privy Council. This Superman obsessed gloried in his own abuse of power, unlike Pilate, who only washed his hands. I am quoting from his own paper. Mr. Rhodes said: "They had to deal with Sigcau, the principal Chief in Pondoland. At that time he, Mr. Rhodes, was Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs. He was told that it was contrary to the law to seize him as he had no evidence, but he, Mr. Rhodes, said, Seize him. The police and magistrates were diffident and he had to instruct them to proceed to seize Sigcau peremptorily. Mr. Rhodes said the seizure of Sigcau had a most excellent result. He was confined in prison for two or three months and then an appeal was made to the Privy Council, and it was decided that the judgment of the present Prime Minister was incorrect and that the Government of

the day had no right to seize Sigcau. But in the meantime it was very good business, for Sigcau went into gaol like a lion and came out like a lamb." Rhodes always believed that the end justified the means, just as he believed that his conspiracy and Raid against the Transvaal would be justified by success. Chickens have a habit of coming home to roost, and laws were not made that could claim the respect of Rhodes.

The pity of it is that under the charm of Chamberlain and Milner, and at the instigation of Rhodes, the Great British Empire could have ever been persuaded to give a legal sanction to the greatest crime ever committed in South Africa. Take again Rhodes's conduct on the following day, Wednesday, 19 October, when I departed from my customary silence at that time. Mr. Rhodes: "Heard that the reckless statements made by the honourable member for Stellenbosch were to be examined by a Select Committee, and that they would get proof whether these statements were utterly unfounded or whether there was any truth in them." Mr. Molteno: "Rose to a point of order, he wished to know whether it was competent for any member of the House to refer to statements which were subject to investigation by a Committee of the House, as reckless statements. He had been appointed a member of that Committee and he took it that the matter was *sub judice*." (Ministerial cheers.) Mr. Rhodes, continuing: "Said that the interruption of the hon. member for Somerset East (Mr. Molteno) drew his (Mr. Rhodes) attention to his hopeless case. He, Mr. Rhodes, sympathized with the honourable gentleman that he should have been passed over when the Ministry was formed. He sympathized with the honourable gentleman in that his claims for recognition in the House should have been passed over by his leader and that the extraordinary position of fetching a gentleman who was not

a member of the House to fill the post of Attorney-General should have been adopted." Poor old Rhodes, still the bee in his bonnet about Solomon, and this diversion had nothing to do with the debate before the House, but Rhodes brushed aside the Speaker, an inexperienced and a new occupant of the Chair, and at the best of times a very timid man. Rhodes then spoke for half an hour on the personnel of the new Ministry, a subject quite outside the question that was before the House. I quote again Mr. Rhodes: "It was marvellous that whenever he spoke the whole of the members on the Opposition benches interfered like a pack of hounds. Mr. Solomon had become a member of the present Ministry without a seat in the House, and the fair and just claims of the honourable member for Somerset East (Mr. Molteno) were roughly passed over. Again he said, that, to the ordinary man in the street did not seem like high political morality." He was soon to hear what Solomon thought of his conduct, for Solomon was soon to be elected as member for Tembuland and to defeat Sir Gordon Sprigg. To complete the little serio-comic drama, I quote the reply of Mr. Merriman to Rhodes's contribution to the debate. "Mr. Merriman said the right honourable gentleman opposite had made one of those speeches which showed how much he felt having to sit on that side of the House. (Ministerial cheers.) He, Mr. Rhodes, had deprecated the hurling of charges across the floor and then he proceeded to bespatter the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General, who was not in the House to answer. The member for Barkly West (Mr. Rhodes) talked about the Government not bringing their charges to a Select Committee. That gentleman should be the last person in the world to refer to Select Committees. (Ministerial cheers.) He stood condemned by the verdict of such a Committee, as having betrayed his

trust and acted improperly as Prime Minister. (Ministerial cheers.) And again in the House of Commons his actions had been judged by a Select Committee. There was no man in that House against whom a more damning verdict had ever been given. (Cheers.) He talked about the Attorney-General as having deserted his party. What in the name of fortune was his, Rhodes's party? It used to be the Afrikaner Party (Ministerial cheers), but since the last time he took any active part in the business of the Government, we had heard nothing more about the Afrikaner Party. Then it was the good old Boer, the landed proprietor, the man settled on the soil who formed the right honourable gentleman's party. Now he had gone over to another party, with the glib word 'Progress' on his lips. (Ministerial cheers.) Standing there with his damning records, the honourable member for Barkly West has surely had enough of Select Committees, but he might have some more before he left that House." No! I think that Rhodes at that time did not suffer from heart, but want of heart.

I have given just a few examples of what that session meant, but before we met again the House had been purged of some of the worst elements. The Courts had had their hands full, and to use a favourite expression of Sir James Sivewright, "laid by the heels," Many of our opponents were laid by the heels, but glory to the Saints, none of our party suffered that indignity. Rhodes had himself a narrow shave of being unseated for Barkly West and I was one of the counsel in the election petition brought against his return, but he did not escape a verdict of guilty for libel and the too free use of his tongue. Much against our will and through the defection of one of our Dutch Afrikaner members and one of Rhodes's "My Dutch" in the person of Mr. D. C. De Waal, the member for Piquet-

berg, we had to compromise with the Opposition over a redistribution and further representation bill. During this session, one of the members of the House was Dr. Rutherford Harris, "Cactus" of the conspiracy. When things died down a bit he had returned to South Africa and escaped prosecution, and he was once more elected as one of Rhodes's nominees for Kimberley.

We were all sorry to lose Juta, as he had made an excellent Speaker. A trained lawyer, a stately person, with a musical and clear voice, he had commanded confidence and secured friendship in all quarters of the House. It was to me a disappointment that he had taken sides in the general election, for had he not done so he would have been returned. I had taken much trouble to secure his return and "Ons Land" favoured him. To show the genuineness and *bona fides* of our party we nominated only one candidate at Oudtshoorn for the two seats. During the contest, which became warmer as it proceeded, and after nomination Juta, unfortunately, was prevailed on to side with the Progressive Party and he joined fortunes with one of Rhodes's "My Dutch," Gert Olivier. We could have carried both seats, and in the event Juta, through misplaced trust in the Progressives, found himself at the bottom of the poll and Schoeman, our candidate, at the head. It was one of the personal disappointments of the general election, but the want of time and the suddenness of the general election made misunderstandings less capable of adjustment. It was through myself that on the dissolution the Afrikaner Party Press recommended his re-election. I refer to this incident because it caused some unpleasantness at the time, but it is forgotten long ago by all of us, and we are more cordial friends than ever, and some of our young people are intermarried.

On Sunday, 11 December, I attended Sir Thomas

Upington's funeral, and the next day in the House of Assembly we paid a tribute of sorrow and affection to his memory. His old political opponent, Merriman, made on that occasion a speech, which for diction, grace and voice I have never listened to the equal. I had never been a political supporter of Sir Thomas, but I was a personal and intimate friend. He was the most polished and incisive debater I have ever met, and I think he owed something to the land of his birth. He never referred, in our social intercourse, which was considerable, to any political differences, and he was a tender and sympathetic friend, and one of the most brilliant conversationalists. It was at his funeral, at Maitland, that I saw Rhodes for the last time act as a pall bearer. That Monday the House adjourned for the rest of the day as soon as the commemorating speeches had been delivered, and I do not think that Sir Thomas left one single enemy behind.

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (*continued*)

I SHALL pass on and resume my story, but I cannot leave that session without making passing reference to some of the occurrences. Suddenly, in late October, we adjourned the House to attend the funeral of General Goodenough, the General Officer Commanding the troops in South Africa. He had been a friend of all of us, and he died with tragic suddenness, and his death brought on the scene an outstanding figure in Sir William Butler. I make mention of Sir William because he was a large-hearted man with a generous outlook on life, and he became a true friend to South Africa and to myself. His wife was his equal in outlook and charm, and was a famous lady even before her marriage to Sir William, for she was Miss Thompson, who painted the famous picture "The Roll Call." Sir William was a handsome man and he was to become famous or infamous, according to one's political views. Before he came to South Africa to command the troops, he had been here in the early days before and at the time of the first Boer war. This was at the close of the seventies and during the operations about Majuba and Langsnek. I was a boy at the time, but remembered him as Major Butler, who was at that time representing British military interests at Bloemfontein when Sir John Brand was the President of the Free State. Sir William was an Irishman, with broad sympathies, and he took an interest in the questions

of the day concerning the progress and welfare of South Africa. During his tenure of the position of commanding officer he acted, when Milner was absent in England consulting Chamberlain, as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

It was unfortunate for Milner and Chamberlain that the War Office had appointed Butler to the South African Command, for Butler was a true follower of Lord Rosmead. Both Butler and Rosmead had graduated in a Society that was passing away as regards social and political manners and ethics. I do not think that men of the type of Chamberlain and Milner would have felt at ease and comfortable in the continued presence of men of the stamp of Butler and Rosmead. The very worst man that the Crown can send to South Africa as its representative is a man on the make. We may be stupid, unprogressive, untravelled and unpolished, but South Africa in her bones spots at once a gentleman, and Sir William, with all his Staff, was *sans reproche*. The four months that Milner was absent in England at this time, when Butler arrived and we had not yet risen for the recess, allowed South Africa a respite and breathing time. It was now that Butler took his charming presence throughout the Colony and calmed the ruffled waters of the country. In the home of militant jingoism and saints at Grahams-town, the good Sir William, the famous soldier, told the country that what she needed was rest and quiet and not the surgeon's knife. The Gospel of Christ at that time was anathema to the jingoes and the Rhodes Press, and Sir William soon saw that the soil was barren and only tares and thistles would grow. The pity of it all!

Milner had already thrown off the mask; he was constantly insulting the Dutch and, with his superior Oxford manner, was sneering at their loyalty. At

Graaff-Reinet, one of the centres of dignified Afrikanerism, he had told a loyal deputation of Dutch Afrikaners, who presented him with a loyal address, "Loyal, of course, you are loyal. Monstrous it would be if you were not." I quarrel with some of my friends because they compare Milner with Sir Bartle Frere. The policies may bear some resemblance, the men none. Sir Bartle Frere, however much one may disagree with his policy, was a grand old English gentleman. I do not blame Milner, for it was not his fault; it was his misfortune. Look at the two men's faces. Stand their portraits side by side. I knew both of them. The Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa should represent Great Britain in very deed. We have not England here, England is six thousand miles away. A comparatively small section of the inhabitants know England and what a true Englishman is like. The natives judge of England by the representative of the King. Much as I am attached to the constitution, I say to England and Englishmen, "Do not do yourself an injustice by withholding from us your best." Men like Rosmead and Butler appeal at once to the descendants of the best of Europe and the knightly spirit of the native races of South Africa. Milner was clever, but what is cleverness only in the scheme of life? Butler was right, South Africa craved for rest and she was threatened by the sword.

Milner all the time that he was in South Africa never enjoyed the restful feeling that springs from the love and confidence of the governed. Milner was a jingo hero, a party leader; he never tasted the sweets of being Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa. I have never been able to satisfy myself whether Milner was Chamberlain's tool or Chamberlain Milner's. History will show, and some day when we are passed away some privileged student will be

handed the private and secret correspondence of the leading engineers of South Africa's assassination. The part of Rhodes is known, it lies open before all the world, but time alone shall strip from Downing Street all the pretence and make-believe. We were solemnly promised before voting the Indemnity Bill by Chamberlain and Sprigg a full and complete inquiry into the working of martial law in the Cape Colony. They got the Indemnity; Cape Colony the Lie. And so with the course of South African history for the next few years. The sacrifice was great, the reward is better. The reward is priceless and all the gold fields and diamond fields cannot purchase the soul of South Africa. We are a nation and we deserve to be one. We have earned, through the Divine help, a place in the hearts and minds of mankind. Despite death, disease and calumny, South Africa has found her soul. May we be given the blessing to rise to the heights of the occasion and the opportunity and to prove ourselves worthy and with dignity to join hands and to co-operate for the benefit of all. We have nothing to be afraid of from without, it is from within and from ourselves that any dangers can arise. Let simple wisdom, that springs from the heart, as well as the brain, take a hand in soothing our passions and let every one of us strive to comfort the others.

XXVII

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (*continued*)

THE prorogation of Parliament, on Friday, 23 December, 1898, closed this dreadful session and the political year. Our party still hoped on and with courage faced the coming year. The cables and the British correspondents in the employ of Mr. Rhodes were now busier than ever, but I am not to be drawn aside to discuss that poisonous concoction, the invention of the Rhodes propaganda, the "Great Pan-Afrikander Conspiracy" for British consumption. There was not a word of truth in it. It was a myth and one cannot prove a negative. They never told the British public that during this session our disloyal Bond Ministry and our party passed the first bill making provision for the upkeep of the British Navy, Act No. 19 of 1898 and Act No. 24, "To Provide for the Better Management and Control for Defence Purposes of a portion of the Port of Simons Town and to Authorize the Construction of Docks there by the Admiralty." Well might the Admiral commanding the Navy at the Cape of Good Hope exclaim in his naval breezy way, "They charge Schreiner's party with conspiracy and disloyalty against the Crown, but, by jove, they have done more for the Empire than any other Ministry and party in the whole history of the Cape." The chivalry of Navy and Army was on our side. I had particular reason to be delighted, for one of my brothers was a naval officer and my only son

was destined for the Navy. That young brother has risen to be an Admiral and A.D.C. to the King, and my only son became a submarine commander during the late war and earned distinction at the hands of his Sovereign in person. The truth of the matter was that all who did not bow the knee to Rhodes were labelled rebels and disloyalists, and the people who had defied their Queen were now the true blues of loyalty. It was a time for calling people names.

I had no vacation at this time. Under Act No. 18, the Act for the Better Representation of the People, sixteen new seats in Parliament were created. I worked sixteen hours a day. What with purifying the voters' registers in the Western Province, sitting in Court and working up election petitions, attending to my ordinary professional practice, touring the country and conducting elections, I had scarcely time to think about anything else but the business in hand. It was a time of hustle, and I was not able to do all that I desired. During that time also I was engaged in the large expropriations of property at Simons Bay necessary for the construction of the Great Naval Station, Docks and Workshops. Hard work is good, worry kills, and as my old friend, Sir Thomas Upington, was fond of saying, "I would rather wear out than rust out." Hard work and adversity are good for the soul. Also at this time I figured in all the ephemeral and topical newspapers, the "Rhodes Yellow Press." One of the contests that I revelled in was that at Stellenbosch, arising out of the results of the election petition against Sir James Sivewright. Hofmeyr asked me to take charge of the campaign in that constituency, and I was not lazy or indifferent. Sivewright was out and J. H. Marais, a friend, and at one time partner of Rhodes in the old Kimberley days, was in. Political life has its rewards and the sensations of triumph no money can purchase.

That ended Sivewright, and for the rest of his life he deserted the lovely estate of "Lourensford" at Somerset West for "Tulliallan Castle" on the Forth in Scotland. I had almost been mesmerized by the Stainless Knight. His sense of the ridiculous and his explosive laugh like a fog signal were his redemption. He was a dangerous companion in more ways than one, and I had known him to bag not a grouse but one of the guests, as thoroughly as he did everything that was bad; but in all my varied life I have never met the man that there was not something to admire and like about him. The elections arising out of the Act No. 18 and the judgments of the Election Petitions Court resembled a miniature general election and I took part in more than one. At Jansenville I helped my elder brother, Charles, to return to the House. We were all much cheered by the result of these elections, for they were another spoke in the wheel of Rhodes's plan. He had been certain that he would return to power, another evidence of his blindness to the fact that the Cape had done with him and his ways for ever.

When we met again in session on 4 July, 1899, just three months before the Boer War, our party had been relieved of all anxiety on the score of a good, well-disciplined working majority of ten in place of one. We as a party thought that the peace of South Africa was won. Milner now returned to South Africa fresh from his conferences with Chamberlain at the Colonial Office. The tone of the correspondence between Milner and Kruger became more menacing, and we did everything to bring about a meeting between the two. The Free State, at that time the happiest and best governed community in South Africa, was all for pouring oil on the troubled waters. Elsewhere and later I shall have much to write about President Steyn and Mr. Fischer.

During those three months before the war our party, together with Mr. Hofmeyr, met daily at 11 a.m. in the Board Room of the South African Loan & Mortgage Company in St. George's Street, Cape Town, some sixty of us in all. The building is now the head office of the Southern Life Assurance Co., and if those walls could speak what an interesting contribution to South African history they could make. All this session the tragic drama of the life or death of the two small Republics was being acted outside the walls of Parliament, and we became tense and interested spectators of the unfolding of the tragedy, but I will touch on that drama only in these pages where I was personally one of the actors. In face of the monstrous and ignoble game being played outside the walls of our House, I shall refer to that session only lightly. It was in spirit and action a repetition of the previous session of 1898, only in parts more so. Every kind of insult, taunt and gibe was hurled at the Government and the Bond Party, especially the Dutch Afrikaner on purely racial lines, not only at the Dutch in the House, but the Dutch in the Cape Colony, the Free State and the Transvaal.

I shall not now refer to the tragedy of the Bloemfontein Conference, but I say, in all deliberation, that Chamberlain and Milner, and especially the latter, did not seek agreement but discord. The "Horrida Noverca" and her spoilt child were out to destroy at every hazard and cost the sullen and uncouth step-and adopted child.

I marvelled that our beautiful and generous South Africa could ever have become the nidus of such trickery, deceit and diabolical imaginings. The tragedy of that last day of the session of 1899, in the last days of the nineteenth century of our Lord! It was 12 October, a Thursday, at half-past ten o'clock of a

beautiful spring morning when poor, broken Schreiner rose and said, "Mr. Speaker, the session has now drawn to a close and it is my duty to move the adjournment of the House, but in doing so I think it will not be out of place if I should address a few words to the House and to the country at the close of this memorable session, and at such a specially crucial period in the history of South Africa. I think it is right that the House and the country should at such a time learn something from the head of the Government in regard to the position which we as a Government take up at such a time. I can only say, Mr. Speaker, that so long as I hold the place that I do at present I shall continue to the best of my ability to do the duty imposed upon me without favour, fear or flinching. The times are out of joint and to me it may seem a cursed spite that I should be born to endeavour to set them right. I say to every man who is here to-day, in leaving their duties to-day to return to their constituents, to them I earnestly say exert your influence as much as possible in the same direction. Explain to them as far as lays in your power, to every man whom you can influence, that the primary duty which rests upon us all at this time is to possess our souls in patience, and however dark the day may be, however deeply stirred the feelings of the people may be, yield to no impulse to do anything that is rash or wrong and abide the events in quiet and confidence, believing, as I hope we all believe, that over all there is a Higher Hand that guides the destinies." He concluded this solemn last word in our House with these words: "Mr. Speaker, let me assure my honourable friends my feelings are intensely deep. My honourable friends have stood by me in this session as perhaps a man has never in the history of Parliament been supported before. They have my earnest thanks, my devoted

BEFORE THE ANGLO-BOER WAR 171

appreciation of the action they have taken throughout this session which will never be forgotten, and I hope I shall prove myself not unworthy of the trust they have confided in me. Seek peace within our borders, even if we have not been able to secure it in South Africa and pave the way for a re-establishment of peace and an honourable peace throughout the whole country. Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that this House do now adjourn." The House adjourned at 11.15 a.m. The first shot had been fired and we all trooped out of our beloved Parliament, where, though gigantic efforts had been made, we had failed to have any influence on Milner and Chamberlain. We all trooped out into the peaceful sunshine, sick at heart that our beloved country and people were to suffer because our land was so rich and we were Naboth's vineyard. Put all the gold on one side, and all the sorrow, passion, tears and slaughter of the innocents on the other. England chose the former. Lord Salisbury this week said, "We want no more lands, we want no goldfields." He may not personally have done so. He and Schreiner, great men as they were, dwindled and perished in the storm. *Inter Arma Leges Cessant.*

XXVIII

WAR

THE Marquis of Salisbury was Prime Minister of England and the Marquis of Lansdowne was Minister of War. Sir William Butler, Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, was now recalled. He was too honest for people in England and in South Africa. He told the War Office that at least three army corps would be required and he exposed the dangers of the game of bluff. Such a statement alarmed the authorities in England and enraged the jingo Imperialists in South Africa. People in England were put to sleep with the comforting illusion that the war would last but three months and one army corps would suffice. People in South Africa were alarmed that England would not play their game if only she realized the cost and loss of life. Sir William Butler was daily insulted in the Chartered Press and was sent white feathers and cakes with white flags and white feathers for decoration and adornment. Sir William had to go because he told the War Office the truth irrespective of political exigencies, and Redvers Buller replaced his old friend Butler. At the time of the engagements at Belmont, Graspan and Modder River all jingo South Africa was furious with me and I became the best hated man in British South Africa.

I will relate the whole story and this is the first time that that story has been told. The mail and English papers arrived about this time, and they

contained an account of an interview I had had with Milner. The South African papers copied the interview from the English Press and there was an uproar. It was war time and things were not going as the South African League and the other loyal leagues and jingo Imperialists had forecasted. The stupid Boers were fighting and invading the Cape Colony and Natal and things were looking rather blue, and, to add to the League's troubles, I had unwittingly exposed their idol and hero Milner. It came about in this way. All September, 1899, our party met daily in the morning to discuss the policy of Milner and Chamberlain, and the critical state of affairs in South Africa. The British policy ebbed and flowed, now it was calmer, then it was rougher. The South African party and Bond members daily took counsel together and tried their best to promote the peace of South Africa, and towards the end of September we witnessed the desperate plight of the political situation, and we determined to approach the British Government and Her Majesty the Queen. We appointed a sub-committee: Dr. Meiring Beck, member for Worcester; Mr. Charles Searle, member for George; and myself. I was the chairman. We drafted a loyal petition to the Queen in which we placed our views on the situation before the British Government, and this petition was signed by the members of the Government and their supporters in both Houses of Parliament.

