

TRANSVAAL.

---

PAPERS

RELATING TO

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES  
IN THE TRANSVAAL.

---

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.  
*April, 1905.*

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# TRANSVAAL.

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## PAPERS

RELATING TO

# CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES IN THE TRANSVAAL.

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No. 1.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

° (Received December 17, 1904.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, November 28, 1904.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, copies of newspaper cuttings on the subject of representative government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosures in No. 1.

(1.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," November 22, 1904.

To the Editor of the "Rand Daily Mail."

SIR,—As it is common knowledge that in the course of the next few months a measure of self-government will be granted to this Colony, it appears to us that the time has arrived for the formation of a political organisation of which we suggest the following should be the title and platform:—

TITLE.

The Transvaal Progressive Association.

PROGRAMME.

1. The maintenance of the British flag.
2. The immediate fulfilment of the promise contained in the King's speech of the 15th August last, by the establishment of representative government on liberal and fair lines, with a view to preparing the way for the grant at as early a date as expedient of the freest and fullest form of responsible government.
3. The recognition of the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges and their votes the same value.
4. A firm and just native and Asiatic policy in accordance with South African ideas.
5. The support of every measure that tends to make the Transvaal a white man's home.
6. The opposing of interference in the affairs of the Transvaal by party politicians elsewhere.

We therefore invite all white British subjects in the Transvaal, who are in sympathy with these principles, to send their names and addresses to Colonel J. Donaldson, of 4, African Banking Corporation Building, box 3308, Johannesburg, who has agreed to act as Honorary Secretary

pro. tem., so that a meeting may be called at an early date to decide upon a definite constitution, to appoint a committee, and to take such other steps as may be necessary to provide an effective organisation,—We are, &c.,

G. R. AIRTH.  
 BEN BRADLEY.  
 MARTIN BUDD.  
 T. BRITTEN.  
 J. M. BUCKLAND.  
 E. BRAYSHAW.  
 W. ST. JOHN CARR.  
 DRUMMOND CHAPLIN.  
 RICHARD CURRIE.  
 L. B. CHESTERTON.  
 W. DALRYMPLE.  
 T. DOUGLAS.  
 J. DONALDSON.  
 M. DODD.  
 F. C. DUMAT.  
 F. LIDDLE.  
 OTTO LENZ.  
 WM. LECK.  
 E. H. V. MELVILLE.  
 G. MITCHELL.  
 T. W. G. MOIR.  
 W. MCCALLUM.  
 W. MARTIN.  
 A. MACKIE NIVEN.  
 A. A. NOBLE.  
 A. Y. NIVEN.  
 G. H. O'MEARA.  
 J. E. ORR.  
 J. W. PHILIP.  
 T. A. R. PURCHASE.  
 JOHN J. PERRY.  
 J. S. PREDDY.  
 J. ROY.  
 H. A. ROGERS.  
 W. H. ROGERS.  
 E. P. RATHBONE.

S. B. DOWLING.  
 S. EVANS.  
 F. EMLEY.  
 ALEX. FORSYTH.  
 JAS. FERGUSSON.  
 GEO. GOCH.  
 W. W. GREATHEAD.  
 H. C. GAIN.  
 D. C. GREIG.  
 J. N. GREENLEES.  
 W. VAN HULSTEYN.  
 E. O. HUTCHINSON.  
 I. HAYMAN.  
 W. BEACHY HEAD.  
 E. HOPPER.  
 W. ROSS.  
 W. S. YOUNG RIDDELL.  
 GAVIN L. REID.  
 A. F. ROBINSON.  
 A. WOOLS-SAMPSON.  
 JAMES SHEPHERD.  
 E. J. SIEVWRIGHT.  
 W. STUART.  
 R. S. SCAGO.  
 G. A. STRETTON.  
 S. SYKES.  
 H. W. SOUTTER.  
 R. STRACHAN.  
 A. J. SHARWOOD.  
 C. F. TAINTON.  
 JAS. THOMPSON.  
 JAS. THOMAS.  
 S. THOMSON.  
 H. O. K. WEBBER.  
 SAM WEIL.  
 T. A. WHITE.

Johannesburg, November 21.

(2.)

"STAR," November 25, 1904.

TRANSVAAL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of "The Star."

SIR,—For the information of your readers and the public generally, I shall be glad if you will find space in your issue for the following:—

On Monday, the 14th instant, a meeting was held in the Board-room, Oceana Buildings, at which a number of gentlemen interested in the securing of immediate Responsible Government for the Transvaal were present. Among those who attended were Messrs. W. Kidger Tucker, C.M.G., H. de V. Steytler, P. W. Tracey, T. M. C. Nourse, T. M. Cullinan, C. A. Wentzel, W. S. Webber, P. Ross Frames, O. J. J. Van Wijk, George Kent, J. C. Kirkwood, A. Langebrink, &c. Mr. Tucker occupied the chair, and the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution to the following effect, viz.:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the time has arrived for Responsible Government."

On the following Friday, the 18th instant, a second meeting took place, when there were present: Messrs. W. K. Tucker, C. L. Andersson, T. M. C. Nourse, Edgar P. Rathbone, Fred W. Bell, A. Langebrink, P. W. Tracey, H. B. Papenfus, W. F. Savage, W. S. Webber, P. Ross Frames, W. H. Frost, F. W. Swift, C. Kleudgen, Henry Lindsay, C. A. Wentzel, O. J. J. van Wijk, T. M. Cullinan, David Dalgety, &c. Mr. Tucker again presided, and those present formed themselves into a provisional committee with power to add to their number, with the object of taking such steps as might be deemed advisable to secure Responsible Government. An executive committee, consisting of Messrs. Tucker, Cullinan, Nourse, Andersson and Lindsay, was also appointed, and I agreed to act as secretary.

The executive committee are now in communication with the various important centres in the Transvaal for the formation of local associations having for their aim the securing of Responsible Government.

On Tuesday last a further meeting was held, the following gentlemen being present: Messrs. Tucker, Cullinan, Kirkwood, Henry Adler, Langebrink, E. Hancock, Savage, R. G. Campbell Pitt, F. W. Bell, Rathbone, F. W. Swift, Richard Goldmann, W. S. Webber, T. M. C. Nourse, E. P. Solomon, D. Strachan, C. L. Andersson, H. de V. Steytler, C. Kleudgen, P. W. Tracey, &c., and at that meeting it was resolved that an association, to be called the "Transvaal Responsible Government Association," be constituted, having for its principal

object the obtaining of Responsible Government for this Colony, the qualification of membership being adhesion thereto. A sub-committee was also appointed to draw up a constitution and rules for submission to a future meeting of the Association.

Within the past few days, the executive committee, who at present consist of Messrs. Tucker, Nourse, Cullinan, Richard Goldmann, and Daniel Strachan, have been engaged in preparing a manifesto embodying the views and aim of the Association, and at the first meeting of the Association as now constituted, held this afternoon, that manifesto, which appears below, was unanimously adopted. Amongst those present at that meeting were the following: Messrs. W. K. Tucker (chairman), George Kent, T. M. C. Nourse, Henry Adler, F. J. Quinton, Cullis Relly, D. Strachan, W. Grey Rattray, H. J. Wentworth, J. C. Kirkwood, F. W. Swift, B. G. Douglas, A. Smithers, Manfred Nathan, George A. Hay, George W. Baudmit, W. Palfrey, E. Hancock, W. F. Savage, P. Ross Frames, Kem. White, R. G. Campbell Pitt, C. A. Wentzel, C. Cory Kernick, Percy G. Shepherd, Louis Short, R. Goldmann, E. C. Lowe, Fred W. Bell, &c.

I am, &c.,  
 DAV. DALGETY,  
 (Secretary).

Johannesburg, November 24,  
 P.O. Box 2998.

(3.)

"STAR," November 25, 1904.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Having in view that a change in the present form of government of this Colony is under consideration,

We, the undersigned, advocate the immediate establishment of Responsible Government for the following reasons:—

1. That political stability and contentment can only be assured by a full admission of the principle that the wishes and interests of the people of this Colony must prevail, subject only to the highest Imperial considerations.
2. That the growth of a vigorous and independent spirit in political life will inevitably be retarded by the establishing of any system short of complete Responsible Government.

HENRY ADLER.	MANFRED NATHAN.
A. D. ALEXANDER.	T. M. C. NOURSE.
SCOTT ALEXANDER.	R. J. PAKEMAN.
G. ANDERSON.	WM. PALFREY.
W. H. ANDREWS.	H. B. PAPPENFUS.
LISTON R. BATESON.	CHAS. C. PERRING.
S. R. BEATTIE.	HOWARD PIM.
FRED W. BELL.	R. G. CAMPBELL PITT.
F. BURGER.	J. W. QUINN.
ROBERT CHAMBERLAIN.	F. J. QUINTON.
J. L. CHRYSOVELINI.	J. H. RAINIER.
F. H. P. CRESWELL.	A. S. RAITT.
T. M. CULLINAN.	W. GREY RATTRAY.
DAV. DALGETY.	R. G. REES.
ERNEST DAVID.	CULLIS RELLY.
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SEPTIMUS EDKINS.	PERCY G. SHEPHERD.
V. EXTON.	LOUIS SHORT.
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JOS. GARDNER.	WM. SQUIRE, M.D.
CHARLES GLUYAS.	H. DE V. STEYTLER.
R. GOLDMANN.	D. STRACHAN.
E. HANCOCK.	F. W. SWIFT.
GEORGE A. HAY.	EDWIN C. TENNANT.
T. A. IRVING.	JAS. TOOGOOD.
J. JACOBSON.	P. W. TRACEY.
W. ST. JOHN KEARNEY.	W. K. TUCKER.
GEO. KENT.	C. G. WARD.
S. CORY KERNICK.	CHAS. F. B. WAYLAND.
J. C. KIRKWOOD.	W. S. WEBBER.
C. KLEUDGEN.	J. WEGE.
C. ARTHUR LANE.	H. J. WENTWORTH.
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C. MARTLEW.	W. WYBERGH.
THOMAS MURDOCH.	



No. 2.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to Mr. LYTTELTON.

(Received December 26, 1904.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, December 5, 1904.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th November,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, copies of newspaper cuttings on the subject of representative government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
**MILNER,**  
 Governor.

## Enclosures in No. 2.

(1.)

"STAR," November 26, 1904.

TRANSCVAAL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of "The Star."

SIR,—I shall be glad if you will be good enough to insert the following explanation in your next issue:—

The manifesto headed, "Responsible Government," which appeared in your issue of yesterday, bearing numerous signatures, was a joint manifesto drawn up and signed by Messrs. Quinn, Pim, Wybergh, Cresswell, Shanks, Whiteside, and others, and also by the members of the above Association.

I am, &c.,  
 DAV. DALGETY,  
 Secretary.

P.O. Box 2998, November 26.

(2.)

"LEADER," November 30, 1904.

## EAST RAND DECISION.

The East Rand has agreed upon political action. Delegates of all associations in the district attended a meeting in the Council Chamber, Germiston, last night, and the attendance was thoroughly representative.

Mr. H. C. Gain, vice-president of the Germiston Ratepayers' Association, presided, and other delegates present included: Rev. C. E. Greenfield, Messrs. W. Hills and F. Stewart (East Rand Vigilance Association), Mr. George Constable (Boksburg Town Council), Col. Corbett (Benoni), Messrs. Elliott and C. J. Watson (East Rand Farmers' Association), Mr. Charlton (Boksburg District Licensed Victuallers' Association), Mr. N. Lyons (Springs), Dr. Lund, Messrs. J. R. Bold, J. S. Preddy, and C. A. Margach (Germiston Ratepayers' Association), Messrs. White, Preddy, and Ross (Germiston Town Council), Messrs. H. J. Tonkin, W. Cannell and J. Wilson (Germiston Chamber of Commerce).

The Chairman said there had been a lot of talk in Germiston lately as to what should be done in the political world, and as no one was anxious to call a meeting the Ratepayers' Association was approached. This body, after considerable discussion, decided to invite, not individuals, but representatives from all associations on the East Rand. After this meeting, the Ratepayers' Association would, for political purposes, cease to exist. He wanted the delegates to feel that they could come to the meeting, not with a cut and dried programme, but to formulate a platform and programme of their own. The question they had to consider was whether the East Rand required an association of its own, and if so, to decide what sort of an association they required. It was said in the town that the East Rand did not altogether want to follow the lead of Johannesburg. (Hear, hear.) They did recognise that in Johannesburg they had some very able men, and some very clever men, but at the same time there were plenty of men on the East Rand able to give voice to the desires and requirements of the district. (Hear, hear.) They had to decide whether to form an association of their own, or, as an alternative, join one of the two associations in Johannesburg—the Progressive Association or the Responsible Government Association. He had read in the papers that morning that neither of the parties was doing very well, and neither of them state what they want, neither of them was acting in a statesmanlike way, and that there should be another body of men in Johannesburg who would do the right thing. It was not for him to say what was the right thing. Speaking for Germiston he could say that if it was decided to form an association, it would be necessary for the Germiston section of it to call a public meeting to have their actions endorsed, because they wanted to have the voice of the people and not the voice of a few—

\* No. 1.

should he say wirepullers. They wanted to feel that they were playing the game, and were going to do something sound and good for the district in which they lived.

Mr. Hills (East Rand Vigilance Association) said that although his association respected Johannesburg for starting two political associations, they felt that the East Rand was large enough and important enough, and had a sufficiently large population, to say what it required. It had been said that the Witwatersrand was to have ten members when Representative Government was established, and it was quite possible that the East Rand might be included in the ticket. He thought that method would be opposed to their wishes. They wanted on the East Rand three members for three constituencies, who could speak on behalf of the East Rand. If they were included in a general ticket with Johannesburg, the East Rand would be swamped and be exactly in the same position of being unfairly treated in the same way as during the last three years. Johannesburg had formed two associations—Representative and Responsible Government Associations. The former was a programme which anyone could subscribe to. It was something of a mixture of Liberal and Conservative. (Laughter.) But it had no definite ideas, and that would not suit the East Rand, which would require its representatives to go to legislate with definite ideas. He thought that the first paragraph of the Representative or Progressive Association was likely to create racial feeling, and ought to be modified.

Councillor Freddy expressed his opinion that it was extremely desirable that a political association should be formed on the East Rand. He trusted that they had strong enough political opinions and convictions, and he therefore proposed that a political association be formed on the East Rand.

Rev. Mr. Greenfield seconded the resolution, and said they feared the capitalist influence more than that of the Boers. The Boers were sound at heart, but the capitalists wished to run the whole reef.

Mr. A. H. Greene and Mr. George Constable supported the resolution, although Mr. Constable deprecated the insinuations which were hurled at the gentlemen connected with the Progressive Association at Johannesburg, as he believed they had the interests of the whole country, and not the interests of the capitalists, at heart.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with only one dissentient.

A lengthy discussion ensued as to the title which should be adopted by the association, and it was finally agreed that a committee be appointed to decide upon the name to be adopted, to be submitted to a further meeting of delegates.

In the discussion exception was taken to Clause 1 in the programme of the Progressive Association, and particular stress was laid upon the necessity for the provisions of the resolutions passed at the recent Asiatic Convention being embodied in any programme which might be submitted to the public.

It was agreed that the committee should approach the Transvaal Progressive Association with a view to arriving if possible at a common platform, a motion that the Responsible Government Party be approached being defeated.

It was further resolved that the committee consist of two members from each association on the East Rand, with the addition of Mr. White, Mr. Tait, Mr. Elliott, Mr. C. Brammer, Mr. L. Orpin, and Mr. G. Constable.

Mr. Gain agreed to act as convener of the future meetings.

Mr. A. H. Greene was appointed hon. secretary pro. tem., and the meeting then terminated.

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(3.)

“LEADER,” November 30, 1904.

TRANSCVAAL PROGRESSIVES.

ASSOCIATION MEETING YESTERDAY.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

A meeting of the Transvaal Progressive Association was held yesterday afternoon in the Board Room of Exploration Buildings, Commissioner Street, under the chairmanship of Mr. A. Mackie Niven. There were more than a hundred persons present, amongst whom were Sir W. van Hulsteyn, Col. Sir A. Wools Sampson, Messrs. F. D. P. Chaplin, Richard Currie, H. S. Lyons, G. H. Goch (Mayor of Johannesburg), G. Mitchell, J. Durham, E. P. Rathbone, C. A. O. Bain, H. O’K. Webber, St. John Carr, Advocate McHugh, Michael Dodd, John Roy, W. Beachy Head, F. Rowland, Chevalier Carroll, J. T. Macdonald, S. Evans, T. A. Bayly, and Col. Donaldson (secretary).

The Chairman said this was the first meeting of the Transvaal Progressive Association. He thought that they were to be congratulated upon holding this meeting under such favourable auspices, and, beyond that, having, upon such short notice as had been given, so many representative people present was, he thought, a matter for congratulation. (Hear, hear.) The secretary informed him that up to last night there had already been enrolled in Johannesburg alone something like 350 persons as members of the association. (Applause.) That this had been achieved without any very special effort was evidence of the fact that the association was beginning well—(hear, hear)—and he trusted that before many weeks were over their membership would number as many thousands as it numbered hundreds to-day. (Applause.) So far as that afternoon’s proceedings were concerned, they did not propose to enter into any discussion

as to the different planks in their platform. The idea was that they were to get to business as soon as possible by appointing a committee for the Johannesburg branch, one of the first instructions to that committee to be to prepare a constitution for the association, to be brought up for the consideration of members at an early date. The Chairman then moved, "That the Transvaal Progressive Association be now formed, with the title and platform as published, and signed by all its members."

Mr. Richard Currie said he had much pleasure in seconding the proposition.

The resolution was carried.

#### A LOCAL CHAIRMAN.

The Chairman said that the next business on the agenda was the election of a chairman for the Johannesburg branch.

Col. Sir A. Wools Sampson said it was necessary in this case to appoint an absolutely unbiassed man. (Hear, hear.) They had first and foremost the far-famed capitalist. They had also the irregular, and they had those who were inclined to favour the Boer party. Now, he thought that if they desired to run this association fairly and squarely in the interests of all, it would be wise to appoint some man who was in no wise connected with the parties he had mentioned. He had considered the subject from that point of view; he had weighed up in his mind the many men who had been associated with them in the formation of this association. He might say that there was one man who had given them very marked assistance, and he thought that such of them as knew that man would agree with him (the speaker) that there was no man better qualified to fill the chair of that association on the lines which had been laid down than Mr. John Roy. (Hear, hear.) Col. Wools Sampson then proposed Mr. Roy as chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the association.

Mr. St. John Carr seconded.

Mr. E. P. Rathbone proposed Mr. Richard Currie as chairman.

Mr. Currie, however, asked for leave to withdraw from the nomination, saying that it was quite impossible that he could undertake the duties.

At this stage, on the suggestion of Mr. Bain, the resolution "That the Johannesburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association be now formed" was put and declared carried.

The proposition that Mr. Roy be chairman of the Johannesburg branch was then put and declared carried, with one dissentient.

#### THE COMMITTEE.

The election of a full committee was the next business.

The Chairman explained that it would be one of the first duties of the committee to draft a constitution for submission to members at an early date. In the case of a political organisation he thought it was very desirable that the committee should be as large as possible, and in the present case he did not think it would be desirable that the committee should consist of less than 25 members.

Mr. St. John Carr moved that the committee consist of 25 members, with power to add to their number.

Mr. Rathbone seconded.

Dr. Stewart moved that the committee consist of ten members, but subsequently withdrew his amendment.

The original resolution was carried unanimously.

Nominations were then proceeded with as follows:—Messrs. J. M. Buckland, C. A. O. Bain, W. St. John Carr, R. Currie, A. Mackie Niven, Col. Sir A. Wools Sampson, Michael Dodd, A. F. Robinson, T. A. Purchase, Geo. Goch (Mayor of Johannesburg), J. Donaldson, Sir W. van Hulsteyn, W. Leck, F. D. P. Chaplin, T. W. G. Moir, E. P. Rathbone, A. Aiken, W. Dalrymple, S. Evans, O. Hutchinson, G. Mitchell, A. J. Strong, Scott Piercey, Dr. Stewart, S. Weil, H. O'K. Webber, C. F. Tainton, J. Roy, W. A. Martin, G. Lys, J. W. Leonard, K.C., J. Waterson, W. Pott, Advocate McHugh and F. Dumat.

Thirty-five names having been nominated, it was decided, on the suggestion of the Chairman, to appoint the above 35 gentlemen as a general committee to draft a constitution to be submitted to a future meeting of members from all the branches of the association.

#### EVENTFUL DAYS COMING.

The Chairman, in declaring the meeting closed, remarked that within six or seven months, or probably earlier, the constitution of the new Government of the Colony would be promulgated, and within nine months they might be busy with the elections. Too long a time did, therefore, not remain within which the association could get to work in preparing its constitution, looking out for candidates, and in starting an active propaganda. (Hear, hear.)

The public part of the proceedings then terminated.

(4.)

"STAR," December 2, 1904.

## REPRESENTATIVE v. RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

## A PRETORIA MEETING.

Pretoria, Friday (Special).—A determined attempt was made yesterday to capture Pretoria by the Responsible Government Party. Invitations were issued to 32 representative persons to attend a meeting to consider the political situation. About 20 responded, and met yesterday afternoon, Mr. Johnston in the chair.

Mr. Greenlees led off with a proposition declaring the meeting in favour of Responsible Government at once, which roused opposition. Finding himself unable to carry this, Mr. Greenlees substituted an amendment to the effect that the meeting thought that until the country was ready for Responsible Government, the present form of Government should continue.

It is said that Mr. R. K. Loveday, M.L.C., supported this view.

The amendment was lost, and the meeting resolved itself into a committee to discuss the matter further, before coming into the open.

Mr. H. R. Abercrombie endeavoured to obtain an assurance that the committee would consider the throwing open of the diamond mines, and several other pet schemes, and on the meeting declining to entertain this, he withdrew from the committee entirely.

The Committee of the Boer Congress, which is the executive body of their political organisation, has finally decided to oppose the granting of Representative Government, and will endeavour to maintain the existing conditions, pending the granting of full responsibility.

The Boer leaders believe that if Representative Government is granted, it will be established for some years and thus postpone indefinitely Responsible Government.

Further important developments are momentarily anticipated.

(Later.)—At the meeting, before mentioned, the general feeling was that the country is by no means ripe for Responsible Government, but at the same time is disinclined to change the present form of Administration.

The Press were carefully excluded.

(Later.)—There is no longer any doubt that Mr. R. K. Loveday is committed to the "no change until Responsible Government" Party. Mr. H. Crawford, Mr. S. Marks's representative in Pretoria, also supported the Responsible Government movement.

(Later.)—The following were present at the meeting regarding Responsible Government yesterday: Mr. A. Johnston, Advocate Greenlees, Advocate Duxbury, Messrs. J. Dougall, Hugh Crawford, F. W. Coles, H. R. Abercrombie, T. W. Beckett, E. Lilienfeld, A. W. Downie, Ernest Chapell, and R. K. Loveday, M.L.C.

No. 3.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 10.25 p.m., January 11, 1905.)

TELEGRAM.

(Extract.)

January 11. No. 1. I received yesterday two deputations with reference to the proposed changes of constitution.

The first, who desired that their interview should be private, consisted of the President and certain members of the Responsible Government Association. They urged that nothing short of complete self-government would satisfy the people of the Transvaal, and not only the Dutch but a majority of the British. I told deputation that I regarded immediate grant of full self-government outside my province to discuss as it was settled policy of His Majesty's Government to proceed gradually and establish in first instance elected Legislature with Executive nominated by Crown. I discussed other points in a non-committal fashion but said that I was personally in favour of a certain property and residential qualification and of providing for additional seats to meet growth of population by an automatic process.

The other deputation was from the Progressive Association, which, as you are

aware, is opposed to immediate grant of self-government and desires for the present a nominated Executive with seats and votes in Legislature but Legislature otherwise to be wholly elective. The proceedings in this case were public and the deputation was certainly a strong one. Points they urged were (1) One vote one value. Single member constituencies with as nearly as possible an equal number of voters. (2) Periodic redistribution. (3) Qualification to be present municipal qualification with substitution of six for three months' residence and also to include as alternative all white male British subjects whether naturalised in Great Britain or any Colony who have annual income of £150 or were on first Volksraad burgher roll of South African Republic. (4) Executive to be partly chosen by representatives of people. (5) Fewest possible reservations and restrictions of powers to be granted to Legislative Council. I reiterated to this deputation the statement that His Majesty's Government did not intend to grant full self-government at once but to proceed by gradual steps. On all other points I was strictly non-committal though I expressed my personal agreement with the principle of periodic redistribution and also with the suggestion that it should be possible but not obligatory to include in Executive some of the elected members of the Legislature.

In both cases I promised to communicate the representations made to you. Full report by mail.\*

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No. 4.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 5.23 p.m., January 20, 1905.)

TELEGRAM.

January 20. No. 1. Referring to my telegram of 11th January, No. 1, † following resolution was passed unanimously at public meeting of between 2,000 and 3,000 people held at Wanderers' Hall last night under auspices of Transvaal Progressive Association:—

*Begins:* That this meeting desires to place on record its firm conviction that no Constitution will be acceptable to this Colony which does not contain provisions establishing at the outset and maintaining for the future equal power and equal privileges for each voter. *Ends.*

Despatch ‡ follows by mail.

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No. 5.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received January 28, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 9, 1905.  
I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, newspaper cuttings § on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,

MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 5.

"LEADER," December 29th, 1904.

ALLEGED CONFERENCE.

LORD MILNER AND BOER LEADERS.

Reuter's correspondent at Pretoria forwards the following information, which he says will be published by "Land en Volk" in its next issue.

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\* See No. 6.

† No. 3.

‡ No. 10.

§ One only is reprinted.

The matter has reference to a meeting which is alleged to have taken place between Lord Milner and the Boer leaders, concerning which the Dutch paper remarks:—

We learn from an authoritative source that the Conference summoned by Lord Milner, and from whose deliberations were expressly excluded, in view of recent history at Brandfort, the Free State delegates, who were also on the spot.

At the Conference, His Excellency ("Land en Volk" understands) announced that within a few weeks he would offer a scheme of Representative Government, which he assumed might satisfy, or, if not satisfy, for the time appease, all parties.

Roughly the electorate of the country would contribute 24 elective members, against 12 nominated members. From these an executive Ministry might subsequently be elected, in which Lord Milner hoped that men of various political leanings, such as

Mr. Louis Botha,  
Sir George Farrar,  
Mr. Harry Solomon,  
Mr. Johan Rissik,  
Mr. R. K. Loveday,  
Mr. A. D. W. Wolmarans,  
Mr. E. F. Bourke,  
Mr. E. P. Solomon,  
Mr. Ewald Esselen,  
Mr. Jan Smuts, and  
Mr. Dale Lace,

might accept positions.

"Land en Volk" learns that the Boers expressed their formal thanks for Lord Milner's proposals, but would give them no definite acceptance. They declared that they would not willingly accept any measure of enfranchisement by which they (the Boers) secured no representation commensurate with their permanent stake in this country. They declared that if they could not secure fair representation they did not want any at all.

In spite, however, of the abortive character of the "mysterious conference," there is no doubt that the relations between His Excellency and the Boer leaders are tending to be of less frigidly official character than they have hitherto been.

[We believe that it will be found that, both as regards its origin and its predictions, the above statement is based on imagination rather than fact. Most assuredly the Council will not be composed as stated.]

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No. 6.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received February 4, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 16, 1905.

WITH reference to my telegram of the 11th instant, No. 1,\* I have the honour to transmit to you a newspaper report of the proceedings at an interview which I had on the previous day with a deputation from the Transvaal Progressive Association.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 6.

Extract from "RAND DAILY MAIL," 11 January, 1905.

NEW CONSTITUTION.

DEPUTATIONS TO THE GOVERNOR.

The deputation waited upon the Governor to recommend the embodiment in the new Constitution of the Transvaal the following principles:—

(1.) *Value of Votes.*—Electoral districts to be formed on the basis of voters, each district to contain, as near as can be, an equal number of voters, and to return one member.

(2.) *Redistribution.*—Redistribution of seats, wherever required by reason of fluctuations in the number of voters, to be made periodically by a Commission appointed by the Governor, and the parties or districts dissatisfied with the results to have the power of appeal to the Supreme Court.

(3.) *Qualification.*—The present municipal qualifications to be taken as a basis (with the substitution of six months' residence for three months) with the alternative qualification:—All white male British subjects, and whether naturalised in Great Britain or in any of her Colonies, who can show that they are in receipt of an average income of not less than £150 per annum or who were on the First Volksraad burgher roll of the South African Republic prior to the outbreak of the war.

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\* No. 3.

(4.) *Executive Council*.—The Executive of the new Legislative body to be partly chosen from the elected representatives of the people.

(5.) The fullest powers to be granted to the new Transvaal Legislature with the fewest possible reservations and restrictions.

The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen:—Messrs. J. Roy (chairman), F. D. P. Chaplin, Richard Currie, F. C. Dumat, Samuel Evans, Sir W. Van Hulsteyn, Messrs. A. McHugh, W. A. Martin, George Mitchell, A. Mackie Niven, A. F. Robinson, J. N. Sellar, A. J. Strong, Dr. W. Stuart, and Sir A. Wools-Sampson. With His Excellency was Mr. Geoffrey Robinson (Private Secretary).

#### OPENING THE DEPUTATION.

In opening the deputation, Mr. Roy said: I desire, on behalf of the deputation appearing before you to-day, to thank you for the privilege and the opportunity of submitting our views with regard to this important question of the future Constitution of the Transvaal. At this stage it appears to me desirable that I should state for whom we appear, or, rather, for whom we speak. A few weeks ago the Johannesburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association was formed. One of the principal objects or planks in its platform was the advocating of a measure of Representative Government which we believe best suited to the welfare of this country. Since that date various other branches have been established throughout the country. Various other branches are in course of formation, but it is obvious that owing to the short notice we have not been able to communicate with these branches, so that in the expressions of opinion made to you we are speaking entirely on behalf of the Johannesburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association. We hope, at an early date, that these branch associations will form a central organisation, and that that central organisation will be in future the mouthpiece of this association. We had hoped, sir, on this occasion to be associated with the members of the Transvaal Responsible Government Association for this reason—that the first three resolutions submitted to you to-day are common to any form of Government that may be established in this country. The resolutions are consistent with the ideas hitherto prevailing in Johannesburg, and as a proof of what we contended for many years ago, I desire to read an extract from a resolution passed at a public meeting of the unfranchised of Johannesburg on July 26, 1899:—

That this meeting insists upon the demand of the Uitlander Council for a redistribution of seats which shall take place periodically, and for representation which shall bear some definite relation to the number of electors.

That was passed on July 26, 1899, and it permeates the whole of the resolutions submitted to you to-day. The deputation has appointed two of its members, Messrs. Mitchell and Niven, to submit the resolutions, and to advocate our opinions. I desire that they should address you if that is the view of Your Excellency.

#### MR. MITCHELL'S SPEECH.

Mr. George Mitchell said: I have to lay resolutions Nos. 1 and 2 in regard to the value of votes and the question of redistribution before Your Excellency, and it will probably save time if, without any preliminaries, I should proceed at once to speak on the question of equal electoral districts. Our reason for putting that forward is, in the first place, that we believe equal electoral districts will be fair and equitable. We have decided absolutely to advocate in this country the principle of one vote having one value. In doing that we are supported by what is in force in the United States of America, in Canada, and what, I believe, is the newest Constitution, that of Australia. We desire to submit that this principle is a fair one, and a just one. It is impossible, of course, to avoid allusion to the question of the old Boer divisions of the country, and, so far as they may be practicable, we should, I think, undoubtedly desire that the old boundaries might be observed, probably that the fieldcornets' districts would form the easiest and best basis to go upon. But, whilst saying this, we desire also to emphasise the fact that even at the risk of disturbing some of these old boundaries, we do most emphatically desire to see established the principle of one vote having one value, and I must say that any departure from that would be the cause of the gravest dissatisfaction to us. We have, of course, on numerous occasions, heard arguments which have been advanced in favour of a larger representation to those who reside in the country districts, but whatever their claims may be, we would submit that those who have to bear the brunt of taxation have at least an equally strong claim on the Government.

#### REVENUE AND INDUSTRY.

I would submit that the two great questions, the contribution of revenue and the number of people supported by any industry, are in themselves sufficient to outweigh any arguments in support of mere representation of districts or spaces. One further argument I would advance in favour of the plea, and that is that it would eliminate, to a large extent, favouritism, or any attempt at what is known as gerrymandering. We have here asked that the basis be that of votes and not of population, and our reasons for that are, that if you go upon population you can only be guided by your census, which will probably take place every ten years; whereas if you go upon voters, you have your voters' roll, which will probably be amended every year. Hence, on the one hand, taking the basis of voters rather than population, you exclude from the influence some of the elements in the country districts which have hitherto borne weight, whilst, on the other hand, as far as the great towns are concerned, you will also exclude from coming into the balance the aliens and floating population which would otherwise, if you go simply on the basis of population, have some bearing. I submit finally that the basis of votes is the logical basis. Now, sir, in this resolution No. 1, we have the expression "to return one member." That, in other words, is what is known generally by the designation of single-member constituencies. In regard to what is a more thorny and difficult problem, I am glad to say we have many of us studied the many experiments which have been made in other parts

of the world. Some of us have been allured by the theory, the advantages of theory, of free member constituencies, and cumulative voting, and the representation of minorities, which I understand that system produces. The question of second ballots has also had its advocates. The question of the division of larger towns into districts returning two or more members has also had some support, but after a very considerable amount of thought, after a great deal of consideration, the great majority of us have finally come to the conclusion that, for great practical reasons, the single member constituency is the one best suited to this country at large. As far as the country districts are concerned, it must be obvious that any other system would possess the greatest drawbacks. It would be practically impossible owing to the large districts which would have to be formed to have any other system. Once having established that system in the country it seems simpler, and in many ways better, that one system should prevail throughout the whole country. The feeling in favour of single-member constituencies, I think, has been evidenced in Johannesburg by recent events, and, so far as we can gather, it would be in accordance with the wish of the majority of the people here that that principle generally should be adopted. There is one other reason, and that is, it might, we think, involve the advantage that so far as the people are concerned, they would take more interest in the elections.

#### REDISTRIBUTION.

I have now, sir, to go on, with your permission, to the second point, in regard to redistribution. I may say in regard to that that it is a corollary of the first proposition. It maintains the principle laid down, and provides for its automatic carrying out. We wish, if possible, to avoid the circumstances which exist now in Great Britain, and, to some extent, in the Cape Colony. We wish to avoid this country getting into such a position that the question of redistribution should become the subject of party strife and animosity. We wish it to be settled for all time by the principle which should be laid down, and which should be carried out automatically. We wish to avoid the friction which with any other course a country like this must necessarily incur, and also to avoid the great waste of time of the Legislature in dealing with questions such as this, when it would be better occupied in dealing with such measures of practical use, which this country will certainly demand. As an argument in favour of the necessity of redistribution, I would point out that, in a country like this, there must almost certainly be great fluctuations in the population, and there will probably be the growth of many new towns. If I may allude, for instance, to the great diamond mine, which is likely, we believe, to provide a livelihood for a large number of people, it would be no unreasonable thing to say that, possibly in the course of five years, there may be 10,000 people earning their living from the industry of the mine. Is it fair to ask these 10,000 people that they should be dependent upon the will of the Legislature for their votes?

There is another instance I would like to mention, the iron industry, which, although it is only a name at present, may before long be a great factor in this country; and I say again it is no wild term to say in regard to that that in five or ten years there may be 20,000 or 30,000 people depending on the iron industry in this country. Are they to be dependent for representation on the goodwill of the Assembly here? Rather we would ask that, by a process of redistribution such as suggested, these things will be provided for in advance that these people may get representation legally. These are the principal points in regard to these two matters I wish to make, and I can only say I am sorry the duty has not been entrusted to another speaker. If my representation has not been what the deputation desire, or what other people desire it, I trust you will look beyond the words to the great principles I have tried to enunciate, and let them speak for themselves. In conclusion, I will say that whilst in another great Colony the motto has been adopted "Advance Australia," we are, as our name implies, seeking the progress of this country, and I would like to say not merely the material advancement, but the progress of everything that goes to build up a great State and the evolving of a really happy, prosperous, and patriotic people; and if in the smallest degree our representations to you this morning can carry out or advance these ideas, then I think we can surely hope our representations will make for the advancement of the country, and will also be of great service to our Sovereign and his advisers.

#### MR. A. MACKIE NIVEN.

Mr. Mackie Niven was the next speaker. He said: The resolutions adopted by the Johannesburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association, on which I have been asked to make some remarks, are Nos. 3, 4, and 5. No. 3 deals with a subject probably as important as either of those to which Mr. Mitchell has referred—the qualification of the voters. A difference of opinion does certainly exist at present on this important question, and after giving it the very fullest consideration for a considerable time, we have come to the conclusion that it would be impolitic, unwise, and possibly might have the most disastrous results if we did not advocate here before you the principle of a broad and democratic franchise. It is quite true that the Colonial Secretary has already indicated in a public statement in the House of Commons the probability of a popular franchise being granted to the country. In replying to a question on July 21 last by Mr. Broadhurst, who asked upon what franchise members would be elected in the Transvaal, Mr. Lyttelton said: "It would not be in order to go into details upon that; but I think if the hon. gentleman studies the matter he will see that there has not been any indisposition on the part of the Government of the Transvaal to make a very free and popular suffrage in local government. We have municipal institutions spread all over the Transvaal. There are 23 urban districts, and there are municipalities, for the first time of any power, in all the larger towns. I think, speaking from memory, the ratepayers' franchise is on a £100 fixed property and £24 annual value—a very fairly popular basis."



## THE PROBABLE FRANCHISE.

His Excellency: That is so, is it not?

Mr. Niven: Yes, the facts are all right. Now, sir, while that indicates very clearly the probable franchise, or, perhaps I should say, the fact that a broad popular franchise is likely to be granted to us for Parliamentary purposes in our new Constitution, we feel that the subject is one of such importance that we are justified in the special resolution which is submitted to you. What we feel is that any fancy franchise, any high franchise, could only lead to a large number of people being left without a vote. Looking at the history of politics in this country in the past ten years or so, we think that would be an impolitic proceeding for the Government to adopt. We feel that it would be creating an unfranchised class, whose agitation—a just agitation, we think—previous to the war had something to do with the unfortunate occurrences from which this country has suffered. It could only have one ending. Going now into detail for a moment, might I point out that we are advocating some slight modification of the present municipal franchise. It gives the vote to persons who have been in residence in this country for three months. We think that for Parliamentary purposes it might be extended to six months quite safely.

## FRANCHISE AMENDMENTS.

We have found from experience that, with regard to the municipal franchise, inasmuch as it is the custom on the Witwatersrand, as in other parts of the country, for more than one person to reside in one room or in one small house, practical experience has shown that it is necessary to make some provision to provide that where two or more persons reside in a small building this fact should not necessarily—if the other qualifications exist—disfranchise all these persons, or all but one. We have therefore made the suggestion, as the result of our experience, that an alternative qualification should be made giving the vote, no matter how many persons occupy one house, provided that each has an average income of £150 a year who should also be entitled to be placed on the roll. We have gone further than that with regard to the older population of the country. We have made the very important recommendation that all persons on the First Volksraad Burgher Roll before the outbreak of the war should be placed on the voters' roll, irrespective of other qualifications. They are included in what is known as the municipal franchise. We have done this, first of all, because I think it is the almost universal practice that where any alteration or change of franchise has been made, it has been in the direction of increasing the number of persons to be placed on the roll, and not decreasing that number. In other words, no change of this kind has ever been made which deprives any person who has been in the habit of exercising the franchise in the past of the right to exercise it in the future. We feel that it is a measure of equity which should be extended to the older population of the country, and which on the whole will commend itself to the new population of this country.

## COMPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE.

Dealing now with resolution No. 4, there is a generally accepted view, based on I know not what exactly, that the Legislative Council which is to be granted to us will not include any of the nominated members outside the nominated official Executive. It is true that Mr. Lyttelton, replying, I think, to Mr. Swift McNeill, and the paragraph in the King's Speech simply used the phrase that the proposal is to introduce an elective element into the Legislature of the Transvaal. This matter has been under discussion for many months now, and a feeling has grown up—and I think it is a very strong feeling—that any proposal to include in the House nominated members other than the official Executive would not be received with favour in this country. I think that in this point all must be agreed. There is also a strong feeling in the country that it is no less important that the Executive (the Government of this country) should be strengthened, as we think undoubtedly it would be by the selection from the elected members of a certain proportion to be added to the official Executive. In recommending this we did so first on the ground of precedent. There are many precedents to show that where Representative Government has been granted in different British Colonies that principle of allowing the Governor to nominate from among the elected members a certain portion of the Executive has been established. There are good reasons why it should be done here. The reason advanced for giving us an elected Legislature instead of an entirely nominated Legislature is largely that the Parliament of the country should be in close touch with the people of the country, and we hold, too, that it is equally important that the Executive of the country should be in close touch with the people, and we think there is no simpler, no better way than by embodying this principle in the constitution of the selection of so many elected members from the House to be added to the official Executive. It must be admitted that there is a serious danger in a small Parliament—the Government might select from the House, shall I say, the principal critics, possibly the principal debaters, so that the critical faculty, which is the faculty we all want to see most developed in the new Assembly, may be weakened, but the advantage seems to us to counterbalance the possible disadvantages.

## FULLEST POWERS.

Resolution No. 5 deals with matter of equal importance to any of those to which reference has been made—"the fullest power to be granted to the new Legislature with the fewest reservations and restrictions." It is quite well known that there is a considerable amount of public opinion largely in favour of the immediate introduction of full Responsible Government, but it has seemed to many of us that if it could be that some indication could be given of the nature of the Constitution and its liberal character, a great deal of that feeling would be allayed. It seems to us that a Constitution that reserves to the Crown many matters of

importance to the daily life of the people of this Colony would be a fatal mistake. We must admit that the matters which have been referred to the Inter-Colonial Council would of necessity be reserved, and would not form part of the business to be discussed by the Legislative Council. But we do express the hope that at no distant date the control of the S.A.C. might be, shall I say, "referred back" to the Parliament of the country? If such important matters as finance of the Colony, the native administration, and a matter in which we all feel a deep interest—Asiatic legislation—were to be reserved, I have little hesitation in saying that a Constitution of that kind, and with such reservations, would not be received with anything like favour by the people of this Colony. I go further, and say that the reservation of such important matters would possibly make such a Constitution almost unworkable. There is another point in connection with one of the resolutions in which it pointed out the disability under which naturalised aliens suffer in this Colony. I refer to the disabilities suffered by aliens naturalised in other British Colonies. This matter has been before the public for two or three years, and we understand there is some constitutional or legal question involved, but it is felt it is a great hardship for persons living for 10, 15 or 20 years in the Cape Colony or Natal, to be deprived of their votes. It is felt a very great grievance indeed to deprive them, as they are deprived, as the law stands at present, from exercising the privileges of the franchise in this Colony. With these remarks I beg to express the hope that we have been able to convince you of the importance of the principles involved in the five resolutions put before you, and to express the hope that we may be able to convince you that it is desirable that these principles should be introduced into this Constitution, and that you may see your way to convey the views we have expressed, the views of a very important section of the community, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in whose hands this Constitution, we understand, now is.

#### LORD MILNER'S REPLY.

Lord Milner said: I recognise the great importance and the representative character of this deputation, and I am very much obliged to you for coming here and laying your views, and those of the large number of those who agree with you, before me. Mr. Mackie Niven has said that he hoped you had convinced me on the various points raised. I do not think it is a matter of particular importance what my personal views are on these several points, inasmuch as, fortunately for me, it does not rest with me to decide. What is of more importance is that the Government at home should be acquainted with the opinions of the new Constitution. Of course the variety of opinions is infinite, it would be impossible to consider them all—when I say the various opinions I mean those of any considerable bodies of people. I shall, of course, report to the Secretary of State the resolutions which have been put before me to-day, and the substance of the arguments by which they are supported. I have been doing my utmost for a long time past to elicit opinions, not in one quarter, throughout the Colony, on this important subject, in order that I may discharge my principal duty in this matter, that is to fully and truly report the real state of feeling here. I have got a great deal of assistance in my efforts in this direction, and a meeting of this kind is of great assistance to me in carrying out that duty. As I say, my principal business in this matter is to report your views and arguments by which they are supported, and there I might leave it. If I go on to say a word or two upon the special points which you have raised, will you regard what I now say as not in any sense authoritative, not declaratory of what is going to be done, as I do not know it myself, but as merely directed to throw a little more light on the points which have been touched upon, and which are exciting so much public interest?

#### CONTRIBUTION OF A CITIZEN.

Will you regard this, my contribution, as that of a fellow-citizen, and not as that of one who is laying down the law as an official, especially as it is not in my power to decide? In the first place, I fully welcome all representative expressions of opinion, and I attach a very great deal of importance to what has passed to-day, because of its exceedingly practical character. The community, I fear, is rather divided at this moment—perhaps in almost equal parties—on the question of what is called Responsible as against Representative Government. I am sorry for this division, for it turns men's thought from things which they have power greatly to influence to matters which, I think, no discussion here can at the present time influence. Apart entirely from any personal opinion, I have received instructions from the Home Government to make what suggestions I could, and to throw all the light I could upon the execution of what is their settled policy, which is to introduce here a Representative Legislature, elected by the people, with an Executive which will continue for a time to be appointed by the Crown. I understand that that is what is before us. These are my instructions—to throw any light I can upon the question of the composition of that Legislature and the manner of election. I am fully at liberty to receive any suggestions you can give me on these points, and they are a great deal of use to me. But to discuss the matter of the introduction of Responsible Government, or suggestions to that effect, that is to say, that the Legislature, which is still to be created, should at the first moment of its existence, proceed to appoint the whole Executive Government, suggestions to that effect, while they are entitled to all respect, seeing the influential quarter from which they come, are of no practical use for me at this moment, because they do not bear on the problem put before me.

#### COACH, NOT A MOTOR.

I have been ordered, so to speak, to make plans for the construction of a coach, and everything which helps me to make the best coach possible is, of course, of real assistance to me and the Home Government. But it is of no immediate practical value to me to advise me how to build a motor car, because that is not what I am asked to do. Now the points which you have brought before me to-day are all connected with what I understand to be the present policy of

His Majesty's Government, that is to say, the establishment of a popularly elected Legislature in this country, I hope that, whatever views we may hold as to the immediate introduction of Self-Government, they will yet, as good citizens, not refuse to apply their minds to the problem which is immediately before us, and which is not the establishment of what is known as complete Self-Government, but of a system which is intended to lead to it, and which I believe will in a comparatively short space of time lead to it. That is what you have done to-day. Let me say a few words about the particular points brought forward in these resolutions. The first is "One vote, one value," and the single-member constituency. As far as I can gather opinion, it inclines very strongly on all hands to the single-member constituency. I should have no hesitation in telling His Majesty's Government that whatever might be my personal opinion on that point—and, personally, I have a preference for the three-member system, with the minority vote—there is no doubt an overwhelming body of opinion among all sections of the people of this country in favour of the single constituency. I should also be bound to say that as regards "one vote, one value," I think there is a very great division of opinion. You in this room are all strongly in favour of it, and the arguments in favour of it are very strong. Whether they are of overwhelming strength, whether they will be so regarded by His Majesty's Government, I really cannot attempt to say. I think everybody will go this length, that they will desire to see in the distribution of seats a very great regard paid to the numerical principle, but as to whether people generally are at all agreed to the absolute numerical principle, all I can say is I am uncertain. I should like to be in a position—putting my own views entirely aside—to say to His Majesty's Government, "This or this is the generally accepted view in this Colony." With regard to one vote one value, I really cannot say so.

#### PERHAPS A COMPROMISE.

There is a very strong body of opinion on either side, and it may be—I don't say it will be—that the result will be a compromise. On the other hand, as regards automatic redistribution, I gather that there is more unanimity of opinion. I have not yet met anybody who is opposed to it. I have met a considerable number who think that it is a difficult thing to put into an Order in Council. With that I agree, but anybody who is opposed to it in principle I have not yet come across. And, certainly, I have a very very strong feeling myself on the subject. We have so many instances before us of the effects of leaving the redistribution of seats in a growing country to be for years the perpetual battlefield of political parties, I think it is a prospect so discouraging that I hope it may be averted, and that it may be possible for His Majesty's Government to put into the Constitution of this country, as now framed, provisions which will make that unnecessary, and which will enable growing centres of population to obtain either representation, or additional representation, by some recognised legal process, without its becoming in every case the subject of a party fight. But I am bound to say that I think the proposal will take them rather by surprise at home. I think it will have precedent, as far as Constitutions introduced by Order in Council are concerned, and perhaps I may add, *vis inertiae* against it, and I believe if a majority of people here are really anxious to have it, that a strong expression of public opinion here would be requisite to carry it. That is my own impression. It is a difficult thing to do; it is a troublesome thing to do; and it is as far as these home-made Constitutions are concerned, a novel thing to do. And for all these reasons I believe it is only likely to be done if it is very unmistakably desired, not only by the humble individual who is addressing you, but by the great majority of the people of this country. As regards qualification, I am glad to think there is a very wide amount of consensus of opinion, and that the views expressed here to-day not only represent the views of the powerful association to which you belong, but of people of all classes and races. I am not now referring to that special principle of preserving, if I may say so, the franchise rights of the former burghers, a proposal which has much in its favour, though I am not prepared to express any absolute opinion about it. I am rather referring to the general idea that the franchise should be what is called a democratic one, that while there should be a property qualification, or income qualification, or alternative property and income qualifications, the figures should be so low as practically to include the whole white population, which is independent, which has any regular independent means of support. It is no use going into figures. No two men will agree absolutely as to figures, either of income, rental, or of period of residence, but almost everybody seems to be agreed as to the general principle which I have tried to lay down, and the divergence between the various proposed figures is not very great.

#### ANOTHER NOVEL PROPOSAL.

Turning to the question of the Executive Council, here we again have a somewhat novel proposal in the suggestion that members of the elected Legislature should be added to the Executive Council. Mr. Mackie Niven said that he assumed there would be no nominated members of the Legislature except the members of the Executive. I have no doubt it is intended that the members of the Executive should sit and vote in the Council, but whether the idea of having other nominated members in the Council is abandoned, I am not in a position to say. What, of course, is certain, is that the elected members will be in a large majority, and what I think is probable is that the Council will consist entirely of elected members, with the addition of the members of the Executive. As to the further proposal that some members of the Council, it is, as I say, a novel proposal, and one about which there is a good deal to be said on both sides. I observe, moreover, that there are two forms which it might take, what I may call the compulsory or the facultative form. You might provide in the Constitution that the Executive must contain certain elected members of the Legislature. It would be rather odd, and it might prove an inconvenient and unworkable proposition. Or you might leave, so to speak, an open door for the inclusion in the Executive of an undefined number of elected members, if, and when, it appeared to the Crown that the Executive would be strengthened by such an introduction. Personally, and speaking again as a private

individual, I am in favour of leaving the greatest possible latitude in these matters, because what we are going to try in this Colony is a great experiment, in some ways a novel experiment; and I think it is better, wherever you can leave a certain amount of free play in your Constitution, to give it. And I think certainly it would be giving a desirable amount of elbow-room, if I may use the expression, not to continue the choice of the Crown with respect to members of the Executive to the outside world—I mean, to the people who are not elected members of the Legislature—nor yet to compel the Crown to take any definite number of members of the Executive from the Legislature, but to leave it absolutely open to the Crown to appoint or not to appoint, according to the circumstances of the moment, members of the Executive from among the elected members of the Legislature. I personally, I should be inclined to plead, as I say, for freedom of action, and for no rigid provisions in a matter of that kind. I fancy, as a matter of constitutional practice, that the Crown in any case is perfectly free, if it likes, to appoint a member of the Legislature to the Executive, as it might appoint anybody. But I should be prepared to go rather further than that, and to include in the Constitution words indicating, I will not say exactly the intention, but at any rate the likelihood, of that course being allowed.

Now, I think I have dealt with all the matters except the last point, that of the reservation of powers. I am not quite sure that I appreciate the difficulty which seems to occur to some people on this matter, when, for instance, it is asked whether it is proposed to exclude Asiatic or native legislation from the powers of the Legislative Council. I ask myself why on earth should they be excluded? I mean how is that likely to happen? You have got a Legislative Council at present which deals with these matters. The present Legislative Council can pass a law about natives or about Asiatics. The change which is proposed is not, as I understand, in the powers of the Legislative Council, but in its composition. Instead of consisting of nominees it will consist of elected representatives of the people. It would be odd, and I don't think it has occurred to anyone, to use the moment of this change in order to restrict the powers of the Legislative Council. It has at present powers to legislate on any subject concerning the interests of the Colony. I have not the least doubt that the change in its Constitution will not lead to any reduction of its powers. The restriction upon popular control which at present exists, does not take the shape of any restriction upon the powers of the Council, but it depends upon the fact that the members of the Council are nominees and not elected. The powers of the present Legislative Council are as wide as possible, and I do not anticipate that the powers of the differently composed Legislature will be any less wide. You will remember that legislative proposals with regard, for instance, to the regulation of Asiatics were before the present Legislative Council. If I remember rightly, the law was not actually passed, but there was no doubt about the authority of the Council to pass a law with regard to native administration, or a law regulating the finances of the country, as in fact it does when it passes the Appropriation Bill. All these powers exist at present, and I do not see that there is any likelihood of these powers being in any way curtailed.

#### THE VETO OF THE CROWN.

There is one restriction which always exists in any Colony, whether it be a Colony under Crown Colony Government or with representative institutions, or with full self-government. That is, of course, the ultimate power of the Crown to veto any measure. That would no doubt continue. It is universal, and I should like to call attention to one point for the illumination of the public, who seem to be suffering under some extraordinary delusions with regard to it. And that is that the power of veto resting in the Crown is absolutely the same, whether you have Responsible Government or whether you have Representative Government. You do not get rid of the veto by having Responsible Government. You do not increase the veto by having Representative Government. I say this especially with regard to such questions as native affairs or Asiatic affairs.

#### IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

It is assumed, I think rather unjustly, that the Government at home is anxious to interfere with the people of the Colony in dealing with these matters in the way which seems to them best. Except as regards the acquired rights of British subjects, which the Home Government regards itself as the trustee of, I have never seen any disposition since I have come here on the part of the Home Government to try and override public opinion of the Colony with regard to these matters. However, that is a side point. What I wish to make absolutely clear is this: The difference between Representative Government and Responsible Government is roughly this, that under the former the Executive is irremovable by the Legislature, and under the latter the Legislature itself appoints the Executive. That is the principal effect of the difference between the two systems. Under the one system, the Legislature practically elects the Government, and under the other it does not. But, as regards the legislative powers of the Assemblies, the position is absolutely the same. The legislative power is no less in a Representative Assembly which does not appoint the Executive than it is in an Assembly which also appoints the Executive. Neither is the veto of the Crown any different under the two systems. If a measure was to be passed here dealing either with Asiatic affairs or with native affairs which, whether the Home Government approved of it or not, appeared to it to be a measure which infringed the rights of British subjects, and which therefore the Home Government ought to veto, it would equally veto it under Responsible Government. As far as dealing with native affairs or Asiatic affairs is concerned, you will have exactly the same powers under the one system as under the other. And now I think I have dealt with all the matters that have been brought before me.

#### NUMERICAL BASIS.

Mr. Mitchell referred His Excellency to the basis on which electoral divisions will be formed.

His Excellency: I think I referred to that in the first instance. The point is that I do not think there is anything like general agreement yet as to whether in the first distribution of seats there is to be a numerical basis at all. Of course if there is to be a numerical basis, the further question arises whether the basis should be the number of voters or the number of total population. About this, again, there is much controversy, though my personal opinion is that the voter basis is the more logical of the two.

#### THE ALIEN QUESTION.

Mr. Niven raised the question of the unenfranchised aliens who were enfranchised in other British Colonies.

His Excellency: Well, that is a very complicated question, and it seems to me that an Order in Council, or whatever instrument introduces this new Constitution, will have to confine itself to the matter in hand, and there will be no opportunity of incidentally reforming anomalies in the laws generally, and that that is a matter which must be left for the elected Legislature to deal with.

Mr. Niven said he understood that Sir Richard Solomon several sessions ago said that this was a question which the Legislature of the country could not deal with. He forgot the reason.

His Excellency: I do not remember exactly, but it seems to me a rather inconvenient way of dealing with it to lug it into the instrument which creates an elected Legislature. I think it is a side issue. I do not mean to say that I don't agree; I am personally strongly in favour of one naturalisation law for the whole Empire. I think it is most regrettable that a man should be a British subject in one portion of the earth's surface and not in another. But certainly in order to get rid of that altogether would require concurrent action on the part of the Imperial Parliament and the Parliaments of all the Colonies. It is most desirable, no doubt.

Mr. Roy, on behalf of the deputation, said they highly appreciated the information His Excellency had imparted, and he hoped at a later date that the other branches of the association would be able to make representations in some joint form.

This concluded the proceedings.

#### No. 7.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received February 4, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 16, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 9th instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, newspaper cuttings on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

#### Enclosures in No. 7.

(1.)

"LEADER," January 10th, 1905.

NO DEMANDS.

LORD MILNER TO MR. BOTHA.

THE RECENT INTERVIEW.