We constituted the majority in both Houses and we were the legitimate and constitutional Government of the largest Colony in South Africa. Milner and Chamberlain had taken up the attitude that the British relations with and policy towards the Transvaal were none of our business. We were ignored and snubbed all the time. Milner admitted that he was our Governor, but said he was also High Commissioner, and in

that rôle he wanted none of our advice. There was something in that, but curiously we paid him the salary of Governor, and also a salary as High Commissioner, and we voted both sums every year in our Parliament. The Progressives and the followers of Rhodes, the jingo Imperialists, played off the separate duties of Governor and High Commissioner for all they were worth. As regards the Cape Colony, Milner admitted that he was guided by Schreiner, but as regards the Transvaal he contended and acted as if we were out of the picture, and should mind our own business. At Government House his friends were Rhodes, Percy Fitzpatrick, George Farrar, Lionel Philips and all our bitter political opponents. On Wednesday, 27 September, accompanied by Beck and Searle, I took the petition to Government House in the morning and we saw Milner. I, as chairman, was the spokesman and I handed over the petition with the request that the petition should be cabled to England. We knew from the cable news that the British Cabinet was to hold a council to decide on Chamberlain's ultimatum to the Transvaal. We were all standing, Milner stood and did not invite us to be seated. He read the petition and he went through the signatures and then, turning abruptly to me, said, "I cannot cable this to England." I said, "Why not?" He replied, "Because the cables are congested and there is too much." I answered, "If your Excellency cannot cable such an important document, then I must ask your Excellency to return the petition to me and I shall take the necessary measures to have it cabled, because the time is so short." It was not a sweet or engaging countenance that we were looking at. He then abruptly informed us that he would cable a summary of the contents. Later on, when I read the petition in the British Blue Book, I found

that he had cabled the petition in its entirety. Before leaving Government House, I asked His Excellency when and where I might expect an answer and he told us that he would send the reply as soon as he received one. I arranged with him that replies should be sent to me at the House of Assembly and, thanking him, we departed. My memorandum will tell the rest of the story and it speaks for itself. At that time I was corresponding weekly with my brother Percy in London, and after my receipt of Milner's answer of the British Government a short time afterwards, before the end of the session and before the outbreak of war, I was very much occupied and had no time to write a detailed letter to my brother. I had had two copies of my memorandum typed, one for the party and one for myself. I sent my brother one copy in place of a letter, explaining to him that I was too busy to write, but the enclosure would speak for itself and show how hopeless, in my opinion, were affairs in South Africa. I never gave him permission to publish the memo. and I was surprised when two months later I found it in the papers. I have never blamed my brother for sending it to the "Daily Chronicle" for, if when sending the memo. to him I thought it could do any good, I doubtless would have authorized the publication, but at the time it never occurred to me.¹ The jingo Press of South Africa was incensed against me and I was accused of having broken every code of

¹ My brother informs me that on receiving my memorandum he showed it privately to his friends, who at once urged upon him the duty of making it public as soon as possible. It was impossible owing to the censorship to communicate by cable with me. He therefore said that the matter must first be submitted to Sir Edward Clarke, the great lawyer and a Conservative in politics, and to Sir Robert Reid. It happened that it was first submitted to Sir Edward Clarke, who gave his opinion without hesitation, that it was fit and proper to publish it, and thereupon he agreed to its publication without waiting to submit it to Sir Robert Reid as well.

honour. It was war-time and I had such a contempt of my accusers and political opponents that I treated their accusations and taunts with silence.

On the next morning, after the receipt of the British reply, I informed the meeting of my party of the reply, and at the same time I repeated what the Governor had said to me. I met the other day old Henry Beyers, who was at that time a member for Caledon, and is now a hale and hearty old gentleman. We discussed old times in the House and without my thinking of that morning of 5 October, 1899, he remarked to me, "Molteno, I shall never forget the look on your face when you rose to tell us what had happened to our petition, and I then knew it would be war." Time works its changes, it brings its tragedy and its triumph, but most of all it wears all bitterness and passion away and leaves in its wake only tender and kind reminiscence. It is not necessary to forget, but it is good to forgive, and the very act of forgiveness begets its own reward. All those actors who are still alive on both sides have not forgotten but they have forgiven, and they are stronger and better, not only in themselves, but for their country. Milner was told that I had related to the party what he had said to me and he was particularly informed of what I reported he had said to me about "Afrikanderdom." He then adhered to the correctness of what I reported and justified himself. Several of my political friends, and one particularly, told me of it at the time. When Milner wrote the propagandist reply to Chamberlain for British consumption in England, two months of war had elapsed and Milner had had another orientation and was blazing with self-righteousness. I write it with conviction that Milner deliberately detained me for the very purpose of having that conversation and with the deliberate intention that I should, as he well knew

I would, tell my party. Why should he have detained me? He knew of my attitude towards himself and his policy from my speeches both in the House and outside, and he was a clever man, providing for every contingency, and was not then, or at any time, an idle chatterbox. I was the last man for him to seek out for the repository of his confidences at such a time. He writes to Chamberlain as if I was a familiar friend who had betrayed him. Those two instruments of evil who wronged England and South Africa at the same time had different rewards. Chamberlain visited South Africa after the war at the end of the year 1902 and what he then saw gave him cause for serious reflection. He returned to England and, as it seemed to many, in order to divert the fickle minds of people in England from what had happened in South Africa, he headed a new movement "Tariff Reform" to prepare for the coming general election in England, but he and his partners were swept from office by that great Liberal victory that put the friends of South Africa at the head of the Government of England. Milner, clever man that he is, has lived to profit by his experiences in South Africa. Blood, tears and ingratitude are drastic and severe schoolmasters, and he has lived to amaze his former opponents by signing the recent Egyptian Commission Report as Chairman. Had he been the Milner of nowadays he might have saved his adopted country England humiliation, but he would then have robbed South Africa of her pride. There is no truer proverb than the South African one, "Alles zal recht kom hoe goede moed."

XXIX

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

I TAKE the following from the Imperial Blue Book :
C. 9530, page 39, " Affairs in South Africa."

PETITION TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

1. Your Majesty's humble petitioners are British subjects residing in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

2. They are aware that your Majesty some time ago was graciously pleased to receive and consider a petition, signed amongst others by many of your Majesty's subjects residing in the South African Republic and setting forth certain grievances of disabilities under which those petitioners deemed themselves to labour in the said Republic.

3. Your petitioners humbly refrain from herein raising any discussions of controversy on the several matters dealt with in the said petition, but they beg to submit as subjects of your Majesty in this Colony, and speaking on behalf of many thousands of their fellow subjects here, this their petition to be likewise received and considered by your Majesty.

4. Your petitioners are closely connected by ties of blood, relationship, intermarriage and friendship with residents in the South African Republic and materially and deeply interested in the maintenance of peace in South Africa and the avoidance of the horrors of war,

and they are firmly convinced that recourse to measures of interference by force or compulsion against the said Republic for the removal of the grievances or disabilities set forth in the aforesaid petition is not necessary and would be most disastrous to the true welfare and the best interests of your Majesty's South African Dominions of which this Colony forms no inconsiderable part.

5. Should such measures be in contemplation, your petitioners beg most humbly and earnestly that your Majesty may be pleased in the exercise of a spirit of magnanimity for people and states which are weak and of consideration for the true welfare and best interests of your subjects in South Africa to abandon the further contemplation of such measures.

6. Your petitioners are emboldened in preferring this humble request by the earnest belief that the Government and people of the South African Republic are fully awakened to the wisdom and discretion of making liberal provision for the representation in the legislature of the Republic of the population of the Gold Fields from a part of which the petition emanated which had been received and considered by your Majesty.

7. Your petitioners having observed that the Legislature of the South African Republic have recently passed a new franchise act, making more liberal provision for the representation of the Gold Fields in the Volksraad of the Republic and for the naturalization with full burgher rights of British subjects, in common with other Uitlanders permanently settling in the Republic, that your Majesty's Government have been pleased to propose the appointment of a joint commission to inquire into the full effect of the said Act and that the Government of the South African Republic have accepted this proposal, beg to humbly express

their hope that such a joint commission will be speedily appointed.

8. Your petitioners feel fully convinced that if an inquiry instituted by such a commission should lead to the conclusion that the act in question does not make sufficient or satisfactory provision for the enfranchisement and representation of your Majesty's subjects settling permanently in the Republic, the Republic Legislature will be found to make other and further provision in that behalf, and that a recommendation by your Majesty's Government to your subjects in the South African Republic to accept such provisions would produce great results in influencing the various sections of the population towards mutual conciliation and good will, and at the same time, tend to the true advancement of your Majesty's South African Dominions.

9. Your humble petitioners would finally beg your Majesty graciously to accept and consider this petition and to believe that in presenting it they are actuated not only by feelings of attachment to the country of their birth or adoption but also by loyal devotion to your Majesty's throne and person. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray

SCHREINER

MERRIMAN

SAUER

HERHOLDT

TE WATER

and fifty-four other of the Legislative Council and Assembly. This was our loyal petition setting out all the facts at the time I presented it to the Governor on Wednesday, 27 September, 1899, two weeks before the war broke out, on Wednesday, 11 October following. The next Blue Book on Affairs on South Africa was Cd. 43, issued in January, 1900.

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM 181

No. 58

MR. CHAMBERLAIN TO THE HIGH COMMISSIONER, SIR
ALFRED MILNER

DOWNING STREET,

4 November, 1899.

SIR,—

I have the honour to transmit to you an extract from the "Daily Chronicle" containing a letter from Mr. Percy A. Molteno enclosing notes of an interview between yourself and Mr. James Molteno, member of the Cape House of Assembly for Somerset East. I would be glad to learn to what extent these notes correctly describe the interview.

I have, etc.

J. CHAMBERLAIN

Enclosure in No. 58.

"Daily Chronicle," Friday, 3 November, 1899.

SIR ALFRED MILNER AND AFRIKANDER MEMBERS

TO EDITOR OF THE "DAILY CHRONICLE."

SIR,—

The last Cape mail has brought me the notes of an interview between Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. James Molteno, who sits in the Cape Parliament for Somerset East and who has acted as the representative of the fifty-seven members of the Colonial legislature who had petitioned the Queen against the resort to force in the Transvaal and in favour of the holding of the friendly conference suggested by the Colonial Secretary and assented to by the Transvaal Government. Mr. Molteno was seeking to ascertain from Sir Alfred Milner what reply had been received to the petition which was dated 27 September, and which will be found set out in the Blue Book C. 9530, page 39. This may be

182 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

of sufficient public interest for you to place it before your readers.

I have, etc.

PERCY A. MOLTENO

2 November.

MEMO. OF INTERVIEW WITH GOVERNOR

Wednesday, 4 October.

Attended caucus meeting 11 a.m. No Ministers present. *Inter alia* strong desire expressed that the petition to Queen should be published and was asked any reply received.

Determined to see Walrond as to whether petition been received and replied to. Go to Government House before twelve noon. Ask for Walrond. See Walrond. Tells me answer been received and will communicate it to me within quarter of an hour. Asks me to wait. Governor comes in. Tells me that reply received and unfavourable. That the Government consider time quite gone by to appoint commission. Asks me where I shall be to receive reply. I reply at the House. He says may expect it in ten minutes. I say why is it too late, the Transvaal had accepted the commission. He says, Yes, but the Government cannot now revert to the position of 2 August. I say why not, surely the counter proposals were never intended to supersede the Government dispatch. They were made on the distinct understanding that the offer remained open. He replied, Well I myself think that a *bona-fide* misunderstanding has occurred but he said it is useless to discuss it, the time for that has long ago gone by. He asks me to sit down and we sit down. Long conversation ensues. I say the position is dreadful, can nothing be done, thousands of honest hearts will be broken. He replies British Government determined not to go back to the

inquiry stage. He says he fears immediate hostilities, that he is now wiring Steyn and Steyn replies putting blame on British Government and charging them with responsibility if Boer attack. I reply, Is that unreasonable, seeing what Government doing. The red coat is where he had never been before in South Africa. He replies, That our men are thirty miles from the border at Glencoe and the Boers are on the boundary. I say I am not referring to Natal but to the Western border. And can you reasonably expect the Boer to wait until they are swallowed up. I say surely something can still be done ; they have wise men and we have wise men. I then said to His Excellency, But does your Excellency realize the horrors of war in this country ? He says, It will be all right after it is over. I say that is a mistake ; it is not the actual war I fear so much as the terrible after-effects. This country won't be fit to live in, English and Dutch will never come together again. He says, Oh, yes they will. It is the war I fear and loss of life. I reply, The dead will feel no longer, it is the living after. This country will be a hell. I say surely all this could have been avoided. Patience and progress are all on our side, why force a hurried issue. He says, We are determined to settle the question once and for all. He says, Why all this arming going on, this must be stopped. I reply, Because the Guardsman and Officer, Colonel Robert White, told his superiors before the Raid that they, the Boers, were an easy prey to the first comer along, and that is why, and very foolish they would have been not to be so armed, but I said none of us like the forts and consuls and ambassadors and that would all go in time. I further say that this is putting an awful strain on the loyalty of our colonists. He said he pitied men like Fraser and Bronger. The others were different. I said, Change places, and sup-

posing the Transvaal an English Republic and the conditions changed here, would you or could you prevent Englishmen from helping to defend their brothers and parents being shot? About now Belgrave or some one came in hurriedly and left after handing the Governor a slip of paper. I stood up and Governor moved to where I sat on the sofa; he did not let me go. I said, I could never have dreamed of Africa coming to this. Governor replied, Well, you are all saying it is the capitalists, he said that is what I feel very much, it is untrue; I am not in favour of Capitalists. I reply, why then had Rhodes and Co. captured all the leading English newspapers, "Times" included, and nearly all English Cape papers, and why are they spending all this money misleading England? There is Rhodes the raider backed up by England and regarded as the great empire builder of our empire in Africa. I said, The simple Boer, he looks at plain facts and does not regard political refinement. It is these suspicions as to independence that render him dogged. If only he could be certain his independence were not assailed, peace might be secured. He replies that they are moving over forces and joining an issue. I say, What can you expect after the last dispatch telling them that if by Friday last they don't give in that they will hear something else? They are bound to believe you. I said, I cannot understand all this vague hinting that the Dutch are disloyal, I know them well and I have never heard a word of disloyalty. I know their deep reverence for the Queen and their love of the Constitution. Three years ago it was all German intrigue and now to poison English minds it is Dutch disloyalty. And a vague idea of republicanism working outwards from the Transvaal. It is a new vague and untrue assertion. He rising replies, Well, Mr. Molteno, it is no use; I am determined to break the dominion of

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM 185

Afrikanderdom. Thereupon I left, feeling utterly hopeless. Went to House but no reply before lunch and none up till 3.15 so wrote again to Walrond suggesting that perhaps he misunderstood where to send reply to. At 3.30 handed reply.

The "Daily Chronicle" adds, We have to add that by the same mail we have received from our Cape Town correspondent a communication quoting the phrase about Afrikanderdom and adding, "Molteno says this was not even a private remark since he was there in a representative capacity." A report of the interview was, we further gather from our correspondent, communicated to the Afrikander members representing, be it remembered, a majority of the Cape Assembly. Our correspondent adds that the result was to produce despair in the Afrikander mind.

This was the whole of Chamberlain's dispatch to Milner of 4 November, 1899.

XXX

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM
(*continued*)

I NOW quote the dispatch that Milner sent in reply to Mr. Chamberlain, No. 100 in the same Blue Book.

HIGH COMMISSIONER, SIR ALFRED MILNER, TO MR.
CHAMBERLAIN

Received, 18 *December*, 1899.)

(Answered by No. III.)

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN,

30 *November*, 1899.

SIR,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of 4 November, No. 58, containing an extract from the "Daily Chronicle" of 3 November. The extract consists of a letter from Mr. Percy Molteno in which he quotes a memorandum of an interview between Mr. James Molteno and myself, drawn up by Mr. James Molteno, who is a member of the Cape House of Assembly. The letter in the "Daily Chronicle" was reproduced in most of the Cape papers on its arrival here and naturally attracted considerable attention. On seeing it I immediately caused the following letter to be sent to the Cape papers:

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM 187

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CAPE TIMES"

SIR,—

I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to say that his attention has been directed to a report of a conversation between himself and Mr. James Molteno on 4 October last, which has appeared in the London "Daily Chronicle" and been reproduced in the Press of Cape Town. As far as His Excellency's remarks are concerned, the report in question is so imperfect and inaccurate as to be absolutely misleading. Not only are expressions attributed to him which he never used, but the whole tenor of his observations is entirely distorted, I have, etc.

O. WALROND,

Private Secretary

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN.

21 November, 1899.

The "Cape Times" thereupon commented rather severely upon Mr. Molteno and he replied in a letter which I subjoin :

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CAPE TIMES"

SIR,—

In reply to His Excellency's Press communication and your extraordinary malevolent leader to-day, I beg to offer a few remarks. I think you will, on quiet reflection, agree with me that you have read more into his Excellency's letter than the wording warrants. I say I adhere to the memorandum in every particular made at a time when the matter had burnt itself into my mind and when I was face to face with the terrible fact, for the first time brought home to me, that war was imminent despite what our party and the Republics had done and were prepared to do. Further than this I do not at the present time desire to refer to my memorandum or His Excellency's qualified denial.

As regards your leader I think I can find an excuse for you. It is merely a phase of the "Jingo Rhalifa." And I would no more expect moderation and sense at your hands than a cessation of contortion or assault during the performance of that rite. However, I commend to your serious consideration the sound advice given in this week's "Punch" in a letter by the "Vagrant" to Mr. Algernon Charles Swinburne and for further emphasis I would quote as follows, "And we have seen with dismay the attempts that have been made to inflame the opinion of our public by an appeal to the basest passions by falsehoods disseminated broadcast to be disowned only when they had done their despicable work, by ferocious denunciations of our foes as the most mendacious, the most corrupt and in every respect the vilest of mankind." And hearken once more at him in his genial way when Castigat Mores Ridendo "Cannot the poets and the rest of the stay-at-home folk (including editors) who have clamoured for this war imitate them and be gentlemen too?" I am, etc.

JAMES T. MOLTENO

CAPE TOWN,
22 November.

Notwithstanding Mr. Molteno's assertion that he "Adheres to the memorandum in every particular" I continue to regard it as one of the most inaccurate and misleading reports that I have ever seen. I will not comment on the fact that this one-sided version of a private conversation was communicated to the Press in England without my having any opportunity of checking it. The last thing that ever occurred to me was that the remarks that I made to Mr. Molteno in a conversation of a confidential character would become public, still less that they would become public in a

form so mutilated and incoherent that it is really quite difficult for me to recognize any portion of them. Mr. Molteno's memorandum is so drawn up that it appears in many places to be quoting my actual words. This is wholly misleading. I do not think that as far as the phraseology goes there is a single sentence in it which I ever uttered. The apparently verbatim report is simply Mr. Molteno's summary and a particularly bald summary of what he himself describes as a "Long conversation" and which was certainly as far as I am concerned a great deal fuller and I make bold to say a great deal more coherent than the curt and disjointed utterances attributed to me. At this distance of time it would be idle for me to attempt to reproduce my exact words, but I recollect perfectly the general substance of my remarks and it seems to me the best thing I can do is to state what it was. The Conversation arose in this way. After I had disposed of the business which actually brought Mr. Molteno to see me, and which was to learn the nature of the reply of Her Majesty's Government, to the petition from fifty-seven members of the Colonial Legislature, I intentionally retained Mr. Molteno, whom I have personally known for a long time in order to speak to him in a frank and wholly informal manner about the present state of political affairs. I adopted this course with him, as I did with several members of his party, who came to see me for one reason or another, during the last few days of the session, with the intention of clearing away some of the more extreme misconceptions with which partisan business had enveloped the controversy between Her Majesty's Government and the Republic. I desired, and except in Mr. Molteno's case, I believe I succeeded, not perhaps in converting those to whom I spoke to my own views, but in making them appreciate and respect mine and gain some conception of the real

objects of Her Majesty's Government, totally different as they are from the legend which the Republican and Rebel Press has sedulously instilled into the minds of the public. The principal matters touched upon in this conversation were :

1. The immediate political situation. With regard to this I pointed out to Mr. Molteno that if war was to be avoided, it was to the Republics that appeals to preserve the peace should now be addressed. Not only were their actions exceedingly menacing, but President's Steyn's protests against our military movements, movements unimportant compared to those on the other side, suggested to my mind a desire to pick a quarrel. I discussed the various stages of the negotiations showing how in my opinion Her Majesty's Government had over and over again tried to find a basis of understanding, while the South African Republic had never been able to accept any proposal of ours at the time when it was made

(There is a very significant lacuna and omission in the printed dispatch here. Chamberlain apparently, in editing the Blue Book on South African Affairs thought it might be well to omit what Milner was saying. Any one looking at the Blue Book can see for himself.)