Pretoria, Monday (Reuter).—With regard to "Land en Volk's" recent statement† concerning the result of the conference between Lord Milner and the Boer leaders on the subject of Representative Government, General Botha has handed Reuter the following correspondence for publication:—

High Commissioner's Office, December 30, 1904.  
Dear General Botha,—I regret the appearance of a misleading statement in the press with regard to our recent interview. You and your friends came to me at my own request. You made no "demands," but simply discussed informally and in a most frank and reasonable spirit a number of points with regard to which I consulted you in connection with the proposal to give representative institutions to the Transvaal. The conversation resulted in no definite conclusion. It was never intended that it should. It differed in no respect from a similar conversation which I have had on various occasions with other representative men, from whose judgment and experience of the country I hoped to derive guidance on this important subject. I have no wish to shirk my own responsibility in this matter, but surely it is only reasonable that in advising His Majesty's Government on a matter of this importance, I should try to acquaint myself with

\* No. 5.

† See page 8.

the views of leading men of all sections of the community. I am grateful to your friends, as well as to others who have been willing to help me in this matter, and I feel bound to prevent, as far as I can, their action being misinterpreted. Therefore, if you think fit to give publicity to this letter, you are at complete liberty to do so.—Yours very truly,

MILNER.

General Botha replied to Lord Milner's communication in the following terms:—

Pretoria, January 7, 1905.

His Excellency Lord Milner,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 30th December, in which Your Excellency expresses regret at the appearance of misleading statements in the press with regard to our interview. We, on our part, have felt greatly annoyed with these statements, as they are absolutely false in every particular, and, as Your Excellency will probably have seen, one of the gentlemen who were present at the interview has already denied in the press the accuracy of the statements. I have therefore all the more pleasure in adopting Your Excellency's suggestion of publishing, and thanking Your Excellency for making it.—I have the honour to be, Your Excellency's obedient servant,

L. BOTHA.

General Botha also contradicts "Land en Volk's" statement to the effect that a split had occurred between Mr. A. D. Wolmarans and the other Boer leaders. General Botha says the relations between all the Boer leaders with regard to their policy have never been more harmonious than at the present juncture.

(2.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," January 11th, 1905.

THE "RESPONSIBLES."

A SECOND DEPUTATION TO LORD MILNER.

A deputation from the Transvaal Responsible Government Association waited upon Lord Milner yesterday morning. It consisted of Mr. E. P. Solomon (President of the Association), Mr. Thos. Cullinan (Vice-President), Messrs. Hy. Adler, R. Goldmann, Geo. A. Hay, and D. Dalgety (hon. secretary).

No representatives of the press were present, but last night we received the following account of the proceedings from Reuter's Johannesburg Agency, and we believe that this record is correct:—

The deputation urged upon Lord Milner that the conferring of Representative Government would not meet the requirements of the people nor the requirements of the country, and that the only way of securing the support of the Dutch and all sections of the community was to confer immediate Responsible Government. If the British Government forced Representative Government upon the Transvaal against the will of the majority of the people, the deputation believed that it would alienate the Dutch section of the community, as well as a large section of the British residents.

The questions of qualifications for voters and the electoral districts, and the automatic adjustment of seats through the increased population were also discussed. The deputation suggested that the qualification should be all British males over twenty-one years of age, and after a bona fide residence of from twelve to eighteen months, also either owning property of the value of £100, or in receipt of an income of £50 per annum, or occupancy of a house of annual rental value of £25. Lord Milner said that those qualifications were practically the same as had been suggested by other parties, and that he personally favoured a residential clause.

It now transpires that it was the original intention that the interview with Lord Milner was to be of a private nature, at the request of the association. Enquiries have elicited that in replying to the deputation Lord Milner stated that so far as he (Lord Milner) understood the intentions of the Imperial Government, it had been settled that a period of representative institution should precede the grant of full self-government. Further, that it was not in Lord Milner's own power to decide the question, and he had no instructions to consider the proposal of the granting of a full measure of self-government. So far as Lord Milner understood the matter, the utmost which would be granted in that direction was a Legislature in which all the members were elected by the people, and an Executive nominated by the Crown.

Lord Milner was also of the opinion that it was possible that in course of time certain of the elected members of the Legislature might be added to the Executive. Lord Milner said that as regards automatic adjustment of seats he was quite in favour of the suggestion, but the question of the electoral districts was a very difficult matter, and it was receiving the Home Government's and his careful attention. His Excellency said that he hoped that the Responsible Government Party would, however, work under the scheme he had mentioned.

(3.)

"STAR," January 11th, 1905.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

YESTERDAY'S DEPUTATION.

Reuter's Johannesburg Agency informs us that the report, published in our issue of yesterday evening, of the proceedings of the interview between the deputation from the

Responsible Government Association and Lord Milner, was obtained from one of the delegates from the association, who was present at the interview. It has since transpired that it was the original intention that the interview with Lord Milner was to be of a private nature, at the request of the association.

Further inquiries have elicited that, in replying to the deputation, Lord Milner stated that so far as he (Lord Milner) understood the intentions of the Imperial Government, it had been settled that a period of representative institutions should precede the grant of full self-government. Further, that it was not in Lord Milner's own power to decide the question, and he (Lord Milner) had no instructions to consider the proposal of the granting of a full measure of self-government. So far as Lord Milner understood the matter the utmost which would be granted in that direction was a Legislature in which all the members were elected by the people, and an executive nominated by the Crown.

Lord Milner was also of the opinion that it was possible that in course of time certain of the elected members of the Legislature might be added to the Executive.

Personally, Lord Milner favoured the suggestion of a residential clause regarding qualification of voters.

(4.)

“RAND DAILY MAIL,” January 14th, 1905.

#### TRADE UNIONISM.

##### ORGANISATION AND POLITICS.

A good audience met in the Transvaal Arms Hall last night under the auspices of the United Operative Bricklayers' Society of South Africa (Johannesburg branch), when Mr. J. Pitman presided.

Mr. Peter Whiteside addressed the meeting on the labour, the social, and political aspects of trade unionism. He commended the Trades Hall scheme, and said he hoped to see that hall become the corner house of labour. Considering the peculiar conditions of Johannesburg, it was obvious that they must take a very keen interest in the political aspect of the case. At present there were two political parties in the town—the Progressives, and what might be called the whole-hoggers—those who wanted immediate Responsible Government. He had no sympathy with the Progressive Party and their desire to have an interregnum of one or two years before they got full political institutions. They would remember that in the days before the war when they were agitating strenuously for political rights, the cry was that the Dutch should trust the Uitlanders. Had the franchise, which was ultimately offered by President Kruger, been accepted, the population would have had greater political rights than in any British Colony in the world.

Mr. R. Shanks said it stood to reason that only by combination could any common object be attained. He emphasised the point that the wage question was not the only one in which trade unionists should take an interest. They ought to take keen interest in the development and politics of the country in which they lived. The present was a time when he might appeal to them to take a greater interest in politics than in the past. They had been told that they were to have a new political system introduced into the country, and that they would have a broad-based franchise. How much thought had they given to the matter since that announcement was made some months ago? Political Associations had been formed—the Responsibles and the “Irresponsibles”—and they had to make up their minds whether they would be the one or the other. In the countries they had left they had all exercised their political responsibilities, and were they now to turn round and say they preferred the irresponsible attitude? Unless they exercised their minds more in the political direction than they had done in the past they would find they had missed their opportunities, and had allowed the erection of a system which their descendants would not thank them for. In his opinion the question had been shelved too long, but now it was coming forward, and he appealed to them to extend their interests beyond the bounds of trade unionism.

Mr. H. W. Sampson also addressed the meeting.

(5.)

“RAND DAILY MAIL,” January 14th, 1905.

#### PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION MANIFESTO.

##### ISSUED YESTERDAY.

The following Manifesto has been issued by the Transvaal Progressive Association:—

(1) On January 10 a deputation representing the Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association waited on His Excellency the High Commissioner to urge the inclusion in the new Constitution of the Transvaal of principles which would, for all time, place the white inhabitants of this country on a basis of absolute equality. The reply of His Excellency shows that there is a real danger that this may not be done.

##### ONE VOTE ONE VALUE.

(2) The question as to whether we should have a representative or responsible form of Government for the next few years is a matter of temporary and transitory importance, which can have no enduring consequences so far as the future is concerned. The change from Representative to Responsible Government may be effected by a stroke of the pen, but the main provi-

sions of the Constitution granted now will in all probability continue in force under Responsible Government. That being the case, it is clear that in framing the new Constitution we are dealing with factors and conditions which are in the nature of foundations which will endure in themselves, or their results, for generations. Under these circumstances the members of the deputation felt that the matters dealt with were of such vital importance to the future welfare of the Transvaal that the public were entitled to the fullest information as to what is taking place. So far the deputation of the Progressive Association constitutes the first and only public representation that has been made to His Excellency regarding the new Constitution. His Excellency, however, intimated that there was in existence a strong body of opinion opposed to the adoption of the principle of one vote one value, and the Executive of the Transvaal Progressive Association considers it its duty to enter an emphatic protest against any weight being given to secret representations on a matter of such grave public importance. The white inhabitants of the Transvaal are entitled to know who the parties or persons are who oppose the adoption of principles which would establish and maintain equal rights and equal privileges for each voter wherever situated.

(3) Several matters were dealt with at the interview, and it is evident from the reply of His Excellency, Lord Milner, that certain of the proposals submitted by our deputation will in all probability be included in the new Constitution. So we do not propose to further refer to these points for the present. There are, however, as we have already intimated, certain essential and fundamental principles which may not be included unless the pressure of a considerable body of public opinion is brought to bear on His Majesty's Government without delay.

#### ESSENTIAL POINTS.

(4) The essential points to which we refer are:—

- (a) Equal electoral districts, so that each member of the new Legislature represents an equal number either of the voters or of the white population of the country. In other words, supposing provision is made for 30 elected members and that the registration shows that there are 60,000 voters in the Transvaal, then 30 constituencies should be formed containing as near as can be 2,000 voters each; or, should a population basis be preferred, and taking the white population of the Transvaal to be roughly 300,000, then 30 constituencies should be formed containing as near as can be 10,000 white inhabitants each.
- (b) Automatic redistribution of constituencies periodically, say, every four years, without reference to the Legislature. This is absolutely necessary in order to permanently maintain electoral districts on a basis of equality.

The embodiment of these principles in the Constitution will, we hold, place our parliamentary institutions on a sound basis for all time.

Let us examine the two recommendations mentioned more in detail and see what are the arguments for and against their adoption.

#### ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

(5) Equal Electoral Districts on a Numerical Basis, preferably voters.

This principle prevails in the United States, Canada, Australian Commonwealth, and many European countries. It is simple, free from complications, and is generally recognised as being fair and just.

It has been suggested that it might be advisable to retain some of the old Volksraad divisions, even if this should entail giving these districts considerably better representation than they would be entitled to on a purely numerical basis.

Any such departure from the principle of equal electoral districts would, we are convinced, give rise to dissatisfaction. If such a consideration as the retention of old Volksraad districts is to be taken into account, then a large section of the population could with reason claim favoured treatment for the districts which bear the brunt of the taxation of the country. It can hardly be argued that contribution to the general revenue is a less important consideration in this country than the retention of old boundaries. Once a departure from the principle of equal electoral districts is made, it is practically impossible to limit the considerations which are to be taken into account. For instance, the Commission appointed in 1897 in Cape Colony to enquire into the practicability of securing better representation in the House of Assembly, whilst agreeing that the most important consideration in weighing the claims of each electoral division should be the number of voters, considered that "some allowance should be made for such considerations as its (the division's) density or sparseness of population, for its identity of interests, for its extent of area and value of property, and for intelligence."

It is felt that the task of the officials entrusted with the formation or revision of constituencies will be rendered extremely difficult if they are to take into account any consideration other than white voters or white population. In fact, it would be humanly impossible for such officials to give satisfaction in the exercise of any latitude that may be given them to depart from the principle of equal electoral districts. To give votes in one district a much greater value than those in another is bound to lead to heartburning and discontent, and cause accusations of favouritism and gerrymandering to be made against the officials entrusted with the formation of constituencies. Naturally the old boundaries, particularly those of the old field-cornet districts, would be adhered to so far as that could be done without unduly violating the principle of equal electoral districts.

#### THE KRUGER POLICY.

To favour the country districts as against the towns would simply be a continuation of the Kruger policy. In fact, it might almost be said that the beginning of the troubles of the Kruger Government was when, in 1886, the Volksraad deprived the towns of Pretoria, Rustenburg,



Lydenburg and Potchefstroom of due representation in the Volksraad (see note A). It is wise to take warning from the past in this respect, as the inhabitants of the towns of the Transvaal would not like to be treated as inferior to the rural inhabitants of the country. This is not a matter which concerns only Johannesburg or the Rand, but equally all the towns of the Transvaal. There is no defensible reason why the accident of residence should endow a voter in Bloemhof or the Waterberg with greater electoral power than a voter in Pretoria or Potchefstroom.

It must not be forgotten that the Volksraad divisions (the retention of which in the new Constitution is apparently being urged by some persons or parties) were laid out by the Kruger Government with the avowed object of advantaging the country districts and swamping the town and industrial populations. We may fairly claim to have that injustice not only redressed, but the repetition of it in the future rendered impossible under the new Constitution. It would be nothing less than a crying scandal were the new Constitution to perpetuate even a few of the anomalies of the old régime.

#### AUTOMATIC REDISTRIBUTION.

(6) Automatic Redistribution of Seats.—In a country where the European population may fluctuate largely in certain districts in the course of a few years, it is absolutely necessary to provide for an automatic increase of representation according to the increase in the number of voters. It has been found in America that ten years is too long a period to wait for adjustment of electoral districts, and the recently created States have provided in their constitutions for a census every five years, one census being taken by the Federal Government and the other by the State. This enables them to have a redistribution every five years. (See note D.)

The provision for automatic redistribution is of the greatest importance to avoid the interminable wrangling which must take place if the redistribution of seats has to be specially provided for each time by a new law. We have the example of the Cape as a warning to us to avoid this pitfall in the Transvaal. There would have been very much less race hatred at the Cape if the provision contained in the Australian Commonwealth Constitution had been in operation and seats had been redistributed periodically and automatically without reference to the Legislature.

The importance of providing for an automatic readjustment of constituencies in a new country cannot be exaggerated. Take the case of the Premier Diamond Mine; we may in five years' time have a town of 10,000 or 15,000 white inhabitants in that neighbourhood. Or take the case of the possible creation of an iron industry in the Middeburg district, which may lead to the establishment in a short period of a town of 20,000 souls or more.

Now it seems most desirable that such towns should receive the constitutional right to representation in the form of an automatic redistribution of seats without having to go cap in hand and beg from the legislature for a new measure of redistribution which would give them representation.

His Excellency, the High Commissioner, pointed out that there appeared to be more unanimity of opinion in favour of automatic redistribution, but that some seemed to think that it was a difficult thing to put in an Order in Council. The difficulty mentioned would no doubt be very great if the principle of equal electoral districts on a numerical basis were not adopted. If, however, the new Constitution provides for giving every vote the same value (or that each member of the Legislature shall represent an equal number of the population) there should be no more difficulty in providing in the Order in Council for an automatic redistribution of constituencies in the Transvaal than there was in the case of Canada and the Australian Commonwealth. (See notes B and G.)

#### TWO MAIN PRINCIPLES.

(7) Voters as a Basis of Representation.—It is suggested that electoral divisions should be formed on the basis of voters in preference to that of white population which prevails in America, Canada, and Australia. The basis of voters seems the fairest and the most logical, and it has this advantage: Voters are easy to count, and constituencies can therefore be readjusted as often as desirable, and not after every census, which is a direct gain in a country where the population may fluctuate largely in the course of ten years.

(8) The two main principles we are advocating—equal electoral districts on a numerical basis and the automatic redistribution of seats—are not new. On Lord Durham's recommendation (see note E) they were embodied in the Act creating the Dominion of Canada (see note B); they were also, after much thought and consideration, provided for in the Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth (see note C), which Constitution represents the most recent view of English communities on these points.

It is important to point out that practically the only difference between what the Transvaal Progressive Association is asking for and the system which prevails in America, Canada, and Australia (see notes B, C and D) is that the basis for the formation of electoral districts be white voters instead of white population.

(9) It is earnestly hoped that whatever constitution is granted to this country it will be one that has been fully considered from the Transvaal point of view. Nothing would be more likely to create permanent and widespread dissatisfaction than to impose on us an unsuited, ready-made constitution perpetuating antiquated provisions intended to meet certain peculiarities of other Colonies half a century ago.

(10) In conclusion, the white inhabitants of the Transvaal are strongly urged to use every constitutional means—petitions, deputations and resolutions at public meetings—to impress His Majesty's Government with the vital importance for the present and future welfare of this country that the new Constitution should contain provisions establishing at the outset and maintaining for the future equal electoral power and equal privileges for each voter wherever situated.

It would be disastrous to have promulgated for the Transvaal a constitution which was not based on the principle of one vote one value—the absolute equality for all time of all the white inhabitants of the country.

There is no time to lose; delay in moving in this matter may be fatal.

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ANNEXES.

NOTE "A."

THE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF PRETORIA, RUSTENBURG, LYDENBURG, AND POTCHEFSTROOM IN 1886.

The following is an extract from the leading columns of the "Transvaal Advertiser," published on the 4th August, 1886, with reference to the disfranchisement of the towns of Pretoria, Rustenburg, Lydenburg, and Potchefstroom by the Volksraad on July 29, of the same year, by 23 to 12 votes:—

"By a resolution passed by the First Volksraad on Thursday last, the chief towns, including the Capital, have been disfranchised. We do not know whether the course has been adopted as a punishment for those centres of population being more energetic, wealthy, or intelligent than the rural districts of the S.A.R., but a more scandalous violation of right and justice can scarcely be conceived than that involved in the curtailment of the representation in the Volksraad of the wealth and intelligence which centres in the urban population.

"But the injustice thus devised is only equalled by the utter folly and extreme danger of the measure. If an enemy of the Republic had proposed it and with Gladstonian wiles had induced the Volksraad to give its sanction, we could have understood the motive and pitied the delusion. But it is not so, and the blow against the solidarity of the Republic has been struck—not by an avowed enemy but by the pretended friends of freedom and independence. For whatever may be the difficulties engendered by this most mad and insensate action the country will have to thank those members who are assuming to be the truly patriotic sons of the soil. We had hoped from the recent policy adopted towards the gold fields that the Government and Legislature had become aware of the inevitable tendency of events, and were preparing to turn it to the advantage of the country. But it appears that such is not the case, and the prosciency which dictated the expenditure of nearly £30,000 upon the gold fields has been exhausted in the effort.

"If the country—illiterate, prejudiced and poverty-stricken—is about to put itself against the enlightened and energetic population of the towns, it is not difficult to say what the end will be. At this time of day, and with all the advantages of experience, it might be thought that the Volksraad would have hesitated before making such sweeping changes; but no, an accidental discussion occurred, and the fundamental principle of the representation of the people was changed after a few hours' discussion and a measure passed which cannot fail to produce results as dangerous to the maintenance of the present form of government as could be easily devised. We are constantly hearing of intrigues being carried on against the Republic and the Government, but the efforts of the intrigues—if such there be—would fall far short of causing the damage which this short-sighted policy of the Raad is doing. It is an universally accepted axiom in politics that where there is taxation there must also be representation. The towns of the Transvaal contribute more largely than the other portions of the Republic to the revenue of the State. Business is more active, and the amount of capital concentrated in the trading centres is infinitely larger than that held in the outlying districts. Commercial communities have interests more extensive and of more universal importance than the raisers of cattle and the growers of foodstuffs in this country. And if only for the fact that they are the means of distribution as well as accumulation they require to be specially well served in the Legislature. Our Solons, however, have thought otherwise, and have deprived the chief commercial centres of the shred of representation hitherto afforded by law and reason.

"It may be quite true that so long as the Volksraad is constituted as at present, but little advantage can be secured by the members representing the larger towns. Their best efforts have been nullified by the man of ignorance who has been sent to represent the country districts, but after all the urban members were making their influence felt, and the confession that it was so is shown by the effort to eliminate intelligence and common sense from the composition of the Raad. The French Republic has distinguished itself recently by an act as foolish and short-sighted in expelling princes from the soil of France. By so doing the day that shall witness the dissolution of the French Republic has been hastened, and the hands of her enemies have been armed and strengthened by the injustice which has been done to a few men of high social position. How much more dangerous is it for our Government and Legislature to set clan against clan in this country. What possible chance is there of the country progressing under such a régime? Day by day the ranks of the disaffected are being strengthened, and hour by hour they are forming a demand which will be heard, and that must be attended to by the Volksraad and Government. And yet at this time in the very crisis of our fate the Legislature has chosen to set the town against the country by a contemptuous disregard of justice and policy. It is satisfactory to see that our contemporary, the 'Volksstem,' has raised its voice against this exhibition of jealousy and littleness, and there can be no doubt that the warning given, 'the time may not be far off when they will deeply rue their short-sighted spitefulness,' will be fully justified by events."

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## NOTE "B."

## CANADA.

On the completion of the Census in the year 1871, and of each subsequent decennial census the representation of the four Provinces shall be readjusted by such authority, in such manner, and from such time, as the Parliament of Canada from time to time provides, subject, and according to the following rules:—

- (1) Quebec shall have the fixed number of 65 members.
- (2) There shall be assigned to each of the other Provinces such a number of members as will bear the same proportion to the number of its population (ascertained at such census) as the number 65 bears to the number of the population of Quebec so ascertained).
- (3) In the computation in the number of members for a Province a fractional part not exceeding half of the whole number requisite for entitling the Province to a member shall be disregarded; but a fractional part exceeding half of that number shall be equivalent to the whole number.
- (4) On any such readjustment the number of members for a Province shall not be reduced, unless the proportion which the number of the population of the Province bore to the number of the aggregate population of Canada at the then last preceding readjustment of the number of members for the Province is ascertained at the then latest census to be diminished by 1-20th part or upwards.
- (5) Such readjustment shall not take effect until the termination of the then existing Parliament.—B.N.A. Act 1867, section 51.

## NOTE "C."

## THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

## CONSTITUTION OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members directly chosen by the people of the Commonwealth, and, the number of such members shall be, as nearly as practicable, twice the number of the Senators.

The numbers chosen in the several States shall be in proportion to the respective numbers of their people, and shall, until the Parliament otherwise provides, be determined, whenever necessary, in the following manner:—

- (1) A quota shall be ascertained by dividing the number of the people of the Commonwealth as shown by the latest statistics of the Commonwealth, by twice the number of the Senators.
- (2) The number of members to be chosen in each State shall be determined by dividing the number of the people of the State, as shown by the latest statistics of the Commonwealth, by the quota; and if on such division there is a remainder greater by one-half of the quota, one more member shall be chosen in the State.

(The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 63 and 64 Vict. Part III., section 24.)

## NOTE "D."

## CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.

Article 2.—Legislative Department.

Section 3.—The Legislature shall provide by law for the enumeration of the State in the year 1895 and every ten years thereafter; and at the first session after such enumeration, and also after each enumeration made by the authority of the United States, the Legislature shall apportion and district anew the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, according to the number of inhabitants, excluding Indians not taxed, soldiers, sailors and officers of the United States army and navy in active service.

## NOTE "E."

## LORD DURHAM ON CANADA.

The history of Canada offers a most striking lesson to us at the present moment. When Lord Durham went to Canada in 1838 he found a bitter struggle, not of principles, but of races, with the inhabitants of Lower Canada divided into two divisions of French and English, with the French in a considerable numerical majority. Lord Durham's description of the French Canadians and the English Canadians, and the race-hatred that existed between them would apply with absolute accuracy to the condition of the Dutch and English in South Africa to-day, Lord Durham recommended the establishment of one Responsible Government for Upper and Lower Canada, and the following portion of his report has an important bearing on the subject we are considering:—

"As the mere amalgamation of the Houses of Assembly of the two Provinces would not be advisable, or give at all a due share of representation to each, a Parliamentary

Commission should be appointed, for the purpose of forming the electoral divisions, and determining the number of members to be returned, on the principle of giving representation, as near as may be, in proportion to the population. I am averse to every plan that has been proposed for giving an equal number of members to the two Provinces, in order to attain the temporary end of outnumbering the French, because I think the same object will be obtained without any violation of the principles of representation, and without any such appearance of injustice in the scheme as would set public opinion, both in England and America, strongly against it; and because, when immigration shall have increased the English population of the Upper Province, the adoption of such a principle would operate and defeat the very purpose it is intended to serve. It appears to me that such an electoral arrangement, founded on the present provincial divisions, would tend to defeat the purposes of union, and perpetuate the idea of disunion."

Lord Durham's advice of giving representation in proportion to population was eventually adopted—Section 37 B.N.A Act 1867—and probably the adoption of this particular recommendation has contributed more than anything else towards making the inhabitants of Canada the united and contented nation they are to-day.

(6.)

"TRANSVAAL LEADER," January 16, 1905.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION.

SATURDAY'S INAUGURAL DINNER.

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

A COMPROMISE SUGGESTED.

The inaugural dinner in connection with the Transvaal Responsible Government Association was held in the Grand National Hotel on Saturday night. The chair was occupied by Mr. E. P. Solomon (the President), and a large number of members of the Association attended. Among the guests were: Messrs. E. P. Solomon (President), T. M. Cullinan (Vice-President), T. M. C. Nourse (Vice-President), W. Kidger Tucker, C.M.G., M. R. Greenlees, J. W. Quinn, J. W. S. Langermann, E. Esselen, John Dougall, F. W. Spencer, W. A. MacFadyen, G. Adamson (editor, "Rand Daily Mail"), J. T. Rabie, D. Strachan, R. Dawson (editor "Transvaal Leader"), C. K. McKenna, Dav. Dalgety (Secretary), K. Dunbar Anderson, M. J. Farrell, Dr. J. Wright Matthews, P. W. Tracey, Henry Adler, G. W. Paddon, R. J. Pakeman, C. Rissik, C. A. Wentzel, H. B. Papenfus, C. Rooth, H. Crawford, W. Duxbury, Dr. Savage, R. L. McCowat, A. S. Raitt, R. Shanks, M. Bell, J. J. Vickers, A. Cook, W. Wybergh, Howard Pim, H. G. Soames, Dr. Saunders, J. J. Jennings, W. F. Savage, G. F. Savage, D. Meares, H. W. Adler, C. Powell, C. Cory Kernick, J. H. L. Findlay, D. W. Coles, W. Routledge, E. Chappell, G. A. Mulligan, J. Dowell Ellis, R. Goldmann, W. T. H. Frost, H. J. Hofmeyer, Dr. Squire, C. Short, P. G. Shepherd, R. B. Greer, R. G. Campbell Pitt, Cullis Rely, C. Kleudgen, P. O'Hea, J. Burger, George Hurry, R. N. Conolly, Dr. Bourke, Geo. A. Hay, C. C. Perring, J. J. Jennings, Louis Corbally, L. Edwards, A. Langebrink, E. Brayshaw, J. H. Rainier, J. J. Symington, W. Kidger, E. W. Fergusson, C. de R. Canisius, W. de R. Canisius, A. Meischke, P. Dyer, A. Lucas, O. J. J. van Wijk, W. Fraser, H. de V. Steytler, T. Kleimberg, C. E. Ward, D. Steyn, H. Lorentz, E. S. H. Williams, D. C. Smith, E. Danckwerts, J. McIntosh, C. R. Gardner, A. E. Steytler, J. B. Woolley, J. C. Adlam, W. H. Harrison, A. J. Yates, L. Charlston. Goch, Manfred Nathan, B. Alexander, Lionel Cohen, J. Andrew Cohen, E. Y. Peel, T. O. Laing, R. V. Middleton, Dr. McNeil, Fred. W. Bell, E. C. Lowe, R. Bertram, P. D. Bertram, Clem D. Webb, W. Goddard, T. Casement, and De Witt Hamer.

Apologies for absence were received from the following gentlemen: A. Johnston (Mayor of Pretoria), W. M. Edwards (Krugersdorp), J. J. Williams (Heidelberg), J. Rose-Innes (Barberton), J. E. Naser (Klerksdorp), Liston R. Bateson (Schweizer-Reinecke), T. W. Beckett, E. F. Bourke, J. G. van Boeschoten (Pretoria), R. C. Francis, Dr. O'Reilly (Heidelberg), Charles Jerome, J. Dale Lace, Abe Bailey, G. Halle ("Critic"), Ernest Pitt, and Dr. Savage.

After the loyal toasts had been honoured,

Mr. M. R. GREENLEES.

Mr. M. R. Greenlees gave "The Transvaal Responsible Government Association." He said he took it that all present were in favour of Responsible Government for the Transvaal, but the only question was as to when it should be introduced. (Hear, hear.) Their association said at once. (Hear, hear.) He thought if a poll were taken in this country and also in Great Britain that the result in each country would be a substantial majority in favour of Responsible Government being granted. But the British Government, the High Commissioner, and a considerable minority in the Transvaal said "No; there must be a period of probation." Why should there be? Was it because the Government distrusted the Boer? He did not think it was, if they could not trust him now, how could they do so in two, five, or ten years? That was not the real reason of the delay. The real reason was that it was a tradition of the British Empire that Representative Government should come before Responsible Government. (Hear, hear.) It had become a sort of pre-ordained system. Those who were students of constitutional history knew this, but unfortunately a large party of people in this country did not know it, and

thought they were not being trusted. They were asking nothing revolutionary, but simply that one stepping-stone in the constitutional history of this country be passed over, under very exceptional circumstances.

Mr. SOLOMON.

Mr. E. P. Solomon said: Mr. Greenlees, on behalf of the Association, I thank you for the toast you have proposed this evening, and I thank you, gentlemen, for the manner in which you have responded to it. Before I proceed to speak to it I would like to make a few preliminary remarks. The first thing I wish to say is that we had two objects in asking you to meet us to-night at this gathering. The first was to get closer acquaintance, closer union with friends of ours who are living in other parts of the Transvaal, and whose sympathies are identical with our own. The second object was to make known, not only within the four walls of this Association, but to make known throughout South Africa, and even beyond that—aye, to go to the 40 millions of people living in that little isle 6,000 miles away, that they also may know our objects, our views, and our aspirations. We do not stop there, gentlemen. We wish our views, objects, and aims to be made known to our King. (Applause.) We wish him to know what we want in this country, what Government we want, and if we plead with him we shall not have to wait very long. (Applause.) I have a few remarks to make which I hope will not be considered presumptuous on my part. I wish these remarks to refer more especially to members of this Association—a few words of advice—and I say to them this: that in any of your conversations with those opposed to you on this great subject, or even if you have to express your opinion on a public platform, let your language be moderate. But with all moderation let there be firmness. Let them know what we want and what we intend to fight for in the future. (Applause.) Another thing I ask is this: Do not use personalities. Do not impute motives to persons. Give them credit for having formed their opinions from conscientious motives. And all I ask in return of them is that they do the same, and give us credit for forming our opinions conscientiously. (Applause.) Not like Mr. Orpen, who at Standerton the other day said there were a few ambitious men in the Transvaal who desired Responsible Government. A few! If it had not been for the weather this evening you would have seen a gathering on the Market Square which would have astonished the people of the Transvaal—men imbued with a full sense of their interests and responsibilities, who would have gone there and by their vote shown you they were in earnest and intended to get what they wanted. (Applause.) I sympathised with the promoters of that meeting, because the weather has made it impossible to hold it, but a little thing like the weather or a thunderstorm cannot prevent us from going on with the work, and that meeting is to be held on Wednesday next. I hope a lot of you will attend it and support the resolutions.

#### THE RIVAL ASSOCIATIONS.

In dealing with the toast Mr. Greenlees has proposed to-night it will be necessary for me to explain to you the objects of our Association. And in doing that I shall have to criticise, or rather compare our objects with the objects of another Association—the Progressive Association, or what I call the Retrogressive Association. (Laughter.) Our objects are as follows: "To advocate the immediate establishment of Responsible Government in the Transvaal for the following reasons: (1) That political stability and contentment can only be assured by the full admission of the principle that the wishes and the interests of the people of this Colony must prevail, subject only to the highest Imperial considerations. (2) That the growth of a vigorous independent spirit in political life will inevitably be retarded by the establishment of any system short of complete Responsible Government." There you have in a few words not only what the object is—the immediate introduction of Responsible Government in this country, but the reasons, in very small compass, why we want it. Now let us see the platform of the Progressive Association, and let me say here that when I saw that association had formed, I rejoiced, I was glad because your political life in this country cannot be very sound unless you have opposition. The very essence of Responsible Government is opposition. By opposition you get out from your opponents everything that is necessary to make political life stirring in this country. Now, gentlemen, let me tell you that in regard to these planks in the platform of the Progressive Association, we are at one with them on, I think, five. I think they have altered that clause about the flag. They have crossed out "flag" and changed it to "maintain the principle of Imperial union." On that point we are at one with them. There is not a man in this room, not a man in our association, who would dare to say he was not in favour of this; if he did, he would leave our association to-morrow. (Loud applause.) Their second plank I shall leave until later. The next was, "To uphold the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges and their votes the same value." We agree with that. I told Lord Milner at a meeting the other day that all voters must be equal. No one man should have a right over another man. So we are at one with that. The fourth is, "To establish a firm and just Asiatic and native policy, in accordance with Transvaal ideas." That is our plank, not theirs. I will tell you why. They dare not, under the representative form of government, claim that right without the consent of the British Government. (Hear, hear.) With Self-Government, with Responsible Government, we have the right. (Applause.) They have to ask Downing-street for permission before they can claim that. No. 5 is, "To support any measure that tends to make the Transvaal a white man's home." Who is opposed to that in this room? No one. "To oppose interference in domestic affairs by party politicians elsewhere." That is ours. How dare they ask for that in their platform, for once we have Responsible Government in this country home politicians dare not interfere. If you have Representative Government in this country, your laws will be subject to veto at Home—I am coming to the question of veto as Lord Milner interpreted it later on—but when we have Responsible Government we dare them to interfere with us unless it trenches upon Imperial interests. That is the only and sole right they have. When we pass laws in this country under Responsible Government which are opposed to Imperial interests, then the Imperial Government steps forward and says, "Stop." They have never attempted it in any other country, and never would in this country. No. 7 is, "To restrict the

franchise to white people only." That is ours. Now we come to the second heading on their platform—Representative Government. What do they mean by "Representative Government"? Has any man in this association ever dared to come forward and tell us what form of Representative Government they want? They dare not. They disagree amongst themselves as to what form of government they want. You have had Mr. Abe Bailey and Sir William van Hulsteyn echoing him in an interview with "South Africa" five months ago. Mr. Abe Bailey said the form of government he wanted—because he was afraid of the Boers—was a form of government by which the House of Parliament should be divided into two sections, one elected and one nominated. That was feebly echoed by Sir William van Hulsteyn. The same idea was given out by Sir Gilbert Parker. What right he had to come in and interfere, I don't know. (Laughter and "We say so, too.") I defy these gentlemen—Mr. Abe Bailey, with all his wealth and his "cattle on a thousand hills," as he says, to come to a public meeting—a representative public meeting, not a packed one—and announce those views, and say that the policy he favours is a Parliament half nominated and half elected. I tell you he won't get five votes in the whole assembly. (Applause.) I want to know what the Progressive Party wants—what form of Representative Government they want. Responsible Government is also Representative Government—it is pure Representative Government. The distinction between Responsible Government and what they call Representative Government is in this essential principle: that the representative form of government, as they call theirs, is associated with an irresponsible Ministry. With Responsible Government, which is also a representative form of government, you have a responsible Ministry—responsible not only to Parliament, but to the people, or, I should say, to the people through Parliament. And when the Government under Responsible Government do not carry out the wishes of the people, they go, and the majority in the House elect a new Ministry. What have you with what they call Representative Government? You have a Ministry elected by the Crown, and that Ministry retains office as long as the Crown pleases—"subject to the pleasure of the Crown" are the words, I think. No matter what resolutions are passed adverse to their policy by members of the House, no matter how severe are the censures from the House on the Ministry, they retain their positions, subject to the pleasure of the Crown. You have no right to turn them out; they remain there probably for life. Don't tell me this is an imaginary idea of mine. I have lived in Cape Colony, where I saw that thing done. I saw under a representative form of government votes of censure passed, not once, but several times, on the last Ministry, and they simply kept their seats and defied Parliament and the people of the country. Is that the form of government you want for this country? (Voices: "No.") That was the essential difference.

#### THE VETO.

Now we come to the question of the veto. Lord Milner, in an interview he had with the Progressive Party this week or last week, told them that the veto was the same whether it was under Representative Government or Responsible Government. Gentlemen, I do not want to put my views against a great authority like Lord Milner, but I tell you, and I tell him, that in theory he may be right but in practice he is not. (Applause.) The only time—as I have told you already—that the British Government interferes with measures passed in a House of Parliament where you have Responsible Government is when they trench upon the rights of Imperial interests. I do not know of a single occasion in Cape Colony where there was interference since Responsible Government, but there were numerous cases when they had Representative Government. Where this Government is they do interfere. Therefore in theory Lord Milner was quite right, but in practice he was entirely wrong. (Hear, hear.) I know what will happen next week. I, a small man, a unit in this assembly, in the community of Johannesburg, dare put my views against Lord Milner—I know what will happen, and you will see it. I won't tell you now. (Voices: "Tell us.")

#### THE PROGRESSIVE CONSTITUTION.

The question we have to decide in this country is whether we can be ruled by Downing-street, influenced by politicians all over the United Kingdom, or whether we are going to rule our own affairs in this country. Whether the people of this country are going to be ruled by the people—that is the point you are going to decide to-night. I am told by men who don't agree with me: "Don't worry; there is practically no difference between us." I tell them that if they call that no difference, they don't understand the question. The difference is most vital in my opinion as to whether you men of intelligence are going to rule this country and pass laws without interference, or whether you are going to be dictated to from Downing-street by a number of politicians who don't know you, your affairs, or circumstances. (Applause.) A deputation of the Progressive Party attended on Lord Milner, and a deputation from ours also attended. To-day I see in the public Press a new Constitution—that a new Constitution has been issued by the Progressive Party which practically is simply their ideas as to what franchise should be granted; their ideas as regards redistribution, and a few other points of that kind, and then to pad the whole Constitution they take an extract from a newspaper leading article of 1886, probably written by some irresponsible person, because editors of papers then were not the class of men they are to-day—it was probably a man practically unknown and of no experience—and yet they attach this leading article to their Constitution. In an interview we had with Lord Milner, we also touched upon the same question, and I may tell you that there is very slight difference with regard to the qualification of a voter. But before we go to that, we must know what Constitution we are to have. We are asking to know what Constitution is to be settled, and we say we can do no more. Now we are told by Lord Milner in an interview, that "apart entirely from any personal opinion, I have received instructions from the Home Government to make what suggestions I can, and to throw all the light I can upon the execution of what is their settled policy, which is to introduce a form of Representative Legislature elected by the people with an Executive which will continue for a time to be appointed by the Crown."

## A FORMIDABLE WEAPON.

That evidently is the form of Government they are going to give. If that is what the British Government is going to give us it will not meet with the requirements of this country; it will not meet with the approval of the majority of the people of this country. (Applause.) I go further and say that if that measure is forced upon us it will engender the most bitter feelings in the community, and will cause disruption amongst the English portions of the Transvaal. (Applause.) And I tell you why I say that. If that form of Government is given to us, at the very first election which takes place, we who are in favour of Responsible Government will join hands and stand as one man in this country. We will elect men to that Parliament who will support the immediate introduction of Responsible Government. (Cheers.) There will be no split then amongst the Responsibles, as they want to boast about, but we will stand together on that great question and return men pledged to carry at the first session a Responsible Government Constitution for this country. And if that be so, I tell you, gentlemen, we will return a majority in that Parliament, and where are they then? You pass a resolution to adjourn the House, and ask the English Government to decide the steps they are going to take on that measure, or otherwise you block every measure the Government introduces; you stop their supplies until you force them to give you what the majority of the House is resolved upon. (Cheers.) I am told by my friends on the other side that that is very un-English; that it is not fair. My reply is: "It is politics, and it is the right of the majority of the country to rule and carry their resolutions into effect." Where is the unfairness of that? As a matter of principle in politics, we would be justified, if that resolution were carried, to block every resolution of the Government, and what is the position of the Government then? Powerless; and, like everything else powerless, useless for any good. And what is a Government for but to frame laws for the progress of the country. If they cannot do that, what is the use of them? They are there simply as dummies, who can't carry a single measure, and that is the great drawback of your representative form of government; whereas, under Responsible Government, you would turn them out and put in men supported by the majority in the House who had carried the resolution. (Applause.)

## DANGERS AHEAD.

But before I go further let me tell you, if this election takes place, what the result will be. The result will be that you create ill-feeling amongst our personal friends. There will be disruption amongst the English section of this community, and there will be the alienation of the Dutch population. And once this disruption and alienation occurs, it will take years to bring them into the position they formerly occupied. (Applause.) Are these men going to take this responsibility for the sake of one solitary year? I think not.

## WILLIAM PORTER'S OPINIONS.

I am not going to give you my views entirely on this question; I am going to give you the opinions of two men—two of England's most famous statesmen—and I am going to ask you to follow their views, their opinions, and if you do, you cannot go far wrong. The first opinion I will quote is the opinion of a man whom few in this room probably know by name, and whom still fewer have even seen—the late William Porter, of the Cape Colony. (Applause.) I am going to give you a very brief sketch of who William Porter was, for those who never heard of him. It requires a more eloquent tongue than mine to give a sketch of that great man's career—his ability, and his genius—and therefore I will be brief in telling you who William Porter was. In stature he was a grand man, who stood over six feet in height, and when last I had the honour of seeing him I could not but admire him. His hair was white as snow, and he looked a picture of a man. He was Attorney-General for the Cape Colony in the Cape Government for, I believe, nearly twenty years. William Porter as a genius was a giant. Had he remained in England and taken part in the politics of that country, he would have stood in the very first rank of the giants of his day in that country. He was a man honoured and respected far and wide throughout South Africa, and you have only to mention his name in the Cape Colony to-day, although he has been dead nearly thirty years, to see it received with respect by every man in the community. When he retired from the Attorney-General's office he was elected immediately as senior member for Capetown, and he took a leading part in the great fight the Cape Colony had for Responsible Government. He stood side by side with men like Sir J. Molteno and Saul Solomon, who fought the battle for Responsible Government in the Cape, and carried it. When the resolution was carried, the Government asked the Attorney-General, Mr. Griffiths, to introduce a Bill to give effect to it. Mr. Griffiths refused to do so. That, as I told you, was under a representative form of government. (Laughter.) No Attorney-General would dare to refuse a command of that sort under Responsible Government. (Hear, hear.) The Government then sent for William Porter, and asked him to draft a Bill. It was duly drafted, and remains on the Statute Book of the Cape Colony to-day. He introduced the measure in the House, and in his introductory remarks, among other things, he said that from his experience of Representative Government it was rotten to the core. I will read you a very brief portion of the speech he delivered in introducing that measure; and remember, not only was he a man of intellect, but of an experience of twenty years. He said: "While I am for Responsible Government, I do not expect it to work wonders—no, the age of miracles is past. I do not say that if you give us Responsible Government all the mountain passes will be opened and all the rivers bridged; I do not say that if you give us Responsible Government the whole Colony will be covered with rails. I do not expect that; but I do expect that fresh vigour and fresh energy will be infused into the body politic, and that it will carry the Colony forward on the path of progress. I have always held the view that to work representative institutions without Responsible Government is a rash and a dangerous experiment." These are the words of a man with 20 years' experience. You should bear them in mind as words of

value. In conclusion he said: "For my own part it is now more than ten years ago that I delivered my views in this very hall. Nothing has occurred since to weaken those views, but much has occurred to strengthen them. I wish to see a strong Executive; I wish to see a career opened to Colonial talent, and to see the character of Parliament raised by making the public services in it the honourable road to high political office; and believing as I do in the benefits which the Australian and Canadian Colonies have struggled for and won, and that this South African Colony is also able to struggle for and win, I wish this Cape of Good Hope may also possess that without which parliamentary institutions become a mockery, a delusion, and a snare—I mean a Responsible Ministry, possessing the confidence of the Legislature and the people." He tells you that Representative Government was a mockery, a delusion, and a snare 30 years ago, and it is the form of Government which was declared then to be a mockery and a delusion which they want to force on the people of this country at the present day.

#### LORD DURHAM.

I am going away from South Africa now to Canada. I am going to quote you the opinion of a man like Lord Durham. (Applause.) As a brief, introductory sketch of how this report (Lord Durham in Canada) was written, I would like to say that Canada at that time was divided into two portions—Upper and Lower Canada. As a matter of fact, Upper Canada was inhabited mainly, if not entirely, by English-born subjects, and Lower Canada by French Canadians. There had been, as you know, a revolution—they had a representative form of Government—(laughter)—and the state of matters became very extreme. Practically chaos reigned in Canada. The two sections of the community—as we have in this country also—were at loggerheads upon every matter. They suspected each other, I almost said of high treason, but in every department of life. Lord Durham was sent to Canada to see what he could do. Now, to give you an idea of what French Canada was at that time I will read his words, and I ask you to read the word "Boer" instead of "French Canadian," and see if it does not fit: "They cling to ancient prejudices, ancient customs, and ancient laws, not from any strong sense of their beneficial effects, but with the unreasoning tenacity of an uneducated and unprogressive people. Nor were they wanting in the virtues of a simple and industrious life, or in those which common consent attributes to the nation from which they sprung. It is not difficult to conceive how greatly the evils which I have described as previously existing have been aggravated by the war, how terror and revenge nourished in each portion of the population a bitter and irreconcilable hatred to each other, and to the institutions of the country. The French population, who had for some time exercised a great and increasing power through the medium of the House of Assembly, found their hopes unexpectedly prostrated in the dust." Then he goes on to say that the two sections in the country "rarely meet at the inns in the cities; the principal hotels are almost exclusively filled with English and foreign travellers, and the French are for the most part received at each other's houses or in boarding-houses, in which they meet with few English." He then goes on to tell us: "I will not dwell on the melancholy scenes exhibited in the progress of the contest, or the fierce passions which held an unrestricted sway during the insurrection, or immediately after its suppression. It is not difficult to conceive how greatly the evils which I have described as previously existing have been aggravated by the war; how terror and revenge nourished in each portion of the population a bitter and irreconcilable hatred to each other, and to the institutions of the country. In such a state of feelings, the course of Civil Government is hopelessly suspended. No confidence can be felt in the stability of any existing institution or the security of present property. It cannot occasion surprise that this state of things should have destroyed the tranquillity and happiness of families; that it should have depreciated the value of property, and that it should have arrested the settlement and improvement of the country. Without a change in our system of Government the discontent which now prevails will spread and advance." They were under a Representative form of Government remember. He continues: "It is difficult to understand how any English statesman could have imagined that Representative and Irresponsible Government could be successfully combined. It has never been clearly explained what are the Imperial interests which require this complete nullification of Representative Government. It was a vain delusion to imagine that by mere limitations in the Constitutional Act or an exclusive system of Government strong in the consciousness of welding the public opinion of the majority could regard certain portions of the provincial revenues as sacred from its control." (It is the same way here.) "It needs no change in the principles of Government, no invention of a new constitutional theory to supply a remedy which would, in my opinion completely remove existing political disorders." Then he goes on to illustrate that the form of Government which should be introduced was Responsible Government. (Hear, hear.) The state of that country then was infinitely worse than the state of this country. I can take General Botha into the Rand Club, and you will see gentlemen there welcoming him, and who are glad to see him. That was not the state in Canada. They were at loggerheads and suspicious of each other—opposed at every meeting and every assembly, in the streets and everywhere. You have only to read this report—one of the finest ever written by a statesman from England—to find the position. What was the result? For once the British Government accepted the counsel given them, and a Bill was passed to give Canada Responsible Government: I will now read the editor's notes as to the effect of that: "It is true that Durham's hopes in one sense were never realised: the English and the French races have never fused into one. It is impossible to destroy a white nation, and the French of Canada retain their language, their religion, and their cherished customs. But the two races, sensible of their own common dangers, and not unresponsive to a large-hearted policy, were able to live in amity until in the fulness of time the legislative union of the two Canadas gave way to the Great Federal Dominion of 1867." That was the result—although the two nations did not fuse into one, they worked together harmoniously. The bitter feelings and enmities were suppressed, and Canada progressed and became a Dominion. That was the work of a statesman like Durham. (Applause.)



## EPIITAPHS.

When his son-in-law, Lord Elgin, left Canada—he had been appointed Governor—he said this: “Durham had determined to know nothing of British, French, or Canadian parties, but to look upon them all as Her Majesty’s subjects.” (Loud cheers.) That is the point. There was no distinction. They were equal in Durham’s eyes. No matter what their descent was, they were British subjects. (Applause.) The editor of this report says: “His wise counsel is as useful now as it was then, and its fruit may be as splendid.” Elgin says: “Let them feel that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices, if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, and who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian?” The editor says: “Seventy years have passed; the storms of faction are spent, and Durham sleeps in his quiet grave. The western winds, blown from Canadian snows, visit his resting-place, and, it may be, bear him tidings of the nation which his noble mercy and his wisdom made free and loyal. Let British statesmen for ever praise and imitate his example.” (Loud applause.) I wish that Lord Milner could see eye to eye with Lord Durham in this matter. (Applause.) If Lord Milner could see eye to eye with Lord Durham as regards this Colony, some historian in the future might write of him: “The storms of faction are silent, and Milner sleeps in his quiet grave. The southern winds blown from South African shores visit his resting-place, and, it may be, bear him tidings of the nation which his noble mercy and his wisdom made free and loyal.” (Applause.) If Lord Milner could see eye to eye—but until then he will not have that epitaph to his memory.

Every Canadian knows and feels that he is a free man; that he has equal rights with the latest arrival from England to Canada’s shores. He knows that his rights and his responsibilities are as much as those of the men who arrived the day before. He knows that as long as that flag flies on his country he is a free man in every sense of the word. Not so here. You have not the same rights and liberties, and you will not have them if you have Representative Government. I ask you thinking men, with the opinions of men like Porter and Durham condemning this, if an antiquated form of Government like this will suit the intelligent people in this country? (Voices: “No; decidedly not.”) I do not know a single Colony but has been glad when they got rid of it and got Responsible Government, and if this is forced upon us notwithstanding that the majority of the people are against it we must use that form of Government as a lever to get the other. (Applause.)

## POSITION OF THE BOER.

I will now deal very briefly with Responsible Government. I have tried my best to find out what are the real objections to its introduction. My friend, Mr. Greenlees, has given one to-night which never struck me. The only two I was able to find out were: first, fear of the Boer; and, second, that we had not the men in this country. As to the first, we have been told that the reason why the Boer is feared is that he is in a majority. I do not know how many in this room knows it, but I tell you that, according to the census taken in this country, the Boer is in a minority by a very large section. Why has not that information been given to the public of this country? Why is it kept back? Why are a few isolated persons alone to know it? I got this information in Pretoria. Why are a few isolated individuals allowed this knowledge and we not? Because, if the whole of the people in this country knew we are in a majority there would be very few favour Representative Government. But why are we afraid of the Boer? Have we not Lord Milner’s remarks, backed up by Sir Arthur Lawley’s, that they have maintained their part of the bargain? The men who say they are afraid of the Boer do not know the Boer; they are men who come to this country and know nothing about it or its people. I saw a letter written by Mr. Michael Dodd. He gave nine reasons why he was afraid of the Boer. (Laughter.) I believe he has never spoken to a Boer yet in his life. (Laughter.) My advice to those men is to get nearer to the Boer, to become acquainted with him, to speak his language, and then they will find out that this dreadful creature is a thinking human being standing by you—(applause)—a human being with the same aspirations, the same hopes, and the same feelings as you have. (Applause.) That idea of getting closer and closer to the Boer was aptly illustrated by a Welsh clergyman. He said: “I went out for a walk one day, and on a distant hill I saw a monstrous creature. As I approached it and got nearer to this object, it assumed the form of a human being. I still approached it, and when I came up to it I found it was my brother.” (Laughter.) Let these men who fear the Boer carry out that idea. Let them get nearer to him, and the monster will disappear, and he will assume the form of a human being; let them get close to him, and they will find him a man with the same feelings as themselves. (Applause.)

## WEALTH OF LOCAL MATERIAL.

But the next point was that we had no men; that in a population of 300,000 we could not find six men to rule your country, with all your big corporations and mining industries in this country; that from the men who control these vast industries you cannot find six men to act as Ministers, when Mr. J. W. Leonard, who belongs to that party, has told you on a public platform that there is more brain power to the square yard in this country than in any other portion of His Majesty’s dominions. (Laughter.) You can’t find men for Ministers! I do not know sufficient of the men recently come to this country, but I know some. Mr. Patrick Duncan, the present Colonial Secretary, I know; but is there only one in this country? He has been a credit to himself and an honour to the country. (Hear, hear.) He has done noble service—but is there only one amongst the men who recently came to this country? Why, if he was the only Patrick Duncan, have they put the others in the Civil Service? I leave out

newcomers and come to Colonial men, men born here or who have lived here the greater part of their lives. I come to the men who have made this country their home for but 10 years or 15 years. Take men in any department of life, take the judges, and you will find Colonial men presiding on these benches. You find Chief Justice de Villiers, a man respected and honoured not only in South Africa, but his name is known and honoured in England. The other two judges there are also South Africans. Go to Grahamstown and you find South Africans, at Kimberley, the same, and in Rhodesia. Judge Watermeyer is South African born, with a South African name, and educated in South Africa. (Applause.) Come to the Courts of this country, and you have, out of seven judges, five born in South Africa. I don't wish to say anything against the other two, they are men honoured and respected and their judgments are respected—I don't wish to draw any comparison, but simply to point out that out of seven, five are South Africans. (Applause.) Take the barristers in any part of South Africa, take the Cape Town leading men, take the side bar, the medical profession, the clergy, or the financiers who control our mines—this vast industry. They are not all probably Colonial born, but they have lived the greater part of their lives here. Tell us we cannot find the men here to fill the positions! Nonsense! They say "Wait three or four years." Well, the same objection will be raised then. Will three or four years make any difference? The objection on that ground is senseless and absurd.

I am detaining you, but I am going to close my remarks. I have told you that we will not have a Representative form of government—that we will resist it, and I have told you the disadvantages of that form and the great benefits of Responsible Government. I gave Wm. Porter's remarks. He said: "I do not expect miracles to be worked—the days of miracles are passed—but I do expect that if you give us Responsible Government, fresh vigour and fresh energy will be infused into the body politic, and that it will carry the Colony forward on the path of progress." Then the result will be the progress of the country, the passing of laws to develop this country. That is what Responsible Government will do. It will give every individual man an interest in the country, and I therefore ask you, gentlemen, in order to carry your views, to support this Association. You will have to work, you will have to make sacrifices in money and in time in order to carry out your own wishes and your own views, otherwise you cannot expect to succeed. (Applause.) When we get Responsible Government I am confident that we will then, and only then, get that peace and that contentment in this country we all desire, and those political rights which we so long for. (Applause.)

#### SUGGESTED COMPROMISE.

I had intended to have brought my remarks to a close at this point, but I am now to convey to you another consideration, an idea which has been suggested to me, and which I have worked out in consequence of various reasons which have been brought to bear upon me, reasons which I have regarded very carefully. I have been approached by members of the Progressive Party, not in their official capacity, but as friends of mine. They have said, "Why don't you join us? Why don't you come over to us?" My invariable reply has been, "I must be true to my conscience. I cannot join you and my party cannot join you. There can be no amalgamation as long as you hold your views, for, respecting your views, I cannot ask you to join us. I have a desire to fulfil. That desire is to prevent any disruption amongst the people of this country. I desire rather to join them, and let them come together and be united, so that we can commence our political life in this country in harmony and peace. Had this meeting been held to-night I believe something would have been said which would have withdrawn from the arena of political questions the matter of Chinese labour, to the satisfaction of both parties. That meeting has not been held. If such an announcement had been made that bug-bear, that subject used by politicians at Home, would be no longer used by them. I desire also that other matters of difference should be removed, and if you remove them one by one there is a prospect—not of us joining them or of their joining us—but of our amalgamation for certain objects. Now, I have worked out a scheme whereby I think that ideal can be obtained. I throw it out for your consideration. I have consulted no one. It is a very rough sketch at present, and requires to be followed up to be considered. But I think it will prove the means of bringing the people of this country together, and if I had done that I should consider it my life's work, and leave other matters to bigger minds to carry on. I will give you in brief what I have suggested. If we can get rid of the Chinese question, the next to get rid of is the Representative form of government. We don't want it. When we have got rid of the Representative form of government, the other side will have given us something, and it is only fair for us to give way on something, and to postpone the introduction of Responsible Government for a period. Let the Government continue in its present form for a period; but before you do that change the personnel of the present Government in some respects. (Applause.) Change it in at least two cases. (A voice: "Change it all.") I like to be moderate. Change it in at least two cases. (Applause.) If you do that you will satisfy a very large section of the community for the time being. I give you my ideas. I suggest that all sections, viz., the Dutch, the Progressives (including the Chamber of Mines, because it is not a political party)—("Question" and laughter)—the Farmers' Association, and the Responsible Government Party, that these four sections should be asked to join a powerful deputation to Lord Milner to place the following position before him:—

(A) All sections are in favour of Responsible Government.

(B) One section wants it delayed from periods varying from two to five years; that being so, then—

(C) To avoid at the very commencement of our political life dissension and bitter feelings which will be caused by the several sections pursuing their respective courses at the forthcoming election under Representative Government with the view to secure or oppose Responsible Government being introduced, the deputation to suggest to His Excellency

1. That the proposed Constitution for Representative Government be cancelled.
2. That the present Constitution shall continue, and the Legislative Council appointed under this Constitution shall meet in June and transact the business, as usual, but prior thereto, the Governor shall make a change in regard to two members of the present Government.
3. Immediately after the session of the Council shall have closed, a new Constitution shall be granted to this Colony conferring to all sections of the white inhabitants of this Colony; that a fair and equitable division of electoral districts be made and that such electoral districts shall be fixed by a Commissioner, at which their Excellencies the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor shall be entitled to take part, and shall in addition consist of—
  - (a) The Chief Justice and one other Judge to be selected by the Judges themselves.
  - (b) The Attorney-General and the Colonial Secretary.
  - (c) Two representatives each from the Progressive (including the Chamber of Mines), the Dutch and Responsible Government Parties.
 (I suggest that if you take this out of the realm of politics you will have a lot of men, honourable men without axes to grind, men representative and respected throughout the community, who will fix fairly and equitably the districts.)
4. That the proposed new Constitution shall be promulgated as soon as possible after the close of the next session of the Council, and at any rate not later than the end of December, 1905; that the present members of the Government as reconstructed shall continue in office until the elections of members of the new Parliament under the new Constitution.
5. That after the Commission for fixing the electoral districts shall have reported on the boundaries of electoral districts, voters' lists shall be made out and framed in the usual manner. Immediately after the completion of the voters' lists the election under the Constitution for self-government for the Colony shall take place.
6. After the Members of Parliament shall have been elected, the Governor shall from those who have been elected select one who in his opinion has the confidence of the majority of the elected members and shall require him to form a ministry, and when formed shall take office and the members of the present Government shall *ipso facto* cease to hold office.
7. Parliament shall meet as soon as possible thereafter, merely for the purpose of passing the Estimates and voting supplies, and the House shall then be adjourned to, say, the beginning of 1907, to enable the Government meanwhile to form their policy and to prepare any measures they desire to introduce, and shall re-assemble at such early date as His Excellency, with the advice of the Government, shall fix.

#### ADVANTAGES OF THE SCHEME.

Under the scheme now proposed the advantages to be gained are as follow:—

1. You change immediately the personnel of the present Government by appointing two who have the confidence of the public in place of two who have not secured, during their tenure of office, such confidence. This will, for the time being, satisfy a large section of the community.
2. You remove at once any prospect of a representative form of Government being granted to this Colony by the continuation of the present Constitution for a time and the postponement of Responsible Government also for a time, but with a certainty of securing it in the near future.
3. Having obtained Responsible Government we have postponed the ordinary parliamentary workings under that system for about two years from the present time, so as to meet the views of the Progressive Party, although in the meanwhile the Ministry in power will, under that form of Government, have the full and absolute confidence of a large majority of the people of this Colony.
4. You furthermore secure the co-operation of all sections of the people in the future, enabling them to work together harmoniously for the good of the country. Differences of policy will, of course, arise and must arise to give effective working to the principle of Responsible Government.
5. You secure the good will of the Boers, you prevent the disruption of the English section which must, at all hazards, be avoided, and you commence your political life in this country harmoniously, without discord or friction.

The scheme as suggested by me is by no means perfect. I have simply outlined the general principles to guide us in coming to an understanding, and I am prepared to consider modifications on the lines of the proposed scheme which I have sketched out.

It will be, therefore, for the different sections to consider this most carefully, and if they feel disposed to join in this deputation to Lord Milner a meeting can be arranged for, when all the different points can be discussed and settled before such deputation meets his lordship.

It will be seen, further, from the foregoing that if any particular section obstructs this proposal and stands out of it in order to defeat it being carried into effect, that section must take the consequences of any bitter feeling and disruption which will take place between different sections of the English community and the alienation of the Boer people, because it is believed

by me that unless all the sections join in it is useless to approach Lord Milner on the subject. (Applause.)

That is my idea. I give that as a present to the newspapers—they want something to write about. (Laughter.)

#### “OUR GUESTS.”

Mr. W. K. Tucker, C.M.G., in proposing “Our Guests,” observed that it was a matter of congratulation that there were so many well-known faces among their guests that evening. As an association they entirely failed to see that they were mischief-makers, or that they were nobodies. They claimed to be South Africans and honest subjects of the King. They believed it was the will of His Majesty that they should enjoy every right and privilege that belong to his subjects in other dominions and colonies, and they believed that if the King was rightly advised he would order that they should not be placed in a position inferior to their fellow-subjects anywhere in his wide dominions. They were self-reliant, and refused to believe that South Africans were incapable of managing their own affairs. They required no leading-strings, the work before them being such as they could only do themselves. The native and Asiatic questions, and the question of the dominance of the white race in South Africa demanded their earnest and immediate attention. How were they to deal with such matters in a nursery, under the direction of a mother’s help, or in a parliamentary training-school under the dominance of a kindergarten executive? The Boers had become subjects of His Majesty on a footing nowise inferior to their British fellow-colonists. The two races had seriously fallen out in the past, they had had it out, and it was unworthy of the winner to refuse to hold out the hand of friendship and reconciliation to the loser. They had frankly given the Boers place of equality with themselves in the body politic, and they should equally frankly give them their confidence and demonstrate to them that such confidence would not be misplaced in us. The timid ones fear the Boer, and would seek some contrivance whereby he may be kept from the full exercise of his political rights. Such an action could only bring trouble. The proper course was to inform the Imperial Government that in the opinion of South Africans they are perfectly competent and ready to accept the responsibilities of governing themselves. (Applause.)—The toast was heartily received.

#### • MR. J. W. QUINN’S REPLY.

In acknowledging the toast, Mr. Quinn said: I must ask some of the guests in the kindness of their hearts to pardon me to-night if I make a few remarks which may not altogether apply to them. There are a number of guests here to-night to whom my first remarks will apply, because I feel that I and a few others are here as persons of, politically, doubtful character—(laughter)—at least I don’t feel that we are that, because I know we are not, but I feel, or I fear, that by some we may be regarded as that. Others think we form a kind of lever, politically; a Cave of Adullum lacking the vigour, might and personality of its central figure, David. A sorry thing is a Cave of Adullum without a David. Then there are others who credit us with the deep design of endeavouring to get into political life with the one object of having our revenge on our pro-Chinese friends. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, all this may be more or less interesting; it is not very edifying. It certainly is incorrect, and if I may venture to say a word or two, not in self-defence, for personally I do not feel I have any defence to make on any of these lines at least, but rather to sweep away, if my words are believed, misconceptions, if I may use that term, that may have arisen in the minds of some with regard to the object of myself and a small number of friends who have agreed with me in political affairs in this town during the last few weeks. It is nearly Sunday morning, and on that gracious day most men make some attempt to be truthful. (Laughter.) If they are in the habit of treating the truth lightly on other occasions, Sunday ought to bring them up, and they should mix a little truth with what might at other times be false. I ask you to believe me, and to believe that I speak for such honest men as Robert Shanks, William Wybergh, Howard Pim and others when I say our only object in doing what we have done is to play our part as men and citizens, and to give utterance to those opinions we have formed, and which we believe to be sound and true. I know, so you all know, that there seems to be a great abundance of leaders, and you may guess how far things have gone when I have been accused of being one, or of working to be one. There does seem to be a want of one big, true man, whose integrity shall be beyond question, whose ability shall be undoubted, to come to the front and take his place. Unfortunately that man has not yet made his appearance. I do not mean a man who takes a slothful view of things. There must be a man who, when the time comes, will step to the front and will go on, having but one object in view, and that the interest of the Transvaal, South Africa, and the whole Empire to which we belong. (Applause.)

#### CHINESE.

With regard to the Chinese question (continued Mr. Quinn), which your esteemed President alluded to in words that seem to indicate something about it; gentlemen, let me ask you to believe me at once when I say that as far as I am concerned, and I speak not only for myself, but also for others who agree with me—I make no apology. I cannot make any apology for my past action with regard to the introduction of Chinese into this country. If you expect an apology from me you are bound to be disappointed; I cannot. Whatever my faults may be, and unfortunately I know they are many, I have always endeavoured to say what I believed to be true at the time, and if to-morrow or the next day I have occasion from new information or knowledge to change the views I held last week, I trust I shall be man enough to come forward and say so. (Hear, hear.) As far as I am concerned—please understand I speak for myself—the Chinese are here, the Ordinance is passed, the people appear to be contented, there is no

objection raised, and as far as I am concerned in any politics I may take part in in the future the question is finished, and I ask most strongly, and every fair-minded man will sympathise with me, not to have this honest objection raised and dragged out for the purpose of making an objection to my taking my part as a citizen, a part that I am entitled to take in the politics of this country. It has fallen to me to attempt to deal with this question with which your President has dealt so ably. If we live a few hours longer a day will come which will be Wednesday. The Market Square will be where it is now, and if the elements do not interfere with our programme some of us will have something to say on this great question. What I say is this. I do hope with all my heart and soul that the men who live in this country and make their homes here, and I appeal especially to those men who have made their money here—(hear, hear)—that they will endeavour to have it ruled, above all things, on the most up-to-date lines, and that we demand in respectful language that we shall rule who live here and understand its requirements, and, above all, for a policy we will advocate and support that which will not be a policy of distrust and suspicion, out of which mistrust and disaster must come, but a policy of trust and co-operation with our fellow-subjects. (Applause.) I am sure the other guests for whom I am supposed to be answering will pardon my dealing with matters which are personal. For the rest of the guests I thank Mr. Tucker and all the others who joined so heartily in proposing the toast. I thank you for it. (Applause.)

Mr. J. T. Rabie, Pretoria, also replied. He thought they could speak of Responsible Government with great optimism, and that they were entitled to look to the future with great hope. Representative Government was neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring, but a hybrid and mophroditic form of Government. (Laughter and applause.)

#### THE PRESS.

Mr. Richard Goldmann submitted the toast of "The Press."

Mr. Richard Dawson, editor of the "Transvaal Leader," replied.

On the invitation of Mr. Adler, a vociferous vote of thanks was accorded the President, and the proceedings terminated with the National Anthem. During the evening Messrs. Doucha and Meyer's orchestra played selections.

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#### MASS MEETING POSTPONED.

An open-air meeting, convened by the Responsible Government Party, was to have been held on the Market Square on Saturday evening, when Mr. P. Whiteside was announced to preside.

Rain fell continuously for over an hour prior to the time fixed for the commencement of the meeting, and the promoters had no alternative but to postpone the utterances they had intended to deliver to the public.

Amongst those who gathered around the platform were Messrs. P. Whiteside, J. W. Quinn, G. Hutchinson, B. Alexander, and Howard Pim. Mr. Whiteside announced the adjournment of the meeting to the audience which had assembled.

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No. 8.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 2.52 p.m., February 6, 1905.)

#### TELEGRAM.

February 6. No. 1. I am requested to transmit to you following resolution passed at a general meeting of the Transvaal Progressive Association held at Heidelberg on the 28th January:—

*Begins:* That this meeting of the Transvaal Progressive Association, Heidelberg Branch, pledges itself to the principle of equal representation, *i.e.*, one vote one value, combined with automatic redistribution. *Ends.*

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No. 9.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received February 11, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 23, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 16th instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, newspaper cuttings on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosures in No. 9.

"RAND DAILY MAIL," January 13th, 1905.

(1.)

THE COUNTRY PARTY.

FARMERS' MEETING AT KRUGERSDORP.

• (From our Own Correspondent.)

Krugersdorp, January 12.

The Central Executive Committee of the Transvaal Farmers' Association met at the board-room, Pioneer Buildings, yesterday morning, and after making arrangements for the annual congress, which will be held on February 23rd and following days, the members passed a unanimous resolution in favour of bringing the Country Party up to the highest pitch of organisation in view of the forthcoming electoral campaign.

Mr. Moorcroft-Edwards (president), in opening the gathering, strongly criticised the policy of the Government, which during the last six months had been detrimental to the landed interests of the country. Public funds had been squandered in a reckless manner at a time when there was great depression, and on the great measures of internal railway development the wishes of the agricultural classes, which should have been considered, were absolutely ignored. He instanced the squandering of many thousands of pounds upon the earthworks of the Krugersdorp-Rustenburg line, which had been distinctly promised by Lord Milner, and had now been abandoned. A new railway policy, unpopular and unprofitable, had been inaugurated, and the Government had set a shilly-shallying precedent which would have the worst effect in country districts. In addition to the gross extravagance over log-rolling railway schemes, which were born one day and butchered the next, thumping bonuses had been voted to incompetent railway officials who had got the administration in a terrible mess—and this at a time when the country had plenty of troubles of its own in the shape of financial difficulties. For those and other reasons, the farmers felt bound to take up a political stand and become thoroughly organised on the basis of a Country Party throughout the whole of the Transvaal, so that their views might carry some weight. Very possibly many of the organisations now formed would be found to be in sympathy with the agricultural policy, but at present the farmers could not say how far they could go together. The farmers would certainly join hands with those who were working for the benefit of the country at large. The president added that several members of the Imperial Houses of Parliament who were now in Johannesburg had expressed their desire to meet the farmers and talk over agricultural affairs.

It was resolved to ask the chairman, Mr. G. van Blommestein, and Mr. C. Voigt (secretary) to interview the home M.P.'s in Johannesburg and lay the grievances of the farmers before them.

On the motion of Mr. G. van Blommestein, seconded by Mr. Mulder, it was decided to approach Messrs. Louis Botha, Jan Smuts, J. H. de la Rey, and Ewald Esselen, and discuss whether it would be proper for the farmers to join hands with other political organisations, or form a distinct Country Party themselves. The chairman and Messrs. B. Vorster, A. Mulder, G. van Blommestein, and the secretary were appointed as a committee to interview the ex-generals.

(2.)

"LEADER," January 13th, 1905.

GERMISTON AND POLITICS.

THE EAST RAND PLATFORM.

MEETING LAST NIGHT.

Last night Germiston, having in view the activity other public-spirited towns of the Transvaal are exhibiting, demonstrated its determination to have a voice in the important questions which are agitating the Transvaal. The movement, which has ended in the formation of what there is every reason to believe will prove a remarkably strong political association had its genesis in a meeting of delegates from all associations on the East Rand. A provisional committee justified its appointment by doing some effective work, with the result that the project received an immense impetus, and the people of the East Rand, already fully awake to the supreme importance of the existing situation, have shown in the progress of the "coach" and the prospect of possessing a "motor-car" in the not too distant future, an interest which is as intense as it is warranted. The Council Chamber in the Municipal Buildings held a crowded gathering when the Mayor, Dr. Strachan, took the chair, with the acting hon. secretary to the provisional committee, Mr. A. H. Green, on his left.

The attitude of the audience showed that the chairman had struck the right note when he said it behoved them as men and citizens to have their say in the political history of the Transvaal. An early reference was made to the High Commissioner's recent pronouncements. Lord Milner, the chairman observed, had stated the other day that anything the people had a consensus of opinion on would have due weight with him, and naturally they intended to take him at his word, and to organise a body of public opinion which they hoped would have due regard from Lord Milner and from the Government.

## THE PLATFORM.

Copies of the "proposed primary principles for the political association" had been circulated. Here is the platform:—

1. The maintenance of the principle of Imperial unity.
2. The immediate establishment of Representative Government on liberal and fair lines, with a view to preparing the way for the grant at as early a date as expedient of the freest and fullest form of self-government.
3. The recognition of the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges, and their votes the same value.
4. A firm and just native and Asiatic policy in accordance with Transvaal ideas.
5. The support of every measure that tends to make the Transvaal a white man's home.
6. The opposing of interference in the affairs of the Transvaal by party politicians elsewhere.
7. The securing of efficiency and economy in the administration.
8. The franchise to be restricted to white adult British subjects.
9. The fostering of local industries that make for the progress of the Colony.

Dr. Lund moved the following resolution:—

"That it is expedient to form a political association for Germiston and district."

Giving a brief history of the project, he said that some time ago the Ratepayers' Association were approached and asked to organise a movement with the object of securing a political association in the district. The promoters took the matter in hand, and they invited representatives from all the various public bodies of the East Rand, such as mercantile associations. At a representative meeting a committee was appointed consisting of members of those various bodies. They met once at Germiston and once at Boksburg, and after a great deal of discussion they drew up a platform. At their last committee meeting it was decided to ask the Mayor to take the chair at this meeting, and he consented. It was quite apparent to all that after the pronouncements of Lord Milner it was time to organise themselves with a view to being able to secure fair representation when they got the right to elect members to the Legislative Council. (Applause.)

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Cannell, and unanimously adopted.

## COACH OR MOTOR-CAR.

Mr. H. C. Gain followed with a speech which was consistently earnest, although interrupted occasionally by a few enthusiasts. They wanted to hear opinions from responsible men and from representative men, he declared, and to decide which movement was best. Lord Milner had summed up the question by calling the one a coach—that was what His Excellency had to build—and one a motor-car, representing the responsible ideals. That was à propos. They wanted Responsible Government; but a great many thought that the time had not yet arrived when they were fit for that. They had capable men in the country, and personally, continued Mr. Gain, he would hold out both hands for Responsible Government as soon as the country was ready for it. The platform, he explained, was a tentative arrangement. If they could agree to its general principle, they would then proceed to form a progressive platform. If the Progressives could see that it might be very prejudicial to force the Government at present, he did not believe the people would hear so much of Responsible Government as they had heard. He could assure the Responsible advocates that most men living in South Africa were at heart Responsible men, and it was only in the best interests of the Transvaal that they wanted Repre-

sentative Government until the country was ready for the all-important step. Lord Milner was getting out a constitution. If the census was right—and there were two or three versions—their Dutch friends had the majority—("They are all British subjects")—"Quite right, nobody wants to see them being unfairly treated," retorted Mr. Gain. If it was a fact that the Dutch would rule the country if they had Responsible Government, he said, "Wacht en beetje." (Laughter.) As Mr. Richard Currie had pointed out in a letter to the press, if the people of the Transvaal had Responsible Government at present, they would have the Dutch entirely ruling the country. It was but natural for the Dutch still to desire to have the ruling of the country in their own hands.

In seconding the resolution Mr. Green made a point of the desirability of establishing local industries, other than mining. He eloquently declared his belief that the Transvaal would yet be a pearl in the Imperial Crown.

#### AN AMENDMENT.

Mr. S. J. Evans proposed an amendment, "That in the opinion of this meeting the immediate granting of Responsible Government is absolutely necessary to the true welfare of this country."

Mr. Evans severely criticised several of the planks, and likened the clause regarding the "maintenance of the principle of Imperial unity" to the "flag-wagging business." Pleading for confidence in the Boers, he considered that the Dutch had carried out their part of the agreement at Vereeniging as justly and well as one could expect of any men. Both Lord Milner and Sir Arthur Lawley had spoken to that effect. "It is time," Mr. Evans added, "to take our fellow-subjects into our confidence and treat them as we should like to be treated. If you don't trust the Dutch now, how can you trust them ten years hence? This representative business is a wishy-washy thing." As to racial feeling, Mr. Evans believed there was less of this in the Transvaal than in Cape Colony.

In seconding the amendment, the Rev. L. Scott deprecated anything that tended to create an atmosphere of suspicion. He dwelt on the importance of what he termed the first problem of the country—the Dutch. He laid particular stress on Clause 8, which he considered should not have been in the programme at all. The native question he regarded as of great moment. In reference to Johannesburg's political doings, he asked who was at the back of the Progressive Association. "A flabby, flexible, indefinite, ambiguous, so-called principle," concluded Mr. Scott's vigorous attack on the platform.

After a long discussion, the amendment of Mr. Evans was lost by 28 votes to 23, and clause 2 of the platform favouring Representative Government was then carried by 35 to 18. The remaining clauses were put to the meeting together, and lost by 36 to 12, combinations of objectors to different planks bringing about this unexpected result.

A motion for adjournment was lost, and Mr. T. A. White delivered a telling speech in support of the programme. He dealt with the causes seriatim, and being especially at home with No. 1, that as to the principle of Imperial unity, vigorously protested that the Association did not desire the co-operation of Britishers who denied their loyalty.

#### A CHANGE.

After this, the feelings of the audience seemed to change, and all the clauses, with the exception of No. 2, urging the immediate establishment of Representative Government, were put to the meeting in order, and carried by substantial majorities. Thus, at a very late hour, the entire programme was adopted.

The Association will now enrol members with the aid of the Provisional Committee and officials, and names will be selected later.

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(3.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," January 16th, 1905.

LABOUR PARTY.

THE PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMME CRITICISED.

At a smoking concert in connection with the new Trades' Hall, on Saturday night, a political speech was given by Mr. G. Hutchison. He took it that most of those present would agree with the principles of the Responsible Government Association—(hear, hear)—and then remarked that the Progressives apparently thought that until they and their friends were stronger than the Dutch the Colony should not have Responsible Government. This attitude he considered to be illogical, unreasonable, and calculated to reopen old wounds which they had hoped were now closed. (Hear, hear.) He denied that the Progressives could speak for the Transvaal, and said there was danger in such an impression going home. As to the principle of property qualification urged by the Progressives, this was false and undemocratic, and an early opportunity should be taken of urging white manhood residential qualification. Given this they would soon make any administration thoroughly democratic and responsible. (Hear, hear.)

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(4.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," January 16th, 1905.

DUTCH ACTIVITY.

HEAD BOER COMMITTEE STIRRING.

PUBLIC MEETINGS CONVENED.

Mr. Louis Botha, as chairman of the head Boer Committee, has notified his intention of convening public meetings in various districts in the Transvaal to discuss the political situation, in accordance with certain resolutions passed at the Boer Congress held in Pretoria last year.



The notice is to the following effect:—"In accordance with the people's Congress held in May, 1904, it is hereby notified to persons interested that the head Committee has decided to hold public meetings in the Transvaal in order to discuss the constitutional organisation as decided upon by the said Congress.

The meetings have been arranged as follows:—Pretoria, January 28th; Krugersdorp, January 30th; Heidelberg, February 1st; Standerton, February 3rd; Volksrust, February 4th; Piet Retief, February 10th; Ermelo, February 13th; Bethal, February 16th; Carolina, February 16th; Middelburg, February 25th; Louis Trichardt, March 1st; Haenertsburg, March 3rd; Pietersburg, March 6th; Pietpotgietersrust, March 7th; Nylstrom, March 8th; and Warmbad, March 9th.

Messrs. Louis Botha and Ewald Esselen will conduct the Pretoria and other meetings; Mr. S. W. Burger will preside at the meetings held at Ermelo, Carolina, and Middelburg; Messrs. Beyers and A. D. Wolmarans will conduct the meetings to be held in March as stated above.

Meetings will also be held by Mr. S. W. Burger at Machadodorp, Belfast, and Lydenburg, the dates being announced later.

Other meetings will be convened at Rustenburg, Potchefstroom, Wolmaranstad, Bloemhof, Lichtenburg, and Marico. These will be led by Generals De la Rey and J. C. Smuts. The dates will be fixed later.

It is further announced that all ex-officers and ex-officials are requested to attend the meetings.

(5.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," January 16th, 1905.

THE PROGRESSIVES.

BRANCH FORMED AT KRUGERSDORP.

A crowded public meeting was held in the Freemasons' Hall, Krugersdorp, on Saturday night. The Mayor, Mr. H. C. Tanner, presided, and amongst others present were Messrs. L. J. Phillips, E. J. Adcock, B. Mosenthal, E. W. Stonestreet, F. W. Lewis, R. F. Wallis, H. Hayes, G. Alexander, J. Hinds, Douglas Blackburn, W. R. Macnab, E. R. J. Holmes, G. V. Figibus, Captain Caddell, F. Tossel, Dr. Van der Merwe, S. Hompes, F. Shaw, E. W. Greenwood, V. Rorke, P. S. May, L. King, Venerable Archdeacon Temple, D. J. van Wijk, W. Gileson, R. W. Clarke, J. S. Heskins, Dr. Gem, G. Chandler Reid, E. Foster, W. R. Wilson, N. Dykstra, Dr. Rosenberg and Father Vernat.

Mr. Orpen said he had been very anxious to address a Krugersdorp audience, especially as there seemed to be an air of suspicion about which should be dispelled. He had come with the simple object of seeking an opportunity of making everything clear to the people of Krugersdorp as regarded the great movement that had been commenced. After briefly sketching the origin of the movement, he said he had visited a number of towns, and branches of the association had been formed. In every place he had visited he had had to combat that unfortunate suspicion that the movement was engineered by Johannesburg, and had for its object the absorption of the other towns of the Transvaal. He might say that with very little explanation, when he had the opportunity of addressing a public meeting, he was able entirely to dispel the allusion to which he referred. It must be perfectly clear to them that the notion that the desire should exist on the part of Johannesburg to swamp or absorb the outside towns was perfectly ridiculous. (A voice: "Question.") Well, he would explain it. If Johannesburg—if what were called the magnates of Johannesburg wished to exercise an influence on a place like Krugersdorp, he should take it the very last thing in the world they would like to see was an organisation of the people of Krugersdorp to meet them. Such an organisation would be one of self-defence, and he would like to know how Johannesburg was going to influence an organisation of representative independent citizens of Krugersdorp. (Hear, hear.) For some sinister purpose it had been suggested since his arrival that some ulterior motive existed for his visit. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Proceeding to deal with the purposes which such an association as he advocated could fulfil, he said there were the great questions of registration, of distribution of seats, and of the formation of constituencies coming before them. In Krugersdorp, for instance, one of the greatest questions they would have to deal with was the formation of their constituencies. He thought anyone who had followed what had been taking place recently—practically the interview that took place between the members of the Johannesburg branch of the Association and the High Commissioner—could see that there was going to be a redistribution of seats on a numerical basis. Therefore it behoved them to take the matter in hand. (Hear, hear.) He took it that Krugersdorp did not want anyone to come and say what their constituency should be. They would like to take the matter in hand themselves. That was, then, one object the Association could undertake. The real object of the Association was to bring together at an early date a congress or conference of all the independent outside towns of the Transvaal. They would agree with him that that was a great object and a worthy one—to bring about such a conference which would in a way constitute an informal Parliament of the people to discuss their affairs and all that was of importance to them. The Johannesburg branch had already laid its views before the High Commissioner.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

He took it they were all agreed that the matter of Representative Government had already been settled. Representative Government was being offered them. He would say the terms of

the treaty of Vereeniging were being strictly adhered to. ("No.") With regard to Responsible Government—the most important question discussed for a long time—they had now arrived at that stage when it had been made perfectly clear to them that the matter of giving Responsible Government to the Transvaal was not being entertained by His Majesty's Government, and that it would not be entertained. Whether they were right in demanding Responsible Government or not, he thought they must, as practical people, recognise the fact that they were not going to have Responsible Government. At a critical time like now, when the united energies of all the people of the Transvaal were required to solve the great problems before them, they were wasting their time and dissipating their energies in calling for something which was not within the range of practical politics.

#### PROGRESSIVE PROBLEMS.

The problems facing the Transvaal Progressive Association were: (1) The maintenance of the British flag; (2) the immediate fulfilment of the promise contained in the King's speech of the 15th August last by the establishment of Representative Government on liberal and fair lines, with a view to preparing the way for the grant at an early date as expedient, of the freest and fullest form of Responsible Government; (3) the recognition of the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges and their votes the same value; (4) a firm and just native and Asiatic policy in accordance with Transvaal ideas; (5) the support of every measure that tends to make the Transvaal a white man's home; (6) the opposing of interference in the affairs of the Transvaal by party politicians elsewhere. He would be willing to answer any question that would throw light on the subject of that Association which had been subjected to so much suspicion and misunderstanding and misapprehension. (Cheers.)

#### THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. Phillips proposed "that a branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association be formed in Krugersdorp." The thought that struck him most in proposing the resolution was, he said, that in forming the branch they were only forwarding what must be the legitimate ambition of every thoughtful citizen in the town. He did not care whether that citizen be English, South African, Russian or what he might be, if it was his intention to remain in that country it was his duty to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country. (Loud cheers.) They might transpose the saying that "the public business of England is the private business of every citizen," and say that "the public business of the Transvaal is the private business of every responsible citizen of the Transvaal." It was their duty, their bounden duty, to do something in the way of organising the opinion of the Colony so as to have an intelligent expression of that opinion. The only way in which they in that Colony, or in any other country in the world—the only way in which the ambitions, the aspirations, the legitimate ideals of the citizens could be realised, was by organisation. He claimed, and he believed every reasonable man in the hall thoroughly believed, that the objects for which the Association had been formed were those to which they could give their unqualified adherence. (Cheers.) As to the suggestion that the Association was governed by Johannesburg, he thought he could appeal to them to say whether they believed he was an honest man or not. If he thought and believed for a moment that Krugersdorp was being governed by Johannesburg in this movement he would have nothing whatever to do with it. (Loud cheers.) It was because of the fact that he was absolutely convinced that it was essentially a Krugersdorp movement that he was giving his adherence to the meeting that night. (Hear, hear.) He asked them to feel assured that it was not anything whatever in the nature of a scheme of Johannesburg's. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hayes seconded the resolution.

#### THE AMENDMENT.

Mr. Stonestreet said he rose to propose an amendment to the proposition which had been put before them. He would say, and he thought distinctly that the time had not yet come for the formation of such a branch in Krugersdorp. (Hear, hear.) First of all, however, he would like to deal with the question of the origin of the movement. He wanted to know who had organised it, whether it had emanated from Johannesburg or not. Whilst he quite sympathised with Mr. Phillips in his belief, and he was sure Mr. Phillips was perfectly honest about it, that he would have nothing to do with it if he had known of its origin:

Mr. Phillips (interrupting): Pardon me. I did not say that.

Mr. Stonestreet: I beg your pardon—that you would have nothing to do with it if you thought it was governed by Johannesburg. Continuing he said if they were willing to tack themselves on to Johannesburg by the formation of such an Association, by all means let them do so. As to the objects of the Association, he did not think there were very many present who were very far away from the views expressed there. The matter was so wide that it admitted of very little controversy. The point he wished to raise was this, that it was a string of platitudes. Was such an Association to bind the public views of that community in the future? It was impossible. If that Association came through they would have nothing but an interchange of opinions between secretaries of branches of an Association converging on Johannesburg, and an attempt made to sway their opinions. Krugersdorp was quite competent to take care of its own politics. (Hear, hear.) He begged to move that the meeting resolve not to form any branch at the present time.

Mr. F. Tossel seconded. What the country required was a stable form of government, and until they got that they were not going to be put down by Tweedledum and Tweedledee. His contention was that until they had stable government, so long should they have political unrest in the country, and the only form of stable government in the country was that of Responsible Government.

## QUESTIONS.

Mr. Stonestreet: Who invited Mr. Orpen out here at all?

Mr. Orpen: I invited myself here. It is a free country and I will go where I like in the Transvaal, and I intend to go all over it. (A voice: "No, you won't.") I think I am doing a service to my country and I wish to continue to do so. I think I have placed before you something more than mere platitudes. I have placed before you a great idea, and to call that platitude is, I think, quite absurd. (Cheers.)

Captain Caddell: I wish to ask if you are a paid official of the Association?

Mr. Orpen: No.

Mr. Blackburn: Is there a central committee in Johannesburg of this Association?

Mr. Orpen: I don't quite understand you. I wish to make this clear. There is a branch of this Association in Johannesburg which has an executive committee. With regard to a central body, if anybody had taken the trouble to study politics they would be well aware that branches of an organisation exist all over a country, state, or colony, and these meet together and elect a central body. (Cheers.) There is no central body in Johannesburg.

In reply to another questioner, who asked the names of the gentlemen who formed the committee in Johannesburg, Mr. Orpen said he did not really see what it had got to do with Krugersdorp. He, however, read the list of names to the meeting.

A gentleman asked from whom the idea of forming the Association first emanated, and Mr. Orpen replied that the Johannesburg Association was started by the gentlemen whose names he had read out.

The motion and amendment were then put to the meeting, and on the chairman declaring a majority for the motion, Mr. Stonestreet stated that his amendment had not been properly laid before them, and asked for another show of hands.

The chairman acceded to the request, and on a vote, 37 voted for the amendment and 52 for the motion.

(6.)

"STAR," January 17th, 1905. •

## THE REPLY OF THE PROGRESSIVES TO MR. E. P. SOLOMON.

We have received the following from the Transvaal Progressive Association:—

As we consider that no time should be lost in replying to the proposals made on Saturday by Mr. E. P. Solomon, the President of the Transvaal Responsible Government Association, we submit the following considerations:—

1. The compromise proposed by Mr. E. P. Solomon means unnecessary delay in the granting of the new Constitution, and the practical suspension of all legislation in the Colony for two years.

2. The establishment for all time of the principles of "one vote, one value," with "automatic redistribution," we consider paramount and of infinitely greater importance than the purely temporary question as to whether or not we shall at the outset receive Representative or Responsible Government.

3. We believe that it may be possible to have equal electoral districts on the basis of voters and automatic redistribution provided for in the Constitution which is to be promulgated in the next few weeks. That being the case, on no account would we join in urging that the proposed Constitution should be annulled or delayed.

4. We have recommended that the new Constitution should provide for:—

- (a) The formation of electoral districts on the basis of voters, each district to contain, as near as can be, an equal number of voters; and in order to maintain the equality of electoral districts.
- (b) The automatic redistribution of seats periodically, say every four years, by a Commission appointed by the Governor, the parties or districts dissatisfied with the results to have the power to appeal to the Supreme Court.

This means that the registration of voters has to take place first, and then the electoral districts formed by a commission of experts, who will operate within certain definite lines, so that each electoral district is composed of territory contiguous and compact, containing as near as can be an equal number of voters.

Mr. E. P. Solomon proposes that, before the registration of voters takes place, a Commission, composed of their Excellencies the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice and one other Judge, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Secretary, and two representatives each from the Progressive, the Dutch, and the Responsible Government parties, shall make "a fair and equitable division of electoral districts." No definition is given of the meaning of "fair and equitable" in this connection, but evidently the numerical strength of the voting power of the district is to be left out of consideration, as voters' lists are to be prepared after the electoral districts have been formed. We are strongly opposed to Mr. Solomon's proposal, as we desire to have electoral districts formed on the fixed and definite principle of the absolute equality of the power and privilege of each voter in this country, and we are not prepared in this matter to trust to the discretion of any Commission, however distinguished.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
Transvaal Progressive Association (Johannesburg Branch)

"STAR," January 19th, 1905.

MEETING ON MARKET SQUARE.

SPEECHES BY MESSRS. QUINN, WYBERGH, AND OTHERS.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION CRITICISED.

A meeting in favour of the immediate granting of Responsible Government to the Transvaal was held on the Market Square last night. There were about 500 present, and, while the audience listened patiently, they displayed no marked enthusiasm at the utterances of the speakers. Amongst those on the platform were Messrs. J. W. Quinn, W. Wybergh, P. Whiteside, R. Shanks, H. Adler, Howard Pim, A. S. Raitt, G. Hutchison, O. J. J. van Wyk, M. Nathan, C. E. Short, D. Dalgety, and others.

THE CHAIRMAN'S OPENING.

LETTER FROM MR. E. P. SOLOMON.

Mr. Whiteside was voted to the chair, and, in the course of a few opening remarks, said he thought it was one of the happiest auguries for their political life in this country that on an evening in the middle of the week they were able to get such a large attendance to consider the political affairs of the country. (Hear, hear.) Before calling on the first speaker, he desired to read the following letter, which had been received from Mr. E. P. Solomon:—

"I am leaving this evening for Cape Town by previous arrangement made over a month ago, to attend my son's wedding on Saturday, and, as you may know, such engagements cannot be put off. I cannot express to you sufficiently my extreme regret that in consequence I shall not be present at the public meeting which has been called for this evening, but I daresay I shall have frequent opportunities in the near future to address my fellow-citizens on the vital question of the future Constitution of the Colony. It seems almost needless for me to tell you, as you already know what my convictions are on these questions. If we desire to see progress and prosperity in this Colony, if we want to see its mineral resources developed, if we want to see a united and contented people, each and all determined to work together towards one common object, viz., the progress and advancement of this Colony, then the only solution in my opinion is the immediate introduction of Responsible Government. Therefore any resolution proposed at any public meeting in favour of that principle will have my heartiest sympathy and support. Let us remember, however, and I hope you will impress upon our friends at the meeting, that there will be powerful and determined opposition, and it behoves all who are of our mind to stand together and work harmoniously, dropping all personal and petty differences for this one common object. We must organise throughout the Colony. This town will be the arena for the battle between the contending parties, and it is here we must concentrate our strength and force, and, if we succeed here, then the victory is ours, and the British Government, I conceive, will readily grant us the principle for which we are contending. I fear there may be some misapprehension on the part of the public regarding one part of my speech on Saturday last. It may be construed that I said I would obstruct the proceedings if, when a resolution in favour of Responsible Government was carried, the British Government persisted in refusing to grant it to us. I do not think I said so. At any rate, I did not intend to, because it would be gross presumption on my part to say what the members of a majority would do, nor is it at all probable that I would have a say in the matter. What I wished to convey was that such a course might be resorted to by the majority, and I then pointed out what the result would be if they did. I should like this to be made clear. Wishing you and your friends a most successful evening,

E. P. SOLOMON."

MR. QUINN'S VIEWS.

CRITICISM OF THE PROGRESSIVES.

Mr. Quinn, who was well received, proposed the first resolution, which read as follows:—

That the immediate granting of Responsible Government is essential to the political stability, contentment, and progress of the Transvaal.

Proceeding first of all to trace the history of the movement in favour of Responsible Government, Mr. Quinn said a number of them felt that while their political fate was being arranged for them, it was a great mistake that no attempt was made to get hold of public opinion, and having found it, to try and give it shape, direction, and force; and they were urged on in this feeling by the press of the town, who told them that arrangements were being made between the Local Government and the English Government, which would settle for many years to come their political fate. Yet no attempt had been made to express the feelings of the public of the country, at least of that section of it. Again, they understood that Lord Milner was most anxious to have the opinions of the people, and he ventured to say, notwithstanding all the deputations that had gone to His Excellency, influential and powerful as those deputations were, not one of them had public opinion behind it, at least they did not know that they had. (Hear, hear.) The first thing that should have been done was to go to the people, get their opinion, and take that to Lord Milner. (Hear, hear.) That was what they had decided to do, and they were there that night for the purpose of finding out the opinion of the people. In a sense, they were not a party. They had no formal organisation. They were simply a few citizens who took a keen interest in the affairs of the country, who thought that free and representative institutions were the only ones worth having, and who considered it their duty to express their humble opinions on these great questions which were likely to be settled without regard to their opinions. In addition to their humble selves there was the Responsible Government Association, composed of a very large number of citizens who took a keen interest in the affairs of the country. They

all knew what the programme of that Association was, and what it was doing. Last, but not least, either in numbers or wealth, or influence, or measured by any other measure, there came what was called the Progressive Association.

#### A CRAB-LIKE PROGRESSION.

Mr. Bryce, in a series of excellent letters to a paper, had called them the non-Progressive Association, because it seemed to him, as it seemed to some of them, that the progress of that organisation in its advocacy of political freedom, was the progress of the crab, because it progressed the wrong way, it went backward. In addition to that organisation there were a number of gentlemen, political Micawbers they might call them, leaders looking for parties, waiting for something to turn up, sitting still, playing a lone hand, seeing which way the wind blew. Well, of such was not the kingdom of political righteousness. (Laughter and hear, hear.) They need not be alarmed about leaders. There were any number of leaders. It was followers who were wanted—(hear, hear)—and it seemed to him that one of the blackest aspects of the outlook to-day was the want of followers. They wanted men, who thought they ought to lead, to sink their personalities and private views and try and find some common platform for a common move forward. He believed they would get it by and by, with a little patience. The first thing the Progressives did was to form an association. He believed they had plenty of money, at all events judging by the quantity of stationery and posters with which they had smothered the town, they had, and when he looked through the long list of names of the gentlemen who hurried to the flag, he came to the conclusion that whatever party he belonged to, he was not with the moneyed party. Having formed their association, they issued manifestoes.

#### FLAG-WAGGING.

The first one consisted of flag-wagging, which he thought was a pity. They all knew, at least if they did not they had a long way to go and a good deal to learn, that that question was settled. (Hear, hear.) The flag that flew over this country now must continue to fly over it. (Hear, hear.) They did not say that in flag-wagging spirit. They had rather the question had not been raised. The Progressives also said they were in favour of Responsible Government, but when? When it was expedient. That was a word which, like charity, covered a multitude of shortcomings. What did they mean by expedient? Expedient to whom? (A voice: "The capitalists.")

#### THE AIM OF THE CAPITALISTS.

They must watch most carefully what this little move might mean to them. When the Progressives talked of being agreeable to Responsible Government when it was expedient, it meant that it would be expedient when it put political power into their hands. (Hear, hear.) There could be no objection in the mind of any honest, sensible man to capitalists, as every other class having a fair and proper share of political power, and the man was mad, and foolish, and ought not to be listened to, who got hold of the silly cry, "Down with the capitalists." It was nonsense. They would, none of them, get their bread and butter in this place for a week if they had no capital. (Hear, hear.) What they did rightly claim was that whether it was capital or labour which was allowed to get a monopoly of political power that was a deadly danger to the country where it happened, and every wise man would aim at the policy which would mean the fair and even distribution of political power. They did not object to capitalists having their fair share, but they did object to, and were going to do all they could to prevent them from getting hold of a larger share to the exclusion of others. (Hear, hear.)

#### THE DEPUTATION TO LORD MILNER.

After publishing their manifesto they went to see Lord Milner. That was the proper thing to do. Get together a few representative, influential men, and then go and say what the public were thinking about. That had been the orthodox method of gaining public opinion, but he thought it was coming to an end. (Hear, hear.) They went to Lord Milner, and placed before him some very useful suggestions, amongst them being the automatic redistribution of seats, which, he thought, they all agreed with.

#### ONE VOTE, ONE VALUE.

They claimed, further, that one vote should have one value—(hear, hear)—and if they meant by that that one man should have one vote, and one vote should have one value, he sincerely hoped that the people of that town would stand up to the last man for that principle. (Hear, hear.) No one could charge them with wishing to do any jerryandering of any kind; and if this was an attempt to jerryander in favour of British interests against the Dutch, or in favour of the Dutch against the English, he thought they would all be opposed to it. It seemed to him to be an extraordinary position which Lord Milner took up on this point. His answer to the question put to him was elusive. He said there was a good deal of opinion both ways. Where had that opinion been expressed? Who had said it in public meeting or anywhere else, and demanded any other principle than the principle of "one vote, one value"? It was a vital question, it was the question on which they were absolutely at one with the people who called themselves Progressives.

#### THE £150 QUALIFICATION.

Another thing which the Progressives did was to suggest to Lord Milner the £150 qualification. What chance had the Dutch people to get their votes as they ought to get them if this qualification were insisted on. If they made it £50 they would be a little nearer, and they would agree with them still more. (A voice: "Universal suffrage.") That was better still.

## THE EXECUTIVE.

Another suggestion was that the Executive of the Parliament that was to be should have amongst its number a few selected by Lord Milner. That proposal was absolutely unworthy of them. (Hear, hear.) Of nominated councillors, whether municipal or otherwise, this country had had enough. (Hear, hear.) In their turn and in their time they did good work. (Hear, hear.) They were suited for a particular purpose, under a certain set of conditions which had disappeared and there was no room for them any more. (Hear, hear.) When the Executive members were nominated by the Crown they became not the servants of the Parliament they were supposed to serve, but its masters—(hear, hear)—and for that reason amongst other ones, the practice should not be tolerated.

## "WHAT DO WE PROPOSE?"

Now, what did they propose? They proposed full Responsible Government, because they believed that while there might be certain dangers connected with the granting of full Responsible Government there were far more real dangers connected with the withholding of Responsible Government. Lord Milner, against whom he would not say one unjust word if he knew—(hear, hear, and laughter). He was perfectly sincere; he had the greatest admiration for Lord Milner and what he had done for the country. Like every statesman who did big things he had made big mistakes—(hear, hear, and a voice: "You are right.")—and in this matter of Responsible as against Representative Government he was making the greatest mistake of his life. He (Lord Milner) told the deputation that he had been instructed, so to speak, to build a coach, and it was no use telling him to build a motor-car. He (Mr. Quinn) ventured to say that Lord Milner was building neither a coach nor a motor-car. Having in his mind almost unconsciously the knowledge that coaches, like apple-carts, sometimes got upset—(laughter)—Lord Milner was busy building a much more primitive kind of vehicle than a coach, viz., an ox-wagon, and in order to give it the appearance of something which it was not, he proposed to put on it rubber tyres. An ox-wagon with india-rubber tyres was a thing altogether out of place in South Africa, and would not do for a single day. (Hear, hear.) In the granting of a bigger measure of political freedom what should be kept before their minds was the question what was most likely to bind the people together. He and his friends did not claim to have found any panacea which would remove from the minds of the Dutch the wounds inflicted during three years of terrible war, but one thing they could do, and that was to inaugurate a policy, not like Lord Milner's, which was one of mistrust, suspicion, and confusion, but one of taking these people by the hand and trusting them. They believed that if there was a risk to be taken it should be taken in the right direction. Let them trust their fellow-citizens and ask them to settle down and help to make this country what it ought to be and would be, one of the greatest in the universe. (Hear, hear.) If the other policy were adopted, it would drive the Dutch into a separate camp, start them working for their own political interests, and make them infinitely more discontented than they were now. Having quoted the French in Canada as parallel cases with the Dutch in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, and argued that Lord Durham's measure of self-government had made the French Canadians a happy and contented people, he asked if they were going to shut their eyes to such an example as that, made specially for them. If they did they would create a breed of professional politicians who would make unrest greater and greater until some day there would be trouble again. It was infinitely better to take the risk of giving too much rather than too little. (Hear, hear.) Cape Colony and Natal were often quoted to them as examples of Colonies having first to have Representative Government before a full measure of Responsible Government; but they were not parallel cases at all. They must remember that they came to the Transvaal and took from a people Responsible Government. They were a people who loved political freedom, and they must not forget that in trying to solve this problem. Let them not be afraid of doing the right thing, the generous thing. The whole of the "wait-a-bit" policy arose from a miserable fear, and it was strange to him that Lord Milner should show such a disinclination to exercise his faith in his fellow men. In conclusion, Mr. Quinn said they were told that in the Representative Government the Crown was to nominate the whole Cabinet. They had had some experience of the Crown nominations. It was no use going into what was done, and could not be undone, but they should see to it that such mistakes as had been made did not recur. (Applause.)

## MR. WYBERGH AND THE DUTCH.

Mr. Wybergh, in seconding, said it was just six years ago that it was his privilege to be present at an assembly which rivalled that one in its size, and in its enthusiasm; it was an assembly which had since become historic, it was an assembly which had for its object the demand of their rights as British subjects, the demand of their rights to share in the management of their own affairs. That was an honest movement for the franchise, and it rested with them now to carry on that movement to its logical conclusion. They demanded the franchise six years ago, and they were demanding it still. But the time was not far off, if he could read the symptoms aright, if he could put any reliance upon the enthusiasm and the firm purpose of that assembly, the time was not far off when they were going to get full responsibility and that share in the government of their country which Britons had at all times demanded, and which he hoped and trusted they would insist upon. He wanted to impress upon them, and on those not present, that that was a continuous movement. It was part of the great system of public policy and public evolution which could not ultimately be turned aside. It was part of the demand of the people to rule themselves. There was one other thing he wanted to remind them of, and that was that the former movement, though it had not yet reached its full fruition, yet because it was supported by the people, it was successful, and they might be sure that the present movement would be successful. They were told by Lord Milner that the movement was detained, that the question of Responsible Government was not practical politics to-day. The answer to that was very clear. If they held together, if they organised, it was in their power to make that question

a matter of practical politics. Let them go on agitating and demanding Responsible Government until they got it. No Government at home could resist a united demand from the whole of a great Colony like that, and he ventured to say that important and influential as their present opponents were, yet the mass of the people were with the supporters of Responsible Government. Those present were the vanguard of the movement, and they would find that the people of the Transvaal in their thousands would rally to the cry of Responsible Government. The argument of the Progressives that they should not demand Responsible Government because they were disuniting the people, was a very specious one which he ventured to say was without a shadow of justification or real truth at the bottom of it. He would ask the Progressives against whom were they working. Who were their enemies? He did not hesitate to say that, at the back of all these demands, was a rooted distrust of their Dutch fellow-subjects. The Progressives would not dare avow that their policy was an anti-Dutch policy. He challenged them to deny that the so-called enemies against whom they were invited to show a united front, could be none other than the Dutch. (A voice: "It is a ruse.") The policy of those who had championed the British cause in the past had never been anti-Dutch. Their demand had always been for liberty; it had not been for the suppression, for the extinguishing of the Dutch race. It was not the British idea of liberty. They were told that the demand for Responsible Government was premature, and that they should be patient. That country had been under Responsible Government before the war, and would they have them believe that the Englishmen who had come into the country in the last ten years were less fit for the exercise of responsible governing powers than the Dutch, who had so long exercised it for themselves. The position was an absurd one. They were not less fit for Responsible Government now than they were ten years ago. They were infinitely more fit for it. They had grown from a simple pastoral backward community into a community composed of all kinds of elements, of many different views, of many different opinions and interests. The people of the country were now in a position to take statesmanlike views of the affairs of their country. They were the beginning of a great nation. What was done in the next few years must have an enormous and far-reaching influence upon the future of the country. They could not afford to have questions decided over their heads by a nominated Governor, or by a nominated Council, even though they were influenced by the best intentions. These were questions they had a right to settle for themselves; they had a right to make their own mistakes, to put it at the worst. Race hatred must be the result of anything short of Responsible Government, because the Government must appear to favour one race or the other when racial questions arose. Those on that platform did not think it at all necessary that the divisions should be racial divisions. In his opinion, the ultimate divisions in that country would be, as they were practically in every country, liberal and conservative, or popular and monopolistic. The divisions would not be racial if they could help it. When people talked of the fear of a Dutch majority he ventured to say that the majority should rule, whatever its opinions and nationality might be. Mr. Wybergh proceeded to speak in favour of the automatic redistribution of seats, and quoted Canada as a precedent, and in favour of one man one vote. He thought representation should be based upon population, and not upon voters. He did not care which side the majority took so long as they were governed by the people of the country. The majority would govern in the interests of those people who lived in the country, and not in the interests of those people who lived on the country.

#### MR. G. HUTCHISON.

Mr. Hutchison supported the resolution. In doing so he said that the people had quite a number of political doctors lately prescribing for their constitutions. The majority apparently had been recommending soothing syrups and sleeping draughts. That was not the treatment that those on the platform, and many, he hoped, around, were decided upon recommending. (Laughter and hear, hear.) They recommended that the patient should be unbound; he should be allowed the free use of his limbs, and be able to take natural exercise, and in that way soon pick up his strength, and go forward as a giant refreshed. The truth was, the Progressives were afraid that in Parliament they would not be in a majority; they were afraid that a certain section of the British represented here would ally themselves with the Dutch in the future administration of the country. Why should not that be so? In that was the hope of future unity and of prosperity. Why, if the Progressives waited until they were in a majority, they would wait until Kingdom Come, and they would not even be in a majority then. (Laughter.) What they (the Responsibles) wanted was to get the Dutch to join in the future administration of the country, and they said that "trust begets trust." If they trusted the Dutch, although the latter were not yet completely in accord and harmony with them, they would do the very thing to bring that about and to make them clasp hands in that brotherhood necessary for the prosperity of the Transvaal. Attacking the Inter-Colonial Council, which he said was a relic of martial law, Mr. Hutchison criticised the action of the Council in connection with the Springs-Witbank and the Klerksdorp-Fourteen Streams Railways. He did not know why the latter had been given, unless it was entirely for the benefit of De Beers. It was apparently chiefly to carry their coal, and for fifteen years after the railway was taken over—if ever it was—they were entitled to have their coal carried at 3d. per ton. That contract had been entered into, he said, by Lord Milner, as High Commissioner, with De Beers. Lord Milner was one of the executors of the will of the late Cecil Rhodes, whose estate was largely invested in De Beers. Without imputing the slightest personal corruption to Lord Milner—and no one could think of doing so—it was incompatible with his position as High Commissioner and Governor of the Transvaal to make a contract with a company with which he was concerned even indirectly. The people should have a right to review the work done on that contract, because the very circumstances were such as to nullify it in a sense of equity.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and the chairman declared it carried, with only two dissentients.

#### APPEALING TO HOME.

Mr. W. T. H. Frost then moved the following resolution:—

That a copy of the foregoing resolution be sent to His Excellency the High Commissioner, with a request that it be transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Mr. R. Shanks seconded the resolution. He asked, did they ever hear of a community getting into a state of chaos in consequence of having their liberty extended? He never did. He had seen that night that "The Star" had discovered that no doubt many of the gentlemen in favour of Responsible Government were perfectly honest. They could afford to pat themselves on getting a character like that. He was rather pleased to see that several alterations had taken place in the programme of their friend, the enemy. They had given up the idea that every man who favoured the British flag ought to turn himself into a flag-pole. There was no necessity for it, and the more they kept it in the dark the better it would be, and the more they acted up to it the better it would be for all. When the deputation from the irresponsible party attended on Lord Milner, he said there was no use in going to him. They (the Responsibles) were asking him, in his capacity of High Commissioner, to forward their resolution to Great Britain.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, Mr. Whiteside, terminated the proceedings.

(8.)

"STAR," January 20th, 1905.

LAST NIGHT'S MEETING.

A GREAT PRINCIPLE AFFIRMED.

EQUAL PRIVILEGES OF VOTERS.

A DISORDERLY CONCLUSION.

The Wanderers' Hall, the forum of the people of Johannesburg, was last night once again the scene of a historic gathering. In interest and importance the gathering was almost equal to those great assemblies of pre-war days. Then Johannesburg demanded constitutional rights from a reluctant Government; to-day Johannesburg is discussing the basis of a Constitution which a willing and sympathetic Government is willing to accord. The one marked difference was that the meetings of the past were marked with a unanimity of purpose, the whole congregation pulsated with one desire, which was lacking last night. In enthusiasm, in the desire to further the common weal, the assemblages were similar. At times last night we lived in the past. The leaders of the stormy days preceding 1899 were on the platform to advocate again the rights, privileges and liberties of the people. Another landmark in the history of the Transvaal has been reached. The Magna Charta of what will be, it is to be hoped, one people, bound with common interests and animated by one desire, has to be framed. For one great principle, that must be embodied in that Constitution, there was a unanimous vote last night. The majority of the meeting wished to go further. It was evident from the frequent interruptions that a large number of those present were desirous of obtaining an expression of opinion as between Representative and Responsible Government. The promoters—the Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association—called the meeting for the express purpose of gauging public opinion on the one point, and they were not prepared to go further. The speakers were unfortunately frequently interrupted, and eloquent orations lost some of their incisiveness and force.

When the chairman had declared the proceedings over, and left the chair, uproar prevailed for a time. A gentleman who had made vain efforts to speak towards the close of the meeting climbed on the platform, and the people in the body of the hall left their seats. Policemen appeared, and it looked as if a commotion to which the Wanderers' also is not unfamiliar, would ensue. The would-be speaker stood on the table, the central figure of at that time ungovernable crowd. Eventually stentorian shouts for order enabled him to begin, and he told his grievance. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Laue, one of the unsuccessful candidates for municipal honours at the last election, who accused the chairman of un-British conduct in refusing to give him an opportunity to move an amendment, and by Mr. Lorimer, one of the impassioned orators of the Social Democratic League. However, nothing unseemly transpired, and the people filed out of the hall in an orderly manner.

Mr. John Roy, President of the Transvaal Progressive Association, presided, and amongst those on the platform were:—Major the Hon. W. Bagot, Colonel Donaldson, Sir Wm. van Hulsteyn, Messrs. W. St. John Carr, D. C. Greig, S. C. Black, A. McHugh, F. Horak, H. L. Schumann, D. Christopherson, A. R. Sawyer, W. Ballantine, W. Basil Worsfold, Dr. Murphy, R. Dawson, R. Bertram, D. O. Lys, J. Emrys Evans, H. Graumann, W. J. Farrell, S. Weil, A. Soutter, E. J. Edwards, J. W. Leonard, K.C., W. Smale Adams, A. Y. Niven, F. D. P. Chaplin, G. Adamson, A. Mackie Niven. The hall was filled, about 3,000 being present.

#### THE CHAIRMAN.

The chairman said the object of the meeting was to insist upon the Home Government importing into any new Constitution that may be granted to that country the principle of the equality of votes and automatic redistribution of seats. Whatever difference of opinion does exist, he felt sure that on that point, at any rate, they would be unanimous, and that they would have a unanimous vote.



## THE RESOLUTION.

## MR. DODD'S SPEECH.

Mr. Dodd moved the first resolution:—

That this meeting desires to place on record its firm conviction that no Constitution will be acceptable to this Colony which does not contain provisions establishing at the outset and maintaining for the future equal power and equal privileges for each voter.

He said in its short and eventful history Johannesburg had reached another stage in the march of progress. It was being inundated with floods of political oratory. But it was all right. The Municipality was considering a scheme of storm-water drainage. (Laughter.) Political speeches were infinite in their variety. The kind which was not the least popular, and which was always the easiest to make, was that in which the speaker dragged in the names of those who did not agree with him for the purpose of criticism or abuse, or, it may be, in order to indulge a love for scornful jest. "Man serves his time to every trade save censure. Critics all are ready-made." They were not there that night to bandy words with friends who did not quite agree with them. They credited them with a sincerity equal to their own. Nor were they there to cry for a something which they could not get. When they wanted to drive home on a wet night they were content to take a cab instead of waiting for the motor-car which was not there. A man might like mutton better than beef, but he was a bit of a fool if he refused to put his knife into the sirloin which the head of the house had placed on the table, though he might be perfectly right in giving instructions for the joint he liked to-morrow. (A voice: "Speak to the point.") My friend has not been a politician long, or else he would have learnt patience. (Laughter.) There was a meeting held on Market Square last night—(applause)—and, incidentally, he suggested to them that it was highly gratifying to find that the speakers at the meeting expressed their approval of the resolutions they were there to discuss and with them they heartily agreed. There was far less between the two political parties that existed than many people would imagine. (A voice: "Responsible Government," interruptions, and a voice: No. Fifteen shillings to-night.") They were absolutely agreed on the subject of equal political rights of all voters. They were in agreement on the question of ultimate Responsible Government, though, perhaps, they might differ in the use of the word "immediately." ("That is the point," and interruption.) He was in agreement with a letter that appeared in the newspapers yesterday suggesting that in two or three years they would be ripe for Responsible Government. (More interruptions.) Those who quarrelled with him had got to quarrel with Mr. Cullinan, too. There was one speech that was made on the Market Square last night that he heard, that was made somewhat in the spirit of the countryman who went to Donnybrook fair, and issued a challenge in the terms they had been accustomed to hear: "Who'll tread on the tail of my coat?"