While (quite apart from the Green Smuts pourparlers with regard to which I deprecated the charge of bad faith on either side) the conduct and negotiations by the South African Republic was dilatory and bewildering in the extreme. I said that if peace was desired it would be the natural course to await for the fresh proposals indicated by Her Majesty's Government, and which in view of the gravity of the situation, the latter was bound to consider very carefully, but that if the South African Republic wished to forestall such

proposals, it was perfectly possible for them directly or through President Steyn to make a fresh offer, that Her Majesty's Government would not stand on its dignity if it was a question of the maintenance of peace. But a fresh proposal must be of a definite character, and personally I did not conceal my opinion that it was improbable that a definite offer would be made, as the Republics appeared to me to have resolved upon war.

2. As regards the war, should it come, and its after effects, I took a very different view from Mr. Molteno. He seemed to me to think that the war itself would be a comparatively small matter in view of the disproportion of power on the two sides. I, on the other hand, have always regarded war with the Republics as a very formidable war indeed, owing to the colossal armaments of the South African Republic. In view of these armaments, I could not but anticipate a terrible struggle, the last thing in the world which I or any man could look forward to otherwise than with the gravest solicitude. But as to the after effects of the war, I deprecated the tendency to anticipate a condition of permanent bitterness and hostility between the races. The future would depend upon the system adopted when the war was over. With a policy of fair treatment and equal rights the wounds inflicted would heal in time and there would be no enduring discontent where there was no grievance. Moreover, South Africa would cease to be what the policy of the South African Republic had unfortunately made it, a huge arsenal, and become like other young countries a peaceful agricultural and industrial state intent upon the material development of its vast resources. It is these views which Mr. Molteno has apparently summarized in the words: "It will be all right after it is over."

3. With regard to the causes of the war, I am less at issue with Mr. Molteno's statement of what I said on other questions, though here also I do not recognize my actual words. But I did protest strongly against the misrepresentation, the most persistent of all in the armoury of the opponents of Her Majesty's Government, that what we were contending for was the interests of Capitalists or that Great Britain wished to subjugate the South African Republic because of its mineral wealth. As far as the mere material position went, Great Britain and the Capitalists alike could afford to be satisfied. To represent the Capitalists as the authors of the disturbance was false. In the first place the Capitalists were divided. In the next place those Capitalists who had espoused the cause of reform, which I thought did them credit, had done so not spontaneously but reluctantly, feeling that they could not abandon the cause of the Uitlander population as a whole. And if it was unjust to represent the Capitalists as the authors of the agitation, it was still more so to speak of the British Government or of myself as their "instrument." And in this connexion I stated what I did consider to be the real root difference between our policy and that of the South African Republic, and its sympathizers, viz. that the latter aimed at maintaining throughout South Africa the predominance of a single race, while we were contending for equality. I personally had been represented as the enemy of the Dutch population because I was averse to the attempt to maintain the predominance of one white race over another, irrespective of their relative numbers. But, as a matter of fact, if the case was reversed and the non-Dutch South Africans were trying to oppress their Dutch fellow-countrymen, I should be just as much opposed to them as to the Dutch Oligarchy of the Transvaal. It is this opinion to

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM 193

which I adhere, which is no doubt responsible for Mr. Molteno's statement that I said, "I am determined to break the dominion of Afrikanderdom." The use of these words I absolutely deny and I deeply regret that they should have been attributed to me. Not only do they breathe a spirit of arrogance and egotism, which I hope is not characteristic, but standing by themselves they are calculated to convey a wholly false impression of the tenour of the remarks, the substance of which I have just stated. I have, etc.

A. MILNER,
Governor and High Commissioner.

Milner's dispatch was answered by Chamberlain as follows :

MR. CHAMBERLAIN TO HIGH COMMISSIONER, SIR
ALFRED MILNER
DOWNING STREET,
11 *January*, 1900.

SIR,—

I have read with interest your dispatch of the 30th November, commenting on a memorandum by Mr. James Molteno purporting to give an account of an interview between that gentleman and yourself, and published in the "Daily Chronicle." I need hardly say that I did not for a moment suppose that Mr. Molteno's notes embodied an accurate recollection of the interview. I have, etc.

J. CHAMBERLAIN

CHAPTER XXXI

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

(continued)

WHAT a fine phrase! It rings with erudition and the finest scholasticism of Oxford. It lacks on paper what it contained on the lips and in the mouth of Milner. It was uttered by the leader of the jingo Imperialistic Party when the fruit of his policy was ripe, as a challenge to our party, the Free State and the Transvaal. We were on the brink of war and Milner was triumphant. Oxford might be proud of its alumnus. His rival Curzon at Oxford could never match that phrase and could never hope to equal such political achievement. Let us analyse that phrase. To me it opened out a new vista, and I was struck with the audacious picturesqueness of the sentence. Dominion I understood in the mouth of a classical scholar. The Latin word "Dominium" is an everyday word to the student of Roman Law and Roman Dutch Law. It means ownership, possession fortified by right, the unassailable right attached to real property. It means a state feudal or otherwise. Property in its most intense and secure manifestation. "Dominion," addressed to me by the flower of Oxford culture, meant all it intended to convey. "Afrikanderdom" was a new word which I had never heard before. I had often heard of Afrikander, the Afrikander Party, Afrikanderism and other similar words. "Afrikanderdom" surely was coined by Jupiter on

THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM 195

the summit of Olympus. Every one who is interested in South Africa nowadays knows what the word Afrikaner means. Add the syllable "Dom" and you have, as Rhodes would have expressed it, a "new thought." But what is "Dom"? No other than the former word "Dominion." So we come to the phrase the "Dominion of Afrikaner Dominion." Milner added the territory of the Transvaal and the territory of the Free State to the King's Dominions, but he did a greater thing, he added the classical and high-sounding word "Afrikanerdom" to the British vocabulary. Any man might be proud of that. The spelling with "C" or "K" does not matter and the sound is the same.

It was a new explosive word, fitting for the times, and in keeping with that new awful explosive that the jingoes were boasting of, that would not only blow the Boers in three months to smithereens but poison their remains to the gates of hell. I have forgotten the name of that explosive; no, I remember it, its name was "lyddite," and I believed in its awful virtues, until during the war I examined, many a time, the rocks that the shells had hit and burst upon, and the yellowness, a greenish yellow, that the fumes produced, and a few dead lizards. There are wars and wars, and as the late Lord Halsbury said, there are "sorts of wars," but whatever kind of war, any fool with an Empire at his back, can make war, for it takes a wise man to keep the peace. I am not a conscientious objector, but in my opinion, in most cases, war sows only the seeds for other wars. Amongst whites, war decides nothing. The Union of South Africa was in the bosom of nature inevitable. Patience and good feeling were aids to the sure and certain evolution going on, and that old Puritan, stern smoker and student of the Old Testament, Paul Kruger, was not going to

live for ever, for he had reached almost the natural term. I have scarce patience to analyse that letter of Milner to Chamberlain, and I think Chamberlain did Milner no good turn in publishing it. It would take more than those two figures, Chamberlain the master and Milner the man, to turn the course of history, and I thought at the time that the great Conservative and Tory party were paying a heavy price for the support of the "Three Acres and a Cow Man." Chamberlain and Milner were, in their presumption and their little span of temporary power, out to smash all that was fine and noble in South Africa. However, I thank them. Providence employs strange tools at times to work its marvels. The British Empire, instead of avenging Majuba (a trumpety engagement) and Doornkop (the round up of a nest of pirates), realized Colenso, Magersfontein and Stormberg in one and the same week, at the hands of untrained simple farmers. It was not three months and one army corps, it was three years and the whole Empire before Vereeniging and Annexation.

I am not concerned with war now, it can wait, perchance, for some other occasion, for now I am concerned with men and women and political history. Chamberlain and Milner, the hound and the terrier, routed out the South African lion. We survivors of those times would not willingly miss Botha, Smuts and De la Rey of the Transvaal; Steyn, Fischer, Christian de Wet of the Orange Free State; Hofmeyr, Merriman and Sauer of the Cape of Good Hope. The Dominion of Afrikanerdom must be destroyed! Where is the Dominion of Afrikanerdom now? It is the great Dominion of the Union of South Africa, the brightest jewel in the Crown of the British Empire, the graceful and lovely Good Hope, a daughter State, nay more, a sister state in the greatest free Common-

wealth of Nations, the mighty, world-wide British Empire. I do not regret the party that was mine and the part that I took in those days of destruction and the breaking-up of laws. When I scan my life, those days of destruction are more precious to me than the latter days of reconstruction in which I have played a part. I must not anticipate; I was always too eager in the hunting field. I am discussing the "Dominion of Afrikanerdom." Well, to Milner's consternation and to Campbell-Bannerman's joy, five years after the peace of Vereeniging, we found the hated Afrikaner Party ruling the Cape Colony, ruling the Free State and ruling the Transvaal, and out of that Afrikaner rule came the great Union of South Africa, and again, then and ever after, an Afrikaner Union and Dominion. In July of the year 1909, in the House of Lords, I never took my eyes off that pale face upon the cross benches, Lord Milner, during the passage through the House of Lords of the "Act of Union of South Africa." Milner and the "Dominion of Afrikanerdom," how trivial they seem nowadays, and the more I think about him the more I like him, for was he not privileged to live in South Africa amongst us for many years, and did he not break a great deal of china? A generous mother loves her naughty boys, and old South Africa taught him wisdom which he tries not to forget. We love our old sins because they taught us virtue.

CHAPTER XXXII

AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER

BEFORE the members of our party separated in the middle of October and after the war began, we decided on two things of the utmost importance. Firstly, we urged our Ministers not on any account to resign, for we thought that by having our own Government in power, the Cape Colony would be preserved and kept intact during the conflagration, and that some measure of confidence would be preserved. Schreiner and the Ministry gave us the promise not to do anything without consultation with the united party. Schreiner and the other ministers felt that they should resign. Their policy for the preservation of the peace of South Africa had failed, and though a portion of the British Empire, the Cape Colony, was legally and constitutionally at war with our neighbours and with our kith and kin, we vainly hoped that our territory would be preserved a haven of peace in the destruction around. Schreiner was in a terrible position. We feared that if our Government resigned and the Progressive Party came into power the ship of state would be rudderless, and that many of the Dutch Afrianders of the Cape Colony would be inevitably drawn into the whirlpool of racialism and war. It was a race war, and Afrikanerdom must be destroyed. Secondly, we all undertook to exert all our influence as a party, and as individuals, in the interests of peace. We issued a

manifesto to the Afrikanders of the Cape Colony, and we went round our constituencies urging by voice, by means of the Press and by circular and letter, and by every means, that however much we hated and condemned the callous policy that had with cruel deliberation resulted in war, we were British subjects and owed allegiance to the Queen of Great Britain and the Crown of the Empire. It was a terrible task, and though insulted by the Progressives and their Chartered Press, we ploughed our own furrow, and we undoubtedly saved England many an army corps. The history of those times cannot be treated in a casual way, and I hope on some other occasion to deal fully with the war, the policy during the war, the administration and maladministration of martial law in the Cape Colony, and my own particular share in the events of those stirring times. Our efforts were crowned with success; there was no rebellion, there was no rising. The Federal Forces in their operations and for strategical purposes occupied the districts bordering their boundaries. Those occupied districts gave the enemy some support and a few thousands of recruits, but after the relief of Kimberley, the fall of Bloemfontein and the relief of Ladysmith, the invasion faded away, and the Cape Colony by the middle of the year 1900 was clear of the Federal Forces south of the Orange River. There was no spontaneous rising, and only in those districts occupied and administered for months by the enemy forces was there any adherence to the armed forces of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. But for the loyalty and momentous restraint of the Cape Afrikanders and the efforts of our ministers and our party, I am convinced that England would have failed to reconquer the whole of South Africa. The Afrikander united could with ease have occupied the whole of the Cape Colony and Natal with the sea ports and the

ports of entry and all the railways. We got no thanks nor sympathy, only contumely.

In the month of November, 1899, Milner issued a proclamation assuring the Cape Colonists that they had no reason to fear any attack on our Constitution and that our Responsible Government was in no danger at the hands of British statesmanship. Our constitution was solemnly guaranteed by Great Britain. We shall shortly see how that solemn declaration and promise was kept by Milner. Our constitution and our political rights, on the crushing of the Boers in the Transvaal and Free State, was Milner's stumbling-block in carrying into effect the destruction of the "Dominion of Afrikanerdom." During the first year of the war, Milner held his breath and was biding his time.

In the month of June, 1900, suddenly the members of our party were summoned to Cape Town, and we met on Friday, and Saturday 8 and 9 June. The calling together of the party was in fulfilment of the promise that Schreiner had made in the previous October not to throw up the reins of government without consultation with the united party. When we met the Ministry, we found we had to face a crisis. Needless to say, Chamberlain and Milner were the cause. The occasion arose out of the war policy of the Crown. Up to 28 April our ministers were united as regards the treatment of the rebels in the lately occupied northern districts of the Colony. In reply to a dispatch from Chamberlain, the celebrated Amnesty Minute of 28 April was drawn up, agreed to by all the members of the Cabinet, and dispatched in reply to Chamberlain and Milner's demand that the late rebels should be disfranchised for life, among other punishments. Disfranchisement for life was such an easy method of altering the balance of power in the Cape

Colony, making a class of helots, and destroying the "Dominion of Afrikanerdom."

That famous minute of 28 April is one of the most convincing, able and broad-minded documents I have ever read. It breathes the spirit of Christian ethics in that turgid atmosphere. It is full of political wisdom. It had a history replete with success in the trial. It redounded to the lasting credit of the author. That historic minute should be framed and hung in every public school of South Africa. It was drafted and drawn, not by a Dutchman, it was drafted by an Englishman, the son of an English bishop. If each of the far-flung constituents of the Great British Empire contained but one like the author I have no fear for the well-being and the continuation of our Empire. That minute was the work of Merriman. Chamberlain and Milner rejected our ministers' policy. In times of stress and strain they had tolerated us and been glad of our moderating influence in the Cape Colony, but now they had hundreds of thousands of troops drawn from all over the world in South Africa, and they thought that the time had come to show openly their hostility to the Cape Colony and its Government. In the middle of May, Solomon, the Attorney-General, drew up in collaboration with Milner a minute to meet the wishes and policy of Chamberlain and Milner.

The Cabinet divided on that issue. Schreiner, Solomon and Herholdt took the way of least resistance. Merriman, Sauer and Te Water adhered to the minute of 28 April. In that melancholic atmosphere the party came together, and ministers took us into their confidence. Thirty-nine of those present supported Merriman, four or five supported Schreiner, and on 15 June, 1900, Milner was rubbing his hands. The detested Bond Ministry was broken and our Government

resigned. Schreiner had rightly said nine months before that the times were out of joint and through cursed spite he had been born to try and set them right. He had failed. I like to think well of Schreiner. He was never a statesman. He was only a painstaking lawyer, a lovable individual, but never an inspiration. He remained a member of our House a few months longer, and after the coming session had to resign his seat at Malmesbury, because he found he represented himself alone and no one else, and he ended the false position he had created for himself by resigning to the clamour of his justly indignant and outraged constituents. He was Hofmeyr's second failure in the diagnosis of the prime qualities essential for leadership. Hofmeyr was so crushed by this last disappointment that, after being married again, he left the Cape Colony, and did not return till some time after the close of the war, and in the month of September, 1902.

One can stand up and face the onslaught of one's political foes, but the defection of one's political offspring is hard to bear. Schreiner was never a parliamentarian. The necessity of Rhodes secured his entrance into Parliament in the year 1893, after the Logan Contract scandal. If Schreiner did not shine as a political leader and a parliamentarian, he filled a great place at the Bar of the Supreme Court, but even there he was misunderstood, for he puzzled his hearers as to what he really was driving at and meant. He lacked common sense. Although he persevered and stood at the next election for the division of Caledon, he could not find the party or constituency who could understand him or appreciate his many virtues, and that was the practical end of his short political career. I could wish for his own sake, for the sake of his relatives, and his reputation, that when he resigned as

Prime Minister he had respected not only his faithful party but his constituents and resigned his seat forthwith.

Just as Sir Bartle Frere, in the year 1878, twenty-two years before, had sent for the ever-waiting and complacent Sprigg, so now Milner called upon Sprigg to fill Schreiner's place and to form a new Ministry. The new Sprigg Ministry came into power on 18 June, 1900, and was composed of Sprigg, Premier and Treasurer; Thomas Graham, Colonial Secretary; Rose-Innes, Attorney-General; Dr. Smartt, Commissioner; Faure, Secretary of Agriculture; and my old friend John Frost, Minister without portfolio. The Attorney-General was a nephew of Sir Gordon Sprigg and had always been in opposition to his uncle. War and adversity make strange bed-fellows.

The third session of the tenth Parliament was opened by Milner on Friday, 20 July, 1900, and was prorogued in the morning of Saturday, 13 October, following, just a year after hostilities had begun. After the last date, Milner had no more use for Parliament, and until 20 August, 1902, twenty-two months later, Milner ruled the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope by virtue of his unchecked will and the backing of Chamberlain. During this session of 1900, Schreiner, Solomon, Charles Searle, David De Waal and Daniel Wessels in the House of Assembly spoke and voted with the new Government, and enabled Sprigg to carry on the government of the country. These men, late leaders and members of the South African Party, acted on their own in war-time, knowing that they were by so doing acting contrary to the wishes and interests of their constituents. Their electors were furious, but at the same time powerless. They were named the "Adullamites." Merriman became the leader of our party and leader of the Opposition, and, ably

and loyally seconded by his and my great friend Sauer, welded together our discomfited party.

That session was a war session. Questions of rebellion, martial law, treason bills, compensation and all the incidental questions created by war and rebellion occupied the whole three months of the sitting. I took a leading part in the discussions, and my rising to address the House or the Committee of the whole was the occasion of much liveliness. The controversies of that session may await analysis until, like the war of which they were a part, some other occasion. We had a new recruit in Dr. Jameson, the raider, who now replaced Dr. Rutherford Harris, of the Chartered Company, as one of the members for Kimberley. During this session I was the first to raise a debate on the Chinese question, because now that the war was considered to be over the Rand mining magnates were throwing out feelers in the direction of this new and alien source of labour supply. This question was soon to become one of life or death to South Africa. The magnates, however, were a little previous in their war calculations, and they had to wait for another two years before the war was ended to engineer that wave of alien Asiatic immigration, under the absolute rule of Milner. This session was again memorable for the restraint and dignity of the Dutch members under the lash and stings of abuse of their chivalrous opponents. They had been well schooled and they adopted the comforting motto, "They say. What say they? Let them say." The result of the most important division during the session was Ayes 41, for the Government, Noes 39 for our party; majority for the Government, 2.

XXXIII

AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (*continued*)

BEFORE I pass on from the session of 1900, I shall refer to another question that arose and was debated, and the reader can form some conception of the feelings that animated the South African Party towards Milner and his ways. At the present time some may think that I have a bee in my bonnet, and that Chamberlain and Milner are, like King Charles's head, an obsession. Let me call to my aid some of the actors on that tragic stage and let them bear testimony to their thoughts and the atmosphere that we breathed. Milner was thoroughly loathed and hated, not alone for his policy, but for his unheard-of methods. Afrikanerdom must be destroyed, and the method of destruction was immaterial. Every one who knows Merriman (and who does not in South Africa?) knows that he is in every respect a perfect English gentleman, and would scorn to stoop to any petty meanness. The outrage committed against him by Milner was done at a time when Merriman was one of his Ministers, meeting his Governor daily in council and on the most confidential and fiduciary footing. On Tuesday, 9 October, 1900, and a few days before we rose, not to meet again for two years, the following debate took place in the House of Assembly on Mr. Merriman's letter. Letters play so great a part in South African politics. The

Jameson letter, Milner's letters to Chamberlain and to Kruger, and now Merriman's letter.

Mr. Merriman moved "That this House is of opinion that the publication of private correspondence as disclosed in the case of a letter from Mr. Merriman, late Treasurer of the Colony, to Mr. De Wet, M.L.A., dated 14 November, 1899, and published without the knowledge or authority of the writer, was not in the public interest and is much to be deprecated." In doing so Mr. Merriman said: "As was well known, certain correspondence had been published in the English newspapers, consisting first of letters addressed by British members of Parliament. In every case he believed their consent had been asked and obtained. It further consisted of some letters found at Bloemfontein addressed to President Steyn and Mr. Fischer from the Chief Justice, from himself (Mr. Merriman), and from his colleague Dr. Te Water. In the case of his honour the Chief Justice, his consent had been asked and obtained to the publication of these letters. In the case of himself and Dr. Te Water, they had been neither asked nor had their consent been obtained. He did not object to the publication of these letters. Of course he thought it was unfair to publish letters when they only published one side of the case, and the circumstances attending the writing of them were unknown. Still, as they were prize of war, he supposed no valid objection could really be taken to their publication. But he did think it would have been only consistent with the ordinary decency and courtesy of public life, if the consent of himself and his colleague had first been obtained. Of course it might be said they were only colonists, and colonists were not supposed to have the same fine feelings as a British member of Parliament, or a Privy Councillor. A staff officer had written to an English paper 'these loath-

some Colonists,' he (Mr. Merriman) ventured to think that if that had been done to an Australian or Canadian legislator he would not have had to appeal twice to his House of Parliament to put him straight. (Cheers.) It would not matter which side of the House he belonged to his fellows in the House of Parliament would have been keen to avenge an insult offered to a colonist whether on one side or on the other. (Cheers.) Then he would ask why was other measure to be dealt out to a South African? It was no use to say that there was not time to have obtained his consent. He maintained that the publication of these letters was eminently unfair unless the replies were also published. If he were in the position to publish the replies he had received from Mr. Steyn and Mr. Fischer, people would be astonished to see the attitude they had taken up. In September last year he (Mr. Merriman) had had most pathetic letters and telegrams from Mr. Fischer upon the subject of this war, but he could not publish them without the consent of the writer. In publishing his letters, the law had been infringed.