## A CHALLENGE.

That challenge was a challenge to them that evening to discuss the question of Responsible Government. For three reasons they did not propose to discuss that question. (A voice: "You are afraid.") The first of these reasons was that they had something else to talk about; the second of those reasons was that they had something better to do—(a voice: "Rats!" and continued interruption)—than to attempt to pick a quarrel with their neighbours; and the third reason was that they had something better to do than to attempt to pick a quarrel with the Home Government—(laughter)—by striving to get out of the Home Government things that they could not get. The question of Responsible Government was a settled thing.

## PRINCIPLES AT STAKE.

The question was made clear to them more or less what they were going to get, but behind that question, there were a few principles at stake, principles that applied for all time, principles that applied to whatever form of elective government that they might chance to get, and the principle beyond anything else was that one man should be as good as another man when he went to the polling booth to record his vote. That was what they had come there that night to discuss, and no red herring thrown across the track should draw them away. (Applause.) In the march of events they had reached a landmark in the history of the country. Some 30 months ago peace was re-established, and two phases of Government had passed over their heads in that two and a half years. First of all they were a Crown Colony pure and simple; then a number of citizens were nominated to advise the nominated representatives of the Crown. And now the time had arrived when it had been announced to them that in a little while an Order in Council would be issued from Downing Street, which would give them an elected Assembly, which would give them a Parliament, and that was the thing that they were looking forward to at the present moment. (Voices: "Don't want it.") He did want it, and he hoped they would get it, and he hoped they would get responsibility underneath that. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

## COMPELLED TO ACCEPT WHAT WAS GIVEN.

They were in the position of being compelled to accept what the Imperial Government chose to give them. ("No, no," and interruption.) He appealed to all temperate men to accept that something in the meantime temporarily. ("No, no," and further interruption.) And, above all, let them remember that in the early political days of their existence, in so far as they exhibited those qualities of calmness and moderation and good sense, would they succeed in convincing the Home Government that they were fit for the fuller responsibility which one day would and must be laid upon their shoulders. (Hear, hear, and dissent.) If they exhibited frantic excitement, which led to nowhere, they would accomplish very little they wanted; they wanted to have their heads level; they wanted to keep their hair on. (Hear, hear.) The foundations were being laid, the foundations of a nation; the foundations of a Colony that he

believed one day would prove to be the brightest gem in the British Crown. And on those foundations he and they were called upon to build a structure that was to last for their children, and for their children's children. (A voice: "Or the Chinese.") Their friend who had just spoken had evidently been there before. (Laughter.) Let them remember that the only sure foundations for any Constitution and for any nation were the foundations of justice and fair play. In this Colony they wanted no monopoly. ("Hear, hear," "Oh, oh," and interruption.) They wanted no injustice. In just laws and pure administration they would find the golden key, the key that opened the hearts of men and which would bring together all the diverse elements that might perhaps be formed. ("Bosh.") The real reason of their meeting that night rested on the fact that a short time ago, as they would have read in the papers, a deputation waited on the High Commissioner—(hooting)—to discuss one or two important points which they thought should be put into the new Constitution. (Interruption.) One of the things was "one vote, one value." ("That's right," and applause.) The fact of the matter was that that was fair and reasonable, and one was most ashamed to have to apologise for having defended it with argument. But there appeared to be a doubt. The reply to the deputation by Lord Milner—"Who sent the deputation?"—was, "The arguments in favour of it are very strong." (Dissent.) Well, were they not? The High Commissioner said that he could not say whether they were overwhelming or of such a nature as to be acted upon by His Majesty's Government. In laying down their Constitution, were they going to give one man a vote of greater value than that possessed by another?

#### THE PEOPLE'S BIRTHRIGHT.

If that was done, they would be guilty of unfair conduct, which would lay them open to the charge of privilege. After all, they could not forget some of the characteristics of the proud nation from which the Constitution was to come. For long centuries the political power of Britain was the privilege of the few; and it was only after struggle and agitation that it became the birthright of the many. Even now, the fight was going on, the fight for "one man, one vote," and "one man, one value"; on the supposition that they were going to give a greater value to the vote of one man than the value of the vote of another, on what principle would they work? ("Manhood suffrage.") If the interrupter thought that manhood suffrage was something that would give one vote more value than another, he must confess himself astonished at his ignorance. Now, on what principle should it be? There was an old saying, which they would remember, "No taxation without representation." It was possible to regard that in another light, and say, "No representation without taxation." But this would not affect them much, because, in one way and another, the tax-collector contrived to get at every one of them. (Laughter.) No, let them have taxation in proportion to the representation, though there might be some wry faces at that. Then they might say, "Let us have representation in proportion to taxation." That had been argued many and many a time, but that night he would say away with such sophistry based on injustice. What would the effect be? Eighty per cent. of the taxes of this country were paid from the Rand. If 80 per cent. of the representation had to come from the Rand, it would be a wrong to the Boers that no man for a single moment could justify. What was to be represented? It was not the skyscrapers, fine palaces, or even the fine houses in Parktown, or any other part of the town. It was not in these that the inherent right to political privilege dwells. It was in men. The gold—the acres—the palaces—use what phrase you choose—to go back to Burns—"The rank is but the guinea's stamp, the man's the gowd for a' that." (Cheers.)

#### EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION.

Representation must be representation of men, and no man, in the eyes of the law, must be placed at an advantage over his fellow-man. But there was another way in which they might say it was fair that one man should have his vote counted as being of greater value than another. If there happened to be a large area of land around where he lived, if he lived far from his fellows and had an extra mile or two to go to the polling booth on election day, then it would be only fair that that man's vote should have extra political power. ("No, no.") No; absolutely no. He would therefore suggest this. If they said to their friend the Boer that on the Rand they possessed no virtue from the fact that they paid a larger share of the taxation of the country, and that the British vote had no extra value, then he was perfectly certain that any fair-minded Boer in the country would grant to them that the illimitable veld did not give him the right to expect that his vote should be estimated on a higher scale of value than theirs. (Applause.) He suggested that nothing could be fairer, nothing more reasonable than this principle, that each vote should have the same value. He suggested that the first thing in their Constitution was to get every man entitled to a vote placed upon the register. As soon as the registers were finished they would know exactly the number of voters there were in the country, and then they would know how many members would be returned to the Legislature, and the number of members to be returned divided into the total number of voters, would settle as nearly as possible the number of voters who everywhere had to return one member. Once they had got that, the constituencies should be divided up throughout the country, so that each as far as possible should contain the same number. (Applause.) That was the way in which one vote should have one value. You create one constituency with 4,000 voters in it, another with 2,000. The one would return a four-thousandth part of a member, so that one vote was worth twice as much as the other, and that was an inequality they must avoid. A second factor following on this was that they should have automatic redistribution of seats.

#### FUTURE REPRESENTATION.

If one constituency had 2,000 odd voters now, by and by, when an election came, that number may have increased to 4,000 voters, instead. Why in the name of common sense should it not be deserving of another member. He ought to be got without trouble, and without friction.

He had read something in the history of the Old Country, and something, too, of the more recent history of Cape Colony, and he found there that the same struggle had taken place on this very question. The time was past when fair play and class were adverse to each other. Let them not allow any politics in this country raise the great bone of contention which had given so much trouble elsewhere. He recommended these principles to them, and he did not conceive that they would dream of voting for either one or both. One thing more, if they were going to have politics, let it be strenuous, but when one has expressed himself on a political subject, let us hope that he will be able to rise the following morning with the conviction that he has not sacrificed his personal friendship on the altar of political controversy. One thing they ought to strive for, that was, they should have one day and always a Government in this country that was clean and honest. (Loud applause.)

#### MR. SOUTTER.

Mr. Soutter next spoke. He said that it was no easy matter to speak after the eloquent address they had listened to from Mr. Dodd, but he would endeavour to make his points as clearly, and as shortly, as he possibly could. The question that they were discussing that night was one of the most vital importance to new-comers, and to the old residents it was a matter which it was possible to magnify. It was a question that they should discuss soberly and quietly. There was no room for passion in the discussion of the subject.

#### PLEA FOR MODERATION.

The President of the Responsible Government Association on Saturday last asked his followers to exercise moderation, but not to indulge in personalities, not to impute motives; but he gave those who differed from them credit for having formed their opinions from conscientious motives. (Hear, hear.) These sentiments they (the Representative party) heartily reciprocated, and they bitterly regretted that the difference which did exist, small as they thought it was, should exist; because he said, this question at issue was too important to every man in this Colony, to every citizen of Johannesburg, to be obscured by anything that was petty or personal. (Hear, hear.) They were at the birth of a new Constitution. He asked them to throw back their minds to those days of strife when such a Constitution was nothing but a forlorn hope, a dream, but now, after the din of war, they found that it was an actuality, and at such a time as this the great question was not whether at this moment, or in two years' time, or three years, they should have Responsible Government. ("Yes, we want it now.") He said this was not the vital question. ("Yes, it is.")

#### THE VITAL QUESTION.

The vital question, he said, was this: Whether Representative Government or Responsible Government, the point was that every voter in this Colony should be given equal power and equal privilege. (Applause, and "Cart before the horse.") And, he said, should they allow any subsidiary question to obscure the duty to themselves and those who followed after them, to urge the Imperial Government to grant in the new Constitution that which the men of Johannesburg had ever been insistent upon—equality for every white inhabitant of this Colony for all time—(applause)—whether he happened to reside in the country or in the town; and that meant, as Mr. Dodd had explained, one vote one value, a Parliament representing men and not property, and not locality. He said that before that important issue all other matters sank into insignificance. Let that once be granted. (A voice: "You are done.") He could only assume that the gentleman who interrupted him did not wish to have equal power. (A voice: "Oh, yes, he does. He fought for his country," and interruption.) They should not spend their time at that particular moment in details of superstructure before they had seen that the foundations were sound and good. (A voice: "Deal with the Constitution.") He was dealing with the Constitution, he was dealing with the most important part of the question. If they could conceive of a Constitution which did not provide for the value of a vote, he did not know whether they had learnt their lesson. He said just now that that was not a question that could be discussed, nor was there any reason why it should be discussed in heated argument. (A voice: "Don't get excited," and laughter.) Nothing that they could say would alter the fact that the Imperial Government was going to give them a Constitution with a nominated Executive. (Groans.) His point was that they should lay aside all other considerations at that particular moment—(voices: "Oh, no.")—and apply themselves to that important principle which was embodied in the resolution that was proposed to them. (A voice: "That is all right, as far as it goes.") That was a resolution which the Responsible Government Association had expressed their concurrence with, and what they had to do was to express to the Government at Home that on that point at any rate they were solid, they were united. (Applause.) Mr. Dodd had already spoken to them about the equality in numerical strength of the districts. He did not know if there was anyone there who had the least doubt on that point. ("No, no.") There, at any rate, they were agreed, and they were further agreed that there were two ways in which there might be a distribution of seats. One was by an automatic process, which should be embodied in the Constitution, and the other was by an Act of Parliament. Those of them who had known anything of South Africa for some years, could have no question in their own minds as to which of these was preferable.

#### THE LESSON OF THE CAPE AND NATAL.

They had seen what had happened in the Cape Colony. (A voice: "Bug-bears.") They had seen what had happened in Natal, when, in their last Redistribution Bill, bitterness was created between the country districts and town districts; and it was common knowledge that, owing to representation in Natal, that Colony had lost a very important portion of her trade. There could be no question that of the two systems, the automatic system of redistribution was a fair and proper one, and on that they were agreed. (Applause.) So far, they had little information as to how the new Constitution would be framed, but, if anything were needed to arouse

the indifferent, it would be a paragraph which appeared in the press of yesterday—(hear, hear)—from a correspondent at Pretoria. From that correspondent they were led to think it possible—he would not put it higher than that—that the Constitution would be based on the Cape Constitution of 1853; that no provision would be made for equal electoral divisions on a numerical basis; or for the automatic redistribution of seats; that the boundaries of the old Volksraad district would be respected—(a voice: “Don’t repeat piffle”)—that in no case shall the representation of the Witwatersrand area exceed 12 out of a House of 30 elected members, and that this proportion was to be maintained in future redistribution measures. In view of these possibilities, the possibilities of such a Constitution, they were told that their resolution that night was a side issue. (“So it is.”) It was no side issue; it was the vital point. (Applause, long and continued.) He appealed to them who valued the franchise to unite in the resolution, so that it might go forward as the united and fixed determination of the community that in any Constitution the principle which was embodied in the resolution should be incorporated; and then they might look forward to those good times which they had almost got tired of looking forward to. (Applause.)

#### MR. CHAPLIN.

Mr. F. D. P. Chaplin said it seemed to him that at that meeting they had got into rather a curious position. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The object of the meeting was to discuss the resolution which had been placed before them by Mr. Dodd and Mr. Soutter. If they took a poll on the resolution at once he believed it would be carried unanimously. (Hear, hear.) It was a little hard upon those who had to speak if they were not allowed to confine themselves to the discussion of the resolution upon which they were all unanimous. (Interruption.) They had not come there to discuss Responsible Government or Representative Government at all. (Voices: “You should.”) They had all their views on that question, and he was perfectly prepared to come and discuss that at a meeting called for that purpose. (“Oh,” and “When?”) But why should they waste their time? (“Discuss it now,” and interruption.) What they had to discuss that night were certain fundamental principles, whether the Constitution granted to them was responsible or not. He thought that the town of Johannesburg and the district of Witwatersrand, should express their opinion in no uncertain voice as to the fundamental principles which they were now discussing.

#### THE FORECAST.

Mr. Soutter had alluded to the paragraph which appeared in one of the newspapers on Wednesday. He understood that the correspondent was unusually well informed, but he thought if they put two and two together, or put the correspondent’s paragraph, and with it, Lord Milner’s reply—(“We will not,” and “It’s a mare’s nest”)—they would come to the conclusion that in the Constitution which would shortly be granted, there would be no place for these principles unless they asked for them. (Cries of “Responsible Government.”) Were they in Johannesburg ever to be content, whether under Representative or Responsible Government—(“We don’t want Representative Government,” and renewed cries of “Responsible Government.”)—with insufficient representation, as compared with the country districts. Was it conceivable that 500 farmers (as he had read the other day in a paper) in Rustenburg should have equal voting power with 2,000 miners? (“Who said that?”) That was precisely the reason why they asked them to pass the resolutions. Of course, they might say that the Boer must be trusted. Let them trust the Boer by all means. (Applause, and “Why don’t you do it?”) He would say that the programme of the Progressive Association was a proof that the Boer was trusted. They would find in that programme that every Boer who was on the First Volksraad burgher roll should have a vote, whether otherwise qualified or not. (Applause.) Did that show trust in the Boer or not? The only other thing they were asking for was that they should be put on equal terms with the Boer. No man could object to equality. Some might make out a case, and say that the Boers did not give them equality before, and therefore they should not give the Boer equality now. That would not be fair. They must have one man to one vote, and one vote must have one value, whether for the farmer or the miner, the millionaire or the artisan. (A voice: “Are we treated any better now than the Boers treated us?” and laughter.) Still, there was another point which had not been so clearly dealt with, and which his friend might call a side issue. So it was in a way. The question was whether, assuming they adopted the numerical basis, that basis was a basis of voters, or whether it was a basis of population. In his opinion the basis of voters was by far the best and most logical—(applause)—because they would be easily able to count their voters, but if they were going to base it on population only they would have to wait for the census, and they all knew the census was a very long, costly, and wearisome process, and when they had got it it did not always give them all the information they thought it would. When they could count their votes every year they could see whether there was any justification for redistribution of seats, and whether people who were entitled to representation in Parliament were going to get it, or whether they were not. (A voice: “What is a voter?” and laughter.) A voter was a person who gave a vote; he did not know any other definition. Supposing they had a new gold discovery, a new diamond industry, and they had a town springing up of 10,000 or 20,000 people, did they mean to say they should wait for the census, or for a special Act of Parliament to give these people representation? (“No.”) They were agreed on that. The proper thing to do was to have automatic redistribution for three or four years. (Applause.) He did not find anything of the sort in the proposal made by a well-informed correspondent in Pretoria, and he laid great stress upon what Lord Milner had said. He said: “I suppose there is practical unanimity on the question, but you have to deal with a British Government,” and he said in effect the British Government is very slow to move. (Laughter.) He thought it was a very good thing to be conservative, and he hoped he was a good Conservative himself, but the British Government had to consider this country. They could not afford to give them a ready-made Constitution which might have been useful for Barbados 40 or 50 years ago. The Government must consider these proposals for automatic redistribution and numerical basis. They must consider that if these things had no place at home it did not follow they were not suited

to this country; and, though they might say they had no belief in these new-fangled ideas, the people here know what is best for them and would have to get it. They could not put these things into a Constitution already made. If they were going to have automatic redistribution they should ask for it now the Constitution was in the making, and if they did not ask for it now they would find that when the Constitution was made they would not get it. He believed they all agreed upon that point. ("No, no," and hear, hear.) They could discuss Responsible Government another night. ("Oh.") He would ask them all that night to pass, with a unanimous vote, and to demand with no uncertain voice, that in the Constitution that was to be given them those fundamental principles would find a part. (Applause.)

#### MR. J. W. LEONARD.

Mr. Leonard, who was received with applause, said that he did not anticipate, when he came there that evening to meet an assembly invited to discuss the resolutions, that he should find any dissension in the room upon the subject of that resolution. He was very happy indeed if he could read the character of a public assembly, that he could discern no sign of dissension upon the subject which had brought them there that night. Having said that he thought they would agree with him that he might fairly sit down—(no, no)—because he had come there as a humble individual to back up that one single resolution, and no more. There was a time in the past when it fell to his part to champion the cause of the inhabitants of Johannesburg in their great fight for political rights. (Applause.) In those days, and they were strenuous days, he thought he had the confidence of the vast bulk of the inhabitants of Johannesburg. (Hear, hear, and a voice: "You deserved it.") He hoped that with changed times nothing had occurred to shake that confidence in him. He was there by right of being one of their late champions. (A voice: "Why did you change?") He was sorry he did not catch the gentleman's remarks. The remark having been repeated, the speaker continuing, said: If the gentleman waited to see on what side he (Mr. Leonard) was, perhaps he would find that he was, as he had always been, on the side of the people in their struggle for liberty. (Applause.) A large number of them had come there that night burning with enthusiasm to discuss the question whether they had Responsible Government. (Hear, hear.) Let him say at the outset that, although he might differ very slightly in some details from those who were in favour of immediate Responsible Government, he was not going to be the other indispensable party to that quarrel. If they liked, on any given day, or at any given time they chose, he would stand up and give reasons for the faith that was in him, but for the moment he would say that he preferred to stick to the issue before them. The side issue that night was whether they were to have Responsible Government. (Interruption.) They had come there to discuss a very serious matter, and he asked them to remember that no discussion was possible amid incessant interruption. He wanted to stick to the issue before them. It was through difference of opinion that they got at the truth. (A voice: "And at the fees," and laughter.) Should he tell them why this was a vital issue?

#### THE CART AND THE HORSE.

A gentleman at the bottom of the hall reiterated that they were putting the cart before the horse. Should he tell them why they were doing so? There seemed the haziest, vaguest opinion as to what was meant by Responsible Government. Responsible Government was a Government by Legislature first and last. First, it was a Government by the Legislature. The different between Responsible Government and Representative Government, that was not guided by a Responsible Ministry, was that in one case the Ministers went out of office at the vote of the House, and in the other they did not. Well, anybody who was going to challenge such an elementary statement showed conclusively he was ignorant of the very elements of political knowledge, and it was because he wished to disabuse the minds of even the smallest minority in the room as to any error as to the exact meaning of these words that he ventured to take up the attention of the vast majority, who, he believed, did understand. Before they could have Responsible Government, they must have legislative power established on a certain basis, and the basis on which that was established was called their Constitution. And the responsibility or want of responsibility of Ministers to Parliament had for the moment nothing whatever to do with the case. The Constitution which they were going to get within the next three months, or one month—he did not know when it was to be given—was the Constitution which the country would be governed under, whether they had a Responsible Ministry or not. That was their cart, and it had to go behind the horse. (Applause.) Let him put it to those members of the audience who wished to give them Responsible Government that they would discuss these things afterwards.

#### AN EXTREME ILLUSTRATION.

How would they feel if they had Responsible Government granted to them under a Constitution which gave Johannesburg two member out of 50? He put an extreme case. He knew that no such preposterous idea had ever occurred to a Constitution maker. Supposing the Witwatersrand, supposing the population of Johannesburg would be limited to five members in a House of 50, and Responsible Government was tossed to them as a gift, what would they do with it? (A voice: "Rot.") That gentleman was probably at school when he (Mr. Leonard) was helping to govern countries, and knew more about politics than he did. (Loud applause, and a member of the audience said something about the Progressives at the Cape which was not heard at the Press table.) The gentlemen, continued Mr. Leonard, who talked about what the Progressives were doing at the Cape was indeed introducing an element which had nothing to do with the subject. What they were discussing was the Constitution under which they had got to live and to thrive if they could. He asked them to bear this in mind, because, after all, the very first essence of the case was to see what their Legislative Constitution was before they started any form of Government, because the exact method under which their Executive

was going to be elected, the exact condition under which it was to carry on that administration, must, in the necessity of things, be settled after their Constitution was once fixed.

#### CONSTITUTION FIXED ONCE AND FOR ALL.

Their Legislative Constitution was going to be fixed now, once and for all, by the people who were making their Constitution for them, by the Imperial Government, that held the destinies of this country in the hollow of its hand. (Hear, hear.) Immediately the Home Government had declared its intention to bestow representative institutions upon this country, some of those present would say, "Good; we will take representative institutions, but we want to take them plus something, we want them with the arrangement that prevailed in other countries, in the Cape, in Canada, and Australia, and elsewhere, with the arrangement that the Executive should only hold office during the pleasure of the House." He was going for the moment to concede to them that he agreed with them. (Hear, hear.) He did not say he did agree, nor did he say he did not. (Voices: "Oh!" and "Sitting on the fence.") He was not sitting on the fence or on the rail, and if he were, what did it matter?

#### THE VITALLY IMPORTANT ISSUE.

Let them stick to the point. He was going to assume that every man amongst them who wished to see that particular form of government introduced at once was right; and then he was going to say, "Will you go one step further and say with me that far more important and far more vital and far-reaching is the question of how you are going to constitute the Legislature that is going to govern your Ministers?" (Applause.) Would they have their Ministers appointed first and the Legislature, to whom they were to be responsible, constituted afterwards? Was that not putting the cart before the horse? (A voice: "Let's see something of the cart.") The cart was the State, that had got to be pulled through the mire and out of it, and the responsible Ministers were the people to whom was entrusted the duty of pulling that cart. (A voice: "Who elects the Ministers?") Here, again, he was face to face with one of those manifestations of innocence upon the subject of Responsible Government. (Laughter.) The gentleman down below, who, he was sure, bestowed an intelligent attention on the subject, asked him who elected the Ministers. Would it surprise him to know that if he got Responsible Government to-morrow morning every Minister would be appointed by the Sovereign of the country. ("No, no.") He had a sort of prescience when he came there that he would find that sort of—he did not like to use the word ignorance in any invidious sense—he would perhaps rather say that sort of want of knowledge of fundamental constitutional principles. The Minister who was the Prime Minister of Cape Colony to-day, the Minister who was Prime Minister of England, and the Minister who was chief of the Executive of the Transvaal, were all on one equal footing in that respect. (Voices: "No, no," and "Yes.") They were all appointed by the Sovereign and they held office during the pleasure of the Sovereign. ("No, no," applause, and interruption.) He really did not think that he had come there to lecture upon constitutional principles—(laughter)—but he was quite prepared if they wished to go on. He wished to point out to them that responsible Ministers, and Ministers who were not responsible to the Legislature, were equally appointed by the Crown, and were equally King's Ministers. The only difference between Responsible Government and Representative Government, where Ministers were not responsible to parliament, was this, that in the one case the Crown could keep in office Ministers who had lost the confidence of the House; and in the other case, it was an unwritten law of the Constitution that when Ministers had lost the confidence of the House they tendered their resignation to the Government. He hoped that he had killed that fallacy, at all events, that their Legislature was going to appoint their Ministers. The Legislature had no constitutional machinery by which it could appoint any Ministers; as a matter of fact he did not know that the Legislature had any constitutional machinery for appointing anything more than a doorkeeper, and an office boy, and a clerk. He had forgotten for the moment that it did appoint a Speaker.

#### THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER.

That being absolutely the correct view of the constitutional position, was the truth of it not borne in upon them convincingly and irrefutably that the first consideration when they were making a Constitution, was to see how they were going to distribute their political power. It was upon that battlefield that every single particle of political strife had been manifested during the last century and more. In England it was upon this battlefield that they saw political strife raging. In South Africa they had seen it for years. It was upon that battlefield that they saw all the occurrences in Canada in 1837 and afterwards, and that bitter strife between different sections of the population. This was the vitally important matter they had to consider; and it was because they recognised that, as the far-reaching, all-embracing issue, that they had come there to ask them to ignore for the moment all divisions of opinion as to when and where and how responsibility of Ministers was going to be dealt with; to ask them to establish upon true and firm principles of legislative machinery the legislative Constitution which must be the bottom and foundation of the Constitution of this country for all time, no matter what particular form of administration was ultimately introduced. The gentleman down below, whom he would dearly love to meet in single combat—(laughter)—though all in good part, had invited him to give the reason of the faith that was in him on the question of Responsible Government. He could oblige him, but in doing so he would be violating the platform on which he stood, and would be departing from the agreement with which they came there—to avoid subjects of strife. The inhabitants of the Witwatersrand and the British inhabitants of the Transvaal must not have a dissentient voice amongst them. After what had been said, and so powerfully and eloquently said, on the resolution, there was really very little left for him to say. ("Go on.") He was afraid that his throat would not go on. What had struck him with dismay, and what he never would have thought to see, was that an issue so clear should be capable of argument

on the other side. What struck him with dismay was when he read, in Lord Milner's speech to the deputation—"Whose deputation"—let them never mind whose deputation it was. It was, he thought an instance of, should he say, frivolity? What did it matter whose deputation it was? The important point was that Lord Milner (no matter to whom it might have been, to the man in the street, or, if they liked, to the first man he met) said there was a grave doubt, and Lord Milner manifested it in his language—as to whether the Government, in forming the Constitution to be shortly given to them, was or was not to observe the first rule of equity in the distribution of political power. (Applause.) That was the important thing—not whose deputation it was. Those who differed from him as to Responsible Government had sent a deputation to Lord Milner and they (the Progressive Association) did not quarrel with that. Why, then, should the Responsible Government party quarrel with them for doing the same? To come back to the point—he hoped they would stick to it—he hoped they were addressing not only the representative assembly he could see before him, but thousands of men outside, whom they would have been glad to see. ("On the East Rand?") Yes, on the East and West, and every other part of the country. He was filled with dismay when he noticed the note of doubt in Lord Milner's reply as to whether they should have common justice in the matter of the distribution of political power. He asked himself seriously what on earth could any mortal man say on the other side. What could any English Minister, or Englishman say in an issue which was vital, not only to the welfare of the country, but of the British Empire itself? He asked himself if he could find any reason, and he could not; he could not find one now which would justify any doubt on the point.

#### POLITICAL ENEMIES.

The only conclusion he could come to was that the doubt which did exist had been created by the work of those who were their political enemies. ("Who are they?") He did not know who they were, but he would tell them how he knew they existed—it was because Lord Milner did not originate the idea himself. It was the work of men who would have Pretoria swallow up Johannesburg, or who were grinding axes in the back parlours of Pretoria. Their game was very manifest—to deal with questions by following precedents which had no justification as a basis; they wished the representation of the country on the territorial lines which would curb the inhabitants of towns, which were the brains and intelligence of the country.

#### NO SLAVISH FOLLOWING.

An attempt to jerrymander the political vote and to foil those who are actually entitled to political power in their own aspirations, that was the game they were playing. It was their business to defeat that game. ("No.") Would anyone tell him what object there could be in attempting to tamper with an elementary principle such as they were enunciating that night? One man was as good as another. They had put before them the simple platform that every man in the street was as good as any other man in the street, and that no man was to be entitled to the balance of political power because he lived in a different area. ("Vote.") Lord Milner had given them some advice. He said if they wanted their rights they must lift up their voices and shout for their rights, and insist upon having them. That was why they were there that night, and to ask them to back them up with their voices, to ask every man who took an interest in the welfare of this country to back them up. He would like to answer some of the arguments that dimly reached him from behind, but he could not hear them. (Laughter, and a voice: "You will get all you want.") Lord Milner had told them that, even though they made their voices heard, they would find precedent and inertia against them. As to precedent, inertia, or mere indifference to their welfare, and wants, mere sluggishness and political apathy, he did not think they would allow the Home Government to rest in peace or allow it to fail them in a proper settlement of a question like that, which was the very essence of prosperity in this country. When they came to precedent, of course there would be no precedents to be found in England for this sort of thing. The British Constitution was like the historical "Topsy"—it "grewed." It was bristling with all sorts of anomalies, inequities, and inconsistencies, and were they going to be bound by a slavish adherence to the British Constitution? ("No.") Were they going to be deprived of the elementary rights of men because in some particular instance the British Constitution did not provide for them? (Applause.) What had they got to do with the lack of precedent in the British Constitution, or with the lack of precedent in the British Colonies, founded in times past when everything was done in a slavish imitation of the British model? Let them rather look to newer Legislatures, newer Constitutions. Let them go to Canada, Australia, and America. Let them go to America, where—"No!" and a voice, "Let us stop here!"—he wanted to stop here, too. Let them follow the example of men who were not afraid to do a thing because their grandfathers had not done it before them. (Applause.) They found, in the British North American Act of 1867; they found, in the Act embodying the Australian Commonwealth; they found these elementary principles recognised everywhere, so that when it came to be a question of precedent they had precedent of the very highest order. He was not afraid, for one, that they were going to be overruled by precedent. They must get it here, and they (the people) must back them up. He had searched in vain for any argument that could be advanced against them, and had not found one. As to the argument that the Dutch were likely to outvote the British, or the British were likely to outvote the Dutch, he hated to hear these suggestions, and this cursed thing aggravated form so many men anticipated. (Applause.) He had far too much faith in the commonsense, in the traditions, in the conservatism of the Dutch character to suppose they were going to cut off their noses to spite their faces; that they were going to make hell-broth of this country's politics to please those who would play upon racial feelings. (Hear, hear.) The question was not whether the Dutch were going to outvote the English, or the English to outvote the Dutch. If the curse were to be put upon the country that their politics were to be run on racial lines, some party must outvote the other. They could not have a dead level

of equality of votes, and, if they were going to run their politics on racial lines, one side must preponderate. Now, which side was going to preponderate? ("Neither!") Well, he was assuming that the poisonous thing was to be introduced: which side was going to preponderate? Those who opposed them would say that the Dutch must preponderate simply because they were Dutch. Those who were with them would say they did not care twopence which side preponderated; that side should preponderate which had the largest number of voters. (Hear, hear.) Could anything be fairer than that? He could see by the gestures and demeanour of his hearers that they were not going to be led astray by any fallacy, but that they were going to assert the vital principle that equality was equity. (Hear, hear.) He could only conclude by impressing upon them the deep gravity of the issue before them. What they sowed now they would reap in the future—if they sowed the wind they would reap the whirlwind—and he asked them to show, not only by their voices that evening, but by their actions outside, by the influence they would wield on their fellow-men, by the attention which they bestowed upon vital political issues, he would ask them to say that they did not mean to be numbered among those who, if disaster came upon them hereafter owing to apathy now, would stand and wring their hands in helpless despair. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

The Chairman then put the resolution, which was carried, there being only one dissident.

#### FORDWARDING THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. Mackie Niven said that he did not propose to do more than simply move the second resolution, and in one or two words submit it for their acceptance. The resolution read:—

"That the foregoing resolution be forwarded to his Excellency Lord Milner with the request that it be transmitted by cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

He said that they had the best of reasons for believing that the next few weeks would be the most critical period in framing the Constitution, which was now on the stocks. They had reasons to believe that if the Witwatersrand, if the Transvaal, by a unanimous voice—as they had done that night—declared in favour of the principles embodied in the first resolution, the probabilities were that those principles would be embodied for all time in the Constitution of the Transvaal Colony. But to carry any resolution of that kind, however, unanimously, without proceeding to declare that it was their wish that the resolution should be conveyed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, would be vain. But if that resolution and similar resolutions, which would be carried during the next few weeks, embodying the same principles, were transmitted, not only to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but to the English newspapers, public opinion in England would be so strong that no matter how conservative the Government might be on this vital question, they would have to grant the request. He therefore had the greatest pleasure in proposing a motion to the effect that the sense of the resolution be forwarded to the right quarter. (Applause.)

Mr. Reid, Pretoria, seconded the resolution. He said that it was an unwritten law in Pretoria that they would not allow the people of Johannesburg to interfere with their affairs, either municipal or political. (Laughter.) He had never stood on any platform except it was for the amelioration of the conditions of the working classes. (Applause.) He had attended the meeting as a listener, and as a citizen of the Colony who took a great interest in its politics, and who realised the grave possibility of any action that might be taken at that moment. He knew the necessity, not only that votes should have an equal value, but that there should be some means of distribution of seats after certain fixed periods.

The resolution was then put and carried amidst great noise.

#### A DISORDERLY CONCLUSION.

Mr. Fred. W. Bell, who had arisen in the body of the hall towards the close of the proceedings to ask a question and who found it impossible to do so, owing to the prevailing din, mounted the platform. After the second resolution was declared carried he stood on the front of the platform. There was a regular uproar, and the chairman declared that the business of the meeting had terminated. Mr. Roy and those who were on the platform left, and Mr. Bell mounted the table. The people in the hall left their seats, and there were cheers and counter cheers. Eventually comparative order was restored, and Mr. Bell said he had wished to ask the chairman a question. He had been trapped up to the platform and when he got there he was told he was not to speak then. He accepted the position because the chairman said he was to wait. He waited, and when he saw he could not speak, he told the chairman he was going to propose an amendment. He was hoodwinked, and the resolution was put to the meeting before he could attempt to speak. It showed that the Progressives, at all events, did not want fair play. The question he was going to put was that if as was alleged there was no use making any suggestion as to Responsible Government, why on earth was it expedient to waste their time for a couple of hours when the Home Government had already made up its mind. If it were possible to alter the mind of the Home Government in one respect, it was possible to alter their minds in another respect. He was going to propose an amendment that, together with the resolution, they should also request the Home Government to give them Responsible Government.

Rev. Mr. Lane, who had made himself prominent at the reporters' table, next spoke. He said that an amendment was sent up to the chairman in good time with the name of the mover. The chairman returned the amendment with the statement that he would not allow it to be put. He only wished at that stage of the election proceedings to enter a protest against the un-English method of procedure.

Then Mr. Lorrimer, labouring under great excitement, made to mount the table. A police sergeant interfered with him, but an officer who came on the scene wisely allowed him to speak for a few minutes. He said he had come to that meeting under the full persuasion that he



would be permitted to take an active part in the discussion from the body of the hall. They had been invited there to discuss the resolution, and it was the parliamentary procedure to accept amendments—(hear, hear)—to resolutions. He had an amendment to propose to the resolution, an important amendment which would have been agreed to by the great majority of the people in the hall—that one man should have one vote, and that only that one vote should have one value. (Applause.) They had considerable experience in England and elsewhere as to the fagot vote, and in the constituency to which he belonged they had men who exercised not only one but 20 votes. (“Shame.”) In the interests of the working classes they must demand “one man one vote.” (Loud applause.) But this did not suit the capitalist or the monopolists—(renewed applause)—who were in Johannesburg. He asked them to rescind the resolution which had been carried, unless that amendment was added to it. On Sunday night, seeing that the Press of the Progressives were against them, they would hold a meeting on the Square at 7.30.

At this point a police constable reminded Mr. Lorrimer—so it appeared from his action—of the flight of time, and Mr. Lorrimer, addressing the audience, said that the hall had now to be closed, or otherwise extra expense in lighting, &c., would be involved. Let them therefore meet together on Sunday, when privileges would be granted to all alike, and when amendments would be accepted.

The people then quietly dispersed.

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(9.)

“STAR,” January 21st, 1905.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD MILNER AND MR. SMUTS.

To the Editor of “The Star.”

SIR,

LORD Milner desires me to send you a copy of the enclosed correspondence with Mr. J. C. Smuts on various points connected with the future Constitution of the Transvaal. I am to add that Mr. Smuts has expressed his concurrence in its publication.

Yours very truly,

G. GEOFFREY ROBINSON,  
Private Secretary.

Governor's Office, Johannesburg,  
January 21.

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His Excellency VISCOUNT MILNER, Governor of the Transvaal, &c., &c.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Pretoria, January 13, 1905.

I HAVE been requested by the other members of our committee, who had the honour of an interview with Your Excellency on the 17th December, 1904, about the future Constitution of the Transvaal, to address the following remarks to Your Excellency in reference to certain statements made by Your Excellency to a deputation of the Transvaal Progressive Association on the 10th January.

In “The Star” newspaper of that date, Your Excellency is reported to have said that Your Excellency had not yet come across anybody who was opposed to automatic redistribution in principle.

Again, in reference to the proposed qualification for voters, Your Excellency is reported to have said (speaking of property and of rental qualification) that “almost everybody seems to be agreed as to the general principle which I have tried to lay down, and the divergence between the various proposed figures is not very great.”

We are afraid that there may be some misunderstanding, and that, because we did not at the interview referred to discuss these subjects with Your Excellency, Your Excellency may have been led to conclude that we have no objections either to automatic redistribution or a qualification for voters.

Now, to both we entertain most serious objections. Automatic redistribution, in order to be fair all round, requires a periodical readjustment of all the constituencies in the country, for otherwise small increments of voters over large parts of the country, which in the aggregate may amount to a very considerable number, will be passed over, while a sudden influx of voters to a particular place, although smaller than the aggregate increments referred to, will receive additional Parliamentary representation. The effect will be, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, that one section of the community will be unduly favoured above the other. These and other difficulties lead us to the conclusion that it will be premature and dangerous to introduce the principle of automatic redistribution into a Constitution such as that proposed by Your Excellency, and that this matter ought to be left over until, under self-governing institutions, the people of the country have had ample Constitutional means of discussing and criticising it.

No less strongly are we opposed to qualifications for voters. In a country like the Transvaal, with a very small white population, it seems in every way inexpedient to discriminate between one white man and another, and the only safe and equitable policy would be to proceed on broad democratic lines, and to give manhood suffrage to the population, so that every white male

British subject of a certain age shall have a voice in the affairs of the land. The old burgher franchise law of the late Republic knew of no qualification, and we see no reason for altering the law in this respect. We have all the more reason for adhering to this sound principle when we find the Transvaal Progressive Association proposing to Your Excellency a qualification the effect of which within a comparatively short period will be to exclude large numbers of people in the towns and far larger numbers of people in the rural areas from voting and participating in the public affairs of the country.

We feel certain that the views here expressed are shared and will be endorsed by a very large part of the Transvaal population.

In making these remarks on matters of detail, we do not in any way recede from the position which we took up at the interview with Your Excellency as to the principle of Representative Government. We consider it wrong in principle and policy, and reserve to ourselves and to those with whom we are politically associated complete freedom of action when once the proposals of His Majesty's Government are laid before the country in definite form.

I have, &c.,  
J. C. SMUTS.

DEAR MR. SMUTS,

The Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 17, 1905.

I BEG to thank you for your letter of the 13th January. I am sorry if any remarks of mine to the deputation of the Transvaal Progressive Association were calculated to cause a misapprehension of the views of yourself and your friends.

I was certainly under the impression that, while you strongly objected to the principle of "one vote one value," you recognised the necessity of periodic redistribution. I, however, accept without demur your assurance that I was mistaken in this respect, and that you are opposed to the introduction of this principle into the instrument creating representative institutions.

With regard to the question of a property qualification, I still retain my opinion that the differences on this point between various sections of the community are not very great. I note that you are in favour of manhood suffrage pure and simple. But the distance which separates manhood suffrage from a low property qualification is of little practical importance. It is between a low property qualification and a high one that the true dividing line of democratic and oligarchical institutions is to be found. And it was a decidedly low property qualification, which I referred to, when I said I thought there was a pretty general agreement on the point. I was referring to such a qualification as would, to use my own words, enfranchise every man having "independent means of support," *i.e.*, not being dependent for his livelihood on the charity of others, or on the State.

Under such a qualification I believe that something like 80 per cent. of the adult male whites, who are British subjects, would get the franchise—a very high proportion even for the most democratic countries.

As, however, it would appear that I may have, unwittingly, caused some misapprehension of your views, I propose, with your concurrence, to put this right by publishing the correspondence.

Yours very truly,  
MILNER.

(10.)

"STAR," January 21st, 1905.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION.

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE.

The following statement has been sent to us for publication:—The Transvaal Progressive Association has been informed that some doubt has arisen in the mind of the public as to whether the Association is in favour not only of the principle of "one vote, one value," but also of the principle of "one man, one vote." In view of this uncertainty, the Executive Committee of the Johannesburg branch of the association are anxious to state, in the most definite and precise manner, that under the provisions which they desire to see embodied in the new Constitution, every voter will be entitled to cast one vote only, in the Parliamentary elections of the Colony. That is to say, they are of opinion that no man, even if he holds property in several constituencies, should be permitted to vote in more than one, or to cast more than one vote in that constituency.

No. 10.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received February 11, 1905.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 23, 1905.  
 WITH reference to my telegram of the 20th January, No. 1,\* I have the honour to transmit to you a copy of two letters recording resolutions passed at public meetings, held in Johannesburg, on Wednesday and Thursday of last week.

A full report of the proceedings on both occasions is enclosed in my despatch of to-day.†

I have, &c.,  
 MILNER,  
 Governor.

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 Enclosure 1 in No. 10.

CHAIRMAN, Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Responsible Government Association, to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

SIR, Johannesburg, January 19, 1905.  
 I HAVE the honour to inform you that at a mass meeting, held on the Market Square last night, at which, according to the "Leader," about 1,000 people were present, the following resolutions were passed with practical unanimity:—

1. That the immediate granting of Responsible Government is essential to the political stability, contentment, and progress of the Transvaal.
2. That a copy of the foregoing resolution be sent to His Excellency the High Commissioner with a request that it be transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In accordance with the second resolution, I now beg, on behalf of my friends and myself who promoted this meeting, to lay these resolutions formally before Your Excellency.

I have, &c.,  
 JNO. W. QUINN.

His Excellency  
 The High Commissioner,  
 Johannesburg.

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 Enclosure 2 in No. 10.

CHAIRMAN, Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association, to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Honorary Secretary (pro tem)  
 H. T. Montague Bell.  
 P.O. Box 5,352.

Transvaal Progressive Association (Johannesburg Branch),  
 21 and 22, Exploration Buildings, Johannesburg,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, Johannesburg, January 20, 1905.  
 I HAVE the honour to inform Your Excellency that at a meeting, held last night at the Wanderers', at which over two thousand people were present, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

1. That this meeting desires to place on record its firm conviction that no Constitution will be acceptable to this Colony which does not contain provisions establishing at the outset and maintaining for the future equal power and equal privileges for each voter.

\* No. 4.

† No. 9.

2. That the foregoing resolution be forwarded to His Excellency Lord Milner with the request that it be transmitted by cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I have the honour to forward these resolutions herewith to Your Excellency.

I have, &c.,  
 JNO. ROY,  
 Chairman of the Johannesburg Branch  
 of the Transvaal Progressive Association.

His Excellency  
 Viscount Milner, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,  
 High Commissioner of South Africa.

No. 11.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 6.45 p.m., February 13, 1905.)

TELEGRAM.

February 13. No. 1. I am requested to inform you of the following resolutions adopted at public meeting held in Johannesburg on 9th February, under auspices of Responsible Government Association:—

*First Resolution begins:* That in the opinion of this meeting the immediate grant of a full measure of responsible government in this Colony is absolutely essential to its progress and prosperity. *Ends.*

*Second Resolution begins:* That the Order in Council conferring responsible government upon this Colony should embody the following principles: one man one vote, one vote one value, and should moreover provide for the automatic readjustment of seats in the several electoral districts of this Colony. *Ends.*

No. 12.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received 8.50 p.m., February 17, 1905.)

TELEGRAM.

February 17. No. 6. I am requested to transmit to you the following resolutions passed at a public meeting of inhabitants of Boksburg and district on the 30th January:—

*First Resolution begins:* "That in the opinion of this meeting of the inhabitants of Boksburg and district the principle of (a) one man one vote (b) one vote one value and (c) the automatic redistribution of representation should be embodied in the Transvaal Constitution." *Ends.*

*Second Resolution begins:* "That in the opinion of this meeting of the inhabitants of Boksburg and district the principle of manhood suffrage for white British subjects should be embodied in the Transvaal Constitution." *Ends.*

*Third Resolution begins:* "That the residential qualification for voters should be at least twelve months' residence in the Transvaal." *Ends.*

No. 13.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received February 18, 1905.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 30, 1905.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, newspaper cuttings on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
 MILNER,  
 Governor.

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 Enclosures in No. 13.

(1.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," January 24th, 1905.

EX-GENERAL SMUTS INTERVIEWED.

Reuter's Pretoria correspondent telegraphs:—

Ex-General Smuts, in an interview, says the question or principle of one-vote-one-value was never discussed at the meeting between Lord Milner and the Boer leaders.

What the latter contended for was that exceptions should be made in the ratio of representation in one or two districts like Zoutpansberg which, though sparsely populated, have a very wide area, and if joined to other districts for the purpose of choosing representatives, would result in the inhabitants of such districts holding aloof.

He denies that the objections of the Boer leaders were raised only in the interests of the Dutch. He favours manhood suffrage, because property qualification was very uncertain in a country where the people are subject to so many vicissitudes of fortune from day to day, and he sees no reason why a restrictive residential qualification should be placed on newcomers, and urges the importance of the automatic registration of voters, which should be made the duty of officials instead of being left to the voters themselves.

(2.)

"STAR," January 24th, 1905.

ACTION AT BOKSBURG.

Boksburg, Tuesday (Special).—At a meeting of the provisional committee, held last night under the presidency of the Mayor, with respect to the formation of a political association, Dr. McNeillie and Mr. Constable, delegates to the Progressive Association, reported the result of their interview.

Later it was resolved that a public meeting should be called in the Assembly Hall, where, if the principle is adopted that a political association be formed, a committee will be appointed to formulate rules and to draw up a platform.

Further, it was resolved to call a great public meeting for Thursday next, in conjunction with the above, at which resolutions will be proposed in favour of one man one vote, one vote one value, automatic redistribution, and manhood suffrage, and a resolution dealing with the term of residence necessary to qualify for a vote.

The opinion was expressed that nothing short of twelve months' qualification would be adequate.

KRUGERSDORP'S ATTITUDE.

SPEECH BY MR. W. M. EDWARDS.

Krugersdorp, Tuesday (Special).—All the political movements in this district go to show that although there is a small and insignificant majority clamouring for Responsible Government at once, the overwhelming majority, including the members of the Transvaal Farmers' Association, are prepared to accept the broad platform of the Progressive Association, and fling in their lot with the industrial and commercial leaders. The latest utterance of Mr. W. Moorcroft Edwards, who has for several years been the spokesman of the agricultural community, has created a distinctly favourable impression. Speaking at the annual meeting of the Krugersdorp branch of the Transvaal Farmers' Association, he said that he was one of those who viewed with a certain amount of apprehension the advent of the Chinese for the mines, but at the time he criticised their importation he stated that he was open to conviction. After his experience of their work for the last four months, he was quite satisfied that the Chinese were turning out

competent workmen for the sister mining industry, and their success would be the means of releasing a considerable number of natives for agricultural purposes. (Cheers.) He sincerely trusted that during the next twelve months the labour troubles of the farmer would be reduced to vanishing point, and that supplies of cheap labour would be freely forthcoming. (Renewed cheers.) The Farmers' Association had realised the troubles outside, and had set to work to alleviate some of the agricultural afflictions, and place the agrarian interests in a better position. They had very wisely abstained from any movements of a political nature, and he might as well assure them that they intended to refrain from any subject of a controversial nature, which did not affect agriculture. (Cheers.) The great object they had at heart was the betterment of the farmer, and they sought to unite the old settler and the new, Briton or Boer, in one sound, enthusiastic, agrarian foundation. (Cheers.) The heartfelt desire of the countryside was to be left in peace to bring their fertile valleys and farms up to the highest stage of production. They wanted no political asperities introduced, and no acute party dissension. The memories of the past were sad and bitter, and the farmer, having learnt wisdom by experience, sincerely desired to be preserved from any further political imbroglio. (Loud cheers.) They wanted to do away entirely with all acrimonious questions of race. Agriculture was cosmopolitan, and everybody would be welcomed in the ranks of the association who was prepared to settle down in the country, make it his home, and eventually become proud of the name of a South African and a Transvaaler. (Loud cheers.) There was no reason why he should be otherwise. The Canadian and Australian were proud of their Motherland and their distinctive Colonial names, and the same feeling of patriotism should predominate in South Africa, particularly in the Transvaal. During his travels in Europe he grew more proud of his country, because he found that an Afrikaner was able to hold his own, and more than his own, against all comers. (Loud cheers.) And that was the key-note of their association, which, he trusted, would not be lost sight of in the strenuous days ahead. Agriculturists would probably be invited to join a political group, but he, for one, would never relax his efforts to keep the association free from meddling in politics until intriguers and wire-pullers clashed with the territorial influences. The members of the association were quite free to join any body outside agricultural affairs, but when any great State question arose the outside movement would be able to deal with it, but, as far as their own purely agrarian body went, they would hold aloof. (Cheers.) He warned them that once the thin end of the political wedge entered the association, there would be no end of trouble, for their members were of many shades of political opinion, and there would always be dissensions, eventually leading up to a general split, which was one of the things they particularly wanted to avoid. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. W. S. Langerman (chairman of the Langlaagte Estates G.M. Co.), who was present, was elected as one of the delegates to the annual congress on February 23. In returning thanks, he said that his contribution to the work and the objects of the association was very small, but he was always only too ready to help in developing the agricultural resources of the country. (Cheers.) What the farmers ought to do was to combine together, secure better means of transport, and establish large produce stores in the urban centres, where supplies could be always ready to meet the needs of the great mining industry. (Cheers.) The mining groups and the farmers could then enter into large contracts, and each industry would help the other along. He could assure them all that in their purely agricultural affairs they always had his warmest sympathy. He sincerely trusted they would not launch out into the stormy political waters, but that they would only trouble themselves with purely agrarian matters. The country needed to be developed, and, by devoting their individual attention to the cultivation of their farm holdings, they would transform the rural portions of the Transvaal into a market garden, able to meet all the demands for agricultural produce made by the people of the country. (Loud cheers.)

Ex-General Smuts also spoke, and invited the farmers to attend a public meeting, which will be held here on January 30, when Messrs. Louis Botha and Ewald Esselen will speak.

(3.)

"LEADER," January 25th, 1905.

THE COMING CAMPAIGN.

MEETINGS IN THE COUNTRY.

Pretoria, Wednesday (Special).—The following is an amended list of the public meetings called by General Louis Botha, on behalf of the Head Committee:—

Pretoria, January 28, 3 p.m.  
 Krugersdorp, January 30, 11 a.m.  
 Heidelberg, February 1, 11 a.m.  
 Standerton, February 3, 11 a.m.  
 Volksrust, February 4, 11 a.m.  
 Piet Retief, February 10, 11 a.m.  
 Ermelo, February 13, 11 a.m.  
 Bethal, February 16, 11 a.m.  
 Carolina, February 16, 11 a.m.  
 Middelburg, February 25, 11 a.m.

The above meetings will be conducted by General Louis Botha and Advocate Ewald Esselen, while Mr. Schalk Burger will also attend at Ermelo, Carolina, and Middelburg.

The following meetings will be conducted by General De la Rey and General J. C. Smuts:—

Potchefstroom, February 23, 11 a.m.  
 Klerksdorp, February 24, 11 a.m.  
 Ventersdorp, February 27, 11 a.m.  
 Lichtenburg, March 1, 11 a.m.  
 Zeerust, March 3, 11 a.m.  
 Steenbokfontein, March 5, 11 a.m.  
 Rustenburg, March 6, 11 a.m.

The dates previously published for the meetings to be held in the northern districts by General Beyers and Mr. A. D. Wolmarans have been cancelled, and will be announced later.

(4.)

“RAND DAILY MAIL,” January 25th, 1905.

PROGRESSIVES AT POTCHEFSTROOM.

(From our Own Correspondent.)

Potchefstroom, January 24.

As a result of a meeting held last night, which was well attended and was addressed by Mr. Reginald Orpen, a branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association has been formed here with a good membership to start with.

The meeting was held at the Royal Hotel, Mr. G. M. Slade being in the chair.

Mr. Orpen gave a lucid explanation of the principles set out in the programme of the Progressives, and touched upon questions affecting the distribution of seats, equal electoral divisions, the Asiatic question, &c.

The gathering displayed a keen interest in the details of the proposed work, and the resolution in favour of the formation of a local Association was unanimously carried, on the motion of Mr. Johnstone, of Potchefstroom, seconded by Mr. Richard Amm, of Rietfontein, and the main principles of the Association were affirmed.

It was decided that a big public meeting should be held at an early date.

The Asiatic question was discussed and strong opinions were expressed thereon.

A provisional sub-committee was appointed as follows:—Dr. Reynolds, Messrs. Slade, Hartley, Edgell, Preston (Frederickstad), and Warren, Mr. C. V. Bate agreeing to act as secretary pro tem.

(5.)

“LEADER,” January 30th, 1905.

AUTONOMY.

BOER ORGANISATION.

MEETING AT PRETORIA.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pretoria, Saturday.

This afternoon, at the Empress Theatre, Pretoria, a crowded meeting, summoned by the Head Committee of the Boer Organisation of the People (Het Volk), was held to hear and approve of the statutes of the organisation as drawn up by the committee. The audience filled the theatre to the doors, and many for whom there was no room stood in the entrances and footways at the sides of the auditorium. The first portion of the meeting was entirely occupied with a discussion of the methods of representation on the committee of Pretoria town and district, and it was only when General Botha rose to make a stirring speech in favour of Responsible Government that the assembly showed any extraordinary signs of enthusiasm. Immediately after the General sat down, a resolution in favour of “complete Self-Government” was carried unanimously amid ringing cheers. The speeches of Mr. E. Esselen, General De la Rey, General Beyers, and Mr. A. D. Wolmarans, which followed, appealed to an increasingly enthusiastic audience, and a second resolution, asking the Government to include the Orange River Colony in any measure ceded to the Transvaal was also adopted amid loud applause. The proceedings were closed with cheers for the chairman and the generals on the platform.

General Louis Botha presided, and among those present on the platform were General De la Rey, Advocate E. Esselen, General Beyers, A. D. Wolmarans, and Lex Goldman (secretary). Among the audience were Messrs. E. P. Meintjes, R. K. Loveday, M.L.C., Advocate De Waal, H. C. Jorissen, V. S. de Witt-Hamer, Advocate Ferreira, S. Erasmus, A. Michaelson, J. Lombard, G. Kock, J. D. Celliers, D. Liebenberg, Dr. Engelenberg, and others.

PROCEEDINGS OPENED.

General Botha, in opening the proceedings, proclaimed the meeting a public one. As they knew, at a Congress held some time ago a Head Committee was appointed, with power to draw up a legal constitution of the people of the Transvaal. The Head Committee was now prepared to announce the Statutes and to submit them to the meeting, and thus to establish the first branch of the Organisation of the People. Strong controversy had been going on recently, and

they had been asked why they postponed from month to month taking action. After that it was generally said in the Parliament of England and in the chief newspapers of the Transvaal that a new Government was going to be called into being in the Transvaal. The Head Committee consulted, and agreed to postpone the publication of their regulations some time longer, seeing that their people were always being misinterpreted and misunderstood. It could easily be seen now that other organisations were being brought to birth, but they had thought they would wait awhile. After a time it was found necessary that their political organisation should spring to birth, and therefore to-day they had decided to bring their organisation to birth. The Statutes of the Organisation had been published, they would be read by the secretary, and the meeting would be asked to approve or disapprove of them. The only object of the Statutes being submitted was to establish a branch of the Organisation of the People (Het Volk). This to-day would be called to life. They were not going to discuss the Statutes, as they had been already published. They were there as adults and white men, and were not there to pull one another's hair. They were only there that day to do what was right towards one another.

#### STATUTES OF THE ORGANISATION.

The secretary then read the Statutes of the Organisation of the People (Het Volk), as follows:—

1. The object of this association is to bring about harmony and mutual co-operation of the population of the Transvaal, and to advance the general prosperity and progress of the country and people.

2. This association, constituted by resolution of the People's Congress of 24th May, 1904, consists of a Head Committee elected by that Congress, and of which Louis Botha (chairman), S. W. Burger (vice-chairman), J. H. de la Rey, C. F. Beyers, Ewald Esselen, A. D. W. Wolmarans, and J. C. Smuts are the members.

Further, of District Committees and Ward Committees, which have as yet to be elected in accordance with these Statutes.

3. Two members of the Head Committee shall retire annually, beginning with Messrs. A. D. W. Wolmarans and J. C. Smuts, and so on in rotation. They are, however, re-eligible. The members of the Head Committee shall be elected by a majority of votes at the yearly Congress. The Chairman of the Head Committee, who is at the same time Chairman of the People's Congress, shall be elected by this body. He retires every three years, but may be re-elected.

4. Every Ward Committee shall consist of at most seven members, of which four will form a quorum.

It shall, however, be permitted to the members of this association to found more branches with its own Ward Committee, provided that the members of each branch number at least 50.

5. The District Committee shall consist of the Chairman of every Ward Committee, besides one member, elected by a majority of votes by every Ward Committee; one-third of these members shall form a quorum.

6. Every Committee elects its own Chairman and Secretary.

7. These Committees shall be elected for a period of two years, beginning with the date of election.

8. Every year a People's Congress shall be held. The yearly Congress shall consist of:—(a) The Head Committee; (b) Delegates to be elected by the District Committees, so that every ward has one delegate. The date and place of meeting of the People's Congress shall be fixed every year by the Head Committee, and notice thereof shall be given to the different District Committees. District Committees shall, immediately on receipt thereof, elect the delegates and forward the names of those elected to the Chairman of the Head Committee before the meeting.

9. The duties of the Ward Committees are:—(a) To keep a register of the ordinary members; (b) To look after the interests of this association in their respective wards, and in conjunction with their respective District Committees; (c) To regularly report to their respective District Committees.

10. The duties of the District Committees are:—(a) To look after the interests of their respective districts in conjunction with the Head Committee, as well as with the different Ward Committees resorting under them; (b) To regularly report to the Head Committee.

11. The duties of the Head Committee are:—(a) To supervise the different subordinate committees; (b) To convene a People's Congress at least once a year; (c) To call a special meeting at the written request, or with the written approval, of at least five District Committees; (d) To call a special Congress, if circumstances demand it; (e) To bring to the notice of the Government, when desired, matters of general interest, and to look after the same; (f) To take such steps as may seem necessary under the circumstances, including the calling of conferences elsewhere, concerning the interests of South Africa.

12. The retiring members of the committees remain in function till their successors are appointed, and then they hand over all documents, &c., to their successors.

13. Every committee may make its own regulations, without prejudice to the general rules of this Association.

14. If the Head Committee is of opinion that the committees in one or more wards or districts are made under influences which are detrimental or hostile to the principles or interests of this Association, the Head Committee may dissolve such committees by resolution, and take such steps as it may deem necessary.

15. Only in urgent cases may Ward Committees correspond directly with the Head Committee without first consulting their respective District Committees.

16. Where mutual differences can not be removed, the interested parties may apply to the Head Committee. The Head Committee shall then decide, and its decision shall be final. The Head Committee has the power to intervene in all differences which concern the interests of the Association, and to decide finally.



17. As members are admitted all white persons who are permanently domiciled in the Transvaal, have completed their sixteenth year, adhere to these rules of association, and sign the following declaration:—

“The undersigned.....hereby declares that he will support the ‘People’s Union,’ and binds himself to faithfully observe the obligations connected with its membership.

Date.....

Place.....”

18. The agenda of the yearly People’s Congress is made up by the Head Committee, and shall consist of such subjects as the Head Committee wish to bring forward of their own motion, and such further points as the District Committees send in, at least one month beforehand, to and subject to the approval of, the Head Committee.

19. These statutes may be altered or amended by resolution of the People’s Congress, or by the Head Committee, subject to confirmation by the People’s Congress.

Any alteration or amendment by the Head Committee shall be of force till the next meeting of the People’s Congress.

#### BRANCHES FORMED.

The Chairman then said those were the statutes which had been drawn up by the Head Committee, and the only thing now before the meeting was, in his opinion, if the meeting could agree with the committee, to pass a resolution to establish a Pretoria branch of the association. If any gentleman would hand in a resolution they could then proceed to the business of the association.

Mr. E. D. A. Meintjes proposed “That a Pretoria Branch of the Association be formed.”

One of the audience: Do we not first have to approve of the statutes?

The Chairman: The statutes are not for your approval or disapproval. We, as the Head Committee, have already approved of them.

Mr. Moodie then seconded the resolution.

The Chairman asked if anyone had any other resolutions to propose, or anything to say to the motion. He then proceeded to say that the second branch of the association would be established in Sunnyside and Arcadia. Branches would then be established throughout the country, but they were present that afternoon to establish a branch in Pretoria.

A Voice: A very large centre has been omitted, namely, Boksburg and Johannesburg.

The Chairman replied that a gentleman objected to Johannesburg being indifferently represented. He said that they had decided to consult with the people in Johannesburg as to where branches could be established in Johannesburg. When they had established their country branches they would consult their Johannesburg friends, and they would have due representation on the association from the Goldfields. (Hear, hear.) They had, he proceeded, called ex-officials and ex-officers together in order to secure subscribers to their various branches.

Mr. Esser asked why Pretoria was to be divided for Sunnyside and Arcadia. Was it not better to have one branch for the entire municipality?

The Chairman replied that Pretoria was too large a city, with all its suburbs, to hold nightly meetings, and, therefore, in order to facilitate arrangements they had determined to establish branches in the suburbs where meetings could be held nightly.

A Voice: Have the lines of demarcation of the different branches been definitely decided?

The Chairman: Yes.

Another gentleman objected to Pretoria being split up. Pretoria had always been a homogeneous whole, and sub-division would mean estrangement.

The resolution was then put and carried.

Desultory discussion followed on the question of sub-dividing Pretoria and forming branches east of the Aapies River.

A resolution was submitted that a branch be established on the east side of the Aapies River.

In reply to a question, the Chairman said that the resolution would fully embody their desires.

The resolution was carried.

#### THE DISTRICT BOARD.

The Chairman said the next business was to select the First District Board. Seven members would form the Board, and the public had now an opportunity of electing whom they desired.

A member of the audience asked if members of the Head Committee could be included on the Branch Committee.

Dr. Engelenberg said that in consultation with his friends he had prepared a list of names of gentlemen who he thought would do good work on the Head Committee, viz., Mr. Nicholas Pretorius, Mr. E. F. Bourke, Mr. A. D. Rooth, Mr. M. Marais, Jan Smuts, H. C. Jorrisen, and Jan Celliers.

One gentleman said every ward should elect its own representatives to the District Committee.

Mr. R. Celliers suggested that the seven names should be submitted to the meeting and voted on individually.

Mr. Jaape Celliers proposed another seven as follows:—Messrs. Jan Malherbe, E. F. Bourke, Nicholas Pretorius, Melt Marais, A. D. Rooth, and Allemann.

General De la Rey said he thought the people of Pretoria had not been treated fairly. (Hear, hear.) They should not be dominated by Arcadia and Sunnyside. Give the people the rights that were due to them, and let them elect their own committee. Everybody wanted his men elected, and he thought they would put the matter on a healthier basis if they came to a final agreement and proceeded with the business.

Another gentleman said they wanted members before they could elect a committee. They would be better, therefore, to explain the constitution and obtain members. Hundreds and thousands of people might not agree with the association, and if they got members to join them, committee-men could be elected from amongst them. (Hear, hear.)

The Chairman said General De la Rey had not attended the meetings, and consequently misinterpreted what was being done. They were there to elect commissioners to hold meetings in the different wards. Supposing they had three acting members among the seven, they could work the wards and hold meetings.

Mr. W. Esser said apparently they were in an inextricable mess, and he suggested as a way out of the muddle that the meeting accept the seven names suggested by Dr. Engelenberg as a provisional committee for that day; they to be confirmed or disapproved of at a subsequent meeting.

Dr. Engelenberg said he accepted Mr. Esser's suggestion.

After further discussion the motion of Dr. Engelenberg was put to the meeting and lost.

The following gentlemen were elected to form a provisional committee of the Pretoria branch of the organisation:—Messrs. Van Marne, De Lange, N. Pretorius, Dr. Engelenberg, Advocate Gregorowski, E. F. Bourke, Dr. Lingbeek, J. F. Wege, and F. Allemann.

#### THE ARCADIA BRANCH.

Mr. E. P. A. Meintjes proposed the following as members of the committee for the Arcadia Ward:—Messrs. A. Malherbe, J. de Waal, R. C. Jorissen, Advocate De Wet, J. van der Byl, E. Rooth, J. Esser, and Advocate Ferreira.

A member of the audience aroused loud cries of dissent by saying: "Never mind about Arcadia and Sunnyside; let us confine ourselves to Pretoria."

Mr. A. D. Wolmarans insisted upon members being nominated for Arcadia and Sunnyside. Why, he asked, should Pretoria have all its own way, and why should Arcadia and Sunnyside wait?

Mr. E. T. Nicholson said he was not going to be dominated by committees nominated by the town. He belonged to the country, and would be ruled by a country committee. Besides, the country people had already selected their own representatives.

Mr. Ewald Esselen said that none had been definitely selected.

Mr. Nicholson said the people selected were residents within the municipality, but the country people had the strongest objection to entering the municipality of Pretoria. (Applause.)

#### GENERAL BOTHA'S DECLARATION.

The Arcadia Committee having been elected, the Chairman then addressed the gathering. He said they had now established the first two branches of the organisation, and he would like old officials to remain behind after the meeting to make arrangements for activity in the work of the association. Many questions of importance had arisen recently, and he was asked almost daily what the sentiment of the people was in connection with these matters, and therefore he hoped that the people would calmly and emphatically express themselves on the great questions with which they were confronted. They would probably have noticed from the newspapers that there was going to be a great change in the Government of the Transvaal, and he was being asked continually if the Boers would be satisfied to co-operate with that Government. By the document which they signed at the declaration of peace they were tied hand and foot. That document prescribed the future conditions of the Transvaal, and it was a document which Mr. Chamberlain had described as the Charter of the Boers. Whatever happened in the Transvaal they must never forget they were bound by that document signed at Vereeniging. They had accepted in that document the flag and the authority of Britain over them, and he told them honestly that his intention was and always had been that they as a people should faithfully fulfil the obligations which they had entered into in the treaty of Vereeniging. When they spoke of organisation and future conditions of the country there was not the slightest suspicion that they were disloyal.

#### BOERS LOYAL.

From the day peace was signed the Boers had clearly shown that they loyally obeyed their obligations. Yet they read in the newspapers that Responsible Government could not be granted because the Boers could not be trusted. In regard to that he had only to say that when a group of people like the Boers, after laying down the arms that were so dear to them, had during the two years that had passed done nothing beyond their rights, he thought the people who said they could not be trusted were stirring up muddy waters. The Boers had only one purpose, and that was to stand with outstretched hands and ask the co-operation of the British people. Their principles embraced nothing less than co-operation and amity. They were prepared to accept any responsibility on their shoulders. (Hear, hear.) Could it be expected from them that they should take any one's else's responsibility on their shoulders? Were they to take the responsibility of the people who distrusted them? They were entering the future; the flag question was finished for all time. They had accepted British domination, and would accept any responsibility that would extricate the country from the muddle it was in. They had nothing to do with any racial question; the man who to-day stood on a platform and discussed racial questions was mad. They were going to form in South Africa a great nation of all the white people who lived in it. (Applause.) If the Imperial Government showed its confidence and trust in them, he was assured the Boer people would carry with honour the trust placed in them. But if they expected the Boer people to be loyal, they must be loyal to the Boers. Referring to Responsible Government, he told them that Representative Government with a nominated Executive was the shadow without the substance. It was a form of government which should never have a place in South Africa—(applause)—and he said honestly that he could not advise the Boer people to accept it. They stood by the promise of the Peace Treaty that they should have Responsible Government in the Transvaal. The Boer leaders had not protested against

the Government that existed to-day, but had advised Lord Milner not to change it. To-day they went further. They said South Africa was a large country, and contained an opening for great and good things. One of these good things was Responsible Government by the people. If the Imperial Government wished to do anything for the country, it must do something great, something good and deep, which would embrace the entire people not only of this country, but all the white people of South Africa. (Applause.)

#### NO HALF MEASURES.

If they would do nothing great, it would serve them nothing to tinker with small things. They had had sufficient experience of tinkering and half measures. The Boers had never gone to the Government and asked for a change, but they did say that if the change came, it must be a good and a great one. Half measures would not serve the people and would not serve the Imperial Government. It had also been said: Well, let us co-operate; let us accept Representative Government. He said, let them assume this attitude; let them plant mealies and potatoes, and let politics alone. They could not accept this tinkering sort of half measure. As regarded himself, he stood on sound principles—principles which would assist the people and which would strengthen South Africa and bring cohesion among the people. But do not let them say this is good, and this is good, because they could not get the proper thing. Do not let them be content with the half measures and the tinkering and temporising measures which were made them in connection with Representative Government. He would be glad if the meeting would pass a resolution which would say fairly and effectively that they could only content themselves with one sort of government, and that was Responsible Government—(applause)—and that the same measure be granted to the sister Colony, the Orange River Colony. To him it was painful and incomprehensible that it should be given to one State what was kept from the other. It was the greatest injustice, the greatest grievance, therefore a resolution should be passed that day. They had established their association, and they could proceed in a peaceful and constitutional way to obtain what they desired. (Cheers.)

Mr. Moodie rose to move a resolution to keep the present Government in power until such time as Responsible Self-Government was given the country.

The Chairman said he would take no responsibility without authority. Let them take a resolution as to what would satisfy the Boers.

#### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Mr. E. Rooth said he agreed perfectly, and he thought everybody would agree with what had fallen from the chairman. He begged to move:—

“That this meeting of the Pretoria Branch of the Association “Het Volk,” having been informed of the terms of the Vereeniging Treaty, is of opinion that in the event of a change being necessary in the Government of the Transvaal, no form of government other than complete Self-Government should be established; and that notice of this resolution be given to Lord Milner.” (Loud applause.)

Mr. Ewald Esselen rose in response to repeated calls from the meeting. He said the time was short, and probably others wanted to address the meeting. He did not know whether the chairman had expressed himself clearly when he said that they stood under a treaty and a contract and an obligation, and an obligation which was prescribed in Article 7 of the Vereeniging Peace Treaty. It was said in that treaty that when the time had arrived that responsible institutions should be given to the Transvaal and the Free State that time should be appointed by England. The right which they had given to them under that treaty was the right to speak and express their sentiments and opinions on these changes. Those generals who signed that treaty were the men who had the right to go to England and say, “Now has the time arrived for you to complete your contract.” The people who had no right to speak were the people who were protesting against the things which had occurred in the country, and they were the people who were not required. He now came to the point. They were not assembled that day to say to England, “You have killed my wife and you have slaughtered my cattle,” but they were there to say that they did not require a bastard Government. (Hear, hear.) It was not for them to say that the time had arrived. Did they know, if they accepted Responsible Government, what debts they would incur, and what obligations they would be taking upon their shoulders, what burdens of mismanagement which had been incurred on their behalf? Let them say to England, “You in your wisdom shall say what we shall get and when we shall get it.” Would they accept those conditions? It was far better to suffer the injustices a little longer that they had borne. For had not the Afrikaner suffered sufficient injustices? Let them proceed and continue to bear those injustices. They did not rear bastard children, and they would not accept a bastard Government.

The resolution was then put and carried amid loud cheers.

#### ORANGE RIVER COLONY INCLUDED.

General Erasmus suggested that the same resolution should apply to the Orange River Colony, seeing that that Colony was still bound by the Vereeniging Treaty, and he accordingly moved:—

“That this meeting of the Pretoria branch of the organisation “Het Volk” (“The People”) requests the head committee to bring to the attention of His Excellency Lord Milner that the stipulations of the Vereeniging Peace Conference embrace both the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal; that it is the opinion of this meeting that the Orange River Colony should simultaneously be offered any change of Government which may be introduced to the Transvaal.”

Mr. Oppermann seconded, and the motion was carried with acclamation.

## GENERAL DE LA REY'S ADVICE.

General De la Rey was next called upon to speak. He said they had passed many resolutions that day, and judging from the applause which had gone forth one would think there was great rejoicing in the country, but it appeared to him that the condition at present was very dark. In spite of the resolutions which had been passed he considered that the entire people of the Transvaal should remain silent and sit still, and not involve themselves in politics, but should preserve the position they had maintained during the last three years. As had been stated, a change of Government was contemplated, and they were to be introduced to something which was behind the curtain and which they could not see. There were men here with experience enough to control the country and to lead the people, and that experience must be utilised and exploited. He believed that to-day the entire world realised what sort of a Government their old Government was. (Cheers.) Speaking as one who was a member of the old Government, he could say there was nothing to reproach oneself with concerning the manner in which that Government ruled the country from the times of desert land and barbarity until 1900. (Applause.) There was no occasion to be ashamed, and if they had to take part in any Government in which they would be injuriously treated after what he had suffered and gone through, he would go back to his sheep and become a shepherd, and would prefer that the responsibility should be borne by the people who held it at the present time, without involving himself in that responsibility. (Applause.) His idea was not that they should throw themselves into a collision with the Government, or to obstruct the Government, but purely to establish an organisation; and it was not a proper thing to support a Government under Crown Colony rule. He was always prepared to assist and work with them, whether under Crown Colony or Representative Government, but while they were prepared to assist the Government loyally, they would not share their responsibility if it meant injury to themselves. In that event they preferred to go back to their farms and tend their cattle. (Loud cheers.)

## "A CHILD IN POLITICS."

General Beyers said it was not his intention to talk much; he was only a child in politics, and preferred to work. If they gave him instructions, he would fulfil them, but he would not talk a great deal. He would, however, say what was in his heart. It was remarkable to him what was said concerning the people in that Colony. When peace was proclaimed the newspapers preached the doctrine of co-operation and conciliation, so that it was strange to him that when the people spoke the truth, and when anyone spoke candidly from his heart and expressed grievances, they were regarded with suspicion. After the gathering at Brandfort, in the Orange River Colony, it was mentioned in the papers that the Boers required something, just as though the Boers had not the right to open their mouths and ventilate their grievances. Was England afraid to hear the truth? (Cries of "Yes.") When he saw that the country was receding, that the people in the districts were receding materially and having a bad time, he thought the time had arrived when they must express themselves candidly. (Applause.) There were the people in the back districts, who were entirely ignored by the Government, and there were many with the last suit of clothes on their backs, and many in need of bread. Ten or twelve people visited his office every day asking for bread. He wanted to discuss this matter right away. If they mentioned things, they were criticised just as though they had not to make demands to a big dominant power, and as though they were strangers in the country. Some time ago he had a conversation with an M.P. in London, and he said, "Let us give you first Representative Government." The question arose as to how strong the Boers would be at the election, and he discovered that the Government would arrange the elections so that they would be weak. The M.P. suggested by his tone that there was no confidence and no trust in the Boers, and if that was so, he would just say, "Well, I have no confidence in you." As General De la Rey had said, there was a dark future before them, and he thought it was far better to say nothing, but remain silent.

Mr. A. D. Wolmarans endorsed what had been said by previous speakers, and remarked that it had been proved that day that there was complete harmony between the head committee and himself. "Land and Volk" had suggested that his anti-English sentiments might debar him from harmonious co-operation with the Boer leaders, but he pointed out that hitherto there had been no representation at all. The Legislative Council meant nothing, and it was only when full Responsible Government was granted that he would extend his hand to England and co-operate with the English. "Het Volk" did not embrace Afrikaners alone, but all who had settled here and were denizens of the State.

Mr. E. P. Meintjes moved a vote of thanks to the various ex-Generals who had attended. In response three cheers for General Botha were most enthusiastically given, and a call for cheers for the Head Committee brought forth a similar display of fervour.

In acknowledgment the chairman thanked the audience for their presence, which he took to be an indication of the keen interest they took in the organisation. To him it was a most encouraging sign, and would also greatly encourage the Head Committee in their work for the people. In conclusion he expressed the hope that they would soon have a newspaper of their own. (Applause.)

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No. 14.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received February 18, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 30, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you a copy of correspondence, which has taken place between myself and the Chairman of the Volksrust Municipal Council,

on the subject of the representation of country towns under the new Constitution of the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 14.

VOLKSRUST MUNICIPAL COUNCIL to GOVERNOR.

Volksrust Municipality, Town Offices, Market Square,

MY LORD,

Volksrust, January 18, 1905.

WHILE so much comment is taking place in the public press in reference to the impending change in the form of Government, and various deputations are waiting upon Your Excellency to impress their views upon you, there is one aspect of the question that appears to be overlooked by both the press and the representatives of both the rival Associations, although possibly the point has occurred to Your Excellency. I refer to the probability of the swamping of the British vote in the towns by the Dutch vote in the country portion of the district in which the town is situated, and therefore outside of big centres like Johannesburg and Pretoria the British will be entirely unrepresented.

Recognising this danger the Council, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, on November 15th, 1904, passed the following resolution :

“This Council respectfully begs to express its opinion that no measure of representative government will be acceptable which does not provide for the adequate representation of the smaller towns, such as Volksrust, as distinct from the country districts,”

which was duly forwarded to the Colonial Secretary.

Take, for instance, this district of Wakkerstroom. It contains four towns—Volksrust, entirely British (Dutch residents being in a very small proportion); Wakkerstroom, British in decided majority; Amersfort and Piet Retief, about equally divided—yet, if the district as a whole is taken as an electoral district, the British will certainly fail to return a representative.

Would it not be possible to introduce a system of “borough” and “county” members to obviate this anomaly. Let the towns be grouped into units, returning urban or borough members, and the outside areas into units returning country or rural members.

Unless some precaution is taken to ensure representation for the strong British minority in the country districts, we shall be badly off indeed. Commending this view to Your Excellency,

I am, &c.,

FREDK. J. FISHER,

Chairman,

Volksrust Municipal Council.

Viscount Milner, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,  
Johannesburg.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 14.

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR to VOLKSRUST MUNICIPAL COUNCIL.

DEAR SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, January 24, 1905.

LORD MILNER desires me to inform you that he has received your letter of the 18th January, and that the point which you raise has been constantly present to his mind. It is one of the many difficulties which beset any fair distribution of political power in this Colony, and which, as it seems to him, render the greatest care and deliberation necessary before irrevocable steps are taken.

So far, Lord Milner has not come across any scheme, which would not involve the swamping of almost all the country towns by the surrounding agricultural districts. Having regard to the generally insignificant number of their white inhabitants, such a result seems, in most cases, inevitable.

It has been suggested that this might be avoided by grouping the smaller country towns. But it seems to Lord Milner that, in order to create a constituency of the normal size, it would be necessary, in most cases, to group a number of places lying at a considerable distance from one another, and having divergent, and even conflicting interests. In these circumstances no common representation seems possible. Take, for instance, the case of a constituency consisting of three towns, with, say, 500, 400 and 300 voters respectively, with very different interests and ideas, and at an appreciable distance from one another. If these towns had to return one member between them, each would probably run its own candidate, and the candidate of the most populous town would probably, though not certainly, be returned. But how, if this were so, could it be said that the others were fairly represented? And the position would be no better if, in a group of towns, the smaller ones combined, as they very likely might, out of jealousy, against the larger.

On the whole, Lord Milner is driven to the conclusion that the difficulty is for the moment insoluble, and that, in trying to escape from one anomaly one would only fall into another. The ultimate hope for the country towns—seeing that the system of large districts with a minority vote, the best of all systems in his opinion, is generally condemned—lies in a strict maintenance of two principles, viz.: (1) the single-member constituency, and (2) a periodic redistribution of seats. If the latter principle is insisted on, the country districts, as their population grows, will have to be subdivided into two or more constituencies, and the most populous of them, no doubt, will be so sub-divided from the start. In one of the constituencies resulting from such sub-division the principal town of the district will exercise a great, and in some cases a preponderating, influence, which it cannot exercise in the district as a whole. Thus the country towns will gradually gain more and more political influence, but only if single-member constituencies are the rule. If the two-member country constituencies, which exist in Cape Colony, were adopted in the Transvaal, the position of the country towns would be for ever hopeless.

I am, &c.,

G. GEOFFREY ROBINSON,  
Private Secretary.

The Chairman,  
Volksrust Municipal Council.

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No. 15.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to Mr. LYTTELTON.

(Received February 25, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 6, 1905.  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th January,\* I have the honour to transmit to you copies of letters from General Louis Botha, forwarding certain resolutions passed at meetings held in Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Heidelberg and Standerton.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 15.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith, for your information, two resolutions

Pretoria, January 29, 1905.

which were taken yesterday at a public meeting here in connection with the coming change of the form of Government in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony.

With every respect,

Yours, &c.,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

To His Excellency  
Lord Milner,  
High Commissioner,  
Johannesburg.

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(1.)

(Translation.)

RESOLUTION carried unanimously at a public meeting held at Pretoria on  
28th January, 1905.

"This meeting of the Pretoria wards of "The People" Association, having taken into consideration the contents of the Vereeniging Treaty, is of opinion that, when the time comes to make a change in the form of Government of the Transvaal, no other than complete self-government ought to be instituted."

Resolved: To request the Chief Committee to give notice hereof to His Excellency Lord Milner.

Conform,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

Pretoria, January 29, 1905.

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(2.)

(Translation.)

RESOLUTION carried unanimously at a public meeting held at Pretoria on the  
28th January, 1905.

This meeting of the Pretoria wards of "The People" Association resolves to request the Chief Committee to bring to the notice of His Excellency Lord Milner—

That the clauses of the Vereeniging Treaty affect the Orange River Colony as well as the Transvaal.

That the opinion of this meeting is that the Orange River Colony should be offered at the same time the change in the form of Government which might be introduced into this Colony. This is in accordance with the general wish of the Transvaal public.

Conform,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

Pretoria, January 29, 1905.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 15.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

In continuation of my letter of the 29th instant, I have the honour to enclose, for your information, two resolutions which were made yesterday morning at a public meeting held at Krugersdorp in connection with the coming change in the form of government for the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.

Will you kindly bring the contents of these resolutions under the notice of the Imperial Government.

With every respect,

To His Excellency  
Lord Milner,  
High Commissioner,  
Johannesburg.

Yours, &c.,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

(Translation.)

(1.)

RESOLUTION carried unanimously at a public meeting held at Krugersdorp on  
30th January, 1905.

[*Identical with (1) in Enclosure 1.*]

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(Translation.)

(2.)

Pretoria, January 31, 1905.  
RESOLUTION carried unanimously at a public meeting held at Krugersdorp on the  
30th January, 1905.

[*Identical with (2) in Enclosure 1.*]

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Enclosure 3 in No. 15.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Heidelberg, February 1, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for Your Excellency's information, with the  
humble request that you will forward them to His Majesty's Government, copies of  
two resolutions which have been made to-day by a public meeting of British subjects.

I have, &amp;c.,

LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency

Lord Milner,

His Majesty's High Commissioner  
for South Africa,  
Johannesburg.

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(1.)

(Translation.)

Heidelberg, February 1, 1905.

This meeting of the Heidelberg [*See (1) in Enclosure 1*].

G. C. BAR,

Secretary of the Meeting.

(2.)

(Translation.)

This meeting having noticed that it is intended to cause a change in our present  
system of government, and that this change will not apply to the Orange River  
Colony, is of opinion that complete self-government must be granted to both Colonies.

G. C. BAR,

Secretary of the Meeting.

Heidelberg, February 1, 1905.

Enclosure 4 in No. 15.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Standerton, February 3, 1905.

WITH this I forward Your Excellency copies of two resolutions taken at a  
public gathering of the inhabitants of the town and district of Standerton.

After perusal, will you please forward the same to the Imperial Government?

Thanking Your Excellency in anticipation,

I have, &amp;c.,

LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency

Lord Milner,

Johannesburg.



(1.)

(Translation.)

This meeting of the Standerton wards of "The People" Association resolved:  
*[In similar terms to (2) in Enclosure 1].*

Proposed: J. J. ALBERTS.

Seconded: G. J. ENGELBRECHT.

LOUIS BOTHA.

Standerton, February 3, 1905.

(2.)

(Translation.)

This meeting of the public of the town and district of Standerton having decided to establish a branch of "The People" Association, and being acquainted with the contents *[See (1) in Enclosure 1].*

Proposed: W. J. STEIJN.

Seconded: S. P. DE VILLIERS.

LOUIS BOTHA.

Standerton, February 3, 1905.

No. 16.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received March 4, 1905).\*

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 13, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, copies of resolutions passed by "The People" Association at Volksrust and Amersfoort, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
 MILNER,  
 Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 16.

GENERAL BOTHA to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Volksrust, February 5, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith two resolutions, which were carried unanimously at a public meeting held here to-day.

I hope that after perusing the said resolutions you will be so good as to lay the contents thereof before the Imperial Government.

I have, &c.,  
 LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
 High Commissioner for South Africa,  
 Johannesburg.

(Translation.)

MOTION.

This meeting of the Wakkerstroom wards of "The People" Association Resolves to request the Chief Committee to bring to the notice of His Excellency Lord Milner that the conditions of the Vereeniging Treaty affect the Orange River Colony as well as the Transvaal,

That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Orange River Colony should at the same time be offered any change in the form of government which might be introduced here.

This is in accordance with the general wish of the Transvaal public.

(Translation.)

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MOTION.

This meeting of the people of the town of Volksrust and district of Wakkerstroom have resolved to establish a branch of "The People" Association, and, being acquainted with the contents of the Vereeniging Treaty, is of opinion that, when the time comes to make a change in the form of government of the Transvaal, no other than complete self-government should be instituted.

Resolved to request the Chief Committee to give notice of this to His Excellency Lord Milner.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 16.

GENERAL BOTHA to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Amersfoort, February 6, 1905.

ENCLOSED please receive two certified copies of resolutions which were carried unanimously at a general meeting of the inhabitants of the district of Wakkerstroom to-day.

At the same time, I would kindly ask Your Excellency to bring these resolutions under the notice of the Imperial Government.

I have, &c.,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
High Commissioner for South Africa,  
Johannesburg.

---

(Translation.)

MOTION.

This meeting of the inhabitants of the Wakkerstroom Ward II. branch of "The People" Association,

Resolved to request the Chief Committee to bring to the notice of His Excellency Lord Milner that the conditions of the Vereeniging Treaty affect the Orange River Colony as well as the Transvaal,

That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Orange River Colony should at the same time be offered any change in the form of Government which might be introduced here. This is in accordance with the general wish of the Transvaal public.

Proposed—G. M. Swart.

Seconded—H. Meek.

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(Translation.)

MOTION.

This meeting of the public of the town of Amersfoort and Ward II., District Wakkerstroom, having resolved to establish a branch of "The People" Association, and being acquainted with the contents of the Vereeniging Treaty, is of opinion that when the time comes to make a change in the form of Government of the Transvaal, no other than complete self-government should be instituted.

Proposed—J. A. Joubert.

Seconded—A. G. Robertson.

Carried unanimously.

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No. 17.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to Mr. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 4, 1905.)

SIR, Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 13, 1905.  
 WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, newspaper cuttings on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
**MILNER,**  
 Governor.

## Enclosures in No. 17.

(1.)

"STAR," January 30th, 1905.

PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION.

MEETING OF HEIDELBERG BRANCH.

Heidelberg, Monday (Special).—A meeting was held on Saturday under the auspices of the local branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association at the Grand Hotel, at which Dr. Nixon presided.

In opening the meeting the Chairman said that the first business was the election of a chairman, committee and secretary, which, owing to the recent holidays, it was impossible to do before.

Dr. Nixon was elected Chairman, Mr. Bordman secretary, and Messrs. Fenwick, Moffitt, Bernard, Cottrill and Sutherland, members of the committee, with power to add to their number.

In introducing the object of the association, the Chairman, in a lengthy and excellent speech, explained the political situation, and urged that the time had now arrived when the people of this Colony should be granted a measure of self-government—Representative Government. He asked the meeting to record their ideas as to the form that that representation should take. In concluding his remarks he welcomed those present who were not members of the association. Some were, he knew, opposed to the objects of the association; others, again, had open minds and came to hear the opinions expressed, but to all he appealed for an orderly meeting.

Mr. J. Fenwick moved the following resolution:—

"That the Heidelberg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association pledges itself to the principle of equal representation, that is one vote, one value; this representation to carry with it automatic redistribution."

He said that he thought that the fairness of "one vote one value" principle would commend itself to all at that meeting. It was fair to the farmer, it was fair to the merchant, and fair to all classes. The automatic redistribution of seats would safeguard the towns and districts in the future, for as the population increased, so would those towns or districts be represented. In framing a new Constitution, he said, the main point was to see that the first or foundation stones were well and firmly established.

Mr. W. S. Cottrill seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. Bernard proposed that a copy of the above resolution be sent to the High Commissioner, with the request that it be forwarded to the Home Government.

Mr. C. Moffitt seconded, and this also was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was accorded the Chairman, who, in returning thanks, trusted that all future meetings in Heidelberg, whether held by this association or any other, would be marked by the same orderly conduct as that meeting.

Owing to a counter-attraction at the Town Hall, the meeting was not large, but it was most representative, all sections of the people being represented.

(2.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," January 30th, 1905.

FEELING IN THE COUNTRY TOWNS.

LYDENBURG FAVOURS THE RESPONSIBLES.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Lydenburg, January 28.  
 Councillor Dr. Oakshott took the chair at a Responsible Government meeting in the Lydenburg Club last night and read a letter from Mr. David Dalgety, Secretary of the Responsible Government Association, regarding the forming of a branch at Lydenburg.

The Chairman said he personally was in favour of immediate Responsible Government, and it was for the meeting to decide whether to join the Johannesburg Association or not. Councillor McGee agreed with the Chairman that it was desirable to have Responsible Government, and said they should affiliate with Johannesburg, where the money was. He moved a resolution to this effect.

Mr. J. K. M. Hannan seconded.

Mr. J. L. Schurink, Chairman, Lydenburg Council, wished for further knowledge, and said he understood the matter was cut and dried and settled in England. Johannesburg should send a good man down to speak on the subject. What was the difference between Representative and Responsible? They ought to know more before they pledged themselves. The Lydenburg public was opposed to the present system, but he thought the main question was how will the voting power be distributed?

Councillor Barter said that were they favourable to Responsible Government or not the vote was the thing. Lydenburg had 800 voters and Johannesburg so many thousands. Was voting to be equal?

The proposal to adopt the principle of the Responsible Party and form a branch was carried, and it was resolved to ask Johannesburg to send a representative to speak on the matter.

Mr. Geo. C. Simmonds, Town Clerk, was appointed Secretary, and instructed to communicate with Johannesburg.

(3.)

“STAR,” January 30th, 1905.

BOER MEETING.

AT KRUGERSDORP.

TO-DAY.

FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

OR NO CHANGE AT ALL.

Krugersdorp, Monday (Special).—After a caucus meeting, held by General Louis Botha with the local leading Boers at the Grand Hotel, a public meeting was held this morning in the open air under the trees near the Paardekraal Monument.

The object of the meeting was the forming of a branch of the Boer Association, called the People's Union, on similar lines to those formed at Pretoria last Saturday. There were several hundred Boers present. General Louis Botha presided, and amongst others present were Advocate Ewald Esselen, General De la Rey, Messrs. J. W. S. Langerman, A. Dieperink, Jacob Dupreez, B. Klopper, A. Muller, W. Edwards, and delegates from Witpoortie, Roodepoort, and the adjoining districts.

In opening the proceedings, General Botha explained the object of the meeting, repeating what he said at Pretoria on Saturday. They had to resolve to form branches of the People's Union for Krugersdorp and elect seven members as a provisional committee for the town branch, as well as two other committees for the two wards in the district.

Mr. Dieperink read the statutes constituting the Union.

On the motion of Mr. O. Oosthuizen, seconded by Mr. Du Toit, it was resolved to approve of the statutes and to establish branches at Krugersdorp.

A burgher present asked whether the establishment of their branches meant the abolition of the local Farmers' Association, and whether it would not cause confusion.

General Botha said they had nothing to do with other associations. Their business to-day was to establish their own association in the interests of the whole country, and to place such association on its own feet.

Mr. Oosthuizen proposed, and Major Erasmus seconded, the following gentlemen as a provisional committee for Ward 1, which comprised the town and proclaimed portion of Krugersdorp: Messrs. D. van Blommestein, J. du Preez, Commandant Klaassen, Commandant Van Zyl, G. D. Stonestreet, W. M. Edwards, and D. Theron.

Mr. Dieperink suggested the substitution of Mr. A. Beyers (law agent) for Mr. Stonestreet, as he thought they should, as far as possible, elect men who were acquainted with the “taal.” (A voice: “Mr. Stonestreet knows enough Dutch.”)

A burgher present exclaimed: “Don't let us be personal.”

Mr. Dieperink: “All right, I'll withdraw my suggestion.”

A vote being taken, Mr. Oosthuizen's motion was carried unanimously.

The following were elected a committee for Ward 2 (Klip River sub-district): Messrs. J. J. Du Toit, J. W. Oosthuizen, J. M. van Dyk, C. Neethling, G. van Vuuren, E. Du Plessis and W. Pelsler.

The following were elected a committee for Ward 3 (Hekpoort sub-district): Commandant F. Potgieter, Messrs. L. Du Toit, O. Oosthuizen, A. Muller, B. J. Vorster, J. Scheepers, P. De la Rey.

GENERAL BOTHA.

General Louis Botha then again addressed the assemblage and expressed his appreciation of the large gathering present at the meeting. The Pretoria meeting had been very unanimous. There was one matter of vital importance occupying the public mind at the present moment, and that was the proposed change of Government. He wished to know from the meeting if they wanted him to give his opinion. (Several voices: “Yes! Yes!”)

Continuing, Mr. Botha referred to the Peace Treaty under which they had laid down their flag and accepted the suzerainty of Great Britain. They had carried out all they undertook at Vereeniging and they intended to fulfil all their obligations in the future. The British Government also undertook certain obligations, and the future of the Transvaal had a lot to do with the obligations undertaken by the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government had promised the two Colonies self-government as soon as possible, that was government through the people and by the people. He was only in favour of full self-government. (Applause.) He was convinced that if the responsibility of self-government was placed upon them, they would carry it out with honour. (Hear, hear.) His opinion was that no other form of government than self-government had the right to rule in the Transvaal and the whole of South Africa, as they on their side had the fullest confidence in the Imperial Government, but for the other side the Boers were always suspected. They were not trusted. The opposition was always fishing in muddy waters. (Applause.) He hoped sincerely that the British Government was going to establish a good form of government, which would do great good to the country. (Applause.) All racial questions had vanished, and they were prepared to work hand in hand with all the white races in South Africa. But he would not tolerate any other form of government than self-government. They did not want half an egg. They wanted the real thing or nothing. They were told to be satisfied with what they could get, but he would not be. Already agencies were at work among their people, trying to make them accept any form of government. He had advised them to have nothing to do with such agencies and politics. Let them sit still and be firm and support their now-established organisation loyally. They now could approach the Imperial Government direct, to submit their grievances, even if they had to send a deputation to England. He wished them to pass a resolution, stating that they would have no other form of government than full self-government, and that the Orange River Colony should be given the same privileges simultaneously with the Transvaal. The Orange River Colony was their sister State, and they could not sit still and forget that State. They signed the treaty together, and should be treated alike. They were all prepared to carry out a policy of conciliation, but how could there be co-operation if the Transvaal, which was the principal Colony of South Africa, was given a form of government which the Cape Colony had 60 years ago. (Applause.) He wanted full self-government and would adhere to that policy. (Applause.)

#### GENERAL DE LA REY.

General De la Rey also spoke and said that there were some people who thought they were the fatted calf for the new Parliament. He, for himself, would never take the responsibility upon himself to represent them in any other than a self-government. The country was ruined to-day, and they had nothing now to lose. He had served his time and suffered his losses, although he was not sorry for his losses, as he did all for his people, who has confidence in him. (Applause.) Why should the Boers be feared now? The Imperial Government did not fear them when they had Mauzers, and why should they fear them now when they had only knobkerries? (Laughter.) He advised his people to go home and keep away from politics. They wanted self-government or nothing. Let them be quiet and only come out when they received the hint. Then, he was sure, they would be successful. (Applause.) While his people remained slaves, as they were now, he would be with them, as long as only his nose remained above water. (Applause.) He condemned those of their people, who were doing their best to ruin their own nation and keep them down in the mud. He was prepared to work with all white people who strove to make South Africa a success as a white man's country. (Applause.)

#### OTHER SPEAKERS.

Mr. Hans Burger, ex-Mining Commissioner of Krugersdorp, next spoke. He denied emphatically the statement that the country was not ripe for self-government. They had proved before the war that they could govern the country—(applause)—and they could do it again. The present form of Government was a good one, but if that was taken away, they must get Responsible Government. (Applause.) He exhorted the burghers to support their leaders and to let the world know that they were at one with their leaders. He advised them as Afrianders to remain such, and to uphold their status as Afrianders. Let them be quiet and not vote in the proposed new government elections, but, when the time came, they would show the world that they were prepared to co-operate with all white men. It was said in Johannesburg that the Boers were too strong, and that more settlers should be brought into the country. But he assured them that if things continued as at present, there would be no Boers left in the country after another five years. The British had come to stay in the country, but they would never be able to blot out the Afrianders. (Applause.) His great desire was a United South Africa, with its own independent flag.

General Botha here interposed and said such remarks should not be made.

Mr. Burger: All right, then, I'll drop the matter.

Mr. A. Dieperink proposed a resolution similar in effect to that passed at Pretoria, with regard to the granting of self-government to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony simultaneously.

Mr. R. Vorster spoke in support of the resolution, and said he would have nothing to do with the 30 million loan, which the capitalists here were to blame for. Their people would not be responsible for that. (Applause.)

Mr. H. Burger seconded Mr. Dieperink's motion, which was carried.

Mr. Dieperink was also of opinion they should sit still, but not for ever. (Laughter.) They had shown the world they were a peaceful, law-abiding people. They had shown that they were not too rotten to rule themselves. He did not say the present government was rotten, but everyone could draw his own conclusions. (Laughter.) They were continually being insulted and sworn at and they could not always sit still. They were called "Wily Boers," and other

similar epithets. If they were silent, it was said they were working behind the scenes, and if they spoke out, the others wanted the "Shut your jaw" law to be applied. (Laughter.) A gentleman had come from Egypt and said their old wagon was too slow, and they applied too much brake. Well, the wagon was changed for a motor car, which was running wildly through thick and thin, not caring whether it went and what people said 7,000 miles away. It seemed to him that the car would break down soon.

Mr. W. M. Edwards spoke in further support of the resolution passed in reference to equal rights for the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. He said when they accepted the British flag, they did not expect to be treated as children, which was now being done. They were sensible men, and wanted to be treated as such. They were working for reconciliation and were willing to co-operate. But why should they always be called "Boers?" Why could they not be called "Africans?" They objected to such methods, which did not tend to conciliate and co-operate. He was surprised the other day when a man hauled him over the coals for joining a Boer association. He was told that only the English were Progressives. Were the names of Eckstein, Schumacher and other capitalists any more English than those of Botha and De la Rey? (Applause.) People who spoke like that gentleman were the greatest enemies of the country and the whole British Empire.

Advocate Ewald Esselen next spoke and said it was all nonsense to speak of when there would be a united South Africa under its own flag. He hoped the day would never come when the white population of South Africa would have to say they were compelled to throw off the yoke and establish their own flag. He urged them not to take part in any form of government other than self-government. It was said in the newspapers that Messrs. Botha, De la Rey and Esselen were stirring up the people. But that was false. It was the people who were stirring up their leaders. Their presence proved that there that day. It was a lie what the papers said that the Imperial Government had already a form of government cut and dried for them. The Government could not do that without consulting the voice of the people, and the voice of the people was there that day, and it had also been heard at Pretoria the previous Saturday. The Government was bound to consult them, so they should remain firm and not allow themselves to be misled.

On the motion of Mr. Hans Burger, seconded by Mr. A. Dieperink, a vote of confidence in the Head Committee was passed unanimously.

General Botha thanked the gathering for the vote of confidence which, he said, came as surprise to him and the Head Committee. As long as the people supported them, they would do everything in their power to make South Africa a great and prosperous country. He hoped those terrible misunderstandings, which had caused so much suffering in the past, would never occur again. He had great confidence in the future of South Africa, and hoped the foundations would be laid for the establishment of a great united white race in South Africa, which would carry away the admiration of the world.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, and three cheers for the Head Committee concluded the proceedings.

## (4.)

"STAR," January 31st, 1905.

BOKSBURG AND POLITICS.

LAST NIGHT'S PUBLIC MEETING.

POLITICAL ASSOCIATION FORMED.

Boksburg, Tuesday (Special).—A well-attended meeting of the inhabitants of Boksburg and district was held in the Assembly Hall last night, for the purpose of discussing the political situation, as it affects the proposed constitution, also to form a political association. The Mayor (Mr. B. Owen Jones) occupied the chair, supported by Dr. McNeillie, Rev. C. E. Greenfield, Messrs. George Constable, Charlton, W. Hills, Hubbard, McDowall, Thompson and Tydeman.

At the request of the Mayor, Mr. Hubbard explained the circumstances of calling the meeting, saying that the committee which had the matter in hand was composed of the representatives of the different local associations at the National Convention at Pretoria. They felt that it was necessary the district should be politically organised, and somebody had to convene the first meeting; that committee had done the work.

The Chairman stated that the proper formation of a constitution was very important, and every inhabitant had a right to make his voice heard on the question.

Mr. George Constable moved the first resolution as follows:—

That in the opinion of this meeting of the inhabitants of Boksburg and district the principles of: (a) one man one vote; (b) one vote one value; (c) the automatic redistribution of representation, should be embodied in the Transvaal constitution.

He said that the citizens of Johannesburg had endorsed those vital principles at a great meeting at the Wanderers. The reason he moved the resolution was that some people thought some men should have more than one vote, whilst others did not believe in all votes having the same value. He was of opinion that the value of the vote of the man in the town should also be that of the man in the country. If the country was to be ruled on democratic lines, nothing less than the principles he advocated would give the necessary liberty. It was argued by those who opposed one vote one value that its adoption would mean the country would be ruled by the gold industry. That he considered an insult to the miners, because it inferred they

would be dominated by the capitalists. He was sure that such would not be the case. In conclusion, Mr. Constable urged the necessity of automatic redistribution, as otherwise it would mean that the towns which grew rapidly would soon not have their proper amount of representation. (Applause.)

Dr. McNeillie (President of the Boksburg Ratepayers' Association) seconded. He criticised a letter by "Britisher" in "The Star," who was aggrieved because he, the owner of four thousand morgen, had no more votes than the city clerk earning £150 a year. It was men with brains they wanted represented in this country, not bricks, mortar, and morgen of ground. (Applause.) They wanted equality in every way, and the three principles he advocated ensured that. (Applause.) Automatic redistribution would do away with future party strife.

Mr. Tom Ziervogel said that he could not think how Dr. McNeillie could come forward with such a proposal as automatic redistribution of seats, seeing that he was an old inhabitant of the country. The automatic redistribution of seats would mean the concentration of the political power of the country on the Rand. As to the form of Government, they wanted Responsible Government, and not Representative. (Applause and "No, no.") The English Government was not afraid of the Boers when they had Mausers, why should they be afraid now, when the Boers had only knobkerries. (Applause.)

Mr. A. A. Webb moved as an amendment:—

That in the opinion of this meeting of the Boksburg and district inhabitants, it is desirable that the electoral divisions in the Transvaal should so be allocated as to secure equal representation.

He said he agreed to one man one vote, but not to the other two clauses. Under "one man one vote" it would mean that the Rand would swamp the whole of the country. That had been proved in the municipal elections. The mines had nine votes to the town's six in the Town Council, and did the inhabitants want the same thing to be repeated in their political Government. It was all very well to say that the capitalists would not rule the roost, and the mines would vote independently, but he was an old Kimberley man. In Kimberley, if De Beers put up four monkeys they would be returned, and he feared the miners would do the same. His idea was that the Transvaal should be cut up into twenty districts, each of which should return a member. For crowded areas he believed in one member for every 8,000 inhabitants.

Mr. Ziervogel seconded.

Dr. Tanner opposed in a vigorous little speech.

Mr. Fisher castigated Lord Milner's clique and the despotic Government now existing. He said that the proposed redistribution was a farce. If a man voted according to his conscience, and the mineowner knew of it, he would get the push.

Mr. Lee asked Mr. Webb if he believed in majority rule.

Mr. Webb said that on the conditions laid down in the resolution, "No." Further questioned, Mr. Webb said that the mines had the control of the municipal vote, and he did not propose they should also have the control of the political vote.

Dr. McNeillie replied. He said if the capitalists were going to rule the country it would only be through the apathy of the working men on the Rand. They heard that the capitalists were going to try to run the country, but should one come forward for that district he himself would put up as a democratic candidate. (Loud and long continued cheering.)

On a vote, the amendment received 11 votes. The resolution received 94 votes, and was accordingly carried.

The Rev. C. E. Greenfield (President of the East Rand Vigilance Association) moved:—

That in the opinion of this meeting of the inhabitants of Boksburg and District, the principle of manhood suffrage for white British subjects should be embodied in the Transvaal Constitution.

He said it was necessary for them to have that principle placed on their Statute book. In doing so they would be following the example of the United States, Australia, and all democratic countries. They wanted "Government of Colonies by Colonials in the interests of Colonials." If the people of the Transvaal were going to throw away their rights it would be their own fault. They did not want the Cape franchise, as that gave votes to coloured people, and would be against the Vereeniging Convention; although as an ideal principle, he agreed with Lord Milner's views. But the time for that was not ripe.

Mr. Tydeman seconded, as every male British subject should have an interest in politics, and manhood suffrage would give it.

The resolution was carried with one dissentient.

Mr. W. Hills (Hon. Secretary E.R.V.A.) moved:—

That the residential qualifications of voters should be at least twelve months' residence in the Transvaal.

He urged that six months was not sufficient. It was impossible to grasp the intricacies of Transvaal politics in such a time, and their experience with the imported officials in the Government showed them that to give political power to new-comers was disastrous.

Mr. Charlton seconded.

The resolution was carried with only one dissentient.

Mr. Hubbard moved:—

That in the opinion of this meeting it is very desirable that a political association should be formed in Boksburg and district, as early as possible, and to that end it is hereby resolved that a committee of 25, with power to add to their number, be selected forthwith, and charged with the drawing up of a platform, constitution, and rules for submission to a subsequent public meeting.

He said it was necessary they should thoroughly organise themselves. Boksburg had shown much virility in the past, and should have a political association of its own.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

A committee of 25 was then appointed.

The last resolution was to the effect that the resolutions, as carried, be forwarded to Lord Milner.

(5.)

“STAR,” February 1st, 1905.

BOER MEETING AT HEIDELBERG TO-DAY.

THE PEOPLE'S UNION.

FURTHER BRANCHES FORMED.

Heidelberg, Wednesday (Special).—The public meeting, convened by General Louis Botha for the purpose of forming branches of the People's Union at Heidelberg, took place here, under the trees in Mr. Bronkhorst's garden this morning.

General Louis Botha presided, and amongst the many hundreds of burghers present were General P. R. Viljoen, Messrs. Ewald Esselen and Alberts, Commandants Buys, W. Pretorius, Van Wyk, Grobler, Greyling, Donges, and Hans Botha; also ex-Volksraad members Jan Meyer, Piet Uys, Messrs. J. C. Bar, C. W. Shultz, W. Bezuidenhout, W. Pistorius, R. Meyer, and Jan de Jager.

General Louis Botha, who, on mounting the platform, was greeted with applause, declared the meeting open.

Mr. J. C. Bar acted as secretary.

General Botha explained the objects of the meeting, and submitted the statutes of the People's Union, which, he said, were not for approval or disapproval that day, as they had already been approved of by the National Congress. Of course he did not mean to say the statutes were perfect, but they could always be amended later on.

The Secretary having read the statutes of the People's Union,

General Botha stated that in the interests of the people the Head Committee had waited until now before organising, as they did not want to embarrass the Government. Their object was to establish an organisation, which would remain for ever in the country. (Applause.) He wished them to establish branches of the Union for the Heidelberg district.

On the motion of Mr. W. Bezuidenhout, seconded by Mr. S. Buys, it was unanimously resolved to establish branches of the People's Union at Heidelberg and to forthwith elect committees for the different wards.

General P. R. Viljoen proposed that, as there were many of their English friends present, the proceedings should be interpreted into English.

General Botha consented, and the Secretary was asked to do the necessary interpreting.

The following provisional committees were appointed:—

Town Ward, Heidelberg: Messrs. B. Arendale, P. R. Viljoen, F. Wepener, F. Bezuidenhout, P. J. Uys, A. Bring, and G. K. Blyth. Ward Hoogeveeld: Messrs. H. A. Alberts, W. Pretorius, J. van Wyk, P. Alberts, A. Pretorius, J. Moodie, S. Rothman. Ward Roodekoppens: Messrs. Buys, W. Bezuidenhout, A. Greyling, W. Barrett, M. Bekker, C. Meyer, L. van Vuuren. Ward Zuikerboschrand: Messrs. H. Botha, W. Marais, F. Bezuidenhout, J. Jacobs, H. Breytenbach, Koos Mare, G. Trichardt. Ward Klip River: Messrs. G. Meyer, P. du Preez, W. Viljoen, Jan Meyer, P. Booysen, C. Schalkwyk, E. van der Merwe.

#### GENERAL BOTHA.

Continuing, General Botha said their association was open to all white men. Referring to the proposed change of Government, he said it was his wish that they should support one another in all questions of vital importance to the country. They were not yet blessed with what was called the franchise—(laughter)—but they were now told that a change of government was proposed to be brought about. They were bound hand and foot under the Vereeniging Treaty. There they undertook to let the dead past bury its dead, and to submit to the new order of things. It was proposed to establish a form of Representative Government, which would place more responsibility on their shoulders than privileges to be enjoyed. As long as they were not trusted, it was unfair to expect them to take up any responsibility. They wanted a Government under which they could co-operate with all white men in the country. (Hear, hear.) He could not advise them to support any form of government other than a measure of full self-government. (Hear, hear.) The Imperial Government had no longer reason to doubt the loyalty of the people. (Applause.) If full responsibility were placed on their shoulders now they would show that they were worthy of it. Their people were to-day living in a terrible state of misery, and under suspicions which were unjustifiable. They wanted full self-government—(A voice: “And also the Free State.”)—they should drop all minor matters, and benefit by past experiences. Let all divisions be



forgotten, and let their sole object be to make a great race of all the white races in South Africa. (Applause.) Let them think of all that was good, and nothing bad and small. He wanted the people of the Orange River Colony to get the same privileges simultaneously with those proposed to be given to the Transvaal. If that was not done, it would be a terrible injustice, and it was their duty to support the interests of their sister State. It was a rotten principle to treat the two States on different lines. It was a breach of the treaty. If the Free State were not treated similarly to the Transvaal, let them decide that they would not be satisfied with anything less than full self-government, and that they wanted nothing which the Orange River Colony could not get. They should make it so uneasy for the man who proposed to treat the Orange River Colony differently to the Transvaal that that man could find no rest in the country. (Applause.) If they had their proper organisation they could lay all their views before the Imperial Government. Let them be honest and straightforward with the Government, and say what they thought was right, and what they thought was wrong. They wanted justice, and nothing else.

General P. R. Viljoen said they all agreed with what General Botha had said. They wanted nothing which the Orange River Colony could not get. (Applause.)

On the motion of General P. R. Viljoen, seconded by Mr. W. F. Pretorius, it was resolved that nothing but full-government would satisfy the people of the Transvaal.

Mr. P. J. Uys said it was always said, prior to the war, that the Free State was a model State, and why should that State now be treated so indifferently? He moved, seconded by Mr. Buys, that full self-government should be granted simultaneously to the two sister Colonies.

Mr. J. van der Westhuizen said it seemed they had to get whatever government the British Government wanted to place over them, and the poor burghers had to be responsible for the obligations and debts of the State.

General Botha replied that if they got self-government, it would be preceded by a proper Constitution, and then they would have a chance of stating their views. The question was, was the proposed form of Representative Government not going to be established for the purpose of getting the 30 million war debt passed? (Hear, hear.)

Mr. David de Villiers said he thought the time was ripe for self-government. He had many English friends, he meant real "Rooineks," not bastards, and he felt proud to meet genuine Englishmen, but he would have nothing to do with foreign capitalists. All genuine English friends of his had told him that the time for Responsible Government had arrived.

Mr. M. Venter referred to the question of compensation promised in the Vereeniging Treaty, where, he said, "Oom Rooinek" promised to compensate them. (Laughter.)

General Botha said if no promise of compensation had been made, they would have been much happier that day. It seemed to him something was very radically wrong with the compensation question, but it would not serve their purpose if they touched on that matter at that meeting.

#### ADVOCATE ESSELEN.

Advocate Ewald Esselen, who was cheered on mounting the platform, said the work of the meeting was finished, and what could he say? Some of the burghers had already been chased into the trees. (Applause.) He referred to those who were watching the proceedings from out of the branches of the trees around them. He pointed out that the status of the People's Union aimed at co-operation between all white men who had come to live permanently in the country. They had the welfare of the whole of South Africa at heart. They wanted no bastard form of Government. Since the declaration of peace, their people had had no representation in the so-called Legislative Council. They were not going to take over any responsibility until a clean sheet was placed before them—(applause)—and trustworthy men were placed at the head of the Government. Then they could work hand in hand with the white men of all nationalities. Let them go home and study the status of the Union and not allow themselves to be treated like white Kaffirs. Let them get a clean sheet from—as one of the previous speakers had said—"Oom Rooinek," and then they would co-operate to make South Africa a prosperous white man's country.

General Viljoen asked whether there were any people still in exile in consequence of the war.

General Botha replied that there were only two, but he also held that everything connected with the late war should be matters of the past and should be forgotten. Of course there were a few who refused to sign and required the declaration, but that was their own fault.

After some references by burghers to the ex-Boer police and the recognition of Republican bluebacks,

General Botha stated that on the occasion of the late President Kruger's funeral at Pretoria, delegates from the Cape and the Orange River Colony met the Head Committee and it was decided to call for subscriptions to make a presentation to their great friend, ex-President Steyn, whose financial circumstances were not of the best. The idea was to make a presentation which would enable Mr. Steyn to live in peace without working for the rest of his life. (Hear, hear.)