"However, he put that question on one side, and would pass on to quite another case, that of the letter addressed to his colleague, Mr. De Wet, by himself, a letter of a most private and confidential kind, which reflected no discredit on the receiver or the writer. It was the sort of letter that he (Mr. Merriman) had been writing every week, almost every day, to his different constituents, trying if he possibly could to keep them quiet in obedience to law and order. He knew Mr. De Wet. They all knew him. He was an excitable man. It was a letter to which a peculiar privilege attached, being the letter of a member of Parliament, and they would find it laid down again and again that a special privilege attached to the letter of a member of Parliament. How much more

when it was a letter written from a minister to a member of Parliament? (Cheers.) Now how did that letter come into the possession of the Secretary of State? " And then Mr. Merriman traced the history of the theft of the letter on the authority of the Attorney-General, whose department had traced the history of the transaction. " His things were ransacked and, according to the statement of this man Levy, the letter was then stolen from the house because it belonged to him (Mr. Merriman) and was then forwarded. What did this Mr. Levy do and who was he? He was an official of this Government. He (Mr. Merriman) was a Minister of this Government. Did Mr. Levy communicate with him or the Attorney-General, as one would have thought a man of honour would have done? Not at all. He sent the letter behind his back to the High Commissioner. And what did the High Commissioner do? He (Mr. Merriman) was one of his ministers. He might be a most unworthy minister, but he represented this Parliament and the people of the country. (Cheers.) He would not say he represented them worthily, but he happened to represent them. And did the High Commissioner communicate that letter to him? No. (Cheers.) It was with a view to a paltry political advantage for the Secretary of State or with a view of minimizing his (Mr. Merriman's) influence in this country such as it was.

He would ask whether that was conduct that one might expect from one English gentleman towards another. (Loud cheers.) He said, No. Was that common courtesy, the ordinary courtesy of public life? And he maintained that it was not himself, it was the Parliament and people of this country who were insulted. (Loud cheers.) What were they to think of the future relations between the Governor and the

Ministry, if there was to be such a rule, that if the Governor could find a document sufficiently compromising to send to the Secretary of State, he should do so without communicating it to the minister whom he was meeting every week at the Executive Council. Conduct like that made one hesitate for the future of this country if such were to be the relations between the Governor and his ministers. It was not the Governor's business to think what the political opinion of a minister might be, but as long as that minister represented that House the decencies of official life ought to be accorded to him. No one with the smallest knowledge of the ordinary usages of political life could possibly justify an act like that. He felt that he had been unfairly treated and that in his person the Parliament of this country, of whom he happened to be the unworthy representative, had been unfairly treated. Because what was there in this letter? Was he a criminal? Even in the case of criminals their letters were not published except in court at their trial.

"Before he sat down he would like to say something about the abhorrent system of espionage that had been going on in this country since the war broke out. We had had a precious intelligence department installed here, who had gone about tickling people's ears with bogus plots. He remembered on the first day of this year there was a bogus conspiracy set on foot to seize the Governor and send him off, and that was to be done by the inhabitants of the districts of Malmesbury, Paarl, and Stellenbosch, who at that time were only thinking of killing sucking pigs for New Year dinners. (Laughter.) Then our post offices had been ransacked and secrets had been revealed in the post office. Private individuals had been put to the censorship at the post offices in order that their rivals might become acquainted with their secrets. And that was English.

We were there if for anything to spread British ideas of civilization, British ideas of public life, and to those ideas this system of espionage was abhorrent. He left his case in the hands of the House, and he only hoped that the sense and good feeling of the House would say that in South Africa we should have the same standard of public morality, public decency and public courtesy, that was used, not only in Great Britain, but in the other Colonies, in Canada and Australia, and that honourable members would resent, not on his behalf, because he wished to put himself out of the question, what had been done. He did deplore that such an outrage should have been committed as the publication of a private letter to a colleague which contained no matters of public importance, which was obtained in a surreptitious manner and which was published without reference to himself and without his permission. He left his case in the hands of the House, hoping that in this matter no matter of politics would be allowed to intervene, but that right would be done to the individual, no matter on which side of the House he happened to sit. (Loud cheers.)”

Sir Gordon Sprigg (the Prime Minister) moved the “previous question,” thus asking the House not to express an opinion on the conduct of Milner and Chamberlain. He urged that Merriman should go to the law courts of England and vindicate his rights. Just as he had twenty-two years ago defended Sir Bartle Frere who had called him to office, so now history repeated itself, and Sir Gordon used his temporary majority to stifle an outstanding wrong. The speeches that followed were charged with indignation and heat, and the new Attorney-General supported his uncle.

Mr. Innes opened his speech by expressing regret

that the letter had been published without Mr. Merriman's permission, but held up his hands in holy horror at the attack upon those in high places, and especially the attack on Milner. After a little special pleading that missed the point at the hands of the Attorney-General, and after an indignant reply to the debate by the mover, the previous question was carried by a majority of three, for the motion Ayes 34, Noes 37, and thus the High Commissioner and Governor, Sir Alfred Milner, escaped the censure he had richly earned by the narrow margin of three votes. Three days later Parliament was prorogued, and though we were informed that the war was over, we did not meet again until late in August of the year 1902. Our Parliament was too awkward for Milner and Chamberlain.

For the remainder of the war the members of my party, the late ministers, Merriman, Sauer and Te Water and myself were subjected, at the sole and unchecked will of Milner, to every indignity and petty annoyance, including in many cases imprisonment without warrant and without inquiry, only subject to the whim of Milner and his Star Chamber. He used the powers of martial law to wreak his vengeance on his political opponents, and under the ægis and cloak of martial law he prevented me from leaving South Africa to visit England, and as long as I was told that the will of the Commander-in-Chief in the pursuit of the successful prosecution of the war forbade me to leave the country, I obeyed. However, when I discovered that I had been fraudulently made to believe that I was detained by the will of the Commander-in-Chief and when I ascertained that Lord Kitchener and the military knew nothing about the matter, and on the contrary when he heard of what had taken place, he at once gave me permission to

212 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

leave, then and then only I was at liberty to beard Milner and his tools, and within twenty-four hours I had my "permit." Sir Alfred Milner earned the contempt and hatred of all that was best in South Africa, even the contempt of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener.

XXXIV

UNION DAY

TO-DAY is 31 May, 1922, and after a little interval of change of thought and scene, I resume my self-imposed task. To-day is a day big with reminiscence, and for a few moments I may be permitted to browse in reflection. To-day is Union Day and a holiday, and a day of rejoicing in South Africa. Though nearly mid-winter, it is a calm, still, bright, reflective day. Sunshine, warm and genial, everywhere. A day of rejoicing and gratitude. To-day twenty years ago, on 31 May, 1902, the war of destruction and humiliation, the great Boer War came to an end at Vereeniging and peace once more, the peace that should never have been broken, reigned over the stricken and weeping land. Great resolutions to-day came to those who love their country, resolutions of construction and conciliation and co-operation. That was twenty years ago. Those noble resolutions found their crown just eight years later to a day, on 31 May, 1910. The great Dominion the Union of South Africa was born to-day, eight years after war. To-day is a double anniversary, the day of honourable peace and the day of honourable fulfilment. To-day twenty years ago "Afrikanderdom" wounded, but not broken—no, immeasurably fortified and strengthened—began again the rebuilding of its national home. To-day twelve years ago that building was accomplished, and that structure is more complete in conception and

214 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

durability than even the Commonwealth of Australia or the Dominion of Canada. Our Union is a real union and real Sovereign State. The Commonwealth and Dominion envy the completeness and solidity of Afrikanerdom. No court of law in the world can throw us into confusion as in Australia and Canada, and we are the type of most complete and indissoluble union, and our Union Parliament is supreme. Australia has recently tried to copy our Union but has failed. The States of Australia have become too strong and the Commonwealth suffers.

Eight years after war and twelve years ago Afrikanerdom was consolidated and became the best governed and the most desirable in the British Commonwealth and the King's Dominions. With General Christian De Wet beside the old cannon on the Paarl Mountain I stand. What that old warrior said that day was true then, is true now, and will ever be the truth: "Better to be blasted to eternity at the mouth of this cannon than to lay unholy hands on the edifice and the structure of the Union of South Africa." Love is love, but love's manifestation differs. In my love for my country, the country of my birth, the country of all my happiness and sorrow, on that day twenty years ago I solemnly made up my mind that I would not look back. In thought, by word and deed the rebuilding of the crushed and collapsed edifice must be accomplished and construction and reconstruction would be my motto. The valour and heroism of Afrikaners made that possible, and how soon! My motto became "Live and let live," and the Union of South Africa is to-day not alone a union of interests, but a union of races and of hearts. Afrikanerdom resurgent, Afrikanerdom triumphant. The beautiful land of Good Hope.

AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (*continued*)

THE war session closed on Saturday, 13 October, 1900, and Parliament was prorogued on the following Monday, 15 October. The Treason and Indemnity Act, that had been forced through Parliament by the aid of Schreiner and his little cross-bench following, now became operative, and from this date, during the whole of the year 1901 and until I left for England in the beginning of May, 1902, I devoted myself to the defence of those charged with high treason upon the first invasion of the Cape Colony. I do not propose to relate in this book my experiences in the course of the trials before the special Treason Court. For over nineteen months I was away from Cape Town and living in the northern districts of the Colony that had been invaded and occupied by the Transvaal and Orange Free State forces. I returned to Cape Town occasionally when the Treason Court took yacation or the enemy forces drove the Court and the advocates away. I lived those long nineteen months of war by virtue of permits, and the volume of paper collected at that time would make interesting reading nowadays, but I was glad to part with them to collectors of curious literature.

There are three men living now better qualified than myself who can write the history of the treason trials and the doings under martial law. The names of the men in my mind are Gysbert, Reitz, Hofmeyr, Henry

Burton and Dr. Leipoldt. The first named was the Clerk of the Union Parliament when I was the Speaker and is now the Administrator of South-West Africa. A short time ago I met Hofmeyr in Cape Town and told him that I was writing some of my recollections, and I urged him to undertake the writing of the history of the treason trials and workings of martial law in the Cape Colony, for he is most competent to do so and eminently well equipped with notes and pictures of those stirring days. With his gift of humour and effective style of writing and experience, those times would live again. What Afrikanderdom underwent must be recorded. We owe it to future generations. I have no patience with the mawkly sentiment that enjoins silence. The truth can always bear the light, and if that history is not written by others more competent than myself, I shall consider it a sacred trust for my constituents at Somerset East and Bedford and for posterity to let them know what heroes and heroines their fathers and mothers were. Young Afrikanderdom has much to live for and much to be proud of, and we who were fortunate to have lived in those stirring times have a responsibility and a precious gift to those that come after. The simple narrative of the events of those three years, without comment, would fill a big volume, perchance many volumes. My experiences were not confined to dry law only, but I witnessed the progress of the war from within, the growth and life of the Concentration Camps, and all the meannesses and horrors of the administration of martial law in the Cape Colony. I lived those times in the midst of the second invasion, and sometimes I would have felt safer in the hands of the enemy than in the midst of my so-called friends. As one of the judges said to me, after some unpleasant experiences that the judges went through, "Molteno, we are

going to take good care that in future we (judges) are going to travel with Burton and yourself." Better had generous but stupid old England given Afrikanerdom the two hundred millions that she wasted on the Boer War as a present without conditions. Rhodes spoke once about squaring the Mahdi. England could have easily killed us with kindness and reaped an untold harvest, and she has realized that after humiliation. My old and much-loved professor at Cambridge, the historian Sir John Seeley, was fond of bewailing the insular ignorance of England, and as Jan Hofmeyr said at the time it is not any use to appeal to Philip Drunk, you must wait to appeal to Philip Sober.

From the commencement of August, 1901, till the Christmas vacation at the end of that year, I divided the time between Kimberley, Mafeking and Colesberg. During that period I heard vague rumours of political ferment. The second stage of the war, I might call it the "Driving Stage," was in progress and martial law was heavy on the Cape Colony, and the character of news was all on one side and under control. From these rumours I gathered that our political opponents were active and that Milner and Rhodes were collaborating a new offensive against the political rights of the Cape Colony. The nature of that offensive was obscure, because our party was muzzled and the movements of our members were strictly controlled. Our political opponents had a clear field all to themselves, and our members were either in jail or in concentration camps or confined to the limits of their estates, and some of our leaders had escaped to Europe. Personally I did not give credence to the rumours at first. What was the nature of the rumours? It was rumoured that now that the Transvaal and Free State were annexed by proclamation to the British Empire, but not yet conquered, that the time had come when the

Cape Colony should feel also the heavy hand. We were to be deprived of our constitution and all our political rights and our liberty. I could not believe that things had come to such a pass in face of the solemn proclamation of November and December of the year 1899. Those proclamations had denounced the rumours at the time, that the war was not only a war against the Free Republics, but also a war against the majority of the inhabitants of the Cape Colony. Those proclamations had solemnly guaranteed our constitution and our political rights at the hands of the Imperial Government through Chamberlain and Milner. At Christmastide and at Cape Town my doubts were lifted and I found that Chamberlain, Milner and Rhodes were preparing their attack on the last stronghold of Afrikanderdom. They seemed to have come to the conclusion that the war would have been fought in vain if the majority of the Cape Colonists were left to govern the country. The last stronghold of Afrikanderdom must be stormed, even in a British Colony, and the whole of South Africa was to be thrown into the melting-pot. "Afrikanderdom delendum est."

Now that England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India were in South Africa, a clean sweep must be made and the hated Dutchmen erased from the map and destroyed from the face of the earth. I now understood the talk of the Australian and the other officers whom I had met was not idle and irresponsible. They had been clamouring for "the dirty Dutch to rise in the Cape Colony," and when I expostulated with them, the reply was that there must be a clean job made. The policy was a deliberate one and carried out with devilish calculation. Despite the goads and prods of martial law, the Dutch of the Cape Colony would not rise, and refused to play the game of their political oppo-

nents. Rhodes had in September, 1898, told me that the British Government had promised him, when the Mahdi was smashed, to deal with South Africa. Milner had told me that he was determined to break the Dominion of Afrikanerdom, and now, despite those proclamations, when the Cape Colony could have risen with dire effect, the time had now come to deal with the hated Afrikaner Party who refused to take their betrayal lying down at the hands of Rhodes. Another plot was started. How cowardly it all seems to-day! We and our friends, under the grip of martial law, all our papers suppressed, all our editors in jail at Tokai, all our members of Parliament strangled in the grip of martial law, and half a million of troops from all over the world desecrating our home. It was so obvious, it was so easy, any child could see. Take our constitution away, take our Parliament away, take our Press away, and the fools thought that the whole of South Africa for the future would speak with one voice, and that a united one, in praise of the oppressor. There could be no protest, there could be no voice in the face of brute force. And so un-English!

I returned to Cape Town and learned the appalling truth of the situation. A whole nation was to be delivered over to the executioner, and to be cursed with damnation. Where was the responsible ministry of the Cape Colony? I must once again write down their names: Sprigg, Prime Minister; Tom Graham, Colonial Secretary; Piet Faure, Secretary for Agriculture; Rose-Innes, Attorney-General; Dr. Smartt, Commissioner, and old John Frost, Minister without portfolio. Presently I shall trace their records, but, thank God, that ministry was divided, it contained two men. After Christmas the plotters came more into the open. Another petition was to play an ignoble

rôle. A petition full of lies was concocted, and a letter of recommendation signed by Milner was attached to it by way of patronage and recommendation, and these two documents were hawked about among members of Parliament for signature, and under threats and the terrors of martial law, some members of our party even were coerced to sign. I thought it was time for me to change my domicile for a time. I made up my mind to go to England and to tell my friends what was going on in South Africa in the fair name of England and under the secrecy and censorship of martial law.

It was so easy for me to make up my mind and say I shall go to England. The ships were there and they sailed weekly, almost daily. I was in Kimberley when I decided to go to England and plead for the constitution and my manacled country. In three days' time (after witnessing a fight on the way down) I was at the Cape. I arrived on a Saturday evening, and on Monday morning I secured my passage in the mail boat sailing on the Wednesday. After booking my passage I went to the Permit Office on the Grand Parade. My friend the Chief Permit Officer, Shaw-Nicholson, informed me that it would be all right and that if I called back on the morrow, Tuesday, my papers would be ready for me. Tuesday morning I returned, only to be told that he was very sorry but that the military refused to allow me to leave South Africa to go to England. I at once went to the Castle and saw the Chief of the Staff. I told him what I had heard at the Permit Office, but he said it was impossible, we know nothing about it, and the military had no objection, but he promised to make inquiries and meet me at lunch in the middle of the day. He met me as arranged and informed me that he knew an embargo had been placed on my leaving South Africa. The

military authorities, however, were good enough to promise me to get into touch with Lord Kitchener, who was at that time at Kroonstad, in the Free State, directing one of the great "drives" against General De Wet. I knew that my name was on the Milner Star Chamber list, and it would be ridiculous of him to let me go to England and tell my friends what was happening in South Africa. Under martial law the will of the Commander rules and cannot be questioned, but during this period Milner was constantly usurping that rôle. I attended the Castle daily, and some weeks later my friend the Chief of the Staff said to me one morning, "Molteno, I have good news for you: look here, read this telegram." It was from Lord Kitchener and read: "Have nothing against Molteno can leave for England any time." I thanked my friend, and went at once to Government House and asked to see the Governor. A new Governor had succeeded Milner only a few days previously, for Milner had removed to Pretoria as Governor of the Transvaal and Free State and High Commissioner of South Africa, and Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson had just come as the Governor of the Cape Colony in his place.

It was the first time that I had met Sir Walter, and he asked me my business and whether I was Molteno of Jansenville or of Somerset East. I replied Somerset East, and Sir Walter winced, for my reputation was inferior to my brother's, my temperature was warmer. I informed the Governor of what had happened about my permit and the refusal. He said, "What can I do? It lies with Sir Alfred Milner." That annoyed me, and I spoke rather hastily and said, "Sir, are you the Governor of the Cape Colony or are you a clerk to Sir Alfred Milner?" He then said that he would write to Milner, but I replied that that

222 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

was not good enough, that I was a member of Parliament, that I had been treated shamefully by Milner, that he had tricked and bamboozled me, and now that I had the authority of the Commander-in-Chief, the only man that I recognized under martial law, I would expose Sir Alfred before the House of Commons, and after all there is the telegraph and I should not await the delays of a letter. I felt indignant at the shameful way that I had been treated. Sir Walter then promised to wire to Pretoria and in twenty-four hours I got authority, through the military, to leave South Africa at any time, and I left in the beginning of May and arrived at Southampton and London on Saturday, 31 May, 1902, in the good ship *Carisbrooke Castle*.

AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (*continued*)

BEFORE I relate what took place in England, I must hark back a few months. Rhodes was on fire. After his release from the siege of Kimberley and his quarrels with poor General Keke-wich, I saw him only occasionally. In the middle of the year 1901 we were stranded by train-wrecking at the junction of De Aar. Rhodes was returning to Cape Town from the north, on the way for his last trip to England; Burton and I were returning from the Treason Court at Brughersdorp. Rhodes, after conferring with Chamberlain, returned to Cape Town, and he and his intimates among the Progressives put all their weight and go into the assault on the constitution of the Cape Colony. I saw him again giving evidence and under cross-examination at the trial of that ill-omened Princess Radziwill, and, if I am not mistaken, I then for the first time saw a motor-car. Rhodes and Jameson drove down from Groot Schuur to Muizenberg daily at that time. The end of Rhodes was near and he was fighting for breath, and he could sleep better at his little cottage near the seashore at Muizenberg. I often met them driving down in the new motor-car. It is unnecessary to describe Rhodes's appearance in detail at that time. He was a dying man, and his face was puffy, red and swollen. Nothing was right. The military were jack-asses, and though not yet forty-nine, he had become

Laudator temporis acti. I can compare Rhodes now to a great setting sun, low down in the west, and the consuming fire within him was burning him up. Rhodes was a tragical and pitiful sight. The beginning of March, 1902, found him tied to his little cottage by the sea. Then the heat wave came. That March I shall ever remember. My family was in England, all but my youngest daughter, who in the previous July refused to leave me in South Africa. I remember every afternoon I took the faithful and beautiful little child of six to the beach at Muizenberg to give the little one and myself some fresh air and bracing by the breezes from the South Atlantic. I was still waiting on Milner for my permit, and on General Fouché at Allival, to allow the Treason Court to hold its session, and I was idle at the time. The side of the cottage, looking towards the south and Simon's Town, was broken down to allow of more air to reach Rhodes, and then the cylinders of oxygen! We were sitting on Muizenberg beach and not far away, on a sweltering afternoon, with the sun sinking behind the mountains. Rhodes lay dying, and before the sun had set he had ceased to breathe. It was a curious coincidence: Rhodes died on 26 March, 1902, within a few hundred yards of the spot where I had first seen him in the year 1881, twenty-one years previously. He was then twenty-eight and I was sixteen, now he was gone before he had reached the age of forty-nine and I was thirty-seven. South Africa is a young man's country, and the young will always have their own way. What might have been the history of South Africa if the wise head of Rosmead of Tafelberg and the patriotism of Hofmeyr had restrained the impatient ambition of Rhodes, it is idle to speculate. The two gladiators, Rhodes and Kruger, within a few months of each other lay still in the bosom of mother earth, the

soil of South Africa which in their several ways they had loved so much, and death was kinder to them than their latter days. Rhodes's body lay in the Parliament House, and Merriman, Sauer, Dr. Beck, and I of our party followed to the cathedral, and then to the railway station, to see our aforesaid friend off to his last resting-place in the Matoppos.