On the motion of General Viljoen, a vote of confidence in the Head Committee and a vote of thanks to General Botha and Advocate Esselen was passed.

In conclusion, General Botha said they had nothing but the welfare of the people at heart. (Applause.) It was their earnest endeavour to make the people and the country prosperous and happy. (Applause.) If the people wished to elect another Head Committee, the present committee was prepared to step out. (Voices: "No, no.") But, as long as they remained in office, they would do their best and sacrifice their life and soul for the benefit of the people. (Applause.) He exhorted them to do away with all divisions in their ranks, and to work harmoniously as Christians. He hoped they would soon have their own newspaper, without any capitalistic influence—(applause)—and that the burghers would only support newspapers which had the actual welfare of the country at heart.

In reply to General Viljoen, General Botha said there was not a word of truth in "Land en Volk's" statement as to a quarrel having arisen between Mr. A. D. Wolmarans and the

Head Committee. He assured them that no seven men ever worked more harmoniously than the members of the Head Committee.

Three cheers for General Botha concluded the proceedings.

Advocate Ewald Esselen and General J. C. Smuts have been deputed by the Head Committee of the People's Union to meet ex-President Steyn on his arrival at the Cape on the 16th instant.

(6.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," February 3rd, 1905.

#### THE RESPONSIBLES.

##### MEETING AT BRAAMFONTEIN.

Under the ægis of the Responsible Government Association, a meeting was held in the Spes Bona School, Braamfontein, last night. There were about 130 people present.

Mr. W. Palmer presided over the meeting, and amongst those present were: Messrs. A. S. Raitt, M.L.C., R. Shanks, C. H. Short, P. S. Shepherd, D. Dalgety, M. Nathan, and F. W. Bell.

Mr. C. H. Short was voted to the chair, but declined the office on the ground that, as he was a member of the Executive of the Responsible Government Association, it would be better if some other resident of Braamfontein took the place. He moved that the chair be taken by Mr. W. Palmer, and this was agreed to.

In opening the meeting, the Chairman said that Mr. Cullinan was to have taken the chair, but unfortunately was unable to be present. He believed, he continued, that they had reached a crisis in the career of the Transvaal—that it was in the hands of the inhabitants of the Transvaal to mould the future of the country as they would. (Applause.) He was very strong for Responsible Government, and thought the time had come when they should show that, as a whole, they had faith in one another—that Britishers had faith in the Dutch, and that Dutch had faith in the Britisher.

In his letter read by the Chairman, Mr. Cullinan said the meeting had his entire sympathy.

##### MR. MANFRED NATHAN.

Advocate Manfred Nathan was the first speaker. He contended that the Responsible Government movement had made great strides, and that it was essentially a popular movement. It must not be forgotten they had ranged against them the whole of the daily Press of Johannesburg, but, in spite of this, they had made headway, and could now claim that they numbered in their ranks the largest proportion of the white population of the Transvaal. (Applause.) The newspapers unfortunately supported the party which was insignificant in numbers, and which, he thought, would prove insignificant in influence and in the work which it was going to carry out. He referred to the Representative party which advocated principles that, in his opinion, would not appeal to any citizen which kept his eyes open, and intelligently studied the progress of affairs. This party claimed, in the first place, a monopoly of loyalty, but they had no right to do so. He would also urge that they would not have Responsible Government unless the people were loyal to the Crown of England. (A voice: "You are not satisfied about that.") Well he was satisfied that they would attain this when they attained their legitimate desires.

##### THE KRUGERSDORP MEETING.

Certain utterances made by the Boers at Krugersdorp had caused disquiet to some of the Responsible Government party. But the remarks only showed that there might be a few malcontents among the Boers. They of the Responsible Government party strongly deprecated these sentiments, but at the same time they held the Boer leaders to the assurances given at Pretoria that they would adhere to a determination to work quietly for the future welfare of the country. They must at least give the Boer party credit for good intentions, and believe that it would to the best of its endeavours, carry out what it had promised. They must give the Boers a fair hearing, and a chance to carry their intentions into effect. Then who were the Representative Party? Largely it consisted of gentlemen who had fought before the war for Responsible Government, but who were now ranged against the principles for which they had then contended. The remaining members of the party were new-comers who knew practically nothing of the country, and whose opinions might be set aside. Two main objections were urged by this party against Responsible Government, and the first was distrust of the Boer. It was urged that the Responsible Government party must be condemned because it was associated with the Boer party; but, as a matter of fact, Responsible Government was as strongly advocated by the British as by the Boers—by Britishers who believed that without a full and free grant of Responsible Government permanent prosperity could not be attained in the country.

##### FIT FOR RESPONSIBILITY.

In the second place, it was said that the country was not ripe for Responsible Government—that they did not possess men fit for it. They were, however, considered fit before the war, and why were they not equally fit now, especially after the weeding out effected by the permit system? It had not been proved in any British Colony that the experiment had been a failure, except in Jamaica, and here the failure was due to the privilege being given to the negroes. And surely if the negroes were considered fit before 1865, they in the Transvaal were fit to-day.

Referring next to the tactics of the Representative Party, he quoted the following from the "Rand Daily Mail":—

"The following private cable was received in Johannesburg yesterday: 'Fears are entertained for the safety of (and?) political stability Transvaal.' The cable messages to which we referred yesterday were almost in the same tenour, and they were received by different persons."

It was implied there that grave unrest and dissatisfaction existed in this place as to the future granting of Responsible Government, and the "Daily Mail," one of the organs of the Representative Party, explained that the messages could not emanate from one source. He, however, held a different opinion, and, further, that the methods of the Representative Party, in addition to this, were not such as to conduce to unity in the country.

#### APPEAL TO REPRESENTATIVES.

He appealed to the Representative Party to join them and to work harmoniously with them. (Hear, hear.) It was only in that way that the mistakes of past administration could be rectified. Having referred to some of these mistakes, he said the newspapers had always drawn attention to scandals and iniquities perpetrated by certain members of the Administration. They had written indignant leaders, and yet they were now ranged on the other side. It was necessary for the two British parties to fall into line, and to give the Dutch credit for their expressed intentions to work harmoniously and loyally for the future of the country. Having had experience of the administration of unsympathetic officials, they had reached the conclusion that unless the people secured the rights possessed in other British Colonies they would not attain to that prosperity which they expected. It had been said that if they had Responsible Government foreign sympathy would be alienated and that capital would be driven out. To that he replied that the country would never prosper unless the people here had confidence in the Administration—a confidence not at present possessed. (Applause.)

#### MR. F. W. BELL.

Mr. F. W. Bell said he was before them because they had reached in this country a most important stage of their political existence. There had been a great deal of chaff lately, some of it good natured and some, perhaps, not good natured, about budding politicians. There was one thing he claimed and that was that everyone who felt that this country had reached a critical stage had a perfect right to come forward and express his opinions. For that reason he was before them. If there was one thing more than another that appealed to a Britisher it was fairplay. During the last few days in Johannesburg, he was sorry to say, they had exhibitions on the part of the Press of play that was not fair. (Hear, hear.) The speaker then went on to quote the remarks of General Botha at Pretoria in regard to the co-operation of the Dutch with the English people for the general benefit of the country. There was, Mr. Bell continued, a deep obligation on the English people to trust the Boers. When the Boers were made to take the Oath of Allegiance the British laid on themselves an obligation to accept the assurances of the Dutch and to trust them. Mr. Nathan had touched on the point that had been in their minds prominently lately, and that was that the party advocating Responsible Government had been accused by the other side of being pro-Boer. He was sorry to say that there emanated from the other side a spirit which, he thought, could really be said to have brought this issue to a racial basis, a thing most greatly to be deprecated. His Party did not try, and did not want, to bring about a majority on their side.

#### PAYING FOR MISTAKES.

They were fighting for a principle and a privilege of making the mistakes which in any case they had to pay for. They had had numerous instances lately of mistakes which, he thought, would not have occurred had the people been managing their own affairs. (A voice: The bonus to Girouard.) He did not want to introduce personalities. Mr. Chamberlain before the war said, on the eve of the departure for England of the then Sir Alfred Milner, that the common interests of the two races were immeasurably greater than any differences which unfortunately existed. No one who wished to be fair could deny the truth of that. The interests of the Dutch and the other population in this State, in fact the interests of all South Africans, were identical. If such could be said before the war, what must be said now when the Dutch were British subjects? The best thing that could be done was for them to accept the assurances put forward by the Boer party. General Botha had most plainly said that he was willing to work with the English for the general welfare. Therefore he would be proving the words of Mr. Chamberlain that the interests of the two races were identical. He (Mr. Bell) thought they should all do their utmost to pull together for the good of the country, and make the country a prosperous and contented one, for, after all, as this country was the home of the Dutch it was a security for their good behaviour; and, on the other hand, many of those who were exploiting this country for the purpose of living out of it were not to be trusted half as much as the much-maligned Boer.

#### MR. P. G. SHEPHERD.

Mr. P. G. Shepherd maintained that the people of the country asked for Responsible Government, and it was the big mining houses who were demanding Representative Government, and

they had seen the doings of that party in the affairs of Johannesburg previously. They had only to look back to municipal politics. What they saw to-day was more or less an evolution of the Conference Ticket, and the Conference Ticket was an instrument devised by the capitalists to obtain control of the municipal politics. Now they saw the Progressive party as an instrument to get control of the legislative machinery of this country. They were extremely powerful. They controlled the Press of Johannesburg, and not only that—they had various channels of sending through misleading information to the great papers in England. The only argument advanced by the Representative party was that the people here were not yet fit to exercise the right of vote. That argument, boiled down, was simply distrust of the Boer. That argument was the same they saw used by the Tsar. The Tsar said his peasants were not yet fit for Responsible Government. If the Transvaal did not hurry, he was afraid that Russia would get Responsible Government before them. (Laughter.) Going on to speak of the thirty million loan, he denied the assertions that had been made that that loan had been discussed by the people of the country. That loan should never have been sanctioned until such time as the representatives of the people, the accredited representatives, were able to meet.

REV. C. A. LANE.

The Rev. C. A. Lane also spoke at some length on the statements of mistrust of the Dutch, remarking that it was the privilege of every honest man to believe other men honest until he had found them out rogues. (Laughter.) In Braamfontein the Dutch and English had lived together without difficulty, and had worked together without pulling each other by the throat, and it seemed to him that the knowledge that had been gained by the English in living peacefully, comfortably and happily with the Dutch in the neighbourhood was a knowledge that should enable them to trust the Dutch a little farther. (Applause.)

MR. C. H. SHORT.

Mr. C. H. Short said he did the credit to their intelligence that every man had made up his mind already precisely what form of government he wanted, and no words from the platform would swerve them from their convictions. He would, however, ask them, if they favoured Responsible Government, to form a small local committee to promote the interests of the party.

There were no other speakers on the programme, and questions were thereupon invited.

A member of the audience asked if the Transvaal was granted Responsible Government, who was going to pay for it?

The Chairman said the people would be willing to pay for it, because they had to pay for it whether they got it or not.

Mr. Tiddy then spoke at some length in regard to Canada, contending that the Higher House there was, to all intents and purposes, a nominated body.

Mr. Nathan said the Senate were nominated by the Ministry, who were responsible to the people.

Answering a question if there were any resolutions to be put forward, the Chairman said there were none, adding that the meeting had been called for the purpose of the party's views being expressed, and it was left to the intelligence of the people what course they should follow.

Mr. Shanks also spoke, and carried on something of an argument with Mr. Tiddy.

Mr. Smitt, speaking in Dutch, said full Responsible Government had been promised them, and now they were offered, so to speak, a crippled wagon with three wheels only.

A resolution was then moved from the audience to the effect that the granting of immediate Responsible Government was essential to the political stability and progress of the country.

This was seconded, and on being put to the meeting, was carried with six votes against.

(7.)

"STAR," February 4th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

JOHANNESBURG BRANCH ESTABLISHED.

MEETING TO-DAY.

A fairly well attended meeting of the supporters of the movement recently inaugurated to form a "People's Union" was held at the Grand National Hotel this morning, for the purpose of considering the advisability of creating a Johannesburg branch.

General Muller presided, and amongst those present were noticed Messrs. B. De V. de Wit-Hamer, Ferdinand Rooth, H. R. van Blommestein, D. J. Schuurman, H. J. Kock, Paul Dietzch, M. Adolfs, J. H. Munnik, O. J. J. van Wijk, Paul Hartogh, A. A. Dieperinck, H. J. Hofmeyr, W. H. Poultney, J. Treu, E. O. Oliviere, J. De Meillon, J. M. van Wijk, and A. Spaau, Ernest Sheppard, M. Jacobz, J. A. Burger, and A. Smorenburg.

At the outset, it was suggested that the meeting should be held with closed doors, seeing that it was only a private meeting. Several gentlemen opposed, however, and it was decided to admit the representatives of the Press.

The Chairman mentioned that they had nothing whatever to conceal. They were merely met to form an organisation to further the welfare of their country. Branches had been formed

in other districts, and it was for them to formulate their domestic regulations. At a later date the members of the Head Committee would be in Johannesburg to explain the objects of the Union. It was now for them to decide upon the formation of the Union.

Mr. De Meillon addressed the meeting in reference to the necessity of being careful not to make a false step to the poverty of the country, and was about to read a document which he held in his hand, when

The Chairman requested him not to do so, as they had not come there to discuss politics, but to consider the question of forming a branch of "Het Volk" in Johannesburg.

Mr. De Meillon continued to quote from his paper, but, on being ruled out of order by the Chairman, said he would leave the meeting, and did so.

Mr. De Witt-Hamer informed the assembly that a meeting of the Head Committee was held in Pretoria on Saturday week, when delegates were appointed to visit the Rand in connection with the movement.

Mr. Dieperinck pointed out that the Head Committee intended coming to Johannesburg, and that it was desirable to discuss the matter of the division of the town into separate districts in the meantime. He hoped the people in Johannesburg would not be in too much of a hurry; arrangements would be made as soon as possible.

A discussion followed, after which

Mr. De Witt-Hamer proposed, and Mr. Munnik seconded, a resolution to the effect that "this meeting, desiring to establish a branch of 'Het Volk' in Johannesburg, decides that the town of Johannesburg, as defined by the Municipality of Johannesburg, be divided (for this purpose) into six wards, which shall be known as 'Johannesburg Central,' 'Braamfontein,' 'Langlaagte,' 'Vrededorp,' 'Fordsburg,' 'Doornfontein and Jeppe,' and the nearest attached townships."

This was unanimously agreed to.

The following resolution, proposed by Mr. De Witt-Hamer, was carried unanimously:—

That the following persons be appointed, with power to add to their number, to arrange in their respective wards for the formation of branches of the organisation, "Het Volk":—Johannesburg Central: J. H. Munnik, F. Rooth, General Muller. Braamfontein: D. J. Schuurman, A. Smorenberg, P. Blignaut. Langlaagte: J. C. Reinecke, Commandant Stoffberg, J. Malan. Vrededorp: S. A. Smit, G. van der Merwe, G. van Biljou. Fordsburg: H. Kock, A. Boshoff, J. F. Cellie. Doornfontein and Jeppetown: B. G. Verselewel de Witt-Hamer, H. de Jager, and Wapenaar.

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#### MEETING AT VOLKSRUST.

#### THE USUAL RESOLUTIONS.

Volkstrust, Saturday (Special).—At the Boer meeting to-day, presided over by General Botha, there was a large attendance, over 500 being present.

A resolution was passed to form a local branch of the People's Union, and two committees of seven members each were elected for wards Nos. 1 and 3.

A second resolution opposed any change in the Government till full Responsible Government was granted.

General Botha spoke for an hour and a half, and received an ovation at the close of the meeting.

He will leave for Amersfoot to-morrow, where a committee for No. 2 ward will be elected.

A vote of confidence in the Head Committee was carried by acclamation.

Special reference was made to collecting funds for ex-President Steyn and to a Dutch paper.

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(8.)

"LEADER," February 4th, 1905.

#### AUTONOMY.

#### AIMS OF THE DUTCH.

#### PROCEEDINGS AT STANDERTON.

#### SPEECH BY GENERAL BOTHA.

(From Our Own Reporter.)

Standerton is alive with politics to-day, on the occasion of the visit of General Botha and Mr. Ewald Esselen, who are touring the country with the object of forming branches of "The People's Union."

Apart from the Dutch section of the community, however, there is no anxiety on the part of the people here to participate in the proceedings.

The Boers themselves are as keen as ever on politics, and they mustered in substantial numbers to listen to the addresses of their leaders, to whom they still tenaciously cling for advice.

There were very few Englishmen amongst the audience, and it cannot be asserted that the speeches contributed anything to the political controversy. The speakers, as at all their meetings,

betrayed no anxiety to enter into practical politics, but confined themselves to dreary platitudes, with allegations against the British Government of having broken the spirit of the treaty signed at the Vereeniging Conference. Rights and privileges similar to those granted to the Transvaal were, as usual, claimed for the Orange River Colony. The attitude of the assembly clearly showed that they were willing to trust their leaders to lead them to Responsible Government, which they confidently anticipate will be the panacea for all their real or imaginary grievances.

After the meeting a number of Englishmen who had attended in anticipation of hearing the speeches translated, as had been originally arranged, expressed their indignation at the proceedings being conducted entirely in Dutch.

General Botha presided, and among those present were: Mr. Ewald Esselen, General Conrad Britz, Commandants Hendrik, Jansen, Van Buuren, Jan Cronje, Piet Botha, and Alberts; Field-cornets Snyman, Hans Joseph, Van Vuuren, Strydom, Roolf, Van Vuuren, Geo. Emsley, Schwartz, Van Rensburg, H. Naagel, A. Delange, and Lieutenant Bosman.

#### OPENING OF MEETING.

General Botha opened the meeting and explained the objects of the organisation. They meant, he said, to form an association in which all white people in the Transvaal might be included. They were there as Afrianders, and they sought to form one nation in South Africa, working together in unity. The leaders of the Boer people had delayed organising the people until it was made known that a new Government was to be granted to the Transvaal; but when politicians started organising in Johannesburg, the head committee of *Het Volk* decided to bring the association before the people of the country. He hoped the organisation would be as well received at Standerton as it had been in other parts of the country. The statutes of the association were then read by Mr. S. P. De Villiers, secretary, and General Botha then asked the meeting to appoint committees of seven for each ward.

The Chairman explained that it would be necessary to appoint a provisional committee of seven members for the Standerton wards. The wards would unite and work together, and then one committee would be formed for the whole district. The chief committee would then consist of representatives from each district, so that there would be no misunderstanding. The statutes were to be discussed that day, but they could be amended later on. The great object that day was for them to unite in organisation. They desired to do justice to all the nation and guard against oppression.

The resolution to form a branch of the association in Standerton was then submitted and carried unanimously; and the Chairman went on to explain that as Waterval was so large the head committee had thought it desirable to form Standerton into one district of four wards, for which provisional committees of seven members each would have to be elected.

Committees were then appointed as under:—

Ward Blesbokspruit: Messrs. Geo. Emsley, H. J. Van Vuuren, J. Meyer, De Lange, J. Englebrect, J. P. Celliers, and C. Muller.

Ward Klip River: Messrs. C. J. Brits, H. Schwartz, P. Botha, Bosman, A. Delange, and Dupreez.

Ward Waterval: Messrs. Alberts, Wessels, Janse, Klaessen, Bosman, W. Steyn, and Dreyer.

Ward Standerton: Messrs. H. Kieser, H. P. Deirless, J. J. Bosman, W. Boshoff (jun.), A. Wade, Dr. Moll, and H. G. Masch.

#### GENERAL BOTHA'S ADDRESS.

The Chairman congratulated the audience upon having joined the organisation, and said he hoped they would all work together for the good of the country. Their people did not read the newspapers much, but he hoped the news of what was going on would be taken from farm to farm. It remained now with the local committees to work for the good of the nation. They wanted a better Government than they had at present. They wanted Responsible Government—a Government which would be constituted of the people out of their own country, and a Government whom they could put their trust in. At present they were not what they might be. They had taken the oath accepting British authority, but yet they could get no Government, and they had to wait for a better day. They had a Government which they did not want. They had by their loyalty earned the right to speak and the right to be taken into the full confidence of the British Government. He was extremely sorry that the Imperial Government six thousand miles away desired to keep them under their thumb. All the people wanted was justice and right and he hoped they would get it by making known their demands to the Government. There were some who did not want Responsible Government, but he was glad to say they were few so far as the Dutch were concerned. (Applause.) They did not press for a change, but if a change was granted it ought to be an all-round one that would bring the people of the country together. For three years now they had had peace, and there had been no change.

#### MUST BE A CHANGE.

There must be a change, and therefore they had to be true to the country and stand for their rights. In connection with that there was another question. It was said there must be a change in the Government of the Transvaal. That ought also to apply to their sister Colony. The Transvaal did not make peace alone. The Vereeniging Treaty was signed by both Colonies,

and any right given to the Transvaal must also be conceded to the Orange River Colony. Some time ago they had read in the papers that the Free Staters were rebels, but no rebels had yet been caught in the Free State. Why should they have less than the Transvaal? With regard to the Brandfort Congress he asked what the people there had done. Some people went there and only spoke of their own interests, and not those of the country. They spoke about proclamations in black and white, and about promises which they had received, but which never were fulfilled. (Laughter.) It was the Duty of the Dutch in the Transvaal to stand by the Orange River Colony, and insist that it should receive the same rights as the Transvaal. If the Imperial Government trusted them, they would take the responsibility upon their shoulders and regard it as an honour. They were British subjects, and should have freedom, but they did not want a freedom by which they were always under the thumb. If they had Responsible Government, they would have a chance to improve the country and put it in a position that would be for the good of the whole of South Africa. That was the only form of government they could work with, and they would work with no other. (Loud applause.)

#### MR. STEYN.

Mr. Steyn said the country could not continue under the same Government as they had now. Under the present Government they had no freedom, and could not do what they wanted for the improvement of the country. They could not possibly work hand in hand with the present Government. When they got Responsible Government—a Government appointed by the people, and not a Government sent to them by men they did not know—they then could work together. He moved that the same Government should be granted to the Orange River Colony as to the Transvaal. If the Orange River Colony could not get this, the Transvaal wanted nothing.

#### COMMANDANT MALAN.

Commandant Malan said they had been promised a change of government, and they required it. It seemed to be a question as to which was the strongest party in the country, the Dutch or the British. Under the present system of government the country was in a bad way, and unless things improved the white men would be unable to live in the country much longer. The white races were to-day divided, the same as they were in the Cape Colony, and he would advise them to draw nearer together and work in complete harmony for the prosperity of the country. He thought this ideal would be best attained by a change to Responsible Government.

On the motion of Mr. Steyn, seconded by Mr. S. de Villiers, a resolution was carried to the effect that no form of government other than Responsible Government would be acceptable to the people.

A further resolution was carried, advocating equal rights and privileges for the Orange River Colony as those granted to the Transvaal.

#### MR. ESSELEN'S VIEWS.

Mr. Ewald Esselen, in a brief address, said he had desired to wait a while longer before entering into politics, but as the country appeared to be degenerating and the people were having a bad time, he thought they had better press for Self-Government. After the Vereeniging Conference he thought blockhouses and barbed wire fences would become things of the past, but now they were being caught by politics. As things were, the Boers were well justified in refusing to participate in the Government. Although they were British subjects there were two parties in the country to-day—British and Dutch. The country to-day was unlucky, and always would be until full Responsible Government was granted.

General Botha then announced, amid enthusiasm and cheering, that ex-President Steyn was now on the water returning to South Africa. Now that they had formed an association, he hoped they would all work together for the purpose of subscribing to the testimonial to be offered to their old friend. The Head Committee had arranged that Advocate Esselen and General Smuts should meet ex-President Steyn on his arrival at Cape Town. He also wished to bring to their notice the fact that they probably would soon have a newspaper of their own—a newspaper owned, not by a syndicate or company, but by the people. He hoped every member of the assembly would take up shares in the venture and make it successful, because the Head Committee wanted the Dutch population to have a newspaper they could trust.

A vote of confidence in the association was proposed by Mr. Johannes van Vuuren, and seconded by ex-Commandant Alberts.

In acknowledging the ovation which followed, General Botha said the Head Committee had no other ambition than to bring the people together, and their attendance in such number showed him that they had faith in the cause which had brought them together.

A meeting of the Ward Committees was afterwards held in private.

#### COLOURED PEOPLE'S STAND.

##### MEETING LAST NIGHT.

A meeting of coloured people to discuss the proposed new Constitution of the Transvaal was held in the Independent Church Schoolroom, Burgersdorp, last night, when Mr. J. January presided over a fairly large attendance.

The Chairman said that as British subjects they should take their fair share in the political activity. Different parties had entered the field, and many suggestions had been thrown out. The coloured people, as subjects of the King, were going to voice their opinions as to the Transvaal Constitution. The present situation was very critical, and they expected the British

throne to give them protection. (Hear, hear.) They had not got much protection during the last three or four years, but they would agitate until they did get it. (Applause.) The time had come when they must do something. The future for the Transvaal appeared to be dark, and he had not yet seen the silver lining. The British Constitution made no difference between man and man, and they should agitate for this. The children would always remember that they had helped the British Government to conquer the land. The coloured people demanded from the British Government their just and due rights. (Hear, hear.) The speaker trusted that justice would be meted out. He had the fullest confidence in the present Government and in Lord Milner. (Applause.)

#### THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. Du Plessis proposed the following resolution:—

"That it seems possible that Self-Government will be granted to the Transvaal in the near future. We, the coloured community of the Transvaal Colony, do hereby wish to propose to His Majesty's Government that in framing the new Constitution for the Transvaal the just rights of the coloured subjects of His Majesty will not be forgotten or tampered with. Unless provision is made to that effect we are sure that a great injustice will be meted out to His Majesty's coloured subjects."

It was, the speaker continued, regrettable that the time should ever have arrived when they had to bring forward such a resolution. If they had been told years ago that their position would have been so precarious, they would also have liked to add a few chapters to the history of the South African War. As it was, the services rendered by the coloured people were only mentioned here and there. ("Shame.") He referred to the Progressive Association, saying that that body seemed to know more of what was happening behind the scenes than the coloured people. They said that white people only should be granted the franchise. What did this mean for the coloured people and their children? The terms of the Vereeniging Conference were nothing to be glad about. The repatriation provisions alone stood as an example. (Laughter.) At the Conference the interests of the coloured people had been sacrificed. (Applause.) They all knew what the feelings of the people of the Transvaal were against coloured people. He suggested that a petition should be sent to the Home Government. (Applause.) They had no confidence in the rulers of South Africa because of the strong prejudice which existed against coloured people, and for which there were no grounds whatever. They had not deserved this treatment, as they had been loyal to Britain. But they did not wish to boast of their loyalty. They had not been loyal for ulterior motives. Since the days when their forefathers had been liberated from slavery they had never shown that they were not anxious to progress. When the arrangements were being made for a representative Town Council, Lord Milner had been the only man to say a word in favour of the coloured people. He pointed out that the coloured people were being whipped, and were not in a position to defend themselves. In the Cape Colony they had privileges which they had never abused. He advocated cohesion among all men who had coloured blood in their veins. They should make themselves a separate body. At the same time they did not wish to threaten. If their requests were refused, they would not bury their heads in the sand like an ostrich. (Loud applause.)

#### THE OLD AND NEW.

Mr. P. J. Daniells was the next speaker. He said that there was very little to choose between the old form of government in the Transvaal and the present. Since the British had taken over the country they had formed organisations and associations for the purpose of depressing the coloured people. They had never been given a chance. He could count the friends of their community on one hand. The British people thought they were a class easily pleased. But the coloured people had faith in the Imperial Government, and it was time for them to protest against their being excluded from the franchise. They all knew what the franchise meant to them. The Progressives wished to rob them of their birthright, but they would never allow it. (Applause.) The coloured people respected the white men, who were the proper persons to rule the country, but they should rule with justice and fair play. The speaker suggested that a deputation should be sent to the Home Government. (A voice: "Full rights or nothing.") He condemned the immorality law, pointing out that while a coloured man was punished if he had intercourse with a white woman, a white man could ruin coloured women and go free. ("Shame.") It had even been suggested that a coloured man should be hanged for tampering with a white woman, but there was no protection for coloured women. The coloured must protect their sisters, wives and daughters. It was a disgrace for any country to have such a law as that immorality law. He also denounced the property laws, which forbade the coloured people to purchase property in certain localities.

#### COUNCILLOR'S REMARKS RESENTED.

In conclusion, he referred to a remark which had been made by a Town Councillor, Mr. Reid, who said he would never raise them to the dignity of a good dog. ("Shame.") Could they respect men like that? He urged that they should approach the Home Government—(applause)—and, if necessary, ask that they should be governed by the Crown and not by a Colonial Government. He seconded the resolution. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously carried.

It was also decided to have it forwarded, through Lord Milner, to the home Secretary.



(9.)

"LEADER," February 4th, 1905.

STANDERTON PROGRESSIVES.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Standerton, Friday.

A general meeting of the Standerton branch of the Transvaal Progressives was held at the Standerton Hotel on Wednesday.

The following question was brought up for discussion: "Shall corporations, companies, &c., have a vote in Parliamentary elections?"

Mr. W. R. Stevenson, who was in the chair, after explaining the question before the meeting, said he did not think it logical that corporations should have a vote. He was afraid that large concerns were only trying to get in to suit their own purposes. This matter being urgent, he pressed the public to bring their views before the proper people.

Mr. Letty said he did not think there was need for discussion, as it simply opposed the principle of one man one vote.

All present agreed with this, and the following proposition was unanimously passed:—"That the Standerton branch of the Progressive Association strongly protests against the principle of corporations and companies having a vote, and requests that the views of the Executive Committee of the Johannesburg branch be asked for at an early date."

After further discussion *re* rules, &c., the meeting decided that every alternate meeting of the branch should be held on Saturday afternoons, so as to give the farmers a chance of coming in.

The attendance at this meeting was very fair.

(10.)

"STAR," February 4th, 1905.

POLITICS AT KLERKSDORP.

PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION BRANCH FORMED

CRITICISM OF "HET VOLK."

Klerksdorp, Saturday (Special).—Last night a meeting was held in the Palace Hotel to form a branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association. There was a good attendance, and the utmost unanimity prevailed. Mr. H. M. Guest was voted to the chair.

In opening the proceedings, the Chairman touched upon the need for such an organisation. He had been twice approached in regard to forming a branch, but had not encouraged the idea because it would mean probably the division of the townspeople on racial lines. The gauntlet had, however, been thrown down by the Boers in their "Het Volk" policy, and the time was now approaching to separate into respective camps, each man going where his interests were, and each doing the best he could for himself.

Mr. R. Orpen then fully explained the aims, objects, and methods of the Progressive Association, taking each plank of the platform in turn. In the course of his speech, he referred to the Responsible Government Party as earnest and patriotic men, but criticised the recent speech of their president. He also referred to the policy of "Het Volk," and said, in regard to the agitation of the Boer leaders, that it was not genuine or sincere. This agitation was purely a party move to try to obtain a party advantage. They desired to delay the framing of the Constitution till the Liberals came into power in England, in the hope of being able to make better terms from their point of view. Moreover, what the Boer generals were crying out for was not Responsible Government "*per se*," but that fungoid adjunct, the well-known "Cape marionette system." By this system they would be able to convert a minority into a majority in this way. If there were a house of 30 members, fourteen of whom belonged to the "Het Volk" Party, they could, with the six portfolios in their gift, persuade six members from the tail-end of the other party to accept office under their terms, and thus give themselves a majority of 12 on a division. This nomination of the Ministry by the Crown in Representative Government, was just the difference between the two Constitutions, as regarded by the Boer generals. It was high time that all right-thinking men of every race should dissociate themselves emphatically from the policy of "Het Volk" Party and their allies in this discreditable intrigue. It was not a question of want of trust in the Boers. He had the most implicit trust in the Boers, and their ability to run the Government of this country according to their own ideas, but he also recognised them to be the most clever nation in the world in politics. The Boer would be found as able with the vote as with the Mauser, as formidable with a portfolio as with a "Long Tom."

Mr. Orpen then went into the question of equality of votes and the distribution of seats, the settlement of the natives and Asiatic questions, according to Transvaal views, without outside interference, and the support of all measures tending to make and keep this a white man's country.

Mr. A. Chittenden proposed, and Dr. Russell seconded, the formation of a branch of the Progressive Association.

Mr. J. A. Naser, Mayor of the town, referred to the manner in which, he said, the meeting had been convened. Continuing, he hoped they were not going to be led by the nose, and said it would be best to study their own interests and hold aloof from Johannesburg and elsewhere. Klerksdorp, which would be the centre of a rural constituency, would find itself swamped by the country vote, and find itself left. He went fully into the question, and concluded by saying that Klerksdorp had always been able to look after its own affairs, and in this case, if it were

necessary to form a political association, let them do so on their own platform. Harmony and amity should continue as in the past between the townpeople and their country Boer neighbours, and he would formally move that no political association be formed that night.

Mr. Summers seconded.

Mr. Orpen replied to Mr. Nesor, and, in the course of doing so, referred to the splendid amity and sympathetic unity of Boer and Briton in the Eastern Transvaal, and said their differences would not be material, but political, and said that race-hatred and ill-feeling need not be feared.

On the vote being taken, the amendment was lost by a large majority, and the original motion carried with enthusiasm.

A motion embodying the principle of one vote one value was carried, and it was resolved to transmit the same to the Governor, for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Members were then enrolled and the meeting terminated by appointing Mr. H. M. Guest provisional chairman, and Mr. Laurie temporary secretary.

(11.)

"STAR," February 6th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

THE MEETING AT VOLKSRUST.

GENERAL BOTHA AND THE RECENT CORRESPONDENCE.

(From Our Correspondent.)

Volkcrust, Saturday.—There was a large gathering of burghers in the Abernethy Hall to-day, for the purpose of considering the advisability of forming a branch of "Het Volk" in Volkcrust.

Punctually at 11 a.m. General Botha occupied the chair, and was accompanied on the platform by Messrs. J. Du Preez, Koots, N. J. Woolman, C. H. Kuit, L. P. Malan, C. F. Scheepers, G. Englebrect, A. L. Pretorius, J. D. Opperman, C. J. Rensburg, J. F. Jacobsz, W. Verploegh, Dr. Van Gelder, J. Joubert, F. Badenhorst and Commandant Greyling. The English portion of the town was well represented. Dr. Van Gelder was unanimously elected as secretary to the meeting.

General Botha, in opening the proceedings, extended a hearty welcome to all present, and briefly explained the origin of the People's Union. He said that successful meetings had been held at other towns, which showed that the unity of their people was unprecedented. The constitution of "Het Volk" had been decided, and was for their acceptance, without amendment. The Union was intended for mutual co-operation, and to protect the large interests of the Dutch in the Transvaal. Certain principles were laid down, so that white people of all nationalities could work together for the advancement of the country. There was considerable misunderstanding on political questions, and possibly the Dutch had been purposely misunderstood. It behoved the people to be calm in their proceedings and in their speeches that day. They must leave the past, and look to the future, and try and arrange matters as best they could for the good of the country. The appointment of committees was for the advancement of agricultural and other interests, and it would be for the people's benefit to join this organisation. Their interests at present were being neglected. He referred to the £3,000,000 compensation, which, he said, had not yet been paid, although three years had gone by. It was time for them to organise themselves and endeavour to improve their lot.

Dr. Van Gelder then read the statutes of the People's Union.

Mr. Kuit, sen., proposed:—

That a branch of the Association be formed for the Wakkerstroom District, and that committees be elected forthwith, for the different wards.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the following gentlemen were elected as committees:—

Ward No. 1, Volkcrust.—Messrs. C. Erasmus, W. Verploegh, F. P. Jacobz, F. Badenhorst, F. le Roux, Louis Erasmus and Joshua Joubert.

Ward No. 2, Wakkerstroom.—Messrs. Isak Greyling, Gert Rensburg, A. B. Helm, Isak Labuschagne, J. W. Steenkamp, and D. J. Opperman, and Dr. Brugmann.

The Chairman, replying to a question from a Natalian, said this organisation was confined to the Transvaal, but all who had taken part in the war would be considered in connection with the monetary grant.

Continuing, General Botha congratulated the meeting on passing the resolution, which he said would not be regarded with indifference, but was one that would be felt as long as they and their children lived. There was great poverty in the land, and the only remedy was to work together in unity in order that friendship might once more arise between the peoples. It was not intended that members of "Het Volk" should be sleeping partners, but that they should take an active part in the work. A good deal ought to be accomplished with such a large branch as now existed in Volkcrust.

Mr. Koos Davel wanted to know what was being done with reference to repatriation, compensation, and change of Government.

General Botha replied. The Head Committee, he said, was chiefly engaged considering the change of Government, which was to be given to the Transvaal. At Vereeniging, the Boers parted with rights that they had spilt their blood to maintain, and acknowledged the British flag as the flag of the Transvaal. They were there to-day as British subjects, and because they were organising, it did not mean that they wished to shake off the liabilities which they had contracted at the Peace Conference. But the Imperial Government also undertook responsi-

bilities, and gave an assurance that in a short time full Responsible Government would be given. He did not know how many forms of Government they had to pass through, but the proposed Constitution would place responsibilities on them. It would not, however, be self-government. All the old burghers had been peaceful since the Peace Proclamation, and they should be trusted if a change of government were contemplated. The only way to effect the co-operation of the two great white races was to grant Responsible Government. A bastard form of government had never yet succeeded in the Transvaal, and never would. After three years of peace, they now found blockhouses and political obstruction placed before them to cause dissensions. It was not right that one party should have greater privileges than the other. It was said that the English were afraid of the Dutch, but when the Dutch were armed they were not afraid of them, and were they now to pretend that the Boers could not govern because they were afraid of them? He thought that the faithful way the Dutch had carried out their obligations since peace was signed should give confidence to the Government. Was it not in the interests of the Imperial Government to take the people of this country into their confidence? Did they intend to follow such a rotten policy as to never give the people their rights? In Johannesburg an association had been formed, called the Progressive Association, which said that the country was not ripe for Responsible Government. He could understand the Imperial Government refusing Responsible Government and endeavouring to keep the country under their thumb, but he had never heard a body which called itself Progressive saying that they were not fit for Responsible Government. He regretted to read in the Johannesburg papers the other day that a branch of the Progressive Association had been formed in Volksrust, with 100 members. The action of the Progressives was not fair to the country or the people. The Transvaal had brains enough to hold its own against any country. It was the principal country in South Africa, and yet they found smaller and less important Colonies had rights which were denied to them. But they must have their rights. They demanded a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, not a Government simply of Boers, but of the whole of the inhabitants, no matter of what nationality. He also wished to refer to correspondence between Lord Milner and Mr. F. J. Fisher, of Volksrust. This letter was tinged with the race question. This he regretted, because they were advocating a platform on which Boer and Briton were one. This letter of Mr. Fisher's warned His Excellency against the Boer vote in the district of Wakkerstroom. They must have one Government, and how was Government to work? It must consist of men who had great experience of the country and the genuine confidence of the people. They did not talk of Boers or English in this Government, for they were one. All petty causes of animosity must be abolished for ever, and they must deal with the great questions affecting the interests of the country. They had misunderstanding enough. And this new organisation of theirs must take up an honest position towards themselves and the Government. The great questions he alluded to were agriculture, gold, coal and diamond mines, and questions of that nature. The country could not be governed by either one section or the other, there must be co-operation between the different interests and industries, and all interests must be acknowledged. He considered that the Orange River Colony should have the same rights as the Transvaal. The people of the Orange River Colony had been peaceful and quiet since the war, so why should they be excluded from enjoying similar privileges to the Transvaal? In his opinion, because the Britisher said he would be swamped by the Dutch vote. It was no argument that because the Dutch were in a majority, the people should be deprived of self-government. Personally he would refuse to co-operate with any Government in the Transvaal unless the Orange River Colony were granted full Responsible Government, and he hoped the meeting would only co-operate with a Government elected entirely by the people, and that the sister Colony must have similar privileges.

The meeting carried a resolution:—

That no form of Government would satisfy the people except Responsible Government.

Replying to a question, the Chairman said that they did not demand Responsible Government, but merely asked that it only should be granted when the time arrived for a change of Government.

Another question was asked about compensation, and General Botha said that in his opinion it would have been better for the Government and the people if the matter had never been mentioned, because it had caused great disappointment. They knew £3,000,000 had been granted, but they were still waiting for payment. It would have been better for the Government to have handed this sum to the people and told them to repatriate themselves. The Boer leaders could not do any more. A Commission was sitting in Pretoria, and as they had waited patiently so long, he advised them to wait a little longer. He had heard that payment would shortly be made.

Several speakers referred to receipts given by the late Government and payment for bluebacks.

The General said the £3,000,000 was intended to cover all the liabilities of the late Government, and the bluebacks also.

Another burgher wanted to know if the Government would pay them the 5s. per diem that the Boer Generals had promised them when on commando.

The reply was that this came under the same category.

Mr. Jacobsz spoke strongly against Representative Government, which he characterised as only a make-shift Government.

The Chairman then said he had two points to mention. The first was that he hoped that the Wakkerstroom people would do all in their power to assist the late President Steyn who was returning to South Africa, and the second that they would give their financial support to the new Dutch paper that it was intended to start in connection with the organisation.

Mr. Joubert proposed, seconded by Mr. Badenhout, a vote of confidence in the Head Committee, which was carried, all the audience standing up.

The Chairman, in reply, said the Head Committee would always do their best for the people, who, he hoped, would unite for their mutual interest. Their only object was to become a great nation, and this would be achieved if they would remain true to their faith and to one another.

Mr. Kuit proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried with cheers, and the meeting terminated, having lasted 2½ hours.

(12.)

“RAND DAILY MAIL,” February 7th, 1905.

#### THE RESPONSIBLES AT HEIDELBERG.

The meeting, which had been called of those interested in the advocacy of Responsible Government for the Transvaal, was held in the Grand Hotel, and was a large and representative one. It had been arranged by several well-known residents in Heidelberg, on whose invitation Messrs. T. M. C. Nourse, W. T. H. Frost, Fred W. Bell, George A. Hay, R. G. Campbell-Pitt, and David Dalgety were present from the Transvaal Responsible Government Association.

Mr. H. V. Carpendale, who in the absence of Mr. J. J. Williams through illness was voted to the chair, explained the objects of the meeting, and tendered a welcome to the delegates from Johannesburg. After Mr. T. M. C. Nourse had explained what the Association had already accomplished, the Chairman called on

Mr. Hay, who said they were launching out on a great fight, which he could assure them was to be a fight to a finish. He thought it unnecessary to go into any lengthy explanation as to why all through the country to-day the question of Representative against Responsible Government was being seriously considered. They all knew that a change was imminent. Certain suggestions had been made by Lord Milner to deputations which had waited upon him as to the kind of Government they were to expect. They were to have an elected Parliament, but that Parliament, while entrusted with the voting of funds and legislation generally, would have no power over the Executive Council, which would be practically what it is at present. He did not know whether Sir Richard Solomon would ally himself with the gentlemen who had up to the present mismanaged this country, but he (the speaker) would be very much surprised indeed if Sir Richard risked his reputation by doing so.

#### PROGRESSIVE POLICY.

The Progressive Party were perfectly contented with that arrangement, and wished for no other. The Responsible Party wanted government by the people and for the people, and they wanted it now. (Applause.) It had been very difficult indeed to get from the Progressive Party a clear statement of their policy. They had issued a manifesto, but at all their meetings they had gone on to side tracks. Of their leaders one deserved to be put in the forefront, and of him he would speak with respect. Mr. Abe Bailey was credited with being the successor to Mr. Rhodes, and modestly admitted that he was going to wear that huge mantle. Mr. Bailey had resigned his seat in the Cape to come up here. He generously promised to give us Responsible Government in seven years; but before the seven years had passed Mr. Bailey would find that the country had advanced more quickly than he reckoned. Mr. Bailey had said that the reason why he could not give us Responsible Government and why the Progressive Party could not give them Responsible Government for seven years was on account of distrust of the Dutch. All the arguments put forward by the Progressive Party summed themselves into two, viz., that the Responsible Government Party were crying for the moon, and distrust of the Dutch. The Progressives saw perfectly clearly that the feeling had changed, so they now advocated Responsible Government in two years. That already was a great victory for the Responsible Government Party.

#### THE PRESS AND THE DUTCH.

As to distrust of the Dutch, the attitude of Johannesburg daily press had been ungenerous in the extreme. It had from time to time urged the Dutch to come forward and express their opinions, and the moment they did so every simple action and word uttered had been subjected to a microscopic examination, and the editors chose a word or expression here and there, and attached to it the full responsibility of the Dutch race. The supposition was that that press represented the views of the public, but it really represented the opinions of men in London. He asked the meeting not to take the ungenerous attitude of the Johannesburg press as indicating the true feeling of the British towards the Dutch and any distrust of them. The speaker's party was the party of unity, the party which will form the flux between the Dutch and the new-comers, and they were prepared to accept the assurances of the Boers. They must be accepted until they had proved to be incorrect. The speaker referred to the “Rand Daily Mail,” quoting from the census returns, proving that the British were in a majority of 50 per cent. over the Boers, and asked if that were so why should there be any question of distrust of the Dutch? Sir Gilbert Parker had, too, written quite recently that the majority of the Dutch in the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal were loyal, and, that being so, where, then, was the necessity for delaying Responsible Government? He, as British born, did not expect the Dutch to embrace us and tell us they loved us very dearly, and he asked sensible men if it were not the fact that they had very often the greatest dislikes existing amongst the various races which went to make up the British nation. Men of diverse origin in one nationality, however much they might dislike each other, when they had a common object in view sank all racial differences. It was their great duty and their great privilege to go to the Dutch and say, “We do not expect you to forget, but we can show you that you are absolutely full partners with us,” and then all those feelings of hatred and distrust will disappear as mist before the morning sun.

## A PROGRAMME OF PESSIMISM.

The programme of the Progressives was one of absolute pessimism, a "Little Englander" policy of funk. He spoke as a South African to South Africans who yielded to none in love of their country. They wished to take their places amongst the foremost Colonies of the Empire and Responsible Government was the means to that end. They put forward a very high ideal which they were going to attain and he urged upon the community as a whole to ally themselves with the Unionist Party. (Applause.)

## FIRST RESOLUTION.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Van Driel to move the first resolution, which was one in favour of immediate Responsible Government.

Mr. Van Driel thought the resolution spoke for itself. Mr. Hay had very rightly brought into prominence the matter of the distrust of the Dutch, and placed it in the forefront of his argument. He thought that was really the crux of the whole position. It seemed to be the difference between the Progressive and the Responsible Government Associations. In reading the speech made by General De la Rey at Krugersdorp the passage which struck him most was that in which the General said they had fought the English with Mausers, and were not afraid of them, then why should they be afraid when they only fought with sticks. (A voice: "Are they fighting?") Yes, they were fighting, and the fight was a legitimate one. (Applause.) We had to cast aside this bogey of distrust of the Dutch, and be able, when the time came, to advocate our cause with the assistance of the Dutch. In all cases of distrust between men, antecedents were generally analysed, and the reasons for such distrust enquired into. Consequently, if they were to act in a similar manner in regard to the distrust of the Dutch they would find nothing tangible to lay hold of.

## LORD MILNER'S ATTITUDE.

Lord Milner had said the Dutch had honourably fulfilled all their obligations, and went so far as to offer, when the present Legislative Council came into existence, seats on it to them. Lord Milner had also sent for their leaders and asked their advice in connection with the change of Government, and from what he had said, His Excellency certainly did not distrust the Dutch. Now, if a gentleman in Lord Milner's position, knowing all their needs, put such confidence in the Dutch, should they, the common people, raise any question, or be afraid. The Dutch had larger interests in the Transvaal than they had, and were getting alive to those interests. They must recognise that the Dutch had the best interests of the country at heart, and would work with the rest of the population. If Responsible Government was granted it did not mean that the Dutch would do what they liked or what we liked. The machinery would be so graded that everyone would have a fair show in the Government, and if anything were done contrary there still was the Royal prerogative. There need be no talk of conciliation; let their actions speak for themselves. He objected to any probationary period of Representative Government as being opposed to the general welfare of the country. He referred to the objection to the grant of full Responsible Government on the ground of want of men, and said that looking to the progress of the industry and the men who had been instrumental in it there was no room for the contention. Responsible Government was absolutely necessary, and if they had had it there would then have been no question of the Inter-Colonial Council, the thirty millions war contribution, and various other matters. He thought the time had now arrived when we should fight our own battles.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. L. N. Schurmann, and Mr. W. Pistorius spoke in support.

## OPPOSITION.

Dr. E. Nixon made an able and lengthy speech against the resolution, in which on behalf of the Progressive Party in Heidelberg, he strongly repudiated the imputation that they had any feeling of distrust towards the Dutch. He thought that was not the real question at issue, but rather what representation the people of this country were to have. If he thought we were going to have the present Government for another seven years he would have none of it. What was wanted was Government for ourselves and Government by ourselves. They all wanted Responsible Government, and the whole point was when were they going to get it? He moved an amendment to the resolution, but as it was merely a direct negative the Chairman expressed regret at not being able to put it.

Mr. Fred W. Bell, in the course of his speech, thought the Progressives of Johannesburg were not so nearly allied in feeling with the Responsibles as Dr. Nixon was, and fully accepted the doctor's statement that there was no feeling of distrust of the Dutch. He also drew attention to General Botha's declaration that the Dutch were only desirous of working with the British in the country for the general benefit of all.

Mr. J. Fenwick thought there should be no distinctions drawn between the British and the Dutch. They were all under the British flag, and he objected to the racial argument. He also spoke in favour of Dr. Nixon's amendment.

Some discussion took place as to one vote one value, and Mr. T. M. C. Nourse stated that if the Progressive Party would come forward in public and state as they had done in private that they would go for Responsible Government if they agreed to the principle of one vote one value, the Responsible Party would also express their opinions. They deprecated the underlying motive of the Progressive people who tried all they knew to have the Responsibles' cards placed on the table without showing their own.

## GENERAL VILJOEN.

General Piet R. Viljoen, ex-Mining Commissioner, Heidelberg, next addressed the meeting. He said:—I am right glad that I am here this evening. It is the first public meeting which I have attended since peace was declared, when I was one of the delegates at the Vereeniging

Conference. There we agreed that the Government should first be a Military Government, next a Civil Government, and then a Representative Government, and that is, in my opinion, the Government we have to-day. There it was told us distinctly that in those Governments we would have nothing to say. The Government wanted a free hand to govern the country as they liked. We agreed to that, and we kept ourselves quiet in accordance with our agreement. But now the Government wished to inaugurate a Government which is not in accordance with the Peace Treaty. I may be wrong in my opinion, but that is my opinion, and that is why the Boer community is organising. We have taken resolutions at several meetings, where we tell the Government we will not be satisfied with any form of Government except Self-Government—Responsible Government. We do not wish to force the Government to give us Responsible Government. We wish to show them that we are peaceful citizens. That is why we are giving the Government to understand what we wish. I may say that the Boer people so far as I know are one on that point. It grieves me to see that there is a difference between the several parties here this evening. I am glad to see from what has been said here this evening that the stigma that has been slung at us is not acknowledged to exist—(hear, hear)—namely, the distrust of the Boers. I have heard the Responsible Party and I have heard Dr. Nixon for the Progressive Party, and I will only wish to say that they have made it plain that no feeling of distrust exists. (Applause.) I am not here this evening to vote, and don't think that any of the Dutch people came here to vote this evening, because we have already expressed our opinion at a public meeting held of the Boer Party. We, the Boer Party, will be very pleased to see the different parties join with us to make the Government of this country what it should be. We have finished our fight and there is no glory in making revolutions in this country. It is our interest to work with every citizen in this country. I give you the assurance that there is no doubt that with the Dutch people everything is open and above board. (Applause.)

#### THE VOTING.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, when there voted 19 for and 23 against, the resolution being lost.

The Dutch present did not vote, and Mr. Hay pointed out that they should have done so, as they were in favour of Responsible Government.

Mr. Bell asked that this point should be made perfectly clear that the majority of the meeting, who were Dutch, did not vote, and that there might be a false impression caused, seeing that there were nearly 100 persons present and only 23 against the resolution.

Dr. Nixon thought that the vote was not a genuine expression of opinion of the meeting.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Drieselmann, it was decided to form an Association, and the meeting then terminated.

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#### MR. E. F. BOURKE SECEDES.

#### WILL NOT ACT WITH THE BOERS.

Pretoria, February 6.

Mr. E. F. Bourke, M.L.C., informs the "Pretoria News" that he has declined to have anything to do with the Boer organisation "Het Volk," in connection with which he had been nominated as one of the local provisional committeemen, on the grounds that he is not prepared to sign the pledge of absolute obedience to the Boer leaders, which is exacted from every member, and because General Botha's declaration regarding the demand for Responsible Government is unreasonable.

Mr. Bourke, while strongly favouring Responsible Government, says that to jump suddenly and blindly into it might result in disaster. There must be a period of Representative institutions to enable the details of the permanent Constitution to be considered by the people themselves through the people's own leaders, and not by the self-appointed ones; and there is no means of knowing who the leaders are until they have stood for election. He considers the whole discussion premature. Let them find out what the Imperial Government intends giving before making up their minds to accept or reject the gift.—Reuter.

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#### TRADE RESPONSIBLES.

#### WORKING MEN'S PROGRAMME.

The Pretoria Trades and Labour Council held its usual half-yearly meeting at the Hotel Frisco, Pretoria, on Saturday evening.

During the evening the political situation was discussed, and Mr. J. Walker (the president) reported on the action taken by the Committee to further the establishment of Responsible Government. It was announced that the Council was unanimously in favour of this form of Government in preference to Representative Government. Among some of the points recommended to the Committee for consideration were: White manhood suffrage (above 21 years of age); one man one vote; all elections to be held on the same day; in the event of not being able to obtain female suffrage, to recommend that the basis of white population as against the basis of voters be taken in the matter of the distribution of seats.

Messrs. J. Walker and W. R. Stalker were elected as delegates to the Committee, and Mr. L. M. Sanderson was elected to represent the Council at meetings of the Anti-Asiatic Committees.

The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year:—Mr. J. Walker, president; Mr. W. Dunwoodie, treasurer; Mr. L. M. Sanderson, secretary; Mr. A. Ross, minute secretary.

The meeting then adjourned until Saturday, the 18th instant, when it is proposed to discuss the political situation.

(13.)

"LEADER," February 7th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

ROODEPORT-MARAISBURG BRANCH.

WEST RAND BOERS MEET.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Roodeport, Monday.

The largest gathering of Boers held here since the war was seen at the meeting which took place in Van Graan's building on Saturday afternoon, for the purpose of considering the matter of forming a branch of Het Volk Association.

The spacious building was packed, as also was the entrance and footway. The gathering was a representative one, all the influential Boers in the Roodeport-Maraaisburg district being present.

Mr. A. A. Dieperink (ex-member 1st Volksraad) presided, and amongst others present were ex-Commandants J. van Zyl, H. Claassens and Bam, ex-field cornet M. de Kek, and Messrs. J. Blommestein, H. Burger, H. Swanepoel, E. I. Olivier, A. Swanepoel, J. M. Hamman, Rev. Van der Merwe, H. J. van Wyk, J. du Preez, J. van Graan, C. K. Hamman, C. K. Jooste, J. A. Joubert, E. Landsborg, J. Smook, P. R. Erlank, F. Swanepoel, E. van Graan, J. Marais, J. Nel, A. Jacobs, B. Koetze, H. Rynders, H. Pretorius, H. Botha, P. Kamp, W. van Wyk, H. Ratzeberg, G. G. Claassens, J. van Bloom, J. G. Van Gass, A. Scholtz, C. E. Parkes, H. Muller, J. van der Hever, H. van Hees, and Landsberg.

Mr. G. Smook was appointed acting secretary to the meeting.

Mr. Dieperink said most of them knew that an organisation of the people styled "Het Volk" Association had been formed at the Pretoria Congress some time ago. The statutes of the organisation had been drafted by the Congress and were now completed. Booklets containing these statutes were being distributed throughout the Colony. The Krugersdorp people had just established a branch of the association; and he was glad to notice the Secretary (Mr. Van Blommestein) and some of the Committee represented there that day. This meeting had been convened for the sole purpose of forming a branch for the Roodeport-Maraaisburg district. Fifty members were required to form a branch, and judging from the number present, he was certain there would be no difficulty in that connection. The Association was not confined alone to the Boer inhabitants, but it was for white people of all nationalities. Matters affecting the district as well as politics would be dealt with. He referred to the Roodeport Vigilance Association as a useful body, and hoped they would support each other. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Van Blommestein, in the course of a short address, enlarged upon the objects of the association, and stated that the Krugersdorp branch had over 220 members, and he earnestly hoped that Roodeport, Hamburg, Florida, and Maraisburg would respond freely to the call.

The Secretary then read the statutes of the organisation in both Dutch and English.

The Chairman replied to numerous questions in connection with the rules, and the gathering appeared perfectly satisfied with the statutes of the Association.

#### THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. Van Blommestein moved and Mr. Olivier seconded: "That this meeting of the inhabitants of Roodeport, Hamburg, Florida and Maraisburg consider it advisable to establish a branch of the Association, with its headquarters at Roodepoort."

This was carried unanimously.

The Chairman said it now devolved upon the members to elect an Executive Committee, and to determine the number to form such.

Mr. J. du Preez proposed that the local executive be composed of members to control the districts of Roodeport, Hamburg, Florida and Maraisburg.

This was seconded by Mr. J. van Zyl and carried.

The following gentlemen were then elected as members of the Executive Committee: President, H. Claassens; Vice-presidents, E. O. Olivier, and Messrs. J. M. Hamman, H. J. van Wyk, H. van Hees, A. Swanepoel, and M. de Kok; Mr. Hamman was elected Hon. Secretary.

During the taking of nominations for the Committee a member of the audience caused some amusement by repeatedly protesting against ex-members of the National Scouts being allowed the privilege of becoming members of the Committee. The same speaker several times blandly demanded from one or two of the members nominated for the Committee a statement of their stewardship during the war period.

#### A NEWLANDS' BRANCH.

Mr. De Kok stated that he thought the population large enough for the formation of a branch there, and he asked that a movement be made in that direction.

The Chairman assured the last speaker that the Head Committee at Krugersdorp would lose no time in considering the matter.

Mr. Van Zyl said that he hoped the members would stand loyally together and support this local organisation and its leaders, like men, and brave the storms which would shortly arise in the country. (Cheers.)

In closing the meeting, Mr. Dieperink thanked all present for their support, and assured the members that the success of their objects could only be attained by strong co-operation.

Over 100 persons signed as members. The proceedings were in the Taal; and there appeared to be a reluctance on the part of the organisers to discuss politics.

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(14.)

“STAR,” February 8th, 1905.

“ONE VOTE, ONE VALUE.”

PROGRESSIVES *v.* RESPONSIBLES.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of “The Star.”

Sir,—I am instructed by my executive committee to ask you to publish the enclosed, which speaks for itself.

I am, &c.

C. M. BELL,

(Assistant Secretary, Transvaal Progressive Association,  
Johannesburg Branch).

February 8.

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Speaking at Heidelberg on the 4th instant one of the vice-presidents of the Responsible Government Association urged the Progressive Party “to come forward in public and state, as they had done in private,” that they would go for Responsible Government if the Responsible Party agreed to the principle of “one vote, one value.” This gentleman added that the Responsible Government Association “deprecated the underlying motive of the Progressive people, who tried all they knew to have the Responsibles’ cards placed on the table without showing their own.”

The Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association accepts Mr. Nourse’s challenge, and have much pleasure in placing the cards on the table.

Before the Transvaal Responsible Government Association had been created, the Progressive Party of Johannesburg had formulated and published a definite platform, of which the following formed a part:—

The immediate fulfilment of the promise contained in the King’s Speech of August 15 last, by the establishment of Representative Government on liberal and fair lines, with a view to preparing the way for the grant at as early a date as expedient of the freest and fullest form of Responsible Government.

The recognition of the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges and their votes the same value.

The following correspondence proves the incorrectness of Mr. Nourse’s assertions, and shows that the Progressives at the outset went for publicity, whilst the Responsibles preferred secrecy and mystery:—

Johannesburg, December 31, 1904.

The Secretary,

Transvaal Responsible Government Association.

Dear Sir,—I am instructed by the executive committee of the Transvaal Progressive Association to inform your association that, in view of the persistent rumour that the country districts are to have better representation than the towns under the new Constitution, our association has decided to send a deputation to Lord Milner to urge strongly upon His Excellency the necessity of embodying in the Constitution the following principles:—

1. Equality of electoral districts on the basis of voters.
2. Automatic adjustment of representation periodically, according to fluctuations in the number of voters.

We feel that it is essential to have our electoral system at the outset made equitable for all sections of the community, and, as the principles involved in fixing the basis of representation apply equally to both forms of government, responsible and representative, my committee is anxious to learn whether the committee of the Transvaal Responsible Government Association will join with it in a deputation to Lord Milner to urge the above points.

I am, &c.,

THE HON. SECRETARY (pro tem.),  
(Transvaal Progressive Association, Johannesburg Branch).

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A reply to this letter was received on January 6. It ran as follows:—

Johannesburg, January 5, 1905.

Hon. Secretary,

Transvaal Progressive Association.

Dear Sir,—With further reference to my letter to you of 31st ultimo (acknowledging receipt of above letter), I am directed by my executive committee to inform you that, as they are at present without any definite information regarding the form of government likely to be granted for the Transvaal, and, having previous to the receipt of your letters of the 30th and 31st ultimo asked His Excellency Lord Milner to receive a deputation of their number in order to discuss "inter alia" the points raised in your communication, my committee do not see their way at the present time to fall in with your suggestion for a joint deputation from both associations.

I am, &c.,

DAV. DALGETY,

(Secretary),

(Transvaal Responsible Government Association).

The interview referred to in the above letter took place on January 10. The deputation of the Responsible Government Association was, at its own request, received in private by His Excellency. At a later hour on the same day a deputation of the Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association waited upon Lord Milner in public, and, amongst other recommendations, connected with the new Constitution about to be granted to the Transvaal, urged the embodiment in it of the following principles:—

1. Electoral districts to be formed on the basis of voters; each district to contain as near as can be an equal number of voters, and to return one member.
2. Redistribution of seats wherever required by reason of fluctuations of the number of voters to be made periodically by a Commission appointed by the Governor, and the parties or districts dissatisfied with the results to have the power to appeal to the Supreme Court.

His Excellency stated that there was strong opposition to the principle of "one vote, one value." It is not known whether the deputation of the Responsible Government Association gave expression to the opposition referred to by His Excellency, but the fact that they have never embodied in any resolution an expression of opinion favouring equal electoral districts on the basis of voters gives colour to the impression that as a body they are opposed to the principle.

On January 19, representatives from both parties, as well as prominent citizens who have not joined the associations, were invited to a private conference. As a result of this conference negotiations were entered upon unofficially by leading members of the Responsible Government Association and representatives of the Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association with a view to arrange, if possible, for joint representations to the Home Government. Eventually a scheme was drafted, to be submitted simultaneously to the executive committee of each association. The essential points in this scheme were:—

- (1.)—(a) Equal electoral districts on the basis of voters.
- (b) Automatic redistribution every fourth year so as to preserve an equal numerical basis for each constituency.
- (c) The first Legislature to be elected for two years only, during which period the Executive may be composed of elected members to such an extent as the Governor may determine.
- (d) On the expiry of two years from the election of the first Legislature, a general election to take place, after which it shall be competent for the new Legislature to consider the question of Responsible Government, and should it be found that three-fifths of all the elected members of the House are in favour of Responsible Government, then such form of government shall be forthwith established.
- (2.) It is understood between the two parties that recommendations (c) and (d) are contingent on the inclusion in the Constitution of provisions for equal electoral districts on the basis of voters and automatic redistribution periodically.

It will be seen that these proposals are absolutely consistent with the main planks in the original platform of the Progressives, and, that being the case, the scheme was unanimously approved of by the executive of the Johannesburg Branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association. It is understood that the executive of the Responsible Government Association was unwilling to entertain the scheme. So these negotiations proved abortive.

On February 3 the following letter was sent by the Johannesburg Branch of the Progressive Association to the Responsible Government Association:—

Johannesburg, February 3, 1905.

Secretary,

Transvaal Responsible Government Association.

Dear Sir,—My association has, for many weeks past, been alive to the danger that possibly a Constitution will shortly be granted to the Transvaal in which the principles of equal electoral districts and automatic redistribution of seats will not be included.

This fear was strengthened by a public utterance by Lord Milner on January 10, to the effect that a strong expression of public opinion would be requisite to secure the embodiment of these principles in the Constitution.

As your association is holding a meeting in the Wanderers' Hall on the 9th instant, I am instructed by my executive committee to ask you whether the Transvaal Responsible Government Association would use its weight and influence in obtaining a strong expression of public opinion in favour of these points with a view to proving to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that it is the demand of the majority of the people in the Transvaal that these principles should be embodied in any Constitution granted to the Colony.

I am, &c.  
C. M. BELL,  
(Assistant Secretary, Transvaal Progressive Association,  
Johannesburg Branch).

Mr. Dalgety acknowledged the receipt of the above letter, and later on the following letter was received from him:—

Johannesburg, February 7, 1905.

The Secretary,

Transvaal Progressive Association, Johannesburg Branch.

Dear Sir,—With further reference to your letter of the 3rd instant, and my acknowledgment of the 4th, I have to inform you that the subject thereof is still under the consideration of my committee, and as soon as I am in a position to do so, I shall again communicate with you.

I am, &c.,  
DAV. DALGETY,  
(Secretary).

The meaning of the attitude taken up by the Responsible Government Association is perfectly clear. The members of that party know quite well that the Progressives do not want to delay the promulgation of the new Constitution until the Liberals are in power, and that that will undoubtedly be the result of a demand for an immediate grant of Responsible Government. The truth is the Responsibles are playing the game of the Boer leaders, although they may not all realise that fact. Some of them probably also want to patch up the crevices in their own body and further mystify the public. It is worthy of note that the Responsible Government Association, like the Boer leaders, although not unwilling to make secret representations to the High Commissioner, have not yet dared even to attempt to pass a resolution at a public meeting favouring or opposing the principle of "one vote, one value." Such an attempt would split the party in twain, and they know it. They consider that their safety lies in crying vaguely for a superstructure called "Responsible Government," and apparently they do not mind on what foundations it may be erected.

(15.)

"LEADER," February 8th, 1905.

REPRESENTATIVE MEASURES.

HALF-HEARTED MEETING.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pretoria, Tuesday, Midnight.

A meeting of those interested in Representative Government was held to-night at the Hotel 'Frisco. There was a large attendance to hear Mr. James Reid, one of the leading Labour representatives of Pretoria, on the present political situation.

The Mayor (Mr. Andrew Johnston) presided.

Mr. Reid, at the outset, dissociated himself from the Progressive Association, the Responsible Government Association, and the Organised Labour Party. He worked for the general interests of the working class to which he belonged, and the Colony in which he lived. He deprecated any racial politics, and said if the politics of this Colony were to be run on racial lines they would never have that prosperity and solidarity which they hoped the Transvaal would have in the future. Referring to the Vereeniging Treaty, he said that it had been acted up by the Administration in letter and spirit. He thought it would have been better if the energies of politicians had been devoted to the building up of a sound democratic Constitution, instead of dividing their strength into two parties, one of which was advocating Responsible Government, which the Home Government were not likely to grant. No one believed more fully than he in democratic institutions; no one believed more than he in the right of the people to govern themselves; but he recognised that while the Home Government were paying the piper, it would be illogical on his part to think that he could completely call the tune. He advocated a short probationary period of Representative Institutions as a direct stepping-stone to full Responsi-

bility. Under the system of Representative Government, with union amongst the people for a period of another two years, this Colony would not suffer in the least. If Responsible Government were granted, it would lead to greatly-increased taxation, and would bring up the question of internal defence of the Colony to be dealt with by the people. He thought those who advocated Responsible Government for the Transvaal were premature in their demands. He understood it was settled that they should have an elected Assembly of some thirty members, with a nominated Executive. Referring to the speech of General Botha at Pretoria, he said if General Botha was as loyal as he preached, he would join hands with the British in this Colony in whatever form of Government the Home Government was to give them. The two peoples could then become united, and demand the greatest right of all—that they should have full Responsible Government.

The following resolution was put by Mr. J. S. Cowie: "That we agree to work loyally under the form of Representative Government shortly to be granted to this Colony as a probationary step towards full autonomy."

Mr. Vere Stent supported the resolution.

Other speeches followed, which pointed to the fact that the meeting was somewhat largely in favour of Responsible Government, in antagonism to the resolution.

An amendment was proposed by Mr. F. A. Dunlop in favour of granting Responsible Government, and seconded by Mr. L. M. Sanderson (Secretary of the Trades and Labour Council).

The meeting, on going to the vote, passed a resolution in favour of Representative Government, 37 only voting in support of the amendment.

#### MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

#### GERMISTON AND POLITICS.

#### A CURIOUS RESULT.

Germiston is still prominent in the political campaign. Last night a meeting held in the Municipal Buildings for the purpose of considering the form of the new Constitution attracted a large audience. The Mayor (Dr. Strachan) presided.

At the outset Mr. S. J. Evans asked who convened the meeting. Was it the gentlemen who formed the nucleus of the Germiston Progressive Association?

The Chairman: Yes.

The resolution which provoked most discussion was one relating to manhood suffrage, proposed by Mr. T. A. White. Various amendments were put, and in the end the proposition was defeated.

The first resolution was proposed by Mr. J. S. Preddy, and was as follows:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Constitution of the Transvaal Colony should contain the principle of one man one vote."

This meant, he said, simply that if an individual owned property in several districts, he had no more than one vote. It was only fair, as it gave equal power to each elector, rich or poor. Germiston people were certainly democratic, and this was a democratic proposition.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. H. J. Tonkin, and carried unanimously.

Dr. Lund moved:—

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the proposed Constitution for the Transvaal should provide from the beginning for the establishment of electoral divisions on a basis of voters, and that as far as possible each division should represent an equal number of voters, embodying thereby the principle of one vote one value."

Every man, said the doctor, should have an equal right in the management of the country, and the only method which would suit the people was that outlined in the resolution. They did not wish to arrogate to the towns any undue amount of representations. The method indicated was in force in the United States, in Canada, and in Australia.

Mr. Kennerley: In Australia it is on a population basis.

Dr. Lund: I have the best authority for saying that it is not so.

In seconding the resolution,

Mr. C. Brammer said that the most of the country people were equally as much under the influence of their leaders as the men on the mines under the influence of the capitalists, and probably more so. The people in the towns were able to exercise their vote as wisely in the interests of the country as were the people on the veld. On this matter they could not compromise. He wanted the moderate. They were not going to be ruled by either the Randlord or the man on the veld. (Applause.) He would deal as fairly by the Boer as he would by himself. He considered equal voting power absolutely necessary.

Mr. J. S. Evans wished to know why the seconder of the resolution should have, on a former occasion, spoken against what he termed birds of passage having the same voting power as the settler. (Laughter and applause.)

The Chairman: Circumstances alter cases. (Renewed laughter.)

The resolution was carried, there being only one dissident.

#### EQUALITY OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Mr. T. A. White moved:—

"That in order to maintain the equality of the electoral districts, this meeting is of the opinion that provision should be made in the Constitution for the automatic redistribution of seats periodically."

Unless this principle was embodied at the commencement, they would, he maintained, find themselves in the position of a constituency of five thousand voters having only the same representation as a constituency of two thousand.

Mr. D. Cannell seconded the resolution, and it was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman said that the committee had decided not to put any resolution as to qualification, but he left that matter to the meeting.

Mr. White considered that the franchise should carry with it a residential limit, because newcomers might vote on a question of which they were ignorant. He moved:—

That in the opinion of this meeting the franchise should be granted to all white adults who are British subjects and have the following qualifications: An average income of £150 per annum, or the possession of fixed property in the Colony to the value of £100, and a residential qualification of six months in the Transvaal.

Mr. A. H. Green suggested that the qualification as to income should be £120.

Mr. W. T. Anderson thought not, because, he pointed out, the fact that the minimum income for voting qualification was £150 might induce the C.S.A.R. to raise the workmen's wages.

Mr. White welcomed the suggestion.

The Rev. J. P. Herd, in seconding the resolution, said that if the railway people were grinding men down to work for £120 a year, it was time that the residents in the country should move in the matter. If the C.S.A.R. could not give better wages, those at the head of affairs should be turned out, and others appointed to the management. (Applause.)

Mr. Preddy supported the principle of the franchise being extended to women. As to the coloured vote, he thought that a certain class of natives should have the franchise.

Mr. G. O. Griffiths opposed the idea of disqualifying any adult British subject on any terms whatever.

The Rev. J. L. Scott moved an amendment:—

That the clause in Mr. White's proposition bearing on the monetary qualification be eliminated.

Mr. White declared that any man in this Colony who advocated the native vote in the Transvaal would be one of the men he would move heaven and earth to disfranchise from having a say in the affairs of the Transvaal. (Applause.)

Mr. W. J. Dalrymple seconded the amendment.

Mr. White protested that any amendment to his resolution must be an amendment on the subject, not on the resolution.

Ultimately Mr. White accepted an amendment by Mr. McMenamm to insert the word "male" in reference to British subjects.

Mr. Preddy proposed:—

That this meeting expresses no opinion on voters' qualifications.

This caused a good deal of discussion.

Other amendments were proposed, and this discussion was continued until a late hour. Several speakers were in favour of the residential qualification being extended to eighteen months, urging as a reason for this that the conditions in the Transvaal are greatly different from those at Home, and that they did not wish to repeat the evils of Cape Colony and Natal.

Mr. White's resolution was defeated by 36 votes to 30, many in the audience abstaining from the show of hands.

On a suggestion that copies of the resolutions that had been carried should be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. White remarked that if they left the question of the qualification of voters to Downing Street, perhaps they would not be prepared to accept what Downing Street might give them.

#### "HET VOLK."

#### CROCODILE RIVER BRANCH.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pretoria, Tuesday.

On Saturday last a largely-attended meeting of farmers was held at M'zilikatee's Nek, in the Crocodile River ward of the Pretoria district, for the purpose of establishing a local branch of "Het Volk" (People's Union).

After a discussion the following gentlemen were appointed to the committee: Ex-General Van der Venter, ex-Commandant D. P. Liebenberg, Mr. F. P. van der Venter, Mr. M. Rickarts, Mr. A. Pietersen, ex-Fieldcornet A. Pretorius, and ex-Fieldcornet J. E. Jones.

#### POLITICAL LETTERS.

#### THE ESSENTIAL POINT.

To the Editor of the Leader.

Sir,—I trust you will allow me to correct a statement, with regard to my political views, made by Mr. Geo. A. Hay at the meeting held by the Johannesburg Responsible Government Party at Heidelberg on Saturday last.

He is reported to have said that I "generously promised to give us (this Colony) Responsible Government in seven years."

I deny that I have made such a statement, or that I have attempted to fix any definite period for the granting of Self-Government.

As, however, my name is not unfrequently quoted in connection with this matter, I wish to take this opportunity of explaining my position. Although I am not a member of the Progressive or any other Association, I have always held the view that His Majesty the King was wise when he promised a form of Representative Government as a stepping-stone to a purely self-governing Constitution. Should His Majesty, however, agree to grant us Responsible Government, accompanied by the following conditions:—

- (1) Single-member constituencies;
- (2) Equal electoral districts on a voters' basis, *i.e.*, one vote one value;
- (3) Elections to take place on one day;
- (4) Automatic redistribution of seats.

then I would gladly accept such an immediate grant of self-government in preference to any form of Representative Government without these conditions.

It is, in my opinion, essential to the welfare of this Colony that no grant of self-government should be made at present unless based on the principles I have mentioned, and my reason for this view is that I mistrust, as a dominant political partner, that extreme section of the Boers who are represented by some of their leaders to-day, and who exercise a controlling influence over the Dutch party.

This mistrust is not born of to-day, nor based on any superficial knowledge of the country. So far back as the 26th of June last year, I stated in the Wanderers' Hall that "I was not one who was going to see them (the Dutch) win with the ballot-box what they had failed to accomplish with the Mauser.

This statement has, I think, been fully borne out and corroborated by the recent utterances of the Boer leaders themselves. Not only did Mr. Burgers at Krugersdorp advocate "a united South Africa under an independent flag," but General Botha followed suit at Volksrust by plainly and definitely stating that he thought that the swamping of the British vote by a Dutch majority was "the very thing that ought to come about."

"Het Volk" is a military organisation following very closely on the lines of the constitution of the Bond in Cape Colony. It is racial in character, it imposes a pledge of obedience upon its members to the orders of its self-constituted leaders, and it denies liberty of opinion either to its individual members or to its branches. It is, in fact, a political machine designed for the express purpose of securing the Dutch political control to which General Botha has so openly referred.

If this object was attained, the Dutch would naturally utilise their regained political power in the interests of their race and its traditions. Despite their protestations, the policy of the Dutch party is not "South Africa for the South Africans," but South Africa for the Dutch and for those who will subordinate themselves to their ideas.

It is the triumph of this purely-racial anti-progressive policy that I fear, and that causes me to mistrust the extreme section of the Boer party. I am as anxious for Responsible Government as any man; but without equal electoral districts I am being asked to play the game of "blind man's buff," and I may find when the handkerchief is taken from my eyes after the elections that I have placed myself under the same political administration and régime that existed in this country before the war.

I am, &c.,  
 ABE BAILEY.

Johannesburg, February 6.

(16.)

"STAR," February 9th, 1905.

POLITICAL MEETING AT GERMISTON.

(From Our Correspondent.)

The public meeting convened for Tuesday night was fully attended, and, as is usual with Germiston meetings where politics are indulged in, the first part of the proceedings passed off without any disturbing element.

The Mayor (Dr. Strachan) occupied the chair, and briefly explained the object of the meeting, which was "to give an expression of opinion in response to Lord Milner's invitation 'that, before the new Constitution should be finally agreed upon public opinion should be canvassed with a view to the better framing of that Constitution,'" and the Chairman asked that whilst resolutions would be proposed by certain gentlemen interested, other resolutions or amendments would be accepted, the Chairman stipulating only that discussion be confined to the items on the agenda, *viz.*, one man one vote, one value, automatic redistribution, and voters' qualifications.

Mr. A. H. Green was appointed secretary to the meeting.

The first resolution was put by Councillor J. S. Preddy, as follows:—

That in the opinion of this meeting the Constitution of the Transvaal Colony shall include the principle of one man one vote.

The mover supported the resolution strongly, remarking that the tendency of the age (and not less so in the Transvaal than elsewhere) was Democratic, and this resolution was in complete harmony with that principle, and that to be vested with the power of exercising more than one vote because of the possession of property or voting value in more than the distinct voting area would be unjust if exercised, useless if not exercised.

Mr. H. J. Tonkin (President of the Chamber of Commerce) seconded the resolution, saying that the principle of the resolution was one which appealed directly to a man of sense of justice and required little argument to ensure its ready acceptance.

The resolution was then put by the Chairman, and carried unanimously.  
Resolution No. 2, moved by Dr. Lund, was as follows:—

That in the opinion of this meeting the proposed Constitution for the Transvaal should provide from the beginning for the establishment of electoral divisions on the basis of voters, and that as far as possible each division should represent an equal number of voters, and embody, therefore, the principle of "one vote, one value."

Dr. Lund was of opinion that the only true solution of the debatable point, viz., that of giving a fixed value to each vote to avoid undue influence, which would be created by differential values, and would further result in an undue balance of power where such veto was possessed—the only remedy was to attach equal value to each vote. The splitting up of electoral divisions and allocating to each a certain number of votes might be acceptable to some, but would not meet with general favour. Neither would the principle of representation by taxation, which principle contained the inherent weakness of inequality, and undue preponderance of voting power. The doctor cited the political status of the Transvaal in this particular as it obtained, prior to the war, and said it was not advisable that towns should possess the undue representation, which was the evil sought to be avoided. He, therefore, was strongly of the opinion that the simple efficacy of securing equal justice lay in the adoption of the one vote, one value.

Councillor Brammer strongly supported, and on being questioned by Councillor Evans as to why their rapid conversion, since in Council he had (said the questioner) expressed himself as diametrically opposed to the principle, retorted by saying that Council politics and State politics might be, and, in this case were, essentially different.

The resolution was then put and carried, with one dissentient.

Resolution No. 3, moved by Councillor T. A. White, was as follows:—

That in order to maintain the equality of the electoral division, this meeting is of opinion that provision should be made in the Constitution for the automatic redistribution of seats periodically.

Councillor White, in supporting this resolution, contended that as the population of a large mining area was varying continually, such population might possibly be increased three or four-fold in a short period, which under any other system than that of periodical redistribution, would result in unequal and unfair representation.

Mr. Cannell, in a spirited speech, supported the resolution, and was heartily applauded.

The Rev. Mr. Scott said he failed to discover that interest taken by Johannesburg in posterity, and was much disturbed in mind as to how this meeting really originated. Of course, he said, it does not come from headquarters. Was it really at the behests of the nominal committee or not?

The Chairman replied that the matter before the meeting concerned Germiston, and Johannesburg had no particular part or lot in it, and it did not follow that supposing Johannesburg might not be interested in its posterity, that Germiston should not be. The Chairman contended that the idea as contained in the resolution was palatable; why not accept it?

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The qualification of voters' resolution raised contentious points. After a long and apparently useless discussion, in which Messrs. White, Rev. Scott, Griffiths, Anderson, Gain, the Rev. Mr. Heard and others, took part, the resolution of Councillor White, that the necessary qualification should embody every white male British subject, in possession of an average income of £150 per annum, or possessing fixed property of £100 value, and a resident of six months' standing, was lost by a majority of six.

Councillor Preddy had desired to move: "That the question of qualification should not be entered upon at that meeting," and practically this was what the prolonged discussion resulted in.

Dr. Lund moved:—

That the resolution passed at that meeting be forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor for transmission to Downing Street.

This was carried.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the meeting to a close. It is necessary to add that the suspicion nearly always present in the minds of some men of Germiston that ulterior and not direct objects are aimed at was again very patent, and it would be well in order to allay this suspicion that all meetings should be made absolutely open and public.

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(17.)

"STAR," February 10th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

PROJECTED BRANCH AT FORDSBURG.

MEETING LAST NIGHT.

A meeting was held in the Dutch Reformed Schoolroom, Fordsburg, last evening, for the purpose of establishing a branch of the newly formed union "Het Volk" for that district.

Mr. G. F. Cillie presided, and there were roughly about 100 persons present.

The Chairman said the meeting was the outcome of the Congress held at Pretoria in May last, when it was decided to form branches throughout the country. Last Saturday a meeting

was held at the Grand National Hotel, and it was then resolved to divide Johannesburg into six different wards, each ward being a separate branch. The work they were about to undertake was a most important one for the Afrikanders, and those who had made and intended making South Africa their home. The union should in future play a very important role in the South African political world. He could not prophesy what would be the outcome of the Association, but he believed that it would have far reaching and beneficial results to the whole of the country. They should direct all their energies towards making the union a success, and not only they as Afrikanders born, but all who came to this country to live. It would, he took it, be for the meeting to decide as to whether they would form themselves into a branch of "Het Volk" and then to elect a provisional committee, whose duties it would be to make arrangements and invite their leaders, their generals, to come to Fordsburg at a date to be fixed to address them, and explain fully the objects of the union. Then a permanent branch could be formed.

Mr. S. Burger was then appointed as a temporary secretary.

Mr. H. J. Kock, a delegate from the head committee, pointed out the importance of the movement. He had been one of the delegates to the great Congress, held at Pretoria. A central committee had been appointed, and they had framed a Constitution for the union. He counselled the meeting to earnestly consider that constitution, and the nature of the organisation so that at a future date they could not say they had been unduly influenced to join. They were not called together to decide on the constitution or to criticise it, as that subject would be dealt with afterwards. For himself there were points in the constitution with which he did not agree. The whole of their proceedings that evening would be of a provisional nature. The idea was to decide upon forming a branch, and they should all work in harmony for the cause of South Africa generally, and all who had the interests of the country at heart should join. This was not meant to be a sectional affair. Every white man in the country was welcome to become a member. His regret was that no more gentlemen of other nationalities were present.

Mr. Kock advised the meeting to decide upon the formation of a branch, and the election of a committee, so that when their leaders came over things would be made easier for them.

The Rev. Mr. De Clerq considered that the constitution did not sufficiently reveal the objects for which they were required to form a branch. Before he could join he would like to know what they were to do.

The Chairman said that at this juncture the discussion of the constitution was out of order. That could be discussed when their leaders came over. The people had the utmost confidence in their generals. The proceedings were merely provisional and no one could be forced to join. If he joined and disagreed afterwards he was at liberty to retire.

The Rev. Mr. De Clerq agreed that an organisation of the people was desirable.

Some opposition towards definitely deciding to form a branch of the union having been shown.

Mr. H. J. Boshoff observed that it appeared to him that Fordsburg alone mistrusted the generals. The objects of the union had been declared at Pretoria before an audience of 3,000, and also at Standerton, at Heidelberg, at Krugersdorp, where there were 2,000 present, and elsewhere. These objects might easily have been read from the newspapers. Every other district had shown a desire to form branches, and this, a small section, was the only one in which distrust was shown. He considered that those desirous of joining should hand in their names provisionally, so that they could go to their generals and the committees could say, "We have so many members, come and meet us."

The Rev. Mr. De Clerq said that in no other district were the people desired to sign on until the leaders had addressed them.

The Chairman denied that there was any distrust of the leaders evinced.

Finally, after a lengthy discussion on the question raised, the Rev. Mr. De Clerq proposed that the meeting gives expression that it would be desirable to have a branch of "Het Volk" formed at Fordsburg, and that it be decided to appoint a committee to correspond with the head committee at Pretoria to arrange for a meeting with the leaders in order to create a branch in the district.

This was unanimously agreed to, and the following gentlemen were elected: Messrs. G. F. Cillie, H. P. Mostert, L. Meyer, H. J. Boshoff, P. L. W. Lourens, P. du Toit and the Rev. Mr. De Clerq.

The proceedings terminated shortly afterwards.

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(18.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," February 10th, 1905.

RESPONSIBLE MEETING LAST NIGHT.

A DIVIDED VOTE.

Mr. E. P. Solomon presided, and there were also present: Sir William Van Hulsteyn, Messrs. J. W. Quinn, W. Kidger Tucker, C.M.G., T. M. Cullinan, Harry Solomon, T. M. C. Nourse, H. B. Papenfus, Geo. A. Hay, A. E. Steytler, O. J. J. van Wijk, Louw, Corbally, R. V. Middleton, W. T. H. Frost, J. Smith, B. Alexander, C. H. Short, F. W. Bell, Henry Adler, K. Dunbar Anderson, Howard Pim, Manfred Nathan, D. Dalgety, Geo. Kent, R. M. Connolly, Rev. C. A. Lane, P. Whiteside, R. Goldmann, W. F. Savage, E. Hancock, F. W. Leonard, &c.

MR. E. P. SOLOMON.

The Chairman took his seat punctually at eight o'clock, and, having read the notice convening the meeting, proceeded to read the following telegrams:—(1) From the Chairman of

the Central South Africa Republic workmen (*sic*): "Congratulations on your meeting. Wish every success, and beg to remind you that we are with you." (Loud cheers.) (2) From Advocate M. R. Greenlees, Pretoria: "Best wishes for success of meeting and movement." (Cheers.) Proceeding, he said he had been asked by the Committee of the Transvaal Responsible Government Association to preside there that evening, and he was sure, when he saw that large intelligent body of men before him—(hear, hear)—that his duties as Chairman, which were simply to direct the business of the meeting, would not be very heavy. The question which would be submitted to them was of very great importance. It affected the future welfare and prosperity of this country—(hear, hear)—and he thought when he assured them that it was of such importance that they would give the speakers who had been appointed to move the resolutions, and to address them on those resolutions, a fair and proper hearing. (Hear, hear.) He thought he could say, after a residence of fifteen years in this town, that the public of Johannesburg would appreciate the importance of this question, and would show the rest of South Africa that they at any rate in Johannesburg would give the speakers to the resolutions that hearing which they were entitled to on so important a question. As Chairman of the meeting he should merely introduce the subject before them to-night, and allow the movers of the resolutions to address them, but he thought, on so important a question, they would allow him to say a few words on the important subjects that would be brought before them.

#### A NEW LEAF.

They were turning another page in the political history of this country; the old order of things was passing away; the Constitution that they had been working under for the last two years was about to be revoked, and a new order of things was to take its place, and a new Constitution was to be presented to this country. What that new Constitution was to be he could not tell them, but other folks—the Progressive Association—told them that the form of Constitution was to be Representative only. (Cheers and counter cheers.) He did not know by what authority they could tell them that; but, at any rate, they were told the thing had been settled. Until the Constitution had been promulgated, until it had been made a law and a force in the country, it was the duty of every man who was in favour of Responsible Government to give voice to his sentiments, so that the Home Government would know their opinions and act accordingly. (Hear, hear.) Until that Constitution had been promulgated they intended to hold meetings and to submit resolutions in every town and village in the Transvaal, and they intended that the Home Government should know their views.

#### THE PEOPLE WITH THEM.

They knew that the mass of the people of the country were with them. (Cheers, and loud shouts of "No!") Lord Milner had told them that the voting power of this country was 90,000. The Progressives claimed to have 5,000, and he was therefore entitled to claim the Responsibles had the vast majority of the balance. ("No, no.") So long as they had that number behind them they intended to voice their opinions and make the Home Government know that they, the majority of the people of the Transvaal, were for Responsible Government. (Cheers and cries of "No," and "Home rule for the Transvaal.") Another piece of advice that was given to them had appeared that morning in the "Rand Daily Mail," and in it they were told that if they got an adverse vote at that meeting they should stop their agitation. That meeting, large and important as it was, did not rule the whole country; and even if it gave an adverse vote they would have the country behind them, and they would continue their agitation.

#### AN OPPOSITION STRONGHOLD.

He bade them remember that this was a stronghold of the opposition, and they were voting in that stronghold. The resolutions to be proposed that evening were going straight to the point. (Hear, hear.) All superfluous details had been removed, and the first and most important resolution was one that said Responsible Government should be granted to the country. The second resolution was one with regard to one-vote-one-value and one-man-one-vote.

Having said as much, he would go on to the main question. (Speak out.) He had been endeavouring for many weeks, yea, for months, to find out what were the objections against the introduction into this country of Responsible Government. (Got no leader.) He had been told two reasons, which were as follows. (The Corner House.) The first is that they had no men. That objection had been removed, because their opponents told them they could find men, and quite sufficient men in this country to take over the reins of Government. (Cheers.)

#### BEWARE OF THE BOER.

The other objection was, "Beware of the Boer." (Laughter.) Up to that afternoon, judging from the expressions in the organs of the representative body in Johannesburg, the press, judging from the opinions expressed by leading men in that Association, he had come there prepared to say that that objection had been removed. (Cheers.) But he regretted to say, and he said it with extreme regret, that a circular had been issued in the town by a leading man in the Progressive Party. (Name and Corner House.) He would name him and read his circular. (Name.) He was a leading member of the Progressive Party—(name)—and had sent around the town these circulars by certain persons. He had been fortunate in securing three or four copies of the circular, brought to him by the man who received them. (Traitor.) Whilst Lord Milner and almost every member of the Civil Service and many outside of it had tried to allay the racial feeling in the country, the writer of the circular tried to revive it, tried to relight the smouldering fires. (Name and cheers.)



## THE RACIAL QUESTION.

He would now read them the letter, and he should like the reporters to take notice of it, as it was of more importance even than his speech. It was as follows:—

"A public meeting is being held by the Responsible Government Association at the Wanderers' Hall on Thursday, the 19th instant, at 8 p.m. The motion before the meeting will be that Responsible Government is required immediately.

I hope you will excuse me if I give reasons why I think it inadvisable at present.

I feel that the immediate grant of Responsible Government would induce a strife for political supremacy between the British and Dutch speaking citizens of this country, which would tend to political uncertainty and unrest, also retard the development of both town and country. Would make money dear, restrict business, and from every point of view would be deplorable.

I feel that the Dutch speaking citizens hope and still look forward to the possibility of a Dutch South Africa, independent of the British Empire, and that this idea would be fostered by having Responsible Government at present while Responsible Government is delayed until the country is more prosperous than this hope may be fainter and the ideal in their mind less worth striving for.

I hope if you are in my way of thinking, you will attend the meeting to be held on the 9th, and while being perfectly orderly, yet record your opinion against the immediate grant of Responsible Government. If these are your sentiments it is your duty to be present.

(Be in your seat at 7.20 p.m.)"

The signer of that letter, said Mr. Solomon, was J. Donaldson.

## RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Continuing, he said he would now deal with the question of Responsible Government, and would tell them in as few words as possible, the objections they had to that form of Government. The first was that it had been condemned by every British Colony that had gone under that form of Government. (Hear, hear, and shouts of "No.") That form of Government was granted Cape Colony in 1852. Were they not so far advanced as Cape Colony was then? (Shouts of "No.") Did they say no? Then he was very sorry for those people's opinions that night. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Responsible Government was given the Cape Colony in 1874. Were they no further advanced than Cape Colony was then? (Shouts of "No" and "Yes.") He said at any rate, to be reasonable, they were as far advanced as Cape Colony was in 1874. Did they know the extent of Cape Colony's railways in that year?—eight miles, Capetown to Wynberg. Did they know what their revenue was? (A voice: "Keep to the point.") Their revenue was £300,000. The second point was that the present members of the Government continue in office. The third point, that by giving them Representative Government it was an insult to their intelligence, integrity, and manhood. (Hear, hear, and shouts of "No.") He did not wish to detain them any longer—(A voice: "Sit down.")—and would call upon Mr. Papenfus to move the first resolution.

## MR. H. B. PAPENFUS.

Mr. H. B. Papenfus said the resolution he had the honour to propose read: "That in the opinion of this meeting, the immediate grant of a full measure of Responsible Government to this country is absolutely essential to its progress and prosperity." (Loud and prolonged cheers.) From the enthusiastic manner in which they had received the resolution—(cheers)—it was almost unnecessary for him to add anything further. That was the first time on which that clear proposition was put before this community of Johannesburg, and he was pleased to note the enthusiastic reception which had been accorded it. What was it they were asking? What did the resolution mean? It meant, in plain language, that they, the people of this country, claimed the right to elect their own legislature—(hear, hear)—and from those they elected should be chosen the Ministry or the Executive of this country—(hear, hear)—and that the Legislature shall be responsible to the people and the Ministry, or the Executive through the Parliament to the people also. (Hear, hear.)

## NOT SUITABLE.

It was very certain that the present form of Government was not suited to the requirements of this country. They had it on the authority of the Crown itself. When the last Imperial Parliament was prorogued His Majesty stated that it was his intention to confer upon this country a measure of Representative Government. The question was, as the Chairman had stated, how far would the Crown go—(voice: "That's just it.")—and he had the answer to that question lay very much with the people of this country. The success that had invariably attended British rule was greatly if not exclusively owing to the fact that the Government had always been willing to listen to those they governed, and in the present question if they presented a united front he had no doubt that the Imperial Government would concede to their request. He did not wish to be understood. (Loud laughter.) He must beg their pardon for that lapsus linguae. He knew that whatever form of Government they were to receive was to be given them as a grant from the Crown. It was a matter that lay entirely in the Royal Prerogative. At the same time, if they made it clear to the Imperial Government, to the Ministers, to the Sovereign, that the majority of the people were in favour of the immediate grant of Responsible Government—(cheers and "Noes.")—he thought their request would be acceded to.

## SOME OBJECTIONS.

The Chairman had already dealt with some of the objections which had been made to the immediate grant of Responsible Government, and he would crave their indulgence for a few moments while he briefly drew their attention to some of the arguments which had been adduced against Responsible Government. One of the arguments was that the time had not arrived.

(Quite right.) His invariable experience in conversation with those who held views opposite to his own was to find that when asked why the time had not arrived they said, well, the country had just emerged from a war, and was not yet settled. The obvious answer to this was that the war had been over almost three years, and the country was just as settled as it ever would be. (Loud cheers.) When asked as to when the country would be ripe for Responsible Government his opponents invariably replied it would be ready in about two years. Why two years he did not know. What was to happen, or what great event, or great revolution was to take place in two years which would suit the country and the people for Responsible Government?

#### THE MEN WANTING.

Other well intentioned individuals said that if a period of Representative Government was first granted they would have an opportunity of proving their men. In other words, the people had not the class of men to send to Parliament. In his opinion this statement was a deliberate insult to the intelligence of the community—(loud cheers)—and an insult to the intelligence of the country. (Renewed cheers.) He contended that the people of Johannesburg and the country at large would know what men to send to Parliament. (Cheers.) They would send men who were fit to represent them, and men who would work for the interest of the country, and men who were patriotic. (Cheers.) Another point raised as an objection to Responsible Government was that they could not trust their Dutch fellow subjects. (Certainly you can.) He was not one of those who thought that every Dutchman was now an Englishman. It would be too soon to entertain that idea. (Hear, hear.)

#### THE DUTCH.

He knew that every Dutchman in the country was a British subject—(cheers)—and he knew that the Dutch—a voice: "What price the Cape?" and "What price the Bond?"—he knew that the Dutch were a law abiding people. He knew that they had a respect for constitutional authority; and he knew this, above all things, that they had an identity of interest, that their interest was his interest, and their British fellow-subjects' interest. (Cheers.) He felt satisfied that those men were not going to subvert the peace and good order of the country. He knew that they lived in the country, and he knew it was their interest to see that the country was going to prosper. (Cheers.) He had now, he thought, dealt, so far as they lay within his knowledge, with the objections which were raised to the immediate grant of Responsible Government, and he thought they would be with him when he said that those objections had nothing in them. He said that they of this country were fit and proper people to rule this country. (Cheers.) They were accustomed to free institutions—(cheers)—they were accustomed to govern themselves. (Renewed cheers.) He would ask them to banish craven fear, and to take the reins of Government in their own hands; they were able to do it. (Cheers.) They had it on the authority of the Crown that the present form of Government was unsuited to the country. Personally he saw no reason for this transition period of Representative Government. He could understand Representative Government in the case of small Colonies which were gradually developing, but they had in the case of the Transvaal a lusty man capable of doing his own work and his own business. (Cheers.) He would ask them to show by their votes to-night that they were in favour of the resolution which he had the honour to propose. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

#### MR. J. W. QUINN.

Mr. J. W. Quinn, who had a mixed reception, said that there were two things which the advocates of Responsible Government were asked almost every day of their lives. If they were not asked by friends meeting them in the street, some of the newspapers, day in and day out, put that question to them. Now, surely if questions were asked, they took it for granted that answers would not be objected to, and therefore he proposed—with their consent, of course—because he had had some little experience of their refusing their consent—(laughter)—and therefore he said advisedly, with a great deal of feeling, with their consent he would attempt to give answers to those questions. The first question was what was the good of asking for the moon—or, in other words, what was the use of calling out for something they knew perfectly well they could not have? They would see. The press particularly had been going in for that sort of thing. That gentleman who wrote the editorials of the "Star" at the very first moment when there was a sign that part of the people of the place had political views which were opposed to those of the "Star," started—he said it deliberately—in the most unfair manner to misrepresent their objects and distort and twist their speeches, and generally throw ridicule on the whole movement. (Hear, hear.) One gentleman who had the honour of being one of the very first in the place to speak for Responsible Government, being aggrieved, and justly so, at the rough and unjust treatment he received from that paper, replied in a manner which amounted to a rap on the knuckles to the gentleman who wrote the editorials.

#### AN EXTRAORDINARY SPECTACLE.

Then they had the extraordinary spectacle of the editor of the paper, which he at least considered to be the leading paper in the town, if not in South Africa, taking up a large amount of space to prove that he was a fit and proper person to express opinions on political subjects. (Laughter.) A number of persons accepted that assurance, and others had their doubts. In any case, the same question was put to them every night: "Why do you go on asking the thing which you know you can't get?" Following the lead of that paper, a number of the politicians of the place took up the same cue, and at the meeting held in that hall quite recently a gentleman of Radicalism, whose Radical backbone seemed to have become affected by the climate, repeated on that platform the same question. He referred to Mr. Michael Dodd. He made a number of

allusions to legs of mutton, roasts of beef, motor cars and cabs, and then he went on with something to this effect: "The Imperial Government has decided upon the form of Government you are to have, and you will get no other." He was followed by the gentleman whom they might ask if there were sufficient men in the country to rule it properly, the gentleman who had once assured them that there were more brains to the square inch in this country than in any other part of the world. (Cheers.) He was sorry to say that the rest of that gentleman's speech was just two columns of evidence in opposition to the statement he had made.

#### SOME CRITICISM.

Well, he also, and he (Mr. Quinn) wished to say on that platform that if there was a man in Johannesburg who had greater respect for the services done by that same gentleman, for the political services given to this place, there was no man in Johannesburg who had a greater respect than he had, and therefore it was with the greater regret that he read his speeches, found them full of contradictions, and those speeches that night remained the strongest possible arguments in favour of their contention. (Cheers.) But he took up the chorus, and he said it was no use asking for something they could not get. Let them think just for a moment, that same gentleman, a gentleman of rare gifts, whose tongue had charmed thousands in Johannesburg; let them just go back a few years. (Give it Leonard.) Yes, Mr. Leonard was the gentleman. (Hisses.)

#### EMPTY ADVICE.

Let them recall the speeches he used to make, let them recall the articles the "Star" used to print, and then ask themselves what sense there was in the empty advice given by those same people to-day. If they had learned anything, it was to go on agitating until they got what they thought they ought to have; they had learned it from such men as Mr. J. W. Leonard. (Cheers.) In the pre-war days they were told they would not get this and the other. If they were then advised to agitate and never rest until they got it, surely if that advice held good under those conditions it held good under those of to-day. (Cheers.) And their answer to the question was simply that they were going on agitating until they did get what they were rightly and justly entitled to. (Cheers.)

#### THE PROGRESSIVES.

A remarkable thing happened at the meeting to which he had referred. ("Chinese," and laughter.) No, their friends carefully left out of their programme, or their written programme, any reference whatever to the question of Responsible Government. He asked them to just imagine a body of gentlemen coming to a public meeting and leaving absolutely out of their programme the one thing which divided the community, and not referring to it in their written programme, but their hearts were so full of the subject that every one of them dealt at considerable length with the Responsible Government question, and when the end of the meeting drew nigh, there had been certain ominous rumblings. With nervous haste, which evidenced their fear, these gentlemen simply scampered from the platform to put out the lights. (Cheers.)

#### A FEW ARGUMENTS.

Someone had been asking for arguments. He would try to give some at least. But it was only human weakness, when a rare opportunity occurred, to take a chance of "having a bit of our own back," to use a vulgarism, and he could not resist the temptation. (Hear, hear.) The first question was, why could they not wait a year or two before they got Responsible Government? (Cheers.) They would allow him as a citizen of the town who had taken some little interest in its affairs and given some little time to the consideration of those things, to say why personally he was opposed to any intermediate stage whatever, if only for three months. After the war he began to ask himself what was to be the future of the country, and he appealed to every man who had in his heart the interests of the country to listen to him while he told them why he arrived at his conclusions. He came to the conclusion that the one hope for the place, for the whole Transvaal, and, in sympathy with the whole of the Transvaal, the whole of South Africa—the one hope was an amalgamation, if possible. If they could not have that, let them have the next best thing possible, and let every one of them endeavour to do their part at least as men to sweep away everything that would hinder some sort of friendly understanding and a determination to weld together for the general good. (Hear, hear.)

#### DUTCH OPINION.

He was anxious to know what the Dutch of the country would say, and he thought they would give him credit for having free and independent opinions regarding Dutch, British, or any other matter. They must not forget that the Dutch people were to-day a solid half at least of the country. And they could not take liberties with halves of countries anywhere. (Cheers.) He asked what the Dutch wanted. He was not guided in arriving at a conclusion on that point by the opinions of extreme men. It was his solid conviction that if there was to be peace in the country they must eliminate from every class extreme men on both sides. (Cheers.) Therefore he endeavoured to find out what were the political opinions of the respected both by British and Dutch. What did they find men like De la Rey saying? At Krugersdorp, in quiet, plain, homely, honest, sincere language, he said he and his people would have no part in any Parliament that did not confer on them Responsible Government. (Cheers.) He further said he admitted that amongst many who opposed that view there were men of great understanding, but he said they did not know where they were going. (Cheers and hisses.)

## WORTH THOUGHT.

These words were worth thinking over. One other thing the General said, the only other thing he wished to refer to. The General said he did not care whether a man had only arrived in the country within the last two years, or whether he had been there before the war, or whatever his nationality, he said if that man was desirous of making this country his home, and if he was willing to work for its success, he would take his hand and be friendly with him to-morrow. (Loud cheers.) He (Mr. Quinn) believed that General De la Rey on that occasion fairly represented the views of the great proportion of his countrymen. (Hear, hear.) If these people were prepared to meet the British section, as distinguished from the Dutch section, although they ought not to be distinguished, if they were prepared to meet on a common platform and work for the common good, he was prepared to believe their professions of loyalty. Not one single word nor one single act of theirs justified the unjust and scurrilous abuse that was heaped on them in the papers. (Cheers.) That was one reason why he advocated Responsible Government, but there were others. They had had a Government in existence for some three years, but he was not going to start and single out members of that Government for special abuse or special blame, but he would say, without any intention of being offensive to any one of that Government, that that form of Government could be tolerated only for a time. (Hear, hear.)

## HONEST INTENTIONS.

They were doing their best with the best and most honest intentions men could possibly have. That best had resulted in a series of blunders, costly blunders, which had proved beyond question the sooner that state of things was put an end to the better. (Cheers.) They must remember, first of all, that the bulk of the people of this country were enjoying the fullest possible political freedom long before most of them came here at all. What would Representative Government mean to them? (Voices: "Trusts.") It would mean that they would have what he might call a political Madame Tussaud. They would have a number of figures worked by a string, removable at will, but not removable at the will of the people. There would be a semblance of power—(voice, "Russia")—while the real thing would be kept from the people. There was another reason for objecting to Representative Government.

## POLITICAL CONFLICT.

He did not fear political conflict. Let it come; let each side have the same measure of political liberty, and fight their battles out in the Legislative Council. (Cheers.) Another reason, and one equally as important as any other, was that he would like the people to take into consideration the effect of the influence of an important class of this country on a nominated Cabinet. Legislation might be taken in hand during the two or three years during which they might agree to Representative Government which the people would never be able to undo. (Cheers.) In this place, peculiarly situated as they were, and almost unlike any other place in the world, already an attempt existed to get the political power, or the monopoly of it, into the hands of a few—(loud cheers)—and it behoved them to guard against this. In the letter which the Chairman had read it was stated that Responsible Government would make dear money—in other words, it might interfere with the aims and objects of those people whose only aims and objects, and whose one consideration in the country was bigger dividends. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Quinn resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and although a forest of hands were held up against it, the Chairman declared it carried amid renewed cheers.

## MR. W. R. TUCKER, C.M.G.

Mr. W. Ridger Tucker, C.M.G., moved the second resolution as follows:—

That the Order in Council conferring Responsible Government upon this Colony should embody the following principles:—"One man, one vote; one vote, one value;" and should, moreover, provide for the automatic readjustment of seats in the several electoral districts of this Colony. (Cheers.)

He thought everybody recognised that it was only fair that every man should stand level when it came to the question of a vote. It was not a question as to whether a man had many properties or very little, whether he was a millionaire or had only just sufficient to keep him alive—that should have nothing to do with his right to have a vote. (Cheers.) That was the first proposition. Another proposition was that one vote should have one value. (Cheers.) That was to say that, whether a man was resident in Johannesburg, in Volksrust, or anywhere else in the country, his vote once given for his candidate for Parliament should have the same weight as in any other part of the country. (Cheers.) For that, it was necessary that there should be an arrangement by which automatic redistribution of seats could be brought about; and they asked, in addition to the resolution they had already passed, that the Constitution granted them should at the same time fix those principles, so that there might never arise amongst them any dispute on matters of that kind. (Cheers.)

## MR. PETER WHITESIDE.

Mr. Peter Whiteside seconded the resolution. His task was an easy one, because it appeared from the correspondence which had taken place in the free press of Johannesburg that the principle of one man one vote, and one vote one value, was a principle which commended itself to every citizen of the town. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to him that that was a principle which required very little argument. Every citizen who was a taxpayer, who paid his quota towards the management and good government of the country had a right to expect a vote and a say in the government of the country. (Hear, hear.) It was only by means of that vote having

an equal value for all classes that legitimate influence could be exercised upon any government. The principle of one man one vote, and one vote one value, would further have a tendency to broaden the basis and make every man have the same influence in the country, and no more and no less than his fellows. It would also have the effect of bringing the people more closely together than would be the case under any system of Representative Government. (Hear, hear, and interruption.) Only by the legitimate exercise of the influence which the vote gave every citizen could each section place its views before other sections in a manner to command respect. Every section in the community, whether labour or capital, had some particular question which it understood better than the others, and only the principle of one man one vote would give each section adequate representation. He considered that every white British subject in the country should have a vote. (Hear, hear.) The parliamentary franchise should be made as wide as possible, and furthermore, the qualification for voters should not exceed at the outside six months' residence for a white British subject. (Hear, hear.) One more point which required attention was that of revision of the voters' roll. Scotland was the only country where automatic revision of the roll was carried out, and it worked admirably. Some provision also should be made for that, as they knew many working men had to move about the country, and if no such provision was made a great number of the workers would lose their votes.

#### SOME VITAL QUESTIONS.

He thought everyone present was interested in the question of the government of the country, and it was to the interest of every man who had the welfare of the country at heart to see he was well governed; and therefore it was only by means of Responsible Government—(cheers and counter cheers)—combined with manhood suffrage that they were going to have in this country what they all intended they would have. A man who enjoyed the privilege of the franchise should have a sense of the responsibility it entailed. ("Vote" and uproar.) He was perfectly in favour of the automatic redistribution of seats. They knew perfectly well what trouble had been experienced, not only in the Old Country, but in other self-governed Colonies on this question, but with automatic redistribution they would save a great deal of party strife in this country. (Hear, hear.) As he did not enjoy the privilege of being a member of the Responsible Government Association, he wished to express his sense of the courtesy extended in giving him an opportunity of supporting their movement on the broad principle of obtaining Responsible Government. (Cheers.)

The Chairman then put the resolution, and declared it carried by "three thousand to one," an announcement which was received with deafening cheers.

#### MR. T. M. CULLINAN.

Mr. T. M. Cullinan, who was accorded a warm reception, proposed the next resolution, which was as follows:—

That the foregoing resolution be transmitted to the Governor with a request that the same be cabled to the British Government as an expression of the opinion of a public meeting held in Johannesburg on this day.

In doing so, Mr. Cullinan observed that the importance of the resolution, when they came to consider the position taken up by the Johannesburg papers and the press at home, was enormous. He had it on good authority that Mr. Lyttelton expressed the other day the opinion that there was nobody in Johannesburg who wanted Responsible Government. (A voice: "There are some here to-night.") Those mistakes should be corrected. (Cheers.) They could not have it go forth to the world that there was nobody in Johannesburg who wanted Responsible Government, seeing that at the meeting there at least two-thirds were in favour of it. (Cries of "No" and "Yes.")

#### SINCERITY WANTED.

The meeting was held in the stronghold of the Representative Party. It was only a portion of what they could get in Johannesburg for Responsible Government. (Cheers.) If they canvassed the town they would find two-thirds of it in favour of Responsible Government. (Cheers and hisses.) They had it stated, he continued, that they were represented by influential South Africans on the other side. What they wanted, he continued, was sincerity in South African politics. They wanted sincere men—it did not matter whether they only came to the country yesterday or not; if he was sincere he would take him and shake his hand. There were many reasons why they were wanting Responsible Government. They had a native question which was a burning question, and one that required immediate consideration. Could they settle it under Representative Government? They were trying to work for a unanimous South Africa. They wanted the States federated and worked into one solid mass later on. How were they going to do that if they were kept putting off the time when they were to have Responsible Government? If they got Representative Government to-morrow it would be ten years before they got Responsible Government. What position would they then be in with the Dutch people? They would be all on one side in a solid mass. (Cheers.)

#### MR. R. GOLDMANN.

Mr. R. Goldmann, seconding the resolution, said he must express his sincere regret that administrative etiquette prevented His Excellency Lord Milner being present on an occasion like that, and with his own eyes and ears see and hear what went on at a political meeting in Johannesburg. He felt certain that he would be the very first man to counteract these insidious and evil things which were sent home to London as an expression of public opinion in Johannesburg. He need not draw their attention to the correspondence which recently was sent from Johannesburg to one of the most influential papers in London, "The Times"—

(cheers)—saying that the Responsible Government Party represented the non-thinking section of the electorate. He would ask them to look at the platform and at those in the hall and ask themselves if they represented the non-thinking section of the community. He had no objection to the "Times" correspondent, as partisan, as assistant secretary to the Representative Government Party, claiming for his party a monopoly of intellect, but he did object to him as correspondent of a paper like the London "Times" deliberately attempting to misrepresent the feeling of Johannesburg.

The resolution was then put and was carried, with only about nine dissenters. The Chairman then declared the meeting closed.

No. 18.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 4, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 13, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, copies of resolutions passed at a public meeting held at Germiston on the 7th February, 1905, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 18.

SIR,

Box 263, Germiston, February 8, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your information, certain resolutions carried unanimously last night by a numerously attended meeting of the public of this district, and beg to commend Resolution No. 4 for your special consideration.

I have, &c.,  
A. G. GREEN,  
Honorary Secretary of Meeting.

*Resolution No. 1.*

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Constitution of the Transvaal Colony should contain the principle of one man one vote.

*Resolution No. 2.*

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Constitution for the Transvaal should provide for the establishment of electoral divisions on the basis of voters from the beginning, and that, as far as possible, each division should represent an equal number of voters, and embody, therefore, the principle of one vote one value.

*Resolution No. 3.*

That, in order to maintain the equality of the electoral districts, this meeting is of opinion that provision should be made in the Constitution for the automatic redistribution of seats periodically.

*Resolution No. 4.*

That copies of these resolutions be sent to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor for transmission to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor,  
Transvaal Colony.

No. 19.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 4, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 13, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a resolution passed by the Wolmaransstad branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 19.

THE PRESIDENT, Transvaal Progressive Association, Wolmaransstad, to  
VISCOUNT MILNER, Johannesburg.

TELEGRAM.

February 11, 1905. At meeting Wolmaransstad branch of Transvaal Progressive Association, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

*Begins:* This meeting respectfully desire His Excellency Viscount Milner to strongly represent to the Imperial Government its conviction that no Constitution will be acceptable which does not contain provisions ensuring at the outset and future equal power and privileges for each voter, and which does not embody the principles of equality of electoral districts on the basis of voters and automatic distribution. *Ends.*

No. 20.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 11, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 20, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a resolution passed at a public meeting of coloured people on the 3rd February, on the subject of the rights of coloured people under the proposed new Constitution.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 20.

RESOLUTION passed at a Public Meeting of Coloured People, held on the  
3rd February, 1905.

That it seems possible that self-government will be granted to the Transvaal in the near future,

We, the coloured subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII, do hereby wish to propose to His Majesty's Government that in framing the new Constitution for the Transvaal, His Majesty's Government will not forget the just rights of His Majesty's coloured subjects, or allow them to be tampered with. Unless provision is made to this effect we are sure a great injustice will be meted out to His Majesty's coloured subjects.