Amongst the passions of those times I have tried to be fair to Rhodes, for I had ever appreciated his great qualities of heart and brain, and I write and speak of him as one who had been at one time a devoted admirer and loyal supporter of him personally and of his policy. From the worldly point of view, it would have been so easy to have continued so, but I would have had to be other than I am. I have no regrets at the course I followed in the storms that convulsed South Africa. Peace of soul and mind are more precious than the applause of the multitude and the loss of self respect. I was at college a student of psychology, of ethics and metaphysics both ancient and modern, and when Dr. West Jones, the Archbishop, mounted the pulpit to preach the sermon in the cathedral, I speculated on the line of thought he would follow. It was an egg dance. The Church has a diplomacy of its own. To reconcile the teachings of Christ with the actions of man required some sleight of hand. My friend the Archbishop, who had known me since his accession to the see on the death of Bishop Grey in the early seventies, had confirmed me and had married me and had been a close and intimate friend of the family, acquitted himself well. It was a warm afternoon and the ceremony appealed to and satisfied every taste. Some little time afterwards, that same good Archbishop was himself being commemorated from that same pulpit and the dear Dean Barnett Clarke preached the sermon, and I smiled when

he related the receipt of a letter from the late Archbishop complaining of the heat in Cornwall, England. He was a witty dean, always cracking jokes, but in the tumult of his sorrow he found himself off his guard. I discussed the incident with another bishop, and à propos he told me a story of the early days of Kimberley. He was officiating at the last ceremony of one of Kimberley's leading citizens. Wood was scarce in those days at the diamond fields and on looking at the coffin at his feet he espied the motto, "please keep away from the boiler."

The death of Rhodes was a great loss to those who were massing their forces for the attack on the Constitution of the Cape of Good Hope, and there were many aspirants for the leadership left vacant by his death. Regarding one of them, who prided himself that the mantle of Rhodes had descended on himself, old Sammy Marks, one of the millionaires of the Transvaal, remarked, "I have myself been in the old clothes line and I can say Rhodes's clothes will never fit him; they will lose him." Rhodes and Kruger died, but Afrikanerdom survived. Rhodes was the nineteenth century, Kruger the seventeenth. A little more understanding, a little less impatience and recrimination, and South Africa would have adjusted itself to the twentieth century without any surgical operation. Two months before the peace, Rhodes passed, and then, two years after peace, poor old Kruger, away from the land of his birth, a stranger and exile, died far away from his life scenes, in Switzerland. Sturdy, self-sufficient, a misunderstood old Testament character, right to the last. His "Life," written supposedly by himself during his exile, is quite insufficient. The stories of the old Cromwellian related to amuse the fickle and purposeless times in which he lived should all be collected and preserved, for they illustrate his character

and are eloquent testimony to the man. Look at the self-reliance of the man from a few of them. The two sons in doubt as to the fairest division of the farm, their inheritance, come to the old President for advice. "The elder can make the division and fix the beacons, the younger can take the choice." So easy, scientific and effective, so self-contained, so logical and so human. The deputation of Jews to him complaining of having half an erf only, the other Churches having, severally, obtained a whole. Kruger points out the reason. "You Jews believe in only half the Bible; you believe in only the Old Testament; when you believe in the whole, a whole erf will be yours." So simple and convincing to his mind and faith. The Jews in South Africa have always been accommodating and reasonable until they have eschewed their faith and then they become dangerous. They asked His Honour, the President, to open their new synagogue. Of course the President accepts, for he is father of all his people. He takes off his hat; he does not enter the holy building with his hat on, oh no. He is not only President, he is also Priest of his people, the old Dopper Minister, who preaches on Sundays and presides over his country on week-days. He opens the synagogue in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ! He is not a social traitor to his faith. The Jews have asked him to perform the ceremony, but they must not expect to find in him a smooth social convention. He was not a snob, but a good old plain man of the veld of the times of Shakespeare, and he spoke the language of Holland of two hundred and fifty years ago. His only literature was his constant friend the Bible. Take his reception of one of our noble dukes. Sammy Marks brings the duke before breakfast to make a state call on the President. The duke relates, through the interpreter, who he is and who his ancestors were.

The old President listens, puffing his old pipe, and when the narration is over, his simple reply, through the interpreter, is "Tell him my father was a shepherd." Bathos! But no insult meant. The breakfast in honour of the duke at the Pretoria Club was rather gloomy and tame, till old Sammy Marks, quick thinking, solved the problem. "I say," says he, "the old President was putting on side this morning. He thinks he is like David; for King David's father was a shepherd." The breakfast of the Pretoria worthies to meet the duke turned out a success after all. A little imagination and a little humour. The stories of Old Paul are endless. In the hunting field, on the battle-field, in the senate and the council chamber, the old Puritan was an easy first.

Put a man like Milner to meet Kruger at Bloemfontein and what could one expect? I said to Milner, "We have wise men and they have wise men," we had our tried old statesman, Hofmeyr, and our splendid old Chief Justice, De Villiers, who had settled the Transvaal question twenty-one years before, in co-operation with Sir Hercules Robinson and Evelyn Wood after Colley's death. I lose patience with myself for speculating, for there was no attempt, or even pretence of attempt, for the "cuffs and starch" to meet the "moleskins and the veldschoens." The British character is at times a dangerous one, and if England abandons imagination and understanding for hauteur and threats she may one day find herself a lonely little island and one of the curiosities of history. Washington was once her loyal admirer, but he became sick. A few more superior people like Milner and Chamberlain and one day England may wake up to find that Canada, Australia and South Africa, though taking all interest in her, will prefer to avoid political company. The world is growing and changing, and

the balance of power is shifting. When I was in England six months ago I was alarmed to find of how little account the great Dominions were in the thoughts of England. The average Englishman seldom puts his thinking cap on, it is too much trouble, and these questions he thinks to himself do not touch and concern him. That is a mistake. Indifference breeds misunderstanding. Far be it from me to advocate meddling in each other's proper concern, and doing, and saying things that give offence. If I were a resident of the British Isles I would not be satisfied with things as they are, and I am convinced that just as the Dominions are on the upgrade so the people in Great Britain and Ireland are on the down. I went to England in the month of May, 1921, and returned in January, 1922, with much to think over. In one word I sum up "Character." The character of the British Islands is changing and that change of character is bound to be reflected in the coming years. There seems to be want of purpose and no destiny. There is no leadership, no statesmanship, only a few superior persons, and the only bright spot is the Monarchy. The Monarchy to be really effective should be reinforced and supported by the wisdom of statesmen in these times of fluidity and doubt, and there must be more sincerity and less make-believe. "The sheep look up and are not fed."

XXXVII

AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (*continued*)

WHEN I arrived in London on Saturday, 31 May, 1902, things were about the same as when I left South Africa, but, of course, one had to depend on the cabled news. During the voyage we received no news, unlike nowadays with the wireless service. I was afraid to go ashore at Madeira for fear of being detained by Milner, and I was not looking for trouble. The island was full of secret agents at work. One of them who joined the ship on the way to England told me much of the goings on there. The Rev. Adrian Hofmeyr was living there at the time. The poor Portuguese had been well drilled and were on their p's and q's, for the turn of Portugal might follow that of Afrikanderdom, as certain parties favoured the forcible annexation of the Mozambique Province, including Delagoa Bay and Lourenço Marques. So I stuck to the boat and did not land. The weather was lovely in England, and on landing, after the years of trickery and shame, I at last breathed the atmosphere of freedom and liberty. On Sunday morning, 1 June, I caught the train from Waterloo to Shere in Surrey, and I shall never forget the walk and my thoughts on my way up the hills over Albury Park and the Common till I found myself in the grounds of "Parklands." It was the loveliest time of the year, not a cloud, the gorse in full bloom and all the other glorious spring flowers and foliage. And this was England who was

committing the crime of the century. The noodles, I thought, in my bitterness, would be better if they themselves had a taste of invasion, lyddite, house-burning, slaying of stock, devastation and concentration. No! That is not a nice thought, and, however good for their souls, their bodies, their well-nourished poor bodies, would be uncomfortable. And the period of "killing Kruger with their mouths" was nearly passing away, and some small portion of the people were having misgivings and even beginning to admire the heroism of that small band of farmers who were twisting the lion's tail. I am man enough to confess that I was so mean as to enjoy that wonderful day in Surrey. The South Eastern Railway line to London was a friend. It reminded me of the Stellenbosch line in the old days. It was a strict Sabbatarian, one train up and one train down, and the speed would have disgusted even a "Predikant." It was between eight and nine in the evening and the train was crawling along the southern suburbs into Waterloo, after Church time, but what were those bells and an occasional explosion? Bells! Bells! Bells! everywhere, what could it all mean? I heard at Waterloo—Peace! Could it be true? The world to me for three years past had been ruled by lies. I took the under-river way to the Bank of England. Yes, it was true. The streets were packed. The Lord Mayor was expected from the Mansion House to proclaim the news. Rattles, noise, feathers, the tickling kind, madness and lunacy everywhere. I had come six thousand miles to hear that news and at Vereeniging yesterday, Saturday, 31 May, 1902, terms of surrender had been agreed upon and the Treaty had been signed. Next day, Monday, 2 June, was still a glorious day and I was to meet Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir William Harcourt and Sir Robert Reid at Sir Henry's house,

opposite the Duke of Wellington's statue in Hyde Park Place, at Grosvenor Place, near St. George's Hospital. Punctually at 11 a.m. I met Sir Henry and Sir William and Sir Henry's friend and right-hand man, Captain Sinclair (now Lord Pentland). Sir Robert Reid was ill and had recently lost his wife.

I informed the great leaders of Liberal Great Britain of the state of things in South Africa and of the intentions of Chamberlain and Milner with regard to the suspension and abrogation of our Constitution. I remained to lunch with Sir Henry, and after lunch he invited me to walk with him down to the House of Commons. Balfour, on the death of Lord Salisbury, had become Prime Minister, and he was to make a statement in the House of Commons of the terms of the peace, and he was also going to propose a resolution of thanks to Milner and Kitchener with a money vote to both of them. The English are a commercial people, and they say and think that money talks, and Milner was worth one hundred thousand pounds and Kitchener fifty thousand. Campbell-Bannerman was the Leader of the King's Opposition and we had discussed Milner and Kitchener, and I told him of the opinions of South Africans with regard to both. He informed me that he would second and speak to the resolution in favour of Kitchener, but would have nothing to do with the motion concerning Milner. We walked through the Green Park, St. James Park, Horse Guards Parade, and then by way of Whitehall to St. Stephen's. There we parted for the day, and I was sucked into the excited crowd in the lobby waiting for admission to the House of Commons. It was an exciting day and I listened to the terms of peace. The only South African that I can remember meeting that day was Mr. David Graaff.

The next day I met, in his house in Eaton Square,

Sir Robert Reid (now the Earl of Loreburn and still happily alive), and that evening I dined in Chelsea with Lord Courtney, that sturdy lover of liberty, and met there a distinguished company. Amongst the men I met that night were H. M. Massingham and a young South African from Cambridge, H. J. Van Zyl, who was the President of the Union and a brother of my friend, Dirk Van Zyl, member for Clan William. Mr. Van Zyl I at a later period appointed Parliamentary Draughtsman to the first Union Parliament, and he is now a Judge of the Supreme Court. On his return to South Africa he became the son-in-law of my friend, J. W. Sauer.

H. M. Massingham, the great journalist, was at that time connected with the "Daily News," and there appeared that week the first account of Jan Smuts from the pen of Massingham, and I gave him all the information contained in that article. It was an account of one of the most outstanding exploits and feats of arms in the war. An account of Smuts's march from the Transvaal, through the Free State, through the north-eastern Cape Colony, through the midlands, the south-western districts, and his final establishment of a Government embracing all the north-west of the Colony. He was never defeated, he was always the victor, and my constituency of Somerset East witnessed two of his outstanding engagements. Poor Gorringe at Ann's Villa in the Zuurbergen, and the fight on the Little Fish River at Doornbosch in the Swaagers Hoek. I must not digress. Of course Campbell-Bannerman, Harcourt and Reid were with us in our stand for our Constitution and I, day and night, met every shade of political opinion, which I canvassed in support of our Constitution. It was an interesting time and work and full of excitement. I could see that Afrikanerdom was coming into its own. I received much encourage-

ment at the hands of outside Conservatives, especially some of the country Conservative associations, and at this time I was surprised and overjoyed to meet Sive-wright, for he gave me yeoman support and advice and introduced me to people of influence and power on the Government side of the House. Public opinion was going well and the Boers were suddenly becoming heroes. People were beginning to see the other side, my side, and Chamberlain and Milner were not having it all their own way, and rumours were about that Louis Botha, De la Rey and Christian De Wet would come to England.

Those were exciting days in London, but I stuck to the one question of the suspension and the abrogation of the Cape Constitution. Our voice in South Africa was stifled and dead under martial law. The cables and all the news came to England from our opponents under Milner's guidance. I was more than thankful to be at hand in touch with men and the Press in London. Asquith and Haldane and Grey, the Liberal Imperialists, I did not trust at that time. The Radicals and the Right wing of Liberalism were sound and I directed all my energies to the supporters of the Government, the old Torys and Conservatives, but never to the Unionists, the Liberal Unionists and the Birmingham Block. They were of no use and Chamberlain was their god. In the midst of all this excitement, the correspondents and the cables told us of the Ministerial crisis at the Cape and the break-up of the Cape Ministry, and that Sprigg was on the water on his way to London, for the meeting of the Imperial Conference that Chamberlain had summoned for the middle of June. Those were exciting days. I lived at the House of Commons and met men of all shades of opinion—J. E. Ellis, Labouchere, Sir Charles Dilke, and many others—but the three outstanding friends of

South Africa were Campbell-Bannerman, Harcourt and Reid.

At this time King Edward offered Sir William Harcourt a peerage of a high order, but he refused to accept the honour, and his son, Lulu, whom I got to know well, asked me to be present at a small dinner in honour of his father. This dinner was given by some of his admirers to celebrate the occasion of his refusing the peerage and banishing himself from the House of Commons. It was held at one of the big London hotels, and I attended as a guest, sitting next to his son. It was a dinner of a very affecting and intimate character, and I shall not readily forget the great speech that Sir William made on that occasion. Of all the British statesmen that I have met Sir William reminded me more than any other of Mr. Merriman. Sir William's son, who has just died, did later on accept a peerage, and during his tenure of the office of Colonial Secretary at the time of the present King's coronation, I received a warm letter from him congratulating me on my knighthood. London also was all astir. King Edward, who had succeeded Queen Victoria on her death during the war, determined not to be crowned in war-time, and now, 22 June, was fixed for the great occasion. The whole of June saw me hard at work, and it was not until the first week of July that I could lay down my self-imposed task and rest. That month of June was the occasion of many friendships in the political world which have endured to the present time, and have been kept alive and warm since those days by many visits to Great Britain.

After I arrived in London I found that Sir Gordon Sprigg was following in the mail after I left. He was to reach Southampton on Saturday, 7 June, to attend the Imperial Conference, and, like all the Dominion

Prime Ministers, he would also represent the Cape Colony at the King's Coronation. I did not know how far Sprigg was committed to the defence of the Constitution. Before I left the Cape, Thomas Graham, the Attorney-General, had informed me of much that was happening between Milner and the Progressive Party, and I was put in possession of information that enabled me to be certain of my facts and the position that I would have to face. I made up my mind to see Sprigg the moment he arrived in London and I was prepared with a plan of action if I found that I could rely on Sir Gordon. Would Sprigg face Milner and Chamberlain? Or would he take the line of least resistance, and, now that Rhodes was dead, lead the movement which had the support of the majority of the Progressive Party and all the Chartered and Imperial Press both in South Africa and in London. Sprigg landed at Southampton and the London Saturday evening papers had a short interview with Sprigg at the hands of Reuter. From this interview, I gathered that Sir Gordon was opposed to the suspension of the Constitution, and my friends and I determined to give him every support and assistance. I had made up my plan of campaign and I awaited the morrow with impatience. I could not forget how Sprigg had in the June of the year 1897, five years previously, wronged South Africa by waiting, until amidst the glamour of London, to support Rhodes and bear false witness against Afrikanerdom of those days, and I was anxious, for Sprigg by nature was an opportunist and a trimmer, but tomorrow would show and decide.

XXXVIII

AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (*continued*)

ON Sunday, 8 June, I was early at the Hotel Cecil and I saw Sir Gordon Sprigg. Sir Gordon was more cordial than I had anticipated and I pushed right in to the middle of things. I asked him whether the statement of the day before by Reuter correctly reflected his position on the Constitution question, and he replied in the affirmative, and assured me that his determination and purpose to oppose Milner and the rest of the Progressive Party was genuine, and that he would leave no stone unturned to defeat their machinations. So far so good, for I saw a Sprigg I had never realized before and my heart warmed towards him. I was quite comfortable in my mind that he could be relied upon; I then told him that in my opinion he would be helpless by himself, for in my mind and in the world of events I likened him to a fly on the wheel of an ox wagon. I knew from conversations in Cape Town that I could rely on Graham and I realized that the two men who counted in the Cape Ministry were dependable. I laid my plan before Sprigg. I had realized that the Council Room in Downing Street and not the House of Commons would be the scene of action and decision. The suspension and the abrogation of a Constitution was a new idea and an idea peculiarly applicable to the Dominions and the Colonies. Englishmen could take care of their Constitution which time had mellowed, and

events from the year 1688 downwards had definitely fixed, and the Crown and the people knew their respective duties and obligations. The idea of suspension was the child of war and passion, and had been generated by the forces of illegality of martial law. If you can suspend the Constitution of the Cape of Good Hope, equally you can that of the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. The whole of the Dominions, Colonies and dependencies of the Empire were on their trial and were in the same position. The Imperial Conference would meet in ten days' time and be presided over by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain. Canada, Australia, New Zealand, The Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and Newfoundland would sit round the same table under the presidency of the Colonial Secretary.

This council of the British Empire is different from a scratch majority of the House of Commons. There the abhorrent thing suspension and abrogation would have its hideous face scanned and examined in the dry and calm atmosphere of reason and colonial experience. The enemies of Afrikanderdom would have to abandon claptrap or be confounded. I rubbed my hands at the grave that Chamberlain had dug for himself by summoning the Conference at that time, but how could he help it, for the war was over and King Edward had waited long enough to be crowned. The following plan I laid before Sprigg. On the arrival of Sir Wilfred Laurier at once take him into your confidence. The position of Canada and of South Africa are analogous. They have both two races and two languages and they can understand the problems and difficulties of each other. I knew that Laurier and Hofmeyr were friends, though Hofmeyr was not then in England but on the Continent. Then the Commonwealth of Australia was still in its infancy

and only two years of age, and I advised Sprigg to see Barton, the Prime Minister, at once, for he would never endanger the tender plant of the Commonwealth, the offspring of so much solicitude and labour. Those two men and Sprigg, if they were agreed, would decide the question. Natal, the former Ulster of South Africa, I knew to be out of the question, and New Zealand, with its pompous Prime Minister, Seddon, could not be relied upon, but they would not count beside Canada and Australia. We parted on that Sunday, after a satisfactory meeting, and Sprigg followed the course that I had suggested. The angels were fighting on our side. The fickle British public were now full of praise of the Boer. They had been told that there were only a few guerrilla bands and outlaws in the field on the signing of the peace. Lo and behold! Thousands of the enemy in virtue of the peace terms were coming in, commando by commando and general by general, all in order with their weapons of war, and carrying out to the letter the terms that they had signed. At a dinner party, during smoke and wine, I call to mind a pompous peer. He asked me how many men did I think were in the field and I replied twenty-five to thirty thousand men. Scornfully he said, "Oh, no. There are only a few banditti and guerrilla bands." A month later that same peer apologized to me, and he blamed the deceptive news cabled by the correspondents to the London papers.

Everything was beautiful in the garden—the weather, the preparations for the Coronation, and the rebound from war to peace—all conduced to a changed atmosphere, and all those generous impulses that England and especially London is noted for were in full play. Chamberlain and far-away Milner encountered adverse breezes and troubled waters. The five years of adverse politics, followed by the three years of war, has made

me hard and suspicious, and I was qualifying for honours in the Cynical Tripes. That month of June, 1902, was thawing me and I was melting to the forces around, and no wonder when I returned to South Africa in the August following, my friends misunderstood me, for they, under martial law, had been denied the promise of the future that was mine. The proceedings and discussions of the Imperial Conference are private and confidential, and the outside public are afforded sometimes only glimpses of what is going on, and that by resolutions and innocuous speech. The public never know the real thing, for the Press is excluded. The public know very little of what goes on in those conferences that meet from time to time in Downing Street and, I am afraid, care less. In the next chapter I shall relate what I was told happened with regard to South Africa in that Conference.

Curiously enough, by some mistake, I received two sets of invitations to the Coronation in the Abbey, and the day before the ceremony I thought I would make choice of the seat I would occupy, but before doing so, I was sitting and chatting, on a beautiful afternoon, on the terrace of the House of Commons. All London was ready for the Coronation, and the arches, the decorations and the food for the multitudes were prepared. All the Royalties and great people of the earth had arrived, and I was talking with a group of members when messengers came running out of the House on to the terrace, and informed the group that the King was ill, that the Coronation was off, and Mr. Balfour was making announcements in the House. So there was no need to select which of the two sets of seats were the better. The consternation and emotion of London are unforgettable. King Edward was not alone respected, but he was loved in a very close and personal way, and his illness came as a tragic shock

to the nation. From the House of Commons I strolled up town with an eminent surgeon, and the talented lady of "Truth," and the surgeon informed us that the King's illness held out no hope of recovery; but Treves was successful and appendicitis became the rage, like *hara-kiri* on the death of a Mikado. The King confounded all the wiseacres and was crowned, though with less ceremony, in the August following. I did not see much of Fuller, who had become the new Agent-General, on the death of our old Speaker, Sir David Tennant. There was nothing in common between us. Whether it was my own or my father's fault I know not, but my father was always scornful of the ex-parson and the ex-schoolmaster in political life. In his long political career, he had never found one to his taste and I must have inherited the aversion. Fuller was an ex-Baptist minister, a smooth and eloquent tongue made him one of the members for Cape Town. His only distinction is his authorship of a book on the life of Rhodes, whom he never knew in my time, for Rhodes had never veiled his contempt for trade or traders, whom he dubbed parasites, but it was a sign that times were changing, for Fuller went out of his way to be polite to me and so unlike what he had been in Cape Town during the war. At this time also I saw much of Lloyd George, Bryn Roberts, Bryce, J. M. Robertson, and Hirst of the "Economist." And as the days went by, now that the war was over, many South Africans were coming to England and amongst others I often saw were Dormer of the "Argus" and H. C. Hull of Johannesburg. Dr. Te Water now arrived in London from the Continent, where he had taken refuge during the war. The air was full of hope and conviction as to the great future of South Africa. In the morning of the first Sunday in July and at Paddington Station,

I received the good news, sent me privately from the Colonial Office, that Chamberlain had abandoned the policy advocated by Milner of suspending our Constitution, and that he would announce on the Thursday following, in the House of Commons, that the Government would not support that policy. The messenger followed me to the station from where I was staying and found me as I was leaving Paddington for Reading on the Thames. I will never forget that day and the brightness of the geraniums on the houseboats at Henley and the scene on and off the river that bright Sunday. The clouds were lifted, and the storm had passed. Freedom and "Boulter's Lock" will always remain associated in my mind. The next day, Monday, at 1.30, I left Charing Cross and arrived the day following at Strésa on Lake Maggiore in a raging fever, for the reaction had set in. Whilst I was ill in bed, about the middle of July, I received a wire from Fuller that Parliament was summoned to meet in Cape Town on Wednesday, 20 August, 1902, and I returned to London forthwith.

AFRIKANDERDOM AND MILNER (*continued*)

ON my return to London, I found out what had taken place in the Imperial Conference and what was the principal factor in the making up of the mind of Chamberlain in repudiating his own policy and the policy of Milner and the majority of the Progressive Party in South Africa. The principal work of the Conference had reference to South African affairs, and on the first day of the Conference the settlement of affairs after the war was discussed. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Seddon, proposed a motion in support of Chamberlain's and Milner's policy of suspending and abrogating the Constitution of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The motion was seconded by Sir Albert Hime, the Prime Minister of Natal. Both made lengthy speeches, and when the resolution, duly proposed and seconded, was before the Conference a silence ensued and after a lengthy pause Mr. Chamberlain, addressing Sir Wilfred Laurier of Canada suggested to him that he should favour the Conference with his views. After a further pause and silence Sir Wilfred Laurier rose and addressed the meeting and said that he would have thought that the party most interested should have been asked to state his views, the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, Sir Gordon Sprigg. However, he would say at once that if the motion before the Conference should be adopted, he himself would wipe his hands of the Conference

and be no consenting party to such a proceeding, and he would forthwith pack up his traps and return to Canada. It was at this point of the proceedings and after this bomb-shell that Sir Gordon Sprigg took his courage in both hands and delivered a slashing speech against the motion. He was followed by the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Barton, on the same side. That gave the *coup de grâce*, and early in July the House of Commons was officially informed that the monstrous thing was stillborn and dead.

Sir Alfred Milner and his followers in South Africa would not accept the situation, and it was then that Dr. Smartt and others of the Progressive Party made their triumphal progress throughout the Colony under the protection of martial law. The leading Cape Town papers and the whole of the English Press in South Africa continued the agitation, and it was not until the September following that we in Parliament were able to voice our feelings. The question was once and for all settled, and was sent to the limbo of might-have-beens. I left England in the *Walmer Castle* on Saturday, 2 August, and our liner, instead of entering the Channel by way of the Needles, steamed past the Royal Yacht and the convalescent King lying off Cowes, and after saluting the Sovereign, who was to be crowned the following Saturday, we proceeded by way of Spithead on the voyage to Cape Town. Off Cape Verde the following Saturday, 9 August, the Coronation was celebrated fittingly on board, and we reached the Cape in time for the opening of Parliament on Wednesday, 20 August, 1902.

I now turn to the Cape Colony and the happenings in the Cabinet since I left early in May preceding. Before I had left, when the suspension movement was making great headway and a month before Rhodes's death, Sir James Rose-Innes, the Attorney-General,

deserted the ship of State and his uncle, Sir Gordon Sprigg. He was prevailed on to leave the old Colony in difficulties by the offer made to him by Sir Alfred Milner of the Chief Justiceship of the new Transvaal Colony. Innes had been always noted for his conscience, and the followers of Milner and Rhodes could not count on his support of such a scandal as the suspension of the Constitution which he, as Attorney-General, should have been the last to assail. It is ever a moot point how far private interests should stand in the way of public duty. A man perhaps of less forensic ability, but more character, succeeded him in the office of Attorney-General, and Thomas Graham exchanged the portfolio of Colonial Secretary that he held at the time for that of Justice. The other minister who deserted the ship and the Sprigg ministry was Dr. Smartt, and he became an ardent follower of Milner and his autocratic policy and leader of the party of suspension. And when did that minister resign and embarrass the Government? It was within two days of peace, whilst Sprigg was on the water to attend the Conference and the Coronation, on 29 May, 1902.

When we met in Parliament for the first time after the war, the ministry was composed as follows: Sprigg, Prime Minister; Faure, Colonial Secretary; Graham, Attorney-General; Douglas, Commissioner, and old John Frost, Agriculture. It was a momentous gathering of the Afrikaner Party after the war, and it was a veritable resurrection, but we had no doubt as to the course we, as a party, should pursue. Sir Gordon Sprigg was rehabilitated, and we gave him loyal support in those difficult days against his erstwhile progressive friends. Two new members joined us on the first day of the session—Cillie for the Paarl in place of my esteemed friend, J. S. Marais, who had died during the war, and F. S. Malan for Malmesbury in place of the

late Prime Minister, Schreiner. On that first day too, the clerk of the House read a historic letter addressed to our new Governor by our Speaker, Sir William Bisset Berry. The letter was a solemn protest from the Custodian of the honour and privileges of Parliament against the suspension movement and it was dated 1 June, and had been forwarded by the Governor to Mr. Chamberlain. Sir Bisset Berry was not readily forgiven by Dr. Smartt, Sir Henry Juta, and the others who had aided Milner in his attack on our Constitution. On Thursday afternoon, 11 September, 1902, Mr. Merriman introduced as leader of the party the motion of the South African Party on the suspension question. The full text of that motion was: "That this House, having learned with surprise and regret that an agitation had been carried on in this Colony, having for its object the suppression of the Parliament of the Country, desires to put on record—

1. That this House entirely approves of the action taken by the Right Honourable the Prime Minister in defence of the rights of self-government in this Colony.

2. That this House determines to preserve the rights and privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants of this Colony by every means in its power, and records its solemn protest against the agitation that has been carried on against those rights, and its opinion that deprivation of the same would be most prejudicial to the peace and prosperity of South Africa.

I shall not analyse the debate, but on Monday, 22 September, late in the evening, Colonel Crewe, one of the leaders of the suspension movement, moved the adjournment of the debate. The Speaker put the question and declared that the Ayes had it. I chal-

lenged a division, as I saw that the House was prepared to vote, and the result was Ayes 15, Noes 43, majority against 28. Thus the motion for adjournment was negatived and thereafter the motion was carried unanimously, our opponents being unwilling to challenge a further division. And so ended that inglorious last move of the High Commissioner, Milner, and the plotter against the political life of the country. We gave the Government their indemnity bills, and after indemnity martial law was lifted and South Africa commenced to resume its normal constitutional course. With the Constitution saved and, a few years later, with Campbell-Bannerman in power, the new Colonies of the Transvaal and Orange River, with their Constitutions of Responsible Government, and Milner recalled and Lord Selborne, High Commissioner, an Afrikaner Government in Cape Colony, Transvaal and Orange River, and Natal converted to a South African patriotism, the Convention spirit prevailing everywhere, our glorious Union of South Africa was born. Despite all the little troubles incidental to a vigorous growth, the horizon is clear, the breeze is favourable, and the glorious ship *Good Hope* is nearing the port of Honour, Contentment and Prosperity, but this is another and a brighter story.

INDEX

- Abrahamson, 43
 Acts passed in the Cape Parliament, 1891-92, 20
 Adderley Street, origin of name, 2
 Adderley, Sir Charles, 2
 Addiscombe, 1
 Adelaide, 133
 Adendorff, his trek into the sphere acquired by the Charter, 29
 "Adullamites," 204
 Advocate, admitted to the Supreme Court, 9, 13
 Afrikander Bond, 11, 26, 43
 "Afrikanderdom," meaning of, 194
 Agriculture Department, creation of, 38
 Albany, 133
 Alexander, Henry, 2
 Anglo-Boer War, period before, 118
 Anti-Convict Agitation, 2
 Asquith, Mr., 234
 Assembly, House of, 14

 Babylon's Tower, 16
 Balfour, Mr., Statement on Peace Terms, 232; money grant to Milner and Kitchener, 232
 Barkly, my brother, 8, 167
 Barkly, Sir Henry, 4
 Barkly West, Schreiner Member for, 43
 Barnato, Barney, 11, 129,
 Basuto War, 4
 Basutoland, Lerethodi, King of, 55
 Bates, 69
 Barton, Mr., 239; supports us at Imperial Conference, 244
 Beard, 123
 Bechuanaland expedition, 10; and question, 23; annexation of, 58; strip of country transferred to the Chartered Co., 73; rising, 120; more land for whites, 121; Natives' Reserves Bill, 123
 Beck-Meiring, Dr., 173
 Bedford, 133
 Beit, Alfred, my visit to, 67; effect of Raid, 67; financial help for Rhodes Conspiracy, 75
 Bergh, Michael, 19, 22, 45, 123, 124

 Berry, Dr., 43, 146, 149 (*see also* Sir Wm. Bisset Berry)
 Berry, Sir Wm. Bisset (formerly Dr. Berry), 246; letter of protest against suspension movement, 246
 Beyers, Henry, 175
 Bloemfontein, railway to opened, 18; the Conference, 169
 Boer, the old, description of, 54
 Boer War, First, 4
 Bond, Afrikander, 11, 26, 43
 Bond Ministry: We pass Defence, Navy and Dock Bills, 166; Admiral's thanks to Schreiner's party, 166
 Bonn, my stay at, 9
 Boom, First, 12, 13, 14
 Botha, Louis, 234
 Boulanger, M., 9
 Bower, Sir Graham, 62; privy to Rhodes Conspiracy, 75
 Brabant, Captain, 119, 124
 Brand, Sir Christoffel, 29, 59
 Brand, Sir John, 162
 British South Africa Co., 92; finance of Raid, 93, 94, 95, 96
 Bryce, Mr., 241
 Buller, Redvers, 172
 Burton, Henry, 215
 Butler, General Sir Wm., 128, 145, 162; support of Lord Rosmead's policy, 163; attempt to smooth out difficulties, 163; recalled, 172; exposure of game of bluff, 172

 Caledon, 175, 202
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, meeting with, 231; refusal to support money grant to Milner, 232; friend of S. Africa, 235
 Cape Colony: Boundary after Bechuanaland Annexation, 58
 Cape Flats, 4
 Cape of Good Hope University, my studies at, 6
 "Cape Times": Correspondence regarding my Memorandum, 186
 Cape Town and Port Elizabeth Railway Lines joined, 7
 Castlereagh, Lord, 1

250 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

- Chamberlain, Mr., criticism of Sir Hercules Robinson's appointment, 57; attitude after Raid, 119; agreement with Rhodes to make war on Transvaal, 121; Sprigg makes excuses for Rhodes, 126; supports Rhodes in House of Commons, 127; thanks for Diamond Jubilee Address, 130; promise of inquiry into Martial Law broken, 165; Bloemfontein Conference, 169; letter to Sir Alfred Milner regarding Mr. Percy Molteno's communication to "Daily Chronicle," 181; Milner's reply, 186; omission in editing Blue Book, 190; reply to Sir A. Milner's Dispatch, 193; open hostility to Cape Colony, 201; offensive against the political rights of the Cape Colony, 218; as to summoning Imperial Conference, 238; suspension of Constitution abandoned, 242; principal factor, 243; Sir Bisset Berry's letter of protest, 246
- Chief Justice Sir John Jarvis, 1
- Chelmsford, Lord, 5
- Charles, my brother, Member for Tembuland, 62; help my brother at Jansenville, 168
- Chinese Question, 204
- Clarke, Sir Edward, regarding my memorandum, 175
- Coetjie Burgers, 54
- Coventry, Captain, 70
- Cookhouse, 134
- Commadagga, 143
- Colesberg, 151
- Concentration Camps, 216
- Courtney, Lord, meeting with, 233
- Constitution: South African, my plans to safeguard, 237; Imperial Conference proceedings, 243; Sir Wm. Bisset Berry's letter of protest, 246; Mr. Merriman's motion on suspension of, 246
- Coronation, The, my invitation to, 240
- Cronje, Piet, 72
- Cradock, 129, 133
- Crewe, Colonel, 246
- Cunninghame, Sir Arthur, 4
- "Daily Chronicle," correspondence and my memorandum on S. African situation just before Boer War, 181
- De Villiers, J. H., 4
- Dixon, Daniel, 2
- Diocesan College, 3
- Diamond Jubilee, 120
- Dilke, Sir Chas., 234
- Downing Street and its amateur interference, 23
- Drummond Castle, 10
- "Drifts Question," 121
- Dutch Reformed Church, 80; Rev. Marchand, 80; Rev. Pienaar, 80
- East India Co., 1
- Education, my, 3
- Edwards, Mr., 142
- Elections petitions, 143, 144
- Ellis, J. E., 234
- Ensor, Mr., 124
- Exeter Hall, and its well-meaning busybodies, 23
- Father, my, 2, 3, 5, 6; first Prime Minister, 2; death, 3, 6; reversal of his policy, 5; his ministry dismissed by Sir Bartle Frere, 5; and Sir Garnet Wolseley, 5; as Colonial Secretary, 5; railway policy consummated, 7
- Faure, 19, 34, 57, 86, 203; Colonial Secretary, 245
- Farmer, 71
- Farrar, George, 174
- Ferry, M., assassination of, 9
- Financial distress after boom, 14
- Fischer, Mr., 168, 206
- Fitzpatrick, Percy, 174
- "Flotation, The," 76; capture of "The Times," 76; Flora Shaw, 76; "Fatal Letter," 77; date of, 77; Select Committee's references, 101, 111
- Foley, 71
- Fouché, General, 224
- Frere, Sir Bartle, 4, 5, 11, 164; dismissal of my father's Ministry by, 5
- Froude, Mr., 4
- Frost, John, 35, 203; Agriculture Minister after the war, 245
- Fuller, Thomas, 123
- Gaika War, 4
- Galeka War, 4
- Garrett, Edmund, 26, 65; career, 65; letter of invitation found at Doornkop, 65
- General Election, 1889, 14
- George, at, on circuit, 1890, 16
- George, Lloyd, Mr., 241
- Gladstone, Mr., meeting with, 8; House send address of sympathy on his death, 130

- Glen Grey Bill, agreed to, 46, 47;
and the Native Question, 47;
liquor, 47; equal rights, 47;
land, 47; Bill, dead letter, 47
- Good Hope Lodge, 5
- Gordon, General, my meeting with,
6, 7
- Gold, rush for, 12
- Goodenough, General, opens Parlia-
ment as Acting-Governor in 1895,
57, 120; House adjourned to
attend funeral of, 162
- Grandfather, 1, 2
- Gransell, Lord, 4
- Grantham, Sir William, Judge, 9
- Griqualand West Boundary dispute,
10
- Graaf, and the Logan Contract,
34
- Graaff-Reinet, 43, 134; Milner's
speech at, 164
- Grey, Raleigh, Colonel, 70
- Grenfell, 71
- Griqualand East, rising, 120
- Graham, T. D., succeeds Sir Thos.
Upington, 130; Colonial Secretary,
203; Attorney-General, 245
- Great Fish River, 134
- Graham, Francis, 136
- Grey, Sir E., 234
- Gysbert, 215
- Harris, Dr. Rutherford, 43, 44, 101,
102, 103, 113, 118, 160, 204
- Hawke, Lord, and English cricket
team's visit, 60
- Hamilton, 71
- Haarhoff, Danie, 118; moves leave
of absence to Dr. Harris—Debate,
118
- Hawksley, 127
- Harris, Colonel David, 129
- Harts River Valley, 139
- Harcourt, Sir Wm., meeting with,
231; friend of S. Africa, 235;
refused peerage, 235
- Haldane, Mr., 234
- Heereingracht Straat, 2
- Hen and chickens, 7
- Heidelberg, my stay at, 9
- Heany, 71, 104
- Heerden, Van Hercules Christian,
129
- "Het Dagblad," 132
- Herholdt, 147; Amnesty Minute,
201
- Hely-Hutchison, Sir Walter, 221
- Hinterland, importance of the, 30
- Hirst, Mr., 241
- Home Life, 4, 5
- House of Assembly, 3, 19
- Hofmeyr, Mr. J. H., 17; impressions
of, 26, 27; and the Logan Contract,
34, 38; influence, behind the
scenes, 39; resigns his seat for
Stellenbosch, 56; banquet to, 58;
retirement, 60; my friendship
renewed after Raid, 66; parting
with Rhodes after Raid, 68;
attitude to Poor White Question,
81; enters greatest political con-
test, 128; banquet to, 128; sends
me urgent letter after my election
for Somerset East to go to Vry-
burg, 139; disappointment with
Schreiner, 202; treason trials, 215
- Hofmeyr, J. R., 124
- Hockly, 29, 44
- Holden, 71
- "Horrida Noverca," 169
- Hudleston, John, 1
- Hudson, Donaldson, Dixon & Co., 2
- Hull, Mr. H. C., 241
- Imperial Conference, 237; proceed-
ings regarding suspension of S.
African Constitution, 243
- Imvo, 132
- Jabavu, Tengo, 132
- Jansenville, 133, 168
- Jameson, and Raid: pen picture of
the House, 50; last session before,
59; rumour of crossing Transvaal
border, 62; Sir Graham Bower
confirms rumour, 62; drama
unfolded, 62; race-hatred let loose,
63; over the border, 64; mes-
sengers from the Governor to recall
him, 64; proclamation disowning
Dr. Jameson, 64; Governor's
action thwarted by Rhodes and
Bower, 64; prisoner at Doornkop,
64; Governor leaves to meet
President Kruger, 64; our wire to
Kruger for mercy for Jameson,
66; Emperor William II, action,
66; chapter on, 69; wires cut,
69; address to troops, 70; com-
position of force, 70; names,
71; Kruger's knowledge of Raid,
71; orders from Sir Hercules
Robinson to return, 71; orders
ignored, 71; Burghers preparing,
71; Sir Jacobus de Wet informs
Jameson of further order by
Governor to return, 72; forces
meet, many casualties, 72; posi-
tion hopeless and surrender, 72;
relations of the two races after the
Raid, 84; Schreiner's motion in
House condemning Raid, 88;

252 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

- Select Committee appointed, 88; petition for Dr. Jameson's release, my action, 89; Select Committee's Report, 90; findings as to start of Raid, 92; finance of, 93; mines and their owners and Companies connexion with Raid, 96; ammunition and rifles, 96; the Jameson letter, 98; preparations for inroad, 99, 100, 101, 102; date fixed for rising, 102; the sudden check, 103; telegram disclosures, 105; cutting of wires, 105; Committee finish detailed events leading up to inroad, 109; Committee's view as to knowledge of Raid by Colonial Government, 109; and as to officers in Government Service, 109; and as to Customs Dept., 109; as to guilt of De Beers, 110; as to guilt of B.S.A. Co., 110; Letter of Invitation, 109, 111; guilt of Rhodes, 112; hitch over flag, 113; telegram incident, 114; condemnation of Rhodes's action, 114; Dr. Jameson's responsibility with Rhodes, 114; Letter of Invitation, text, 115; signatories to Report, 115; my speech in the debate, 126; Member for Kimberley, 204
- Jarvis, Sir John, 1
Jarvis, Chief Justice Sir John, 1
Joubert, General, 72
Jones, C. T., 134
Joel, Woolf, 11
Juta, Henry, as Attorney-General, 41; elected Speaker, 86; defeat of, 146; our regret, 160; Sir Bisset Berry's letter of protest, 246
- Karro, 3
Kennedy, 71
Kekewich, General, 223
Kimberley, my visit to, 13
Kilpin, Sir Ernest, 19, 123
Kipling, Rudyard, in S. Africa, 61
Kitchener, 141; victory over Mahdi, 145; opinion of Milner, 212; allows me to leave for England, 221; regarding money grant, 232
King Edward, accession, 235; Coronation postponed, 240
"Kloof Road, The," 50, 51, 52, 53
Kruger, President, my meeting with, 14; offer to Rhodes to deal with rebellions, 120; death of, 225, 226
Krige, Gideon, Mr., 149, 153; attempted bribery and Committee of Privileges appointed, 153; reference to case by Rhodes, 157
- Laing, Commissioner of Public Works, 34
Langeberg, 120
Lawrence, Mr. Justice, 146
Lansdowne, Marquis of, 172
Labouchere, Mr., 234
Laurier, Sir Wilfred, 238; regarding Imperial Conference and my plan, 238; proceedings as to suspension of S. African Constitution, 243
Lesseps, M. de, 9
Legislative Council, 14
Lewis, Mr. Charles, 16
Lerethodi, Paramount Chief of Basutoland, 55
Leonard, Chas., 74, 98, 113
Letter of Invitation, text of, 115
Leonard, J. W., 119
Levy, Mr., 208
Leipholdt, Dr., 216
Lindsell, 71
Liberal Imperialists, 234
Loch, Sir Henry, 18, 28; visits Kruger, 46; flag incident, 46; debate in House, 46; extracts from speeches, 46, 47; retires to England, 57
Logan Contract, 33; condemned by Committee, 39
Loyal League, 124; address to Governor, 124
Luttigs, Jan, 54
Lynch, Tom, 37
- Majuba, 11
Mackay, John, 43
Masters and Servants Act, Rhodes's support, 48
Malmani, 70, 71
Marchand, Rev., 80
Mashonaland rising, 120
Matabeleland rising, 120
Marais, J. H., 167
Marais, J. S., 245
Malmesbury, 202
Marks, Sammy, 226, 228
Massingham, H. W., 233
Malan, F. S., 245
Member of Parliament, elected for Namaqualand, 16; took my seat, 17; Merriman and I leave our old Constituency, 132
Merriman, John X., my meeting with, 14; telegram from, asking me to stand for Namaqualand, 16; signed roll in introducing me to House, 17; refusal to recognize Logan Contract, 34; we leave our

- old constituency, Namaqualand, 132; Member of new Cabinet, Oct., 1898, 147; reply to Rhodes's attacks, 158; speech at Sir Thos. Uppington's funeral, 161; Amnesty Minute, 201; leader of our Party and leader of the Opposition, 204; treatment by Milner, 205; Merriman letter, motion in House, 206; traces history of theft of De Wet letter, 208; regarding espionage, 209; motion in House on Suspension of Constitution, 246
- Memorandum, my, 182
- Military Seminary at Addiscombe, 1
- Milner, Alfred, Sir, succeeds Lord Rosmead as Governor, 124; address from Loyal League, 125; opens session, 129; again opens session, 146; constantly insulting the Dutch, 163; connexion with Chamberlain, 165; return to S. Africa after conferences with Chamberlain, 168; correspondence with Kruger more menacing, 168; Bloemfontein Conference, 169; Press account of my interview, 173; our Party ignored and snubbed by, 173; his friends, 174; presented petition, 174; propagandist reply to Chamberlain, 176; reason for making me the repository of his confidences, 176; letter from Mr. Chamberlain regarding Mr. Percy Molteno's communication to "Daily Chronicle," 181; my memorandum, 182; commencement of despatch, 186; reply to Mr. Chamberlain's despatch, 186; my reply to "Cape Times" letter from Governor, 187; explanation of words he used at interview with me, 189; view of causes of the war, 192; Mr. Chamberlain's reply to despatch, 193; Proclamation to Cape Colonists at outbreak of war, 200; causes crisis in Government over war policy of the Crown, 200; Amnesty Minute, 200; open hostility to Cape Colony, 201; new Sprigg Ministry, 203; disliked for his methods, 205; against Merriman, 205; Merriman correspondence episode, 206; use of Martial Law against political opponents, 211; prevents me leaving for England, 211; offensive against political rights of the Cape Colony, 217; Ministry at the time, 219; another petition concocted, 220; Governor of Transvaal, 221; further as to my visit to England being prevented, 221; regarding money grant, 232; and the Progressive Party, 236; Suspension of Constitution, Chamberlain repudiates his policy, 242, 243; refusal to accept defeat, 244; offers Chief Justiceship of Transvaal to Sir James Rose-Innes, 245; Sir Bisset Berry's letter of protest, 246; Mr. Merriman's motion on suspension question carried, 247
- Ministry, sixth, under responsible Government, 19
- Ministry of all the Talents, 20; end of, 34
- Mills, Sir Chas., 59; birth and career, 60; Dr. Montagu Butler's opinion of, 60; position in society, 60
- Montgomery, Colonel, 6
- Molteno, Percy A. (my brother), 8, 175, 181, 186; Barkly (my brother), 8, 167; Charles (my brother), 62, 168; Sir J. C. Molteno (my father), 2, 3, 5, 6
- Moshesh, Chief Councillor of Basutoland, 56
- Montsioa, 73
- Muizenberg, 21
- "Mushrooms, The," Literary Society at Cambridge, 66
- Namaqualand, invitation to stand, 16; elected M.P. for, 1890, 16; again stand for, 41; Merriman and I leave our old constituency, 132
- Napoleon, 1
- Natives, and Rhodes, 48; opinion of, 48, 49; unrest owing to Raid, 120, 121
- Neethling, 128
- New Thought, 31
- Newton, Francis, 74; party to Rhodes Conspiracy, 75
- Noble, John, 19, 45, 123, 124
- Ogilvie, Canon, education under, 3
- Olivier Gert, 160
- "Ons Land," 38; Mr. Merriman and myself attacked by, 42; support of Jutta, 160
- Opposition, join the, 39
- O'Reilly, 22
- Orange Free State, 168
- Oudtshoorn, 146, 160
- Paris, stay in, 9
- Parliament Houses, 14

254 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

- Parliament, change from the old type, 54
- Palmer, 136
- Percy (my brother), 8; my Memorandum on S. African affairs, 175; Mr. Chamberlain's letter, 181; my brother's letter to "Daily Chronicle," 181; my memorandum, 182, 186
- Petition to H.M. The Queen, 178
- Pentland, Lord, meeting with, as Captain Sinclair, 232
- Phylloxera, 14
- Philips, Lionel, 174
- Pitsani, 70; Dr. Jameson establishes himself at, 73
- Pienaar, Rev., 80
- Pickering, Mr., 96
- Piquetberg, 159
- Poland, Sir Harry, Q.C., 9
- Powell, Sir George Baden, 11
- Pondoland, tribal fighting, 18; annexation agreed to, 46; active annexation accomplished, 55; discussion with King and Chiefs at Wynberg, 56; treatment of Chief Sigcau, 56; rising, 120
- Pokwane, 120, 139
- Port Elizabeth and Cape Town railway lines joined, 7
- Queen Victoria, 120; we petition H.M. the Queen, 173; Sub-Committee appointed, names, 173; text of petition, 179
- Race war, 4
- Railway policy of my father consummated, 7
- Railway to Bloemfontein opened, 18; Vryburg, 18; Simonstown, 18
- Railway Administration, and the Logan Contract, 33, 34
- Radziwill, Princess, 223
- Rand magnates, 75
- Return, my, to S. Africa in 1889, 10
- Review of policy and public affairs at time of advent of new Rhodes Ministry, 1889, 17, 18
- Reitz, Frank, late President of Orange Free State, 40
- Reid, Sir Robert, regarding my memorandum, 175; meeting with, 231, 233; friend of S. Africa, 235
- Rey, la, De, 234
- Rhodes, Cecil, 11, 12; first Ministry, 15, 21, 22, 23; myself a supporter of, 17; first impressions of, 21, 22; admiration for, 24; influence and power, 25; policy in regard to the Hinterland and lines of argument, 30; and the University, 31; second Ministry, his choice which proved his downfall, 32; and the Logan Contract, 33, 34, 35; composition of second ministry, 35; visit to "Groot Schur" and discussion on Logan Contract crisis, 35; his altered character, 35, 36; second Ministry, composition of ninth Parliament, 43; support of Masters and Servants Act, use of lash, etc., 48; policy towards natives, 48; dangerous to interests of the community, 49; last speech in House as Prime Minister, 59; Liberal Government advise the Queen to promote to Privy Council, 61; resignation after Raid, 67; confession of guilt in Raid, 68; parting with Hofmeyr, 68; broke his promises at Kimberley, 68; what the Rhodes conspiracy was, 73; agreement to promote rising, 74; factors of the conspiracy, 74; what chief parties agreed to accomplish, 75; the flotation, 76; Flora Shaw, 76; "The Fatal Letter," 77; date of flotation, 77; Poor White Question, 79; Select Committee's report on his part in Raid, 110; his guilt, 112; condemnation by Select Committee, 114; refusal of Kruger's offer of help to suppress Mashona and Matabele Rebellions, 121; agreement with Chamberlain to make war on Transvaal, 121; "Drifts Question," 121; vote against Du Toit's motion, 123; evidence before House of Commons Committee on Raid, 123; votes against "No Confidence" Motion, 123; Bechuanaland Natives' Reserves Bill, 123; excused by Sprigg to Chamberlain, 126; the real leader not Sprigg, 127; enters greatest political contest, 128; leader of Progressive Party, 131; starts new Kafr paper, 132; mistake to leave him in power in interim, 134; paints me black, 135; his methods at Vryburg election, 140; dine with him at Vryburg Station, 140; offer of a compromise over elections, 141; statement to me regarding British Government's offer to clear up S. African matters after settlement in Egypt, 141; victory over the Mahdi, 145; action after defeat at elections,

- 149; speech on the new situation, 150; and seats re-distribution, 150; charged Schreiner with Krugerism, 151; attack on members of the new Ministry, 151; champions my cause, 152; his one over-ruling passion, 155; assertion of the glory of breaking laws, 156; reference to Stellenbosch election case, 157; nearly unseated for Barkly West, guilty of libel, 159; pall-bearer at Sir Thos. Upington's funeral, 161; Great Pan-Afrikaner Conspiracy, 166; offensive against the political rights of the Cape Colony, 217, 223; release from the Siege of Kimberley and quarrels with General Kekewich, 223; death of, 224
- Rhodesia, general policy of Ninth Rhodes Parliament, 45
- Rhodes, Frank, Colonel, 69, 70
- Rimington, General, 8
- Ripon, Marquis of, re-appoints Sir Hercules Robinson Governor, 57; criticism by Mr. Chamberlain, 57
- Rinderpest, 121, 129
- Robinson, Sir Hercules, 7, 10, 11; statement as to there being no place for direct Imperial Rule in S. Africa, 17; resolution as to above, 18; re-appointed Governor, 57; criticism by Mr. Chamberlain, 57; welcome to, 58; Hofmeyr's advice at time of Raid, 63; resolution in House against recall, 87; made a peer, 87; now Lord Rosmead, 120; unable to open Parliament, 120; his retirement and departure, 121; Vote of Recognition in House, 121; cables from Chamberlain on his retirement, 122; vote of sorrow and regret on death of, 131
- Rondesbosch, Diocesan College, 3
- Royal Montgomeryshire Militia, 1
- Rose-Innes, Sir James, 19, 28; the Logan Contract, 33; refusal to recognize Logan Contract, 34; Attorney-General, 203; support of Sir Gordon Sprigg regarding Merriman correspondence, 210; deserts the Ship of State, 245; offered Chief Justiceship of Transvaal by Milner, 245
- Roex, Le, Abraham Stephanus, 50; support of Rhodes, 51; "The Kloof Road," 52
- Robertson, Mr. J. M., 241
- Roberts, Mr. Bryn, 241
- Sauer, Mr., signed roll in introducing me to the House, 17; refused to recognize Logan Contract, 34; Member of new Cabinet, Oct., 1898, 147; refutes Rhodes's Statements, 152; Amnesty Minute, 201; welding our party, 204
- Salisbury, Lord, 171, 172
- Schoeman, 146, 160
- Schreiner, Mr., Attorney-General, 34; and position in second Rhodes Ministry, 39; resignation of Attorney-Generalship, 41; re-appointment, 41; Member for Barkly West, 43; strength to the Ministry, 55; evidence before Committee of House of Commons on Jameson Raid, 123; No Confidence Motion, 130; motion carried and defeat of Rhodes Party, 131; new Cabinet, member of, 147; speech on Peace in S. Africa on the adjournment, Oct. 12, 1899, 170; Amnesty Minute, 201; supported Government of Sprigg, 203; Treason and Indemnity Act, 215
- Schreiner, Olive, my meeting with, 14; estimate of Rhodes's character, 40
- Schermbrucker, 22, 23
- Scanlen, Sir Thomas, my father and his Ministry, 1881-82, 3, 5; succeeded by Mr. van Heerden as Member for Cradock, 129
- Scab Bill, agreed to, 46, 47
- Seven Circles Bill, 4
- Secoceni, war with, 4
- Seeley, Sir John, 217
- Searle, Chas., Mr., 173; supported Sprigg Government, 203
- Selborne, Lord, 247
- Shoreham, 1
- Simons Bay, 167
- Sigcau, Chief of Basutoland, 56, 156
- Sivewright, 19, 28; the Logan Contract, 33, 34; Minister for Railways, 86; during my fight for Somerset East, 135; unseated on petition, 145; my part in same, 167
- Simonstown, railway to, opened, 18
- Simpson, Captain, 64
- Slaghtersnek, 134
- Smuts, Jan, 233
- Smith, Kincaid, 71
- Smardt, Dr. T. W., 43, 131, 133, 203; and Progressive Party under Martial Law, 244; ardent follower of Milner, 245; Sir Bisset Berry's letter of protest, 246

256 THE DOMINION OF AFRIKANDERDOM

- Smyth, Sir Leicester, 6
 Somerset, Lord Charles, 2
 Somerset East, Abrahamson, Member for, 43; I stand as candidate for, 133; course of the election, 135; election, mistake in count, 136; myself elected, 136; our victory fatal to Sprigg Government and Rhodes's plan, 138; election petition, 144; Rhodes champions my cause, 152
 Solomon, Richard, 44, 118, 133; withdraws as candidate for Somerset East, 133; Member of new Cabinet, Oct., 1898, 147; draws up Amnesty Minute, 201; supported Sprigg Government, 203
 South African League, 124, 173
 Sprigg, Sir Gordon, as Premier, 13; Ministry, fall (1890), 15; Leader of Opposition, 29; Treasurer, 34; experienced in administration, 45; remarks about Rhodes's Dutch friends, 58; new Ministry, 1896, 86; attends Jubilee, 123; makes light of Rhodes's offences, 126; his Ministry defeated, 129; introduces Better Representation of the People Bill, 130; promise of Inquiry into Martial Law broken, 165; Milner requests form new Ministry, 203; endeavour to stop House from discussing Milner and Chamberlain's action over Merriman correspondence, 210; as to the Suspension of the Constitution, 236; my interview regarding this in London, 237; explain my plan, 237; speech at Imperial Conference, 244; Prime Minister after the war, 245; Mr. Merriman's motion supporting action in regard to Suspension Question, 246
 Speaker of House, approached to submit my name, 146
 Steyn, President, 168, 190, 191, 206, 207
 Stracey, 71
 Stevens, J. A., 92, 96
 St. Leger, Fredk. York, 22, 65, 128
 St. Vincent, Earl of, 1
 State Church, 4
 Swaziland, negotiations dealing with, 18, 28
 Tamplin, 23
 Tarkastad, 133
 Taungs, 139
 Tennant, Sir David, 19, 29; re-elected Speaker, 44; last session, 59
 Tembuled, Charles, my brother, Member for, 62
 Tennant, Hercules, 143
 "Thought," 30
 Thompson, Matabele, 43
 Theron, Secretary of Bond, 44
 "The Kloof Road," 50; Le Roex's connexion, 51; extracts from speeches on, 52; debate on, 53; vote on, 53
 "Times, The," The Rhodes Conspiracy, 76; agitation for Sir H. Robinson's recall, 86; we cable protest to England, 86; resolution in House against recall, 87
 Toit, Du, Rev. S. J., 82, 132
 Toit, Du, P. J., 122; proposed motion on Peace in S. Africa, 122
 Tokai, 219
 Trinity College, Cambridge, my life at, 8, 9
 Transvaal Question, 121
 Treason and Indemnity Act, 215; devote myself to those charged, 215
 Uitenhage, 43, 133
 "Uitlander" Bondsmen, 44
 Umquikela, death of, 18
 University of Cape of Good Hope, my studies at, 6
 Union Day, 213
 Upington, Sir Thomas, 29, 86, 130; resignation and death, 130; attend his funeral, 161
 Vanes, Dr., 43
 Vereeniging, 213
 Victor, my brother, 8
 Villiers, Hyde, 71
 Vryburg, railway to, opened, 18; took charge at election, 139; election petition against candidates, 140; appeal to Courts over elections, 150
 War, 198; position of Cape Government at outbreak, 198; loyalty of Cape Afrikanders, 199; Milner's proclamation to Cape Colonists, 200; crisis in Government, 200; Amnesty Minute, 200; Cabinet divided, 201; war and rebellion session, 204; end of, 213; Peace proclaimed during my visit to England, 231; composition of first Ministry after, 245
 Warren, Sir Charles, 10
 Water, Dr. Te, 43, 86, 131, 147; Amnesty Minute, 201; in London, 241

INDEX

257

- Waal, de D. C., 140, 159; supported Sprigg Government, 203**
Walrond, O., correspondence regarding my memorandum, 187
Walta, van der Ignaas, 54
Weebers, Pieter, 54
Wet, Sir Jacobus de, 64, 72
Wet, Mr. De, 207; vs Merriman letter, 207
Wet, de, General Christian, 214, 234
Weiner, 123
Weasels, Daniel, 203
White, The Hon. Henry, Colonel, 70
White, Robert, 71
Witwatersrand Goldfields, 12
- Willoughby, Sir John, Colonel, 70, 72**
Williams, Gardner, 76, 96
Wienand, 133, 138
Witmos, 134
Williams, Basil, 155; sketch of Rhodes, 155
Wolseley, Sir Garnet, and my father, 5
Wodehouse, 43, 133
Wolff, Dr., 69, 70, 94, 99
"Zuid Afrikaan," 38
Zulu War, 4
Zyl, Van, H. J., 233

*Printed in Great Britain by
Butler & Tanner,
Frome and London*

A FEW OF
MESSRS. METHUEN'S
PUBLICATIONS

- Armstrong (Warwick W.). THE ART OF CRICKET.**
Second Edition. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- Atkinson (T. D.). ENGLISH ARCHITECTURE.**
 Illustrated. *Sixth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 3s. net.
- Bain (F. W.).—**
 IN THE GREAT GOD'S HAIR (*Second Edition*); A DRAUGHT OF THE BLUE (*Second Edition*); AN INCARNATION OF THE SNOW (*Fourth Edition*); A MINE OF FAULTS (*Fifth Edition*); A DIGIT OF THE MOON (*Fourteenth Edition*); THE LIVERY OF EVE (*Third Edition*); A HEIFER OF THE DAWN (*Eleventh Edition*); AN ESSENCE OF THE DUXE (*Fifth Edition*); THE DESCENT OF THE SUN (*Ninth Edition*); THE ASHES OF A GOD (*Third Edition*); BUBBLES OF THE FOAM (*Third Edition*); A SYRUP OF THE BEES (*Second Edition*); THE SUBSTANCE OF A DREAM (*Second Edition*). Fcap. 8vo, 3s. net each. AN ECHO OF THE SPHERES. Wide Demy, 10s. 6d. net.
- Baker (C. H. Collins). CROME.** Illustrated. Quarto, 1s 3s. net.
- Bateman (H. M.).**
 A BOOK OF DRAWINGS. *Fifth Edition.* Royal 4to, 10s. 6d. net. SUBURRIA, Demy 4to, 6s. net. MORE DRAWINGS. *Second Edition.* Royal 4to, 10s. 6d. net.
- Beckford (Peter). THOUGHTS ON HUNTING.** In a series of Familiar Letters to a Friend. With an Introduction and Notes by J. OTTAW PAGET. Illustrated. *Fifth Edition.* Demy 8vo, 6s. net.
- Belloc (H.).—**
 PARIS. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 8s. 6d. net. HILLS AND THE SEA. *Thirteenth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. Also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net. ON NOTHING. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. Also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net. ON EVERYTHING. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. Also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net. ON SOMETHING. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. Also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net. FIRST AND LAST. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. THIS AND THAT AND THE OTHER. *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net.
- Braid (James), Open Champion, 1901, 1905, 1906, 1908, and 1910. ADVANCED GOLF.** Illustrated. *Eleventh Edition.* Demy 8vo, 14s. net.
- Chandler (Arthur), D.D., late Lord Bishop of Bloemfontein.**
 ANA CULI; An Essay in Mystical Theology. *Eighth Edition.* 3s. net. FAITH AND EXPERIENCE. *Third Edition.* 3s. net. THE CULT OF THE PASSING MOMENT. *Fifth Edition.* 6s. net. THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND RE-UNION. 3s. net. SCALA MUNDI. 4s. 6d. net.
- Chesterton (G. K.).—**
 THE BALLAD OF THE WHITE HORSE. *Sixth Edition.* 6s. net. ALL THINGS CONSIDERED. *Fourteenth Edition.* 6s. net; also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net. TREMBLING TRIPLES. *Sixth Edition.* 6s. net; also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net. ALARMS AND DISCURSIONS. *Second Edition.* 6s. net. A MISCELLANY OF MEN. *Third Edition.* 6s. net. THE USES OF DIVERSITY. 6s. net. WINE, WATER, AND SONG. *Twelfth Edition.* 2s. 6d. net.
- Clouston (Sir T. S.). THE HYGIENE OF MIND.**
 Illustrated. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.

2 MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS

Clutton-Broek (A.)—

THOUGHTS ON THE WAR, 1s. 6d. net; WHAT IS THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN? 3s. net; ESSAYS ON ART, 5s. net; ESSAYS ON BOOKS, 6s. net; MORE ESSAYS ON BOOKS, 6s. net.

Conrad (Joseph). THE MIRROR OF THE SEA: MEMORIES AND IMPRESSIONS. *Fourth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net; also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net.

Dickinson (G. Lowes). THE GREEK VIEW OF LIFE. *Fourteenth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

Dobson (J. F.). THE GREEK ORATORS. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

Drever (James). THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EVERYDAY LIFE. *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDUSTRY. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

Einstein (A.). RELATIVITY: THE SPECIAL AND THE GENERAL THEORY. *Seventh Edition.* Crown 8vo, 5s. net. SIDELIGHTS ON RELATIVITY. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

THE MEANING OF RELATIVITY. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

Other Books on the Einstein Theory.

SPACE—TIME—MATTER. By HERMANN WEYL. Demy 8vo, 18s. net.

EINSTEIN THE SEARCHER: HIS WORK EXPLAINED IN DIALOGUES WITH EINSTEIN. By ALEXANDER MOSKOWSKI. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF RELATIVITY. By LYNDON BOLTOX, M.A. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

RELATIVITY AND GRAVITATION. By various Writers. Edited by J. MALCOLM BIRD. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

RELATIVITY AND THE UNIVERSE. By HARRY SCHMIDT. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

THE IDEAS OF EINSTEIN'S THEORY. By J. H. THIRRING, Ph.D. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo, 5s. net.

Evans (Lady). LUSTRE POTTERY. With 24 Plates. Royal Quarto, £2 12s. 6d. net.

Fyleman (Rose). FAIRIES AND CHIMNEYS. *Fourteenth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

THE FAIRY GREEN. *Seventh Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

THE FAIRY FLUTE. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

THE RAINBOW CAT AND OTHER STORIES. Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. net.

Gibbins (H. de B.). THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. With 5 Maps and a Plan. *Twenty-seventh Edition.* Crown 8vo, 5s.

Gibbon (Edward). THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Edited, with Notes, Appendices, and Maps, by J. B. BURY. Illustrated. Seven Volumes. Demy 8vo, each 12s. 6d. net. Also Seven Volumes. Unillustrated. Crown 8vo, each 7s. 6d. net.

- Glover (T. R.).** THE CONFLICT OF RELIGIONS IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE. *Ninth Edition.* Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION AND ITS VERIFICATION.** *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- POETS AND PURITANS.** *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- VIRGIL.** *Fourth Edition.* Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- FROM PERICLES TO PHILIP.** *Third Edition.* Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- Grahame (Kenneth).** Author of "The Golden Age." **THE WIND IN THE WILLOWS.** With a Frontispiece by GRAHAM ROBERTSON. *Twelfth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. *Illustrated Edition.* With drawings in colour and line, by NANCY BARNHART. Small 4to, 10s. 6d. net.
- Hall (H. R.).** THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NEAR EAST FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS. *Illustrated.* *Fifth Edition.* Demy 8vo, £1 1s. net.
- Herbert (A. P.).** THE WHEREFORE AND THE WHY. NEW RHYMES FOR OLD CHILDREN. *Illustrated by GEORGE MORROW.* Fcap. 4to, 3s. 6d. net.
- "TINKER, TAILOR . . ."** A Child's Guide to the Professions. *Illustrated by GEORGE MORROW.* Fcap. 4to, 3s. 6d. net.
- LIGHT ARTICLES ONLY.** *Illustrated by GEORGE MORROW.* *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- Holdsworth (W. S.).** A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. Vols. I., II., III. Each *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo, each £1 3s. net.
- Hutton (Edward)—**
 THE CITIES OF UMBRIA (*Fifth Edition*); THE CITIES OF LOMBARDY; THE CITIES OF ROMAGNA AND THE MARCHES; FLORENCE AND NORTHERN TUSCANY, WITH GENOA (*Third Edition*); SIENA AND SOUTHERN TUSCANY (*Second Edition*); VENICE AND VENETIA; THE CITIES OF SPAIN (*Fifth Edition*); NAPLES AND SOUTHERN ITALY. *Illustrated.* Crown 8vo. Each 8s. 6d. net. ROME (*Fourth Edition*), 6s. net.
- Inge (W. R.).** CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM. (The Bampton Lectures for 1899). *Fifth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- Jenks (E.).** A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLISH LAW. *Second Edition.* Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.
- Julian (Lady),** Anchorites at Norwich, A.D., 1373. REVELATIONS OF DIVINE LOVE. A Version from the MS. in the British Museum. Edited by GRACE WARRACK. *Seventh Edition.* Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- Kidd (Benjamin).** THE SCIENCE OF POWER. *Ninth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- SOCIAL EVOLUTION.** A New Ed. Demy 8vo, 8s. 6d. net.
- A PHILOSOPHER WITH NATURE.** *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- Kipling (Rudyard).** BARRACK-ROOM BALLADS. *228th Thousand.* *Fifty-fifth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net; leather 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. Two Volumes, Square Fcap. 8vo. Each 3s. net.

4 MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS

THE SEVEN SEAS. 161st *Thousand*. *Thirty-fourth Edition*. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. Two Volumes. Square Fcap. 8vo. Each 3s. net.

THE FIVE NATIONS. 129th *Thousand*. *Twenty-third Edition*. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. Two volumes. Square Fcap. 8vo. Each 3s. net.

DEPARTMENTAL DITTIES. 102nd *Thousand*. *Thirty-fourth Edition*. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo. 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. Two Volumes Square Fcap. 8vo. Each 3s. net.

THE YEARS BETWEEN. 95th *Thousand*. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net; leather, 7s. 6d. net. Also a Service Edition. Two Volumes. Square Fcap. 8vo. Each 3s. net.

TWENTY POEMS FROM RUDYARD KIPLING. Fcap. 8vo, 1s. net.

A KIPLING ANTHOLOGY—VERSE: Selected from the Poetry of RUDYARD KIPLING. *Third Edition*. Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. Leather, 7s. 6d. net.

Lamb (Charles and Mary). THE COMPLETE WORKS. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. A New and Revised Edition in Six Volumes. With Frontispiece. Fcap. 8vo. Each 6s. net.

The Volumes are:—

I. MISCELLANEOUS PROSE. II. ELIA AND THE LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA. III. BOOKS FOR CHILDREN. IV. PLAYS AND POEMS. V. and VI. LETTERS.

Lankester (Sir Ray). SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR. First Series. Illustrated. *Fifteenth Edition*. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net.

SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR. Second Series. Illustrated. *Third Edition*. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net. Also as MORE SCIENCE FROM AN EASY CHAIR. Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net.

DIVERSIONS OF A NATURALIST. Illustrated. *Third Edition*. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

SECRETS OF EARTH AND SEA. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 8s. 6d. net.

Lescarboursa (A. C.). RADIO FOR EVERYBODY. Edited by R. L. SMITH-ROSE, M.Sc. Illustrated. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

Lodge (Sir Oliver)—

MAN AND THE UNIVERSE, Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net; also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net; THE SURVIVAL OF MAN; A Study in Unrecognised Human Faculty, Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net; also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net; REASON AND BELIEF, 2s. net; THE SUBSTANCE OF FAITH, 2s. net; RAYMOND REVISED, 6s. net.

LUCAS (E. V.)—

THE LIFE OF CHARLES LAMB, two volumes, Fcap. 8vo, 21s. net;
EDWIN AUSTIN ABBEY, R.A., 2 vols., 16 6s. net; **WANDERER OF DELFT**,
 Fcap. 8vo, 10s. 6d. net; **A WANDERER IN HOLLAND**, 10s. 6d. net; **A**
WANDERER IN LONDON, 10s. 6d. net; **LONDON REVIVIED**, 10s. 6d. net;
A WANDERER IN PARIS, Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d. net; also Fcap. 8vo, 6s.
 net; **A WANDERER IN FLORENCE**, 10s. 6d. net; **A WANDERER**
IN VENICE, 10s. 6d. net; **THE OPEN ROAD: A Little Book for**
Wayfarers, Fcap. 8vo, 6s. 6d. net; **THE FRIENDLY TOWNS: A Little**
Book for the Urbane, 6s. net; **FIRESIDE AND SUNSHINE**, 6s. net;
CHARACTER AND COMEDY, 6s. net; **THE GENTLEST ART: A CHOICE**
of Letters by Entertaining Men, 6s. 6d. net; **THE SECOND POST**,
 6s. net; **HIS LIVES IN VARIETY: A Feminine Portrait Gallery**,
 6s. net; **GOOD COMPANY: A Rally of Men**, 6s. net; **ONE DAY AND**
ANOTHER, 6s. net; **OLD LAMPS FOR NEW**, 6s. net; **LOTTERER'S**
HARVEST, 6s. net; **CLOUD AND SILVER**, 6s. net; **A BOSWELL OF**
BAGHDAD AND OTHER ESSAYS, 6s. net; **TWENTY EAGLE AND DOVE**,
 6s. net; **THE PHANTOM JOURNAL, AND OTHER ESSAYS AND**
DIVERSIONS, 6s. net; **GIVING AND RECEIVING**, 6s. net; **SPECIALLY**
SELECTED: A CHOICE of Essays, illustrated by G. L. STAMPA,
 7s. 6d. net; **URBANITIES**, illustrated by G. L. STAMPA, 7s. 6d. net;
YOU KNOW WHAT PEOPLE ARE, illustrated by GEORGE MORROW,
 7s. net; **THE BRITISH SCHOOL: An Anecdotal Guide to the British**
Painters and Paintings in the National Gallery, 6s. net; **ROVING**
EAST AND ROVING WEST: Notes gathered in India, Japan, and
America, 3s. net.

• **McDougall (William). AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** *Sixteenth Edition.* Cr. 8vo, 8s. 6d. net.

BODY AND MIND: A HISTORY AND A DEFENCE OF ANIMISM. With Diagrams. *Fifth Edition.* Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

Maeterlinck (Maurice)

THE BLUE BIRD: A Fairy Play in Six Acts, 6s. net and 2s. net.
THE BETROTHAL, Fcap. 6s. net, paper 3s. 6d. net; **MARY**
MAGDALENE, 3s. net and 2s. net; **DEATH**, 3s. 6d. net; **OUR**
ETERNITY, 6s. net; **THE UNKNOWN GUEST**, 6s. net; **THE WRACK OF**
THE SPOON, 6s. net; **THE MIRACLE OF SAINT ANTHONY: A Play**
in One Act, 3s. 6d. net; **THE BURGOMASTER OF STILEMORDE: A**
Play in Three Acts, 3s. net; **MOUNTAIN PATHS**, 6s. net; **TVILTE**,
 Told for Children (illustrated), 21s. net. (The above books are
 translated by A. TRISTEIRA DE MATOS.) **POEMS**, 3s. net. (Done
 into English by BERNARD MIALL.)

THE GREAT SECRET. (Translated by BERNARD MIALL), 7s. 6d. net.

Methuen (A.). AN ANTHOLOGY OF MODERN VERSE. With Introduction by ROBERT LYND. *Eleventh Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. Thin paper, leather, 7s. 6d. net.

SHAKESPEARE TO HARDY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE. Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net. Leather, 7s. 6d. net.

Milne (A. A.). NOT THAT IT MATTERS. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net.

IF I MAY. *Third Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net.

THE SUNNY SIDE. Crown 8vo, 6s. net.

Norwood (Gilbert). GREEK TRAGEDY. Demy 8vo, 12s. 6d. net.

6 MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS

- Oxenham (John).** Nine Volumes of Poems. Small pott 8vo, 2s. 3d. net each volume.
 BEES IN AMBER. 2s. net. ALL'S WELL; THE KING'S HIGH WAY; THE VISION SPLENDID; THE FERRY CROSS; HEARTS COURAGEOUS; HIGH ALTARS; ALL CLEAR! GENTLEMEN—THE KING! 2s. net.
- Petrie (W. M. Flinders).** A HISTORY OF EGYPT. Illustrated. Six Volumes. Crown 8vo, each 9s. net.
 I. FROM THE 1ST TO XVIth DYNASTY. *Ninth Edition.* (2s. net). II. THE XVIIth AND XVIIIth DYNASTIES. *Sixth Edition.* III. XIXth TO XXXth DYNASTIES. *Second Edition.* IV. EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY. J. P. MARAFFY. *Second Edition.* V. EGYPT UNDER ROMAN RULE. J. G. MILNE. *Second Edition.* VI. EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES. STANLEY LANE-POOLE. *Second Edition.*
- Pollard (A. F.).** A SHORT HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR. With 19 Maps. *Second Edition.* Crown 8vo, 10s. 6d. net.
- Pollitt (Arthur W.).** THE JOYMENT OF MUSIC. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- Rees (J. F.).** A SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. 1813-1918. Crown 8vo, 5s. net.
- Smith (S. C. Kaines).** LOOKING AT PICTURES. Illustrated. Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net.
- Staneliffe.** GOLF DO'S AND DON'TS. Being a very little about a good deal; together with some new saws for old wood—and knots in the golfer's line which may help a good memory for forgetting. *Ninth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.
- QUICK CUTS TO GOOD GOLF.** *Second Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.
- Stevenson (R. L.).** THE LETTERS OF ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON TO HIS FAMILY AND FRIENDS. Selected and Edited by SIR SIDNEY COLVIN. Four Volumes. *Fifth Edition.* Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net each.
- Tilden (W. T.).** THE ART OF LAWN TENNIS. Illustrated. *Fourth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 6s. net.
- LAWN TENNIS FOR YOUNG PLAYERS: LAWN TENNIS FOR CLUB PLAYERS: LAWN TENNIS FOR MATCH PLAYERS.** Each Fcap. 8vo, 2s. 6d. net.
- Tileston (Mary W.).** DAILY STRENGTH FOR DAILY NEEDS. *Twenty-seventh Edition.* Medium 16mo, 3s. 6d. net.
- Turner (W. J.).** MUSIC AND LIFE. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- Underhill (Evelyn).** MYSTICISM. A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness. *Eighth Edition.* Demy 8vo, 15s. net.
- THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT AND THE LIFE OF TO-DAY.** *Third Edition.* Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.
- Vardon (Harry).** HOW TO PLAY GOLF. Illustrated. *Fifteenth Edition.* Crown 8vo, 5s. 6d. net.
- Waterhouse (Elizabeth).** A LITTLE BOOK OF LIFE AND DEATH. Selected and Arranged. *Twenty-first Edition.* Small Pott 8vo, cloth, 2s. 6d. net; paper, 1s. 6d.

MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS 7

Wilde (Oscar). THE WORKS OF OSCAR WILDE. Fifteen Volumes. Fcap. 8vo, each 6s. 6d. net. Some also Fcap. 8vo, 2s. net.

I. LORD ARTHUR SAVILE'S CRIME AND THE PORTRAIT OF MR. W. H. II. THE DUCHESS OF PADUA. III. POEMS. IV. LADY WINDERMERE'S FAN. V. A WOMAN OF NO IMPORTANCE. VI. AN IDEAL HUSBAND. VII. THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST. VIII. A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES. IX. INTENTIONS. X. DE PROFUNDIS AND PRISON LETTERS. XI. ESSAYS. XII. SALOME, A FLORENTINE TRAGEDY, AND LA SAINTE COURTSANE. XIII. A CRITIC IN FALL MALL. XIV. SELECTED PROSE OF OSCAR WILDE. XV. ART AND DECORATION.

A HOUSE OF POMEGRANATES. Illustrated. Crown 4to, 22s. net.

FOR LOVE OF THE KING: A Burmese Masque. Demy 8vo, 8s. 6d. net.

Wilding (Anthony F.), Lawn-Tennis Champion 1910-1911. ON THE COURT AND OFF. Illustrated. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo, 7s. 6d. net.

Young (G. Winthrop). MOUNTAIN CRAFT. Illustrated. Demy 8vo, 4s. 5s. net.

The Antiquary's Books

• Illustrated. Demy 8vo, 10s. 6d. net each volume

ANCIENT PAINTED GLASS IN ENGLAND; ARCHAEOLOGY AND FALSE ANTIQUITIES; THE BELLS OF ENGLAND; THE BRASSES OF ENGLAND; CELTIC ART IN PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN TIMES; CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS; THE DOMESDAY INQUEST; THE CASTLES AND WALLED TOWNS OF ENGLAND; ENGLISH CHURCH FURNITURE; ENGLISH COSTUME, from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century; ENGLISH MONASTIC LIFE; ENGLISH SEALS; FOLK-LORE AS AN HISTORICAL SCIENCE; THE GILDS AND COMPANIES OF LONDON; THE HERMITS AND ANCHORITES OF ENGLAND; THE MANOR AND MANORIAL RECORDS; THE MEDIEVAL HOSPITALS OF ENGLAND; OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC; OLD ENGLISH LIBRARIES; OLD SERVICE BOOKS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH; PARISH LIFE IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND; THE PARISH REGISTERS OF ENGLAND; REMAINS OF THE PREHISTORIC AGE IN ENGLAND; THE ROMAN ERA IN BRITAIN; ROMANO-BRITISH BUILDINGS AND EARTHWORKS; THE ROYAL FORESTS OF ENGLAND; THE SCHOOLS OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND; SHRINES OF BRITISH SAINTS.

The Arden Shakespeare

Demy 8vo, 6s. net each volume

An edition of Shakespeare in Single Plays. Edited with a full Introduction, Textual Notes, and a Commentary at the foot of the page. *Thirty-seven Volumes are now ready.*

Classics of Art

Edited by Dr. J. H. W. LAING

Illustrated. Wide Royal 8vo, from 15s. net to £3 3s. net.

THE ART OF THE GREEKS; THE ART OF THE ROMANS; CHARDIN; DONATELLO; GEORGE ROMNEY; GHIRLANDAIO; LAWRENCE; MICHELANGELO; RAFAEL; REMBRANDT'S ETCHINGS; REMBRANDT'S PAINTINGS; TINTORETTO; TITIAN; TURNER'S SKETCHES AND DRAWINGS; VELASQUEZ.

8 MESSRS. METHUEN'S PUBLICATIONS.

The "Complete" Series

Illustrated. Demy 8vo, from 5s. net to 18s. net

THE COMPLETE AIRMAN; THE COMPLETE AMATEUR BOXER; THE COMPLETE ASSOCIATION FOOTBALLER; THE COMPLETE ATHLETIC TRAINER; THE COMPLETE BILLIARD PLAYER; THE COMPLETE COOK; THE COMPLETE FOXHUNTER; THE COMPLETE GOLFER; THE COMPLETE HOCKEY PLAYER; THE COMPLETE HORSEMAN; THE COMPLETE JUJITSUAN (Crown 8vo); THE COMPLETE LAWN TENNIS PLAYER; THE COMPLETE MOTORIST; THE COMPLETE MOUNTAINEER; THE COMPLETE OARSMAN; THE COMPLETE PHOTOGRAPHER; THE COMPLETE RUGBY FOOTBALLER, ON THE NEW ZEALAND SYSTEM; THE COMPLETE SHOT; THE COMPLETE SWIMMER; THE COMPLETE YACHTSMAN.

The Connoisseur's Library

Illustrated. Wide Royal 8vo, 3ts. 6d. net

ENGLISH COLOURED BOOKS; ETCHINGS; EUROPEAN ENAMELS; FINE BOOKS; GLASS; GOLDSMITHS' AND SILVERSMITHS' WORK; ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS; IVORIES; JEWELLERY; MEZZOTINTS; MINIATURES; PORCELAIN; SEALS; WOOD SCULPTURE.

Eight Books by R. S. Surtees

With the original illustrations in colour by J. LEECH and others.

Fcap. 8vo, 6s. net and 7s. 6d. net.

ASK MAMMA; HANDLEY CROSS; HAWBUCK GRANGE; HILLINGDON HALL; JOEROCKS'S JAUNTS AND JOLLITIES; MR. SPONGE'S SPORTING TOUR; MR. FACBY ROMFORD'S HOUNDS; PLAIN OR RINGLETS?

Plays

Fcap. 8vo, 3s. 6d. net

KISMET; MILESTONES; TYPHOON; AN IDEAL HUSBAND; THE WARR CASE; GENERAL POST; THE GREAT ADVENTURE; THE HONEYMOON; ACROSS THE BORDER. (Crown 8vo.)

Fiction

Novels by RICHARD BAGOT, H. C. BAILEY, ARNOLD BENNETT, G. A. BIRMINGHAM, MARJORIE BOWEN, EDGAR RICE BURROUGHS, G. K. CHESTERTON, JOSEPH CONRAD, DOROTHY CONYERS, MARIE CORRELL, BEATRICE HARRADEN, R. S. HICKEYS, ANTHONY HOPE, W. W. JACOBS, E. V. LUCAS, STEPHEN MCKENNA, LUCAS MALET, A. E. W. MASON, E. B. MAXWELL, ARTHUR MORRISON, JOHN OXENHAM, SIR GILBERT PARKER, ALICE PRERIN, EDEN PHILLIPOTS, RICHARD PRYCE, "Q," W. PITT RIDGE, H. G. WELLS, and C. N. and A. M. WILLIAMSON.

A Complete List can be had on application.

Methuen's Two Shilling Series

This is a series of copyright books—fiction and general literature—which has been such a popular success. If you will obtain a list of the series you will see that it contains more books by distinguished writers than any other series of the same kind. You will find the volumes at all booksellers and on all railway bookstalls.