No. 21.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 11, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 20, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 13th instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a resolution passed at a public meeting held at Gezina, a suburb of Pretoria, on the 10th February, 1905, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 21.

RESOLUTION passed at a public meeting held at Gezina, a suburb of Pretoria, on the 10th February, 1905.

Proposed by Mr. I. Jenkins; seconded by Mr. Flitcroft :—

That in the opinion of this meeting the immediate grant of a full measure of Responsible Government is absolutely essential to its progress and prosperity.

No. 22.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 11, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 20, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,† I have the honour to enclose, for your information, copies of resolutions passed by "The People" Association at Ermelo, on the 13th February, 1905, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 22.

General BOTHA to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Ermelo, February 14, 1905.

HEREWITH I have the honour to forward to Your Excellency copies of two resolutions which were passed unanimously at a meeting held at Ermelo on the 13th February, 1905, at which about 600 persons were present, with the courteous request that you will, after perusal, forward same to the Imperial Government.

With deepest respects, &c.,

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
High Commissioner for South Africa,  
Johannesburg.

LOUIS BOTHA.

(1.)

(Translation.)

RESOLUTION.

This meeting of the public of the town and district of Ermelo, having resolved to establish a branch of "The People" Association, and being acquainted with the contents of the Vereeniging Treaty, is of opinion that when the time comes to make a change in the form of government, no other than complete self-government should be instituted.

Resolved, to request the Chief Committee to give notice of this to His Excellency Lord Milner.

Proposed by: W. H. Buhrmann.

Seconded by: S. J. Grobler.



(2.)

(Translation.)

This meeting of the Ermelo wards of "The People" Association resolves to request the Chief Committee to bring to the notice of His Excellency Lord Milner :

That the conditions of the Vereeniging Treaty affect the Orange River Colony as well as the Transvaal;

That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Orange River Colony should at the same time be offered any change in the form of government which might be introduced here. This is in accordance with the general wish of the Transvaal public.

Proposed by : J. N. H. Grobler.  
Seconded by : J. Davel.

No. 23.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 11, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 20, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, newspaper cuttings on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosures in No. 23.

(1.)

"STAR," February 11th, 1905.

MEETING AT PRETORIA.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FAVOURED BY A NARROW MAJORITY.

Pretoria, Friday (Special).—A public meeting of residents of the suburb of Gezina, called by Mr. Izaak Haarhoff, took place in the public schoolroom at Gezina, to-night. The object of the meeting was to discuss the present political situation.

On the platform were Messrs. Izaak Haarhoff (chairman), Edward Rooth (member of the Pretoria Committee of the "People's Union"), Saunderson, Jenkins, and Troutman. There were about 150 gentlemen present, both English and Dutch being well represented.

In opening the proceedings, the Chairman stated the object of the meeting, and introduced Mr. Edward Rooth, who, he said, had been specially asked to speak.

Mr. Edward Rooth said he was pleased to see such a large and representative gathering there that night. The meeting had not been convened for the purpose of forming a branch of "Het Volk." The object was to discuss the political situation. They were at present under a form of Crown Colony government, or in other words, they were paying taxes now without having any representation. Well, this state of affairs had to cease. (Hear, hear.) He explained what was meant by Responsible Government and by Representative Government, the latter of which was a kind of hybrid government. As far as they knew, they were going to get Representative Government. He referred to the two political parties in existence at Johannesburg, and the recently formed Boer organisation called the "People's Union." The objects of the latter, he asserted, had been misrepresented, and he thought the Press had not adopted a fair attitude with regard to the organisation. He thought this was doing the cause of the Boer party a great deal of harm, especially in Europe. He quoted Mr. Abe Bailey's letter in "The Star" of February 6, in which Mr. Bailey stated that the People's Union was run on the lines of the Cape Bond party. Mr. Rooth held that that was absolutely inconsistent with facts. (A voice: "Oh, oh! What about the leaders?") He further referred to a leader in "The Star" of February 8, with reference to the flag question. He maintained that the Boers had absolutely given up the flag question. (Several voices: "No, no. What about Hans Burger?") The speaker said they should take the spirit, and not the letter, of Mr. Hans Burger's words. (Laughter.) He thought it was not generous or fair to discredit the assurances of the Boer leaders with regard to the flag question. (Hear, hear.) He held that any man who tried to

subvert the present Government was a traitor, whether Boer or Briton. (Applause.) With regard to the proposed form of new government, they had heard nothing authoritative from Downing Street about Representative Government. (Several voices: "We have.") He held that the large majority of the Transvaal public were in favour of Responsible Government. (Applause.) That was proved by the Responsible Government Party meeting in Johannesburg the previous night. The people had lost confidence in the majority of the members of the present Government. If the Dutch were not trusted now, could they be trusted in two or five years' time. (Several voices: "No.") If the Imperial Government graciously trusted them now, and granted them full Responsible Government, they would prove themselves worthy of that trust. He referred to the recent Klerksdorp meeting of the Progressive Party, which, he said, was called in a hole and corner manner, and was conducted by a peripatetic member of that organisation. (Laughter.) He considered the unjustifiable attack made by a speaker at that meeting on Sir Richard Solomon as disgraceful. (Applause.) He considered they were well able to conduct their own affairs and government. (Applause.) With regard to the native question, that could not be settled definitely without there being a proper House of Representatives. He thought no thinking man could say much detrimental on either side of the question of "one vote, one value." However, if that policy was carried out, some thinly populated districts would get no member at all. He feared that some day a great gold trust, something like a glorified De Beers, might be formed here. (Laughter.) If that happened, there was a terrible future staring them in the face. It behoved them to very carefully consider the question "one vote, one value." He referred to a statement made by Lord Milner, on January 10, when his lordship, in his usual diplomatic manner, said he was not quite decided on that question. (Laughter.) He asked them to cast aside all personal and racial questions, and to work harmoniously for the future welfare and happiness of the people of the country, and for the establishment of a great white nation in South Africa. (Applause.)

Mr. Jenkins moved:—

That in the opinion of this meeting, the immediate granting of full Responsible Government to this country is absolutely essential to this country and its prosperity.

In support of his motion, Mr. Jenkins said he was glad to see so many working men present. The working men were the backbone of the country. (Applause.) People who had no interests in the country did not care a rap for the welfare of the country or what form of government they were going to get. Those who had interests at stake were of opinion that they were quite fit for full Responsible Government, and that was what they wanted. He asked them to vote according to their convictions.

Mr. Flitcroft seconded Mr. Jenkins's motion.

In reply to Mr. Nicholson, Mr. Rooth said the people of this country were certainly against taking over any debts or obligations incurred by previous Governments.

Mr. F. T. Nicholson said Mr. Rooth was a member of "The People's Union," and he would like that gentleman to explain the policy of his party. Hitherto they had had no explanation of that policy. (Cheers.) If the Dutch party wanted, as they had said, to co-operate with all white men in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, it was their bounden duty to state their policy before asking the British section to co-operate with them.

The Chairman ruled the speaker out of order.

Mr. Nicholson: Well, unless the Boer party state their policy clearly, I am not prepared to vote either one way or the other with them, with regard to Responsible Government. (Loud applause.)

Mr. J. S. Cowie, senr., said Mr. Rooth had come there as the representative of the Bond Party of the Transvaal. (Loud applause.) They should not let themselves be hoodwinked. The policy of "Het Volk" was, "Kick out those who do not agree with us." (Applause.) The statutes of "Het Volk" Association gave the people no chance of acting according to their own personal opinions. (Applause.) The statutes clearly prescribed that the members of that union should submit to the decision of the Head Committee, which meant Church Square, Pretoria. (Loud applause.) This meant that the members generally of that party would not be allowed to exercise their own opinion. (Applause.) He begged to move as an amendment to the previous resolution:—

That this meeting is in favour of a full measure of Responsible Government being granted to the Transvaal Colony in the near future.

Mr. Vere Stent seconded Mr. Cowie's amendment, and said Mr. Rooth forgot to state that last night in Johannesburg resolutions were also passed in favour of one voter one vote, one vote one value, and automatic redistribution at stated intervals. (Applause.) He held that the leaders of "Het Volk," in stating at their meeting that nothing but Responsible Government would satisfy them, were not adhering to the solemn pledge which they made in the Treaty of Peace, signed at Vereeniging. (Applause.) He further held that, if they wanted to govern themselves they should take over some of the obligations at present resting on the community. It was dishonest to advocate a policy of repudiation of the debts of this country. He was convinced that they were not yet ripe for full Responsible Government, and he hoped they would vote for Mr. Cowie's amendment.

Mr. Sanderson (Secretary of the Pretoria Trades and Labour Council) spoke in support of Mr. Jenkins's motion for the immediate granting of full Responsible Government.

Mr. Dunlop said the conditions at present existing in the Transvaal were not such as to advocate the policy of "one vote one value." The mining community was daily increasing, and had only one object in view, and that was to get the gold out of the country. They did not study the people of other districts at all. He moved as a further resolution that:—

This public meeting held at Gezina, a suburb of Pretoria, is of opinion that, under the circumstances of the country, and in view of the congested floating population.

collected at one centre, a distribution of seats in Parliament on the basis of one vote one value, would be detrimental to the general welfare and the best interests of the country, and resolves that a copy of this resolution be sent to Lord Milner.

Mr. Meckermann seconded Mr. Dunlop's motion.

Mr. Cowie, jun., seconded by Mr. Vere Stent, moved, as an amendment to Mr. Dunlop's motion:—

That the principle of one man one vote, one vote one value, and automatic redistribution, be affirmed.

On a vote being taken, the amendment by Mr. Cowie, jun., was carried by 63 to 37 votes.

On a further vote being taken, the original motion by Mr. Jenkins, in favour of the immediate granting of full Responsible Government, was carried by the narrow majority of seven votes.

A vote of thanks to the chairman and Mr. Edward Rooth concluded the proceedings.

(2.)

"STAR," February 13th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

MEETING AT PIETERSBURG.

VIOLENT SPEECH BY GENERAL BEYERS.

Pietersburg, Sunday (Special).—An outstanding feature of the meeting held here yesterday, to establish a branch of "Het Volk," was the speech delivered by General Beyers. He and Mr. A. D. Wolmarans arrived from the country districts about noon, and, in the afternoon, addressed a meeting in Hughes' Hall, convened for the purpose of adopting the statutes of the new Boer organisation. Numbers of Dutch-speaking people attended, and the audience included several inhabitants not in sympathy with the new association.

Mr. Munnik, President of the Boeren Vereeniging, took the chair, and, in his opening speech, tendered a hearty welcome to the delegates.

General Beyers, after thanking the meeting for the welcome, said they had been accused by their own people of sitting still, while other associations were formed. The time was now ripe for them to form a union, in order to make their voice heard on what the people considered was the best for the prosperity and welfare of the country. Mr. Abe Bailey had said that "Het Volk" was a semi-military organisation, but it was no such thing.

He then read the articles of the constitution, which, on being put to the vote, were unanimously adopted, on behalf of Pietersburg and wards, Rhenosterpoort and Marabastad, and committees were elected. That chosen for Pietersburg comprised Messrs. Theunis Kleinenberg (the Mayor), G. G. Munnik (President of the Boeren Vereeniging), Grobler (former Volksraad member), Krause, Mintz, Van der Berg, and Snyman.

The meeting was then addressed by Mr. Wolmarans, who said "Het Volk" welcomed everyone to its fold. He denied the truth of the statement made in Johannesburg that the Boers would try to retain by the ballot-box what they had lost by the Mauser. Referring to the 30 millions war guarantee, he said the capitalists had been so anxious to shake Mr. Chamberlain's hand that they agreed, on behalf of the country, to accept this liability on paper, but he advised them not to accept the burden and to have nothing to do with it. The capitalists wanted to sweep the Afrianders, who had made South Africa what it was, off the face of the earth. "Het Volk" was an organisation which would make for good fellowship and brotherly feeling.

The speaker inveighed chiefly against the capitalists.

General Beyers next made a violent speech. Speaking at first quietly, he later indulged in several strong remarks. He said no doubt the Government was trying to do its best, but the results of its endeavours were sufficient to show that it was utterly incompetent. Much had been talked about conciliation, but he failed to see where conciliatory measures had been offered. He compared the Government to a huge boulder rolling down hill, and gaining speed in its descent. It wished to stop its downward movement by offering what was called a concession in the shape of Representative Government. This was merely a prop, and would only act as a brake on the downward course to ruination. He advised the people to accept nothing less than Responsible Government, so that the country might be restored to a state of prosperity. If things continued as they were now, some people, British as well as Boers, would have to steal to put bread in their families' mouths, and the consequence would be that they would act like that man Bezuidenhout, who threw himself down behind a big stone, and used his rifle to defend himself. (Cheers.) [This was in reference to the incident that formed the origin of the Slachter's Nek rebellion in 1815-16. Frederick Bezuidenhout defied the Judges of the Circuit Court, at Graaff-Reinet, in 1815, and was shot in the act of resisting the Under-Sheriff, who had been sent to apprehend him.]

Continuing, the speaker declared that men would become desperate, and went on: "You know what it is, burghers, when men are desperate. It will lead to another war in South Africa if the Government does not treat us more fairly."

Dealing with the £3,000,000 compensation, he said the Government said a long time ago that this was a gift, but they had not received that gift yet. Was that a brotherly action? (A voice: "It's progressive," and laughter.) The British had captured the people's horses and cattle. He did not say they had no right so to do, but the least they could have done after

the war was to come forward and say: "Here is your stock at reasonable prices," instead of charging £22 to £25 for an ox or a mule, which was so poor that it could scarcely carry its own bones. The people had consequently been compelled to bond their farms on first, second and even third mortgages. After selling cattle to the burghers for enormous prices, the Government had closed the roads on account of tick fever before they got home, which meant: "Now, there you are, you can sit there and starve." All the veterinary surgeons should be kicked out of the country.

[It may here be recorded that the roads were closed on representations made by the local Boeren Vereeniging, a Dutch organisation.]

The General then criticised the native policy, and said, if Responsible Government were granted, "Het Volk" would advocate the old course of action in force for the government of Kaffirs before the war. "What has been the consequence of the new policy?" he asked. "The native now finds that the taxes are the same if he works for the farmer or in the location. Consequently he does not give the agriculturist a chance of employing labour." He was absolutely opposed to Chinese importation, or the free influx of Asiatics, "Het Volk's" objects being to make South Africa a white man's country. Capitalist rule was a bad rule. Let them look at Rhodesia, for example, and they found that the country had gone to the dogs, and that everyone was flying away. The same would happen here, unless something was done. Johannesburg was trying to rule the country. The capitalists had declared war against the country people. He was opposed to the "one vote, one value" principle. In England it was not in force. London had a population of 6,581,000 people, and England had 433 representatives. If worked on the "one vote, one value" basis, London would have 96 members, instead of its present 62. Redistribution should be left to the Government. The capitalists could create a boom when they liked. They would do so before the elections, so that thousands of newcomers could easily flock to Johannesburg and thus obtain extra members, whereas such a large influx was not likely to come to any particular country district. Mr. Abe Bailey wanted the voting to take place on one day. He was evidently afraid "Het Volk's" supporters would have the audacity to stand for Johannesburg and knock the other side silly. "Het Volk" would bide its time, and, when the Constitution was formulated, would call a meeting, and thrash questions out thoroughly.

[The above is a gist of the speech, which was punctuated with cheers and appreciated by most of those present. It was passionately delivered and enthusiastically received. It is only fair to add that several of the more enlightened Boers, including two or three members of the Pietersburg committee, disapproved of the tone of the speech. As far as his criticism of the present native conditions is concerned, General Beyers' statement is sound.]

Resolutions in favour of Responsible Government and an equal grant to the Orange River Colony were adopted.

Mr. R. Granville Nicholson said it was a paradox to withhold the same privilege from the country that the British had always described as a model Liberal Progressive Republic, while granting it to the State which used to be accused of having a mean and corrupt Government. He would not exercise his privileges till the Orange River Colony was granted similar treatment to the Transvaal.

At the conclusion of General Beyers' speech, Mr. Dallamore asked if it were a fact that Lord Milner had invited General Botha and other Boers to join in the Government.

General Beyers: "Yes."

Mr. Dallamore: "Do you not call that conciliation?"

Mr. Beyers: "No, for we should only have had three members, and the rest of the House would outvoice us."

#### EFFECT AT PRETORIA OF THE RASH SPEECH.

Pretoria, Monday (Special).—The published reports of the political speech made by Mr. Beyers, who is a member of the head committee of the Boer Party "Het Volk," at the Pietersburg meeting, have been received here with great surprise by the British and with the utmost consternation by the Boer Party.

Both sections agree that his remarks with reference to a second "Slachters Nek" incident and possible rebellion were most unwarrantable and are sure to create a very bad impression in England.

They state that even if the Imperial Government had in contemplation the granting of full Responsible Government in the near future (a matter which the Boer confidently believes) statements such as these coming from one of the Boer leaders, would instantly compel the Imperial Government to shelve any such scheme for a considerable time, to abandon even the idea of immediate Representative Government, and to let Crown Colony Government remain in force for the present.

Among the local British section of the public, both Representative and Responsible Government parties, General Beyers's utterances and threats are regarded in a very serious light, especially when they are taken in conjunction with Mr. Hans Burger's recent speech.

At the meeting held by General Louis Botha at Krugersdorp, Mr. Burger expressed publicly "his honest desire for the establishment of a united South Africa under its own flag," which caused General Botha to interfere and to inform Mr. Burger that such a statement should not be made.

I have interviewed several of the local leaders of the Boer organisation, "Het Volk," and they one and all expressed their indignation and utter astonishment at the fact that one of their number should go so far as to make such threatening remarks. They disclaimed all responsibility in the matter and intend calling upon Mr. Beyers to explain his attitude.

One of the leaders, when asked his opinion as to Mr. Beyers's speech, said: "It is all rot. I do not understand the man at all."

Another very prominent leader of the Boer party said that if Mr. Beyers had actually made those statements, all the other leaders would absolutely dissociate themselves from him, and Mr. Beyers would be hurried back to obscurity as fast as he became a prominent Boer leader during the late war. Mr. Beyers, he continued, was only a child in politics, a fact which he had himself admitted at the Pretoria meeting. Before the war he was an attorney at Boksburg, and it was only during the latter part of the war, when he commanded the Boer army in the northern districts, that he made a name for himself among the burghers.

"How on earth," exclaimed my informant, "could we ever expect to gain in the present state of affairs what we could not achieve when we were well armed?"

Continuing, he said the Boer leaders were anxiously awaiting explanations from Mr. Beyers, and if the reports of his speech with its insurrectionary ideas proved correct, he would be deposed and compelled to retire into obscurity.

#### ESTABLISHING BRANCHES IN THE BACK VELD.

Pietersburg, Saturday (Special).—Messrs. Beyers and Wolmarans have just arrived in town from the country, where they have been holding meetings with the object of forming branches of "Het Volk." These branches are first to be established in the back veld parts, attention having been hitherto turned to the larger towns. Messrs. Beyers and Wolmarans had a sort of processional entry into the town, being preceded by a bodyguard of 25 horsemen. They themselves drove along in a wagon, and were followed by a string of carts. On arrival at the Grand Hotel, where a number of Boers was assembled, an address of welcome was read, and the delegates briefly replied. A meeting is to be held in Hughes' Hall this afternoon. They have already opened branches of "Het Volk" at Vogel's Farm, Olifant's River and Haenertsburg, and will leave for the Spelonken early next week on a similar mission.

(3.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," February 14th, 1905.

BEYERS' SPEECH.

BOER LEADERS' REPROBATION.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pretoria, February 13.

The references made in General Beyers' speech at Pietersburg to possible rebellion, &c., have been received by both sections of the community in the capital with profound indignation, and many prominent Boers are highly incensed at the disloyal tone of the General's address.

It is stated that, providing the report of the speech is correct, General Beyers will be called on to sever his connection with the Boer leaders.

It is also authoritatively stated that steps will be taken to repudiate, on behalf of the leaders, all sympathy with Beyers, and it is almost certain that his fanatical attitude will be officially condemned.

I have interviewed several prominent men of both sides, and the consensus of opinion is that General Beyers has not only over-stepped the bounds of discretion, but that he has damaged the Boer cause and hindered the work of reconciliation.

The question came up this afternoon at the meeting of the Responsible Government Association, and Beyers' remarkable peroration was sternly condemned.

Advocate Greenlees, whom I interviewed, declared that he could not find words sufficiently strong to express himself, and, providing the report was correct, he considered that Beyers had done such harm that it would take months to remedy it.

A member of the Legislative Council, whom I also saw, said he would leave what he had to say to the public meeting, which he understood would be held on the 23rd instant.

#### BOTHA AT ERMELO.

Ermelo, February 13.

General Botha arrived here this morning, escorted by a strong body of burghers on horseback and in carts.

An address of welcome was presented to him on Church Square, and, in replying, General Botha said that he was thankful for the hearty reception accorded to him, and that his opinion of the Ermelo people was confirmed. He (the General) was not visiting Ermelo for the purpose of placing himself in the foreground, but for the real welfare of the country. (Cheers.)

A mass meeting was then held in the open, and after General Botha had explained the purpose of the meeting, it was decided to establish a branch of "Het Volk" in the Ermelo district, and members for every ward were elected. The meeting further decided that no other form of than Responsible Government must be granted, not only to the Transvaal but also to the Orange River Colony, in accordance with the terms of the Vereeniging treaty of peace.

Mr. Schalk Burger also addressed the meeting, and the greatest unanimity and harmony prevailed.

General Botha and party will visit the Uitkomst School this afternoon, and a dinner will take place in his honour to-night.—Reuter.

#### POLITICS AT PRETORIA.

#### THE RESPONSIBLES' PROGRAMME.

#### PUBLIC MEETING TO BE HELD.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pretoria, February 13.

The Transvaal Responsible Government Association, after several weeks of quiet working in committee, has at last framed a programme for its future working.

A sub-committee met a fortnight ago to draw up a scheme, and at a meeting held this afternoon at the Transvaal Auctioneering Rooms the Committee's report was laid before the Association.

The meeting was largely attended by influential citizens, members of the Association, and others present by invitation. Advocate M. R. Greenlees presided, and amongst others present were: Mr. R. K. Loveday, M.L.C., Advocate Duxbury, Messrs. J. Dougall, E. Chappell, R. C. Francis, A. W. Downie, F. J. Lunnon, R. Hamilton, T. W. Beckett, Advocate W. MacFadyen, Advocate Rubie, F. T. Nicholson, Wolley, Dodd, E. Dasting, A. B. Mortimer, E. Lilienfeld, J. Macintosh, G. Rodda, R. Lunt, Rees, J. Walker, C. Reid, D. Wilson, H. Nettleton, J. Stalker (representing labour), and F. W. Coles (Secretary).

The meeting was private, representatives of the Press being excluded, but the following is a resumé of the business done:—

The first subject which came up for consideration was the sub-committee's report, which contained the programme of the Association. The consideration of the report was by no means hurried; in fact, the discussion on various points raised in it extended over two hours. On the question of the form of Government to be granted the Transvaal the meeting favoured full responsibility, but was prepared to accept a probationary period of representative institutions culminating in full autonomy, and the following resolution was passed:—

That this meeting is unanimously in favour of the granting of Responsible Government to the Transvaal at the earliest possible date.

It was also decided to convene a public meeting to be held on Thursday, 23rd instant.

A lengthy discussion arose on the question of manhood suffrage, and here a conflict of opinion was met with, but eventually it was agreed, but not unanimously,

That every white male British subject of the age of 21 years should be entitled to a vote subject to the following qualifications; he must have been a resident in the country for twelve months, and shall have resided in any constituency for three months prior to the making up of the voters' roll.

The exceptions to this are that a man shall not be a criminal, lunatic, vagrant, or pauper.

The principle of one man one vote was agreed to without discussion.

A point for which the labour men urged was that of the payment of representatives, and it was resolved: "That an annual payment shall be made to representatives on a reasonable fixed scale." It was pointed out that by fixing an annual payment there could be no inducement for members to unduly prolong any Parliamentary session.

Probably the most important and most debatable subject was the principle of one vote one value. On this question the meeting was divided, and a lengthy discussion ensued. Numerous propositions and suggestions were thrown out by the meeting. It was recognised that this was a vital point, but it was necessary to form some principle notwithstanding all the difficulties connected with it, and the Association felt it must form a basis on which to work. Ultimately it was decided to allow the public meeting to solve the question, and the following motion will be submitted to the citizens on the 23rd instant:—

That the value of votes be fixed on population basis, and that a Commission be appointed to decide as to the initial number of representatives for each electoral district and the question of future redistribution of seats.

Regarding the formation of the Commission, it was suggested that such Commission should consist of certain judges of the Transvaal to be nominated, and that representatives of all the districts should have an opportunity of appearing before the Commission to give evidence, and that the sittings of the Commission be conducted publicly.

#### ANOTHER ASSOCIATION.

Our Pretoria correspondent adds:—It is stated that as the result of the meeting held by Mr. James Reid last week at the Hotel 'Frisco, Pretoria, and also as the outcome of the meeting held at Gezina on Friday evening last by Mr. E. Rooth, a new political association has been formed in Pretoria under the name of the Pretoria Political Association.

The announcement is somewhat vague, as it contains no reference to the appointment of officials or even to the appointment of a secretary.

It is, however, stated by the "Pretoria News" that a provisional secretary will shortly be appointed, to whom the names of intending members can be submitted.

The association has arranged a programme on the following lines:—(1) The maintenance of the British flag in South Africa; (2) the inclusion of the principles one-man-one-vote and one-vote-one-value; (3) the periodic automatic redistribution of seats on an electoral voters' basis.

In terms of the resolution passed at Mr. Reid's meeting, the association is willing to accept a measure of full representative institutions as a stepping-stone to full responsibility.

(4.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," February 15th, 1905.

BEYERS' BLUNDER.

RESIGNATION EXPECTED.

OPINION IN THE CAPITAL.

Our Pretoria correspondent writes:—The interest which has been created in Pretoria in connection with the extraordinary outburst of eloquence by General Beyers at Pietersburg, is noteworthy. At last the people of the Capital has been roused from their political lethargy and the awakening has not tended to promote kindly feelings. This is not alone true concerning one particular section of citizens; but it applies to Dutch and English alike. Indeed, the notoriety which the General has obtained has caused a revulsion of feeling on the part of those men who admired him on account of the distinction he won as a soldier. And it is generally conceded that General Beyers has made a tremendous blunder and is guilty of a grave violation of the Peace Treaty.

I have to-day renewed my enquiries, having interviewed prominent men of both sides, and can only come to the conclusion that General Beyers has fallen from his high estate and has lost the confidence of all sensible and impartial men. His position, politically speaking, is serious and his impassioned address at Pietersburg has demanded from "Het Volk"—the association for whom he was speaking—the deepest censure, mingled with profound regret at the incident.

General Botha has expressed his sorrow at the tone of his colleague's remarks and will, I understand, require an explanation from him. The local committee of "Het Volk" is gravely concerned over the matter and will meet to decide on a course of action to be adopted. In fact the whole tone of the Boer people points to the fact that General Beyers' resignation from the Head Committee, as a leader, will be asked for. It has also been suggested that in view of public opinion on the matter General Beyers will not wait to be asked, but will voluntarily tender his resignation.

Immediately on receipt of the news of the notorious speech, Dr. Engelenburg, of Pretoria, wired General Botha, as follows:—"Our political friends are earnestly disappointed at General Beyers' injudicious speech at Pietersburg." In reply to this wire General Botha expressed his regret, and will doubtless officially communicate with the leaders on the matter.

During the course of a conversation with Dr. Engelenburg, the latter expressed himself as follows:—"General Beyers will probably be removed from the Head Committee as the result of his indiscretion. The General is apt to be led away by his own feelings, which probably accounts for his remarks. You will remember that at the Pretoria meeting of 'Het Volk' General Beyers acknowledged that he was a child in politics and he admitted that he was not the right man to lead, but he was specially strong to execute orders. In these circumstances the people must make their choice very carefully or the leaders might compromise the Party. General Beyers has now shown himself incapable of taking such a responsible position, but in a few years he will grow wiser in politics, but in this time of a political crisis he is not the right man in the right place."

I mentioned to Dr. Engelenburg that people had remarked that General Beyers had the courage of his convictions and had spoken what a great many Dutch people believed, but refused to openly express.

This brought an emphatic denial of the truth of such statements from Dr. Engelenburg, and he asserted that if such were the feelings of the people they had had ample opportunity of expressing their views. He contended, however, that such was not true of the people.

Knowing that Mr. E. F. Bourke, M.L.C., had been approached by the Head Committee with a view to accepting the duties of a committeeman on "Het Volk," I also interviewed this gentleman. Mr. Bourke, however, merely echoed the sentiments already expressed:—"That the incident is deplorable." He went a little further when he admitted the political significance of the speech; but, he added, "The report of the speech may not be what General Beyers really meant, and it ought not to be taken too seriously."

I understand that a meeting of Dutch people is to be held to-day in the vicinity of Pretoria to protest against the attitude taken up by General Beyers, and in the meantime and in view of the unanimity of express opinion on the subject, the public are anxiously looking for an announcement from the Head Committee.

(5.)

"LEADER," February 16th, 1905.

## SPEECH AT LOUIS TRICHARDT.

Pietersburg, Wednesday (Reuter).—The "Zoutpansberg Review" has received telegraphic reports from Louis Trichardt, eighty miles from here, of the Beyers and Wolmarans meeting, held yesterday.

Strong remarks were made on the education question, Land Board, and repatriation. Teachers were compared to monkeys teaching Dutch.

A resolution was passed condemning the sale of ground to certain officials at Louis Trichardt at £8 per morgen.

Mr. Beyers said the fact of his people having been beaten in the field did not mean that they should be beaten in the political arena. Personally, he was not afraid to speak openly. They had all fought for their rights, but by Divine will had been beaten. Now, they would make another fight for their rights another way. The capitalists would try to get hold of them and their farms. They must guard against that. The capitalists were the instigators and cause of everything, and they were now responsible for the misrule of the country.

## "VOLKSSTEM" REPORT.

## MORE CHOICE SENTIMENTS.

Pretoria, Wednesday (Reuter).—In the "Volksstem" report of General Beyers' speech at Pietersburg, in addition to the statements already telegraphed, the speaker is reported to have said that some of their children were being sent to English schools, where education was entrusted to teachers and lady teachers who believed in neither God nor His commandments.

He attacked the Government on the compensation question, and the imposition of a general tax on natives of £2 per head, because, he said, this took away the inducement for the Kaffir to live on private farms, where formerly he only paid 10s.

Bad faith, he said, had been kept regarding occupation farms. No attempt had been made to purchase supplies for the military, &c., locally.

An attempt was now being made by the capitalists to saddle their undertaking regarding the thirty million debt on the country, which never would permit it.

## MR. BOTHA'S REGRET.

## ANOTHER BEYERS' EXPRESSION.

Pretoria, Wednesday afternoon (Reuter).—General Botha has wired to the "Volksstem" expressing regret at the tone of Mr. Beyers' speech at Pietersburg, and the unfavourable impression created thereby.

Another of Mr. Beyers' expressions was that a great many veterinary surgeons had been appointed, constituting a greater plague than the tick pest.

The meeting held last night at General Erasmus' farm, 25 miles from Pretoria, for the purpose of establishing a branch of "Het Volk," was largely attended.

A farmers' branch was duly established.

An informal meeting was held afterwards, at which Mr. Beyers' reported utterances at Pietersburg were discussed, and the consensus of opinion was that if Mr. Beyers had been correctly reported his utterances could not be sufficiently condemned.

## "HET VOLK."

## ANOTHER BRANCH FORMED.

## GENERAL BEYERS' TONE CONDEMNED.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Pretoria, Wednesday night.

A meeting of Boer farmers was held on the open veld this morning, at ex-Field cornet D. Opperman's farm, Elandsfontein, Ward Witwatersrand, East Pretoria district.

The farm is situated about twenty miles south of Pretoria.

The meeting was convened by ex-General D. Erasmus, and attended by about one hundred farmers, many of whom travelled long distances to be present.

Included in the gathering were Messrs. D. Opperman, S. P. Erasmus, J.P., R. Opperman, General Erasmus, P. Schoeman, T. Opperman, D. Erasmus, jun., H. Opperman, J. Jacobs, and P. Bernard.

A branch of "Het Volk" was formed, and a provisional committee appointed from amongst those on the spot.

The meeting afterwards discussed the recent rash utterances attributed to General Beyers, and expressed its disapproval of General Beyers' language, if the interpretation it had received in the Press was correct.



General Erasmus said if the report were correct, it was their duty publicly to state their disapproval of what General Beyers had said, as these things were all published in England. He made it clear that they were now speaking as members of the general public—not of "Het Volk."

The matter was finally allowed to drop without any particular decision being arrived at.

General Botha wired to the "Volksstem," expressing regret at the tone of General Beyers' speech.

In continuation of "Het Volk" campaign, General Beyers and Mr. Wolmarans have left Pietersburg, going north.

According to the "Volksstem," Mr. F. T. Nicolson is convening a series of private meetings in the northern suburbs of Pretoria for the purpose of establishing branches of "Het Volk."

(6.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," February 16th, 1905.

GENERAL BEYERS' PIETERSBURG SPEECH.

TWO MORE ACCOUNTS.

The "Zoutpansberg Review and Mining Journal" contains a long report of General Beyers' Pietersburg speech. It contains the following:—

"He compared the Government to a huge boulder rolling down hill and gaining speed in its descent. It now wished to stop its downward movement by offering what was called a concession in the shape of Representative Government. This, he assured them, was merely a prop, and would only act as a temporary brake on the downward course to ruin. Nothing less than Responsible Government could hope to restore the country to a state of prosperity, and nothing less should be accepted by the people. If things continued as they were now, Britishers as well as Boers would have to steal to put food into their families' mouths. The consequence would be that they would act like that man Bezuidenhout, who sheltered himself behind a rock and used his rifle to defend himself. (Cheers.) Men would become desperate, and, said he: 'You know what the temper of a Boer is when it is strained too far. It means there will be another war in South Africa if the Government does not treat the people more liberally.'"

"BREACH OF FAITH.

"Dealing with the £3,000,000 compensation which he said the Government had told them was to be a gift some time ago, they had not yet seen a penny of it. Was that brotherly? Was it conciliatory? (A voice: 'It's progressive,' and laughter). The British had looted their horses and cattle during the war. He did not deny they had a right to do so, but the least they could have done subsequently through their 'sweet and lovable' Repatriation was to return them at reasonable rates. Instead of that they charged £22 to £30 for animals that could scarcely carry themselves along and which died on the way home. Purchasers, in order to meet their liabilities with interest and compound interest had been obliged to mortgage their farms, once, twice, and even three times. Again, the burghers were no sooner landed with the cattle at enormous prices than the Government closed the roads for transport on account of tick-fever, and as much as said, 'Now, there you are, you can go home and starve.' The result was they had to buy mules. He considered all veterinary surgeons should be kicked out of the country."

"EDUCATION.

"As to education, he reminded his listeners that Lady Curzon had said, 'Capture the Boer children and teach them English only.' This was being done. Why could they not be treated fairly, and have their children educated as they liked? What they wanted was 'equal rights.' South Africa would not flourish until the children of Boer and Briton sat on the school-benches with 'equal rights.'"

"CAPITALISTIC INFLUENCE.

"He was absolutely opposed to the importation of Chinese labour and to the influx of Asiatics. The object of 'Het Volk' was to make South Africa a white man's country. He denounced the capitalists, and said capitalist rule meant bad rule. Look at Kimberley before the capitalists obtained possession. It was a flourishing town; now it was deserted. Rhodesia was another example. That country had gone to the dogs, and everyone was fleeing from it. The same would happen here unless something was done, and done speedily. Johannesburg was trying to rule the country, and the capitalists had declared war against the country districts."

"ONE VOTE ONE VALUE.

"As to the one vote one value principle and automatic redistribution, he was opposed to both. Redistribution should be left to the Government entirely. They all knew that the capitalists could stem the market when they liked. Well, they would do this just before election time, and the result would be a large influx of new voters to the Rand. Johannesburg would claim an extra seat for every 1,000 who came in. In the country it was scarcely likely that unless particular circumstances arose people would flock in thousands to any one district, notwithstanding a boom. Johannesburg did not count the widows and orphans of men shot during the war; they should be taken into consideration. The one-vote-one-value principle was one we cannot and will never accept. Mr. Abe Bailey had suggested that all elections should take place

on one day. He (the speaker) supposed that was to prevent any of 'Het Volk's' candidates having the audacity to put up for Johannesburg and perhaps snatch seats from the other side. In a passionate peroration he declared that 'Het Volk' would bide its time. When the Constitution was formulated it would call another meeting and thrash all questions out thoroughly. (Loud cheers.)"

#### ANOTHER VERSION.

The following is taken from the "Volksstem's" report of General Beyers' speech:—

"Our acts have shown that we aim at co-operation, reconciliation and brotherly love, but we are described by the British press as of a bywoner class, and the capitalists have conspired to annihilate Boer and workman.

"We are treated as dogs by the Government, which although it sometimes does its best, goes to the capitalist for assistance and counsel.

"The fact that the Government endeavours to do its best is proof that it is incapable of the task resting upon it.

"Some of us send our children to English schools, where their training is delegated to teachers and lady teachers who believe neither in God nor His Commandments.

"You were men in war time; be also men in peace and oppose such pernicious policy.

"Be awake and see what threatens you; require the Government to make an end to it, or you will be tempted to steal, and that incident in South African history will be repeated in which Frederick Bezuidenhout refused to surrender himself alive.

"Everything is placed under quarantine and there has been appointed a great number of veterinary surgeons who are greater plagues to the country than tick fever.

"Is this reconciliation? Is such a policy not calculated to make us desperate? And everybody knows what a Boer is capable of doing when he is desperate.

"If it goes on like this there will be another war in our country.

"Meantime I advise you to keep quiet."

(7.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," February 16th, 1905.

#### OPINION IN THE COUNTRY.

##### FARMERS' PROTEST.

At the conclusion of the meeting held on Elandsfontein farm, in the Pretoria district, yesterday, when a branch of "Het Volk" was established, the question of General Beyers' speech came up for discussion. There was no actual resolution passed on the matter, but the consensus of opinion was that if Beyers had been correctly reported, some sort of protest should be raised by the Head Committee in Pretoria.

General D. Erasmus introduced the subject, and said he had seen certain statements in the newspapers reported to have been made by General Beyers at a meeting held at Pietersburg, and he now desired to give anyone who wished a chance of expressing their feelings on the matter.

Mr. S. P. Erasmus said that although misunderstandings had been frequently brought about through persons having been misrepresented in the Press, he would like to refer to the report of the meeting held at Pietersburg which appeared in the "Rand Daily Mail." He would like to have that report translated into Dutch for the benefit of the meeting.

The report referred to was then translated, after which Mr. Erasmus said if what appeared in the newspapers was actually what General Beyers said he personally could not agree with it. He totally disapproved of it.

General D. Erasmus also expressed his disapproval of the report if it was true.

Mr. Niemand took up the discussion, and said that it was nothing new to hear such language from General Beyers. An editor of an English paper in this Colony had written a letter to England which had appeared in the Press, and the gist of that letter was the same as what General Beyers was reported to have said. General Beyers' language, in fact, was not half so strong as that used by the editor.

Mr. Scheepers suggested that they should leave the matter in abeyance until they actually got information or otherwise of the report. By so doing they would avoid any further misunderstanding. He proposed a resolution to the effect that the matter be left in the hands of the local committee elected that morning, who could express their disapproval of it if they found the report was correct.

Mr. Ludolf interposed and said that the meeting had only been called for the purpose of forming a branch of "Het Volk," and it was out of their province to refer to the matter at all. He was in favour of forwarding the matter to the Head Committee at Pretoria.

General Erasmus said he must support Mr. S. P. Erasmus in his opinion, and said they did not intend to create any misunderstanding at all. They simply wanted to express their opinion that if General Beyers has said what he was reported to have said, then the public generally disapproved of it. These things were all published in England, and it was their duty to state that if the statement was true they disapproved of it.

Mr. Ludolf: If you pass that resolution, it will be contrary to the articles of the Association. It is a political question of great importance, and if you pass that resolution it will mean that you either approve or disapprove of a thing which the Head Committee should take up.

General Erasmus said he was not quite in sympathy with the last speaker. They should simply pass a resolution stating that they did not approve of such statements, and then the matter could be referred to the Head Committee. They did not approve or disapprove of anything, and could not do so until they had heard the truth; but they were quite competent to state that such statements did not carry with them their approval.

Mr. S. P. Erasmus asked that supposing the Head Committee acted contrary to the general public opinion, were they then to be satisfied and approve of it? If that was the position, he would immediately resign from the Committee. If anything was being enacted which was contrary to public opinion it was their duty to express their disapproval of it.

After further discussion, Mr. Ludolf withdrew his suggestion, and moved that the matter be left in abeyance.

Without arriving at any decision, the gathering dispersed.

No. 24.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 18, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 27, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th instant,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a resolution passed at Potchefstroom, on the 15th February, on the subject of the rights of coloured people under the proposed new Constitution.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 24.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Potchefstroom, February 25, 1905.

I AM instructed by the Cape coloured community of Potchefstroom to forward to Your Excellency the following resolution unanimously carried at their meeting held on the 15th instant:—

“That inasmuch seems possible that a new Constitution will be granted to the Transvaal Colony in the near future, We, the coloured community of Potchefstroom, Transvaal Colony, do hereby wish to draw Your Excellency's attention to suggest to the Home Government before framing the new Constitution for the Transvaal, that the just rights of His Majesty's coloured subjects will not be forgotten, or tampered with, and that unless provision is made to that effect, we are sure that a great injustice will be meted to His Majesty's coloured subjects.”

With the urgent hope and prayer that this may receive Your Excellency's earliest due consideration and approval,

I have, &c.,  
A. P. LIVERS,  
Representing the coloured people at  
Potchefstroom.

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
Johannesburg.

No. 25.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 18, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 27, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th instant,† I have the honour to enclose, for your information, copies of resolutions passed by “The People”

\*No. 20.

† No. 23.

Association at Piet Retief and Belfast, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure 1 in No. 25.

General L. BOTHA to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Piet Retief, February 10, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to forward you herewith two resolutions, which were carried unanimously at a meeting held here to-day.

I hope and trust that, after perusal, these resolutions will be laid before the Imperial Government.

With deepest respect,

I have, &c.,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
High Commissioner for South Africa,  
Johannesburg.

(Translation.)

MOTION.

This meeting of the public of the town and district of Piet Retief, having resolved to establish a branch of "The People" Association and being acquainted with the contents of the Vereeniging Treaty, is of opinion that when the time comes to make a change in the form of government of the Transvaal no other than complete self-government should be instituted.

Resolved, to request the Chief Committee to give notice of this to His Excellency Lord Milner.

Proposed by: J. Kemp.  
Seconded by:

MOTION.

This meeting of the Piet Retief wards of "The People" Association resolves to request the Chief Committee to bring to the notice of His Excellency Lord Milner that the conditions of the Vereeniging Treaty affect the Orange River Colony as well as the Transvaal;

That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Orange River Colony should at the same time be offered any change in the form of government which might be introduced here.

This is according to the general wish of the Transvaal public.

Proposed by: Theo. Meyer.  
Seconded by: C. J. Van Rooyen.

Enclosure 2 in No. 25.

General L. BOTHA to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Pretoria, February 24, 1905.

IN continuation of previous communications, I have the honour to enclose further two resolutions which were taken at a public meeting at Belfast on the 18th instant.

Respectfully requesting you to lay these resolutions before the Imperial Government,

I have &c.,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
High Commissioner for South Africa,  
Johannesburg.

(Translation.)

RESOLUTION passed at a Public Meeting at Belfast on the 18th February, 1905.

"This meeting of 'The People' Association wish herewith to express as our opinion that if the Imperial Government wish to make a change in the present form of government, we cannot be satisfied with anything less than complete self-government."

Confirmed,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

Pretoria, February 24, 1905.

(Translation.)

RESOLUTION passed at a Public Meeting at Belfast on the 18th February, 1905.

"This meeting of the 'The People' Association resolved to request the Chief Committee to bring to the notice of His Excellency Lord Milner that it is our wish that the same constitutional change which is given to this Colony should also be granted to the people of the Orange River Colony."

Confirmed,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

Pretoria, February 24, 1905.

No. 26.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTTELTON.

(Received March 18, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 27, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, newspaper cuttings on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosures in No. 26.

(1.)

"STAR," February 17th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

GENERAL BOTHA'S WIRE TO GENERAL BEYERS.

A "LAND EN VOLK" COMMENT.

Pretoria, Friday (Special).—General Louis Botha has wired to General Beyers with reference to the latter's recent speech at Pietersburg.

General Botha states that he entirely agrees with the expressions of opinion of other leaders of "Het Volk" condemning the statements reported to have been made by him.

"Land en Volk" to-day, commenting on General Beyers' speech, says: "The sinister figure lurking behind Beyers is A. D. Wolmarans, who is briefed to perpetuate the Leyds policy."

\* No. 25.

## GENERAL BOTHA AT BETHEL.

Bethal, Thursday (Reuter).—General Botha arrived to-day in connection with "Het Volk" organisation. He was met and escorted into the town by a cavalcade of burghers, some hundreds in number, and was presented with an address, in which complaint was made that Bethal was not a separate district as before the war.

General Botha, replying to the address, said his object was to promote peace and union among all the white races of the country, who had accepted the Transvaal as their fatherland. At present things were as "a house divided against itself." The "state coach" was stuck in the mud, and self-government was the only means of rescue. He stood to the letter of the Vereeniging Treaty, "Chamberlain's Charter." Unless they received a good Constitution, they could not accept half measures.

Resolutions were passed, establishing a branch of "Het Volk," appointing committees, and favouring full self-government and equal rights for the Orange River Colony.

In an address which followed, General Botha challenged any one to show that the late Government had sent money away during the war.

Replying to a question made as to the fulfilment of the promise made towards the end of the war by the Boer leaders, that burghers who kept on fighting would get 5s. a day, General Botha said he was unable to do anything in the matter, but he hoped that the burghers had fought for higher considerations than 5s. a day. If he were in the Government's place, he would see that compensation and the blue-backs issued during the war were paid, as the Government had at any rate taken over all the assets of the late Government. The reports of friction between himself and Mr. A. D. Wolmarans be characterised as lies.

Replying to a vote of confidence in the Head Committee of "Het Volk," General Botha concluded "Forget the evil of the past, and hold fast to the good."

## THE ERMELO MEETING.

Our Ermelo correspondent writes: Monday was a red-letter day at Ermelo. Hundreds of farmers came to town to attend the meeting convened by General Botha to organise the People's Council. The General was met about four miles from town by a few hundred horsemen and many others in carriages. When the General's carriage met the foremost horsemen, three cheers were given, and the return journey was commenced. On passing the Uitkomst School, the children cheered, and the General stopped to greet them.

On Church Square an address of welcome was read by General Tobias Smuts, in which it was said that the motto of the Ermelo burghers was "One for all, and all for one." The General, in thanking, lauded the Ermeloers for their courage, perseverance and energy. Three years ago he passed through Ermelo, and there was only one house with a roof on it in the whole town, and now there was hardly one without a roof. He also praised them for what they had done for national education by establishing the Uitkomst School. He did not come to Ermelo before, because he thought the Ermelo people quite capable of looking after themselves. (Cheers.) He was not travelling in search of a seat in the new Parliament. If he wanted a seat, he could have accepted it when it was offered to him. He called upon all white men to work together for the prosperity of the country.

It here appeared that Mr. Schalk Burger was also present, and he was most warmly welcomed by General T. Smuts.

In reply, he said that they did not come to get up, or to witness a demonstration. They were there to promote the national, moral and material welfare of their people. (Cheers.)

The burghers were asked to reassemble at the Masonic Hall at 11 o'clock, but it was subsequently decided to hold an open-air meeting in Mr. Meyer's grounds.

General Botha, Mr. Schalk Burger and the leading Boers of the district mounted a wagon, which served as a platform.

General Botha was the first speaker, and explained the object of the organisation. The Head Committee had waited so long to form the organisation in order to prevent misunderstanding—it was, alas, the fate of the Africander to be misunderstood. Now that two parties had already been formed by the English public, the Boers were justified also in making a move, for now it could not be said that they were agitating. He asked all to assist in extinguishing race hatred and race differences. All white men must work together for the good of the country. The best men must be returned to the new Parliament. All discord must be laid aside, and all must strive to rebuild what had been laid in ruin. The only acceptable government was absolute self-government, and nothing less.

The statutes of the organisation were then read, and, by acclamation it was decided to establish a branch at Ermelo.

General Smuts, Commandant Buhrman and others spoke strongly in favour of absolute self-government. General Smuts was against admitting a single Government nominee in Parliament. He compared the Government to a mother who goes to bed with a sick child in order to make it sleep, but jumps up as soon as it is sleeping and gives it castor oil.

Someone asked whether all who had a vote before the war would have it again.

General Botha said he could not say.

It was agreed that it would be most unfair to the Orange River Colony to let it wait longer than the Transvaal, seeing that both surrendered under the same conditions. A motion to that effect was unanimously carried.

Three committees of seven members each were then appointed to enlist members. In these committees "bitterenders," surrendered burghers and National Scouts are all represented.

Mr. Van Schouwenburg proposed to send a telegram of welcome to Mr. Steyn, which was unanimously agreed to.

General Botha then asked whether any one had anything special to bring before the committee.

General Smuts said that Ermelo had been badly dealt with in railway matters. It was first promised that the Springs-Ermelo railway would come direct to Ermelo, and Ermelo was

accordingly rebuilt. To the great disappointment of all concerned the Government afterwards decided to build the line past Klip Stapel, leaving Ermelo in the cold. Lord Milner had also promised to bring the branch line from Klip Stapel to Ermelo as soon as the railway works reached Klip Stapel, but nothing seemed to be doing in the matter. The Ermelo people had not deserved this, and he would ask the meeting to pass a motion expressing their disappointment with the deviation of the line, and asking the Government to proceed with the promised line from Klip Stapel to Ermelo without delay. This was carried unanimously.

General Botha said the Ermelo people had his full sympathy in the matter. He hoped that the Government would see its way to fall in with the district's request, and so promote the interests of the agrarian population of the whole district.

General Grobler proposed a vote of confidence in General Botha and the Head Committee, which was carried unanimously.

After General Botha and Mr. Burger had been enthusiastically cheered, the meeting dispersed.

In the evening a banquet was given to General Botha, at which about 60 persons attended. The toasts were "The King," "Our Guests" (General Smuts), "Our Land and People" (General Grobler), "Agriculture" (Commandant Buhrman), "Education" (Mr. Slunter), "The Ladies" (Mr. J. H. Coetzee).

Responding to "Our Guests," General Botha expressed his admiration of the success achieved by the Ermelo people in restocking and rebuilding their farms. They had progressed wonderfully since peace. Three years ago he travelled from Baukop to Heidelberg without seeing a single head of cattle, and now nearly every farmer had a few head again. Such people must be helped, and he was sure the Government would see its way to assist the farming population (which was the backbone of any country) in railway matters, and that an end would be made to the policy of placing mining interests in the foreground.

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(2.)

"RAND DAILY MAIL," February 20th, 1905.

THE PROGRESSIVES.

RUSTENBURG BRANCH FORMED.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Rustenburg, February 17.

A privately-convened meeting was held on the afternoon of Wednesday last at Rustenburg with the object of ascertaining public opinion as to the advisability of forming a Rustenburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association.

Mr. C. Jordan Jones occupied the chair, and among those present were: Sir Archibald Murray, Bart., Messrs. H. Kembal-Cook, Geo. Topper, C. H. Mullett, Victor Schoch, Isaac Meyer, Geo. Musson, C. J. J. Buitendag, Jasper Malan, and others.

The Chairman explained that the Progressive Association was following the policy of which the Vereeniging Treaty was the basis, and emphasis was laid on the form of Government promised in Article 7. A certain element of danger would doubtless be introduced by immediate Self-Government, especially in view of the financial responsibility involved. Responsible Government would be divided on racial lines and not on party differences. The founding of "Het Volk" proved this to be the tendency. Referring further to this party, the speaker urged for conciliation, and said that the Africander Bond was likely to be at the back of "Het Volk." The policy of "Het Volk" was shrouded in mystery, and in spite of the threat of excommunication by the "Council of Seven" if their rulings were not strictly adhered to the Boers seemed to be quite willing to enter the fold. They preferred a policy which would gender strife to a policy of union with the British element—a policy of progress and mutual welfare. He would urge the necessity of abolishing class-sections and class-interests in favour of the common good of the country.

Mr. C. J. J. Buitendag (Bokfontein), who spoke in Dutch, referred to the promises made by the Boer Generals during the war. They had told them to fight to the bitter end. They said that their wives and children might be lost, but that these could be replaced, whilst the country, if once lost, was gone for ever. Those of them who attended that meeting had not come for the benefit of their pockets. They had their farms to work. But some of those "leaders" who were now ex-Generals, ex-Commandants, ex-Veldcornets, and so on, had lost their positions by the change of Government, and felt very sore about it. They therefore expected the people to bark. Those who were present represented the party of the Dutch who were Progressives. Since the war was over it would be much better if it were forgotten. Boer and Briton ought now to co-operate for mutual benefit.

Mr. Jasper Malan (Hoogeboomen) asked that the Articles and Constitution of the Progressive Association be printed in Dutch, and supplied to the committee for distribution.

This was supported by Mr. Jacobus Swartz (Lemoenfontein), who was sure that such a procedure would gain a number of members and adherents.

Mr. C. H. Mullett believed they might be able to form a branch among the farmers of Zwarttruggens and Elands River districts.

It was then decided to form the Rustenburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association. An honorary secretary and provisional chairman were found in Mr. C. Jordan-Jones, and a provisional committee was formed. Several sympathisers in the district sent letters of apology for absence.

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BEYERS AT NYLSTROOM.  
THE FACTS ABOUT PIETERSBURG  
WHAT HE MEANT TO INFER.

The meeting was held in the Magistrate's Court House, which was packed to the doors. There was a good attendance of the influential citizens of the town, including Mr. Boshoff (ex-member of the late Second Volksraad), ex-Commandant van Staden, Messrs. Lombard, G. Maasdorp, Smith, Carwell (Inspector of Schools), Von Backstrom (Town Clerk), and Government officials.

General Beyers controlled the meeting, which throughout was perfectly orderly with few signs of enthusiasm. He seemed to welcome the opportunity of explaining his position with regard to his Pietersburg speech. Throughout his discourse, which lasted about one hour, he was noticeably moved, and appeared to be in deadly earnest. His address created a deep impression on the minds of his auditors, who, prior to the meeting, had expressed their disapprobation of his harangue at Pietersburg.

Mr. Boshoff introduced General Beyers and Mr. A. D. Wolmarans to the meeting, and welcomed them to Nylstroom. They all hoped, he said, that by their presence General Beyers and Mr. Wolmarans would assist in promoting the welfare and progress of the country, and especially the Waterberg district. By gathering together they assisted one another and came to a better understanding. They must have a united people of Boer and Briton if they had the best interests of the country at heart. (Applause.)

General Beyers said he had to thank the meeting very heartily for the reception accorded him. He had one duty to perform, and that duty was to work in the interests of the whole country, and he would do that if it cost him his life. Notwithstanding what had been said about him, he would continue to say exactly what he thought, and he alone would bear the consequences, without being afraid of any criticisms which might be passed on his statements.

Mr. A. D. Wolmarans also replied to the welcome extended to them, and thanked the meeting for their welcome. He explained that they had been delegated by the head committee to visit the districts for the purpose of organising branches of "Het Volk."

General Beyers then read the statutes of "Het Volk," and remarked that they (the organisation) wished to embrace men of both nationalities as members of the Association, in order to ensure the permanent peace and prosperity of South Africa. If they only worked unitedly they would have a glorious country. If the English and the Dutch quarrelled there could be no hope of success and peace in South Africa. He then asked if anyone would move a resolution to form a branch of "Het Volk" in the ward of Nylstroom.

Ex-Commandant Van Staden moved that a branch be formed in Nylstroom; Mr. Smith seconded, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The following gentlemen were elected to form the committee of the new branch. Messrs. Van Staden, Boshoff, Lombard, Maasdorp, Heystek, Steinburg, and J. de Ridder.

MR. WOLMARANS' ADDRESS.

Mr. A. D. Wolmarans then addressed the meeting. He said that they wanted everyone to work for the welfare of the country and South Africa generally. Anyone could join so long as they were over the age of sixteen years. In Johannesburg a certain class of men, called Progressives, had taken the lead in everything. These wanted to be in the van, and when the elections came on they were desirous of having the haft in the hand. The question was not one between Boer and Briton; but it was a question between capitalist and non-capitalist—the working classes and the agriculturists versus the monied class. If, he said, there had been no capitalists in the country, there would have been no war. The object of the capitalist was to work against the artisan and the farming community, and the capitalists had declared war, and were continuing it against the working classes.

HALF A GOVERNMENT.

Continuing, he said that he was of opinion that the present form of Government—the Legislative Council—did not represent the people, and it had been appointed and was a tool of Lord Milner. But they all knew that it had proved a failure; and now Lord Milner offered them Representative Government. He blamed the Government because there was no market for the produce of the farmers, and in consequence the Boers had no confidence in Lord Milner, and the country was going backward, and would soon be in a bankrupt state. The Boers had no market, but the Government could make a market by purchasing the supplies required by the military from the farmers. Lord Milner now proposed to give them a change in the form of half a Government, but it was to be in such a form that he (Lord Milner) could still hold the upper hand. The Boers had never asked for a change like the capitalists had, but if a change were given it should be given in the form of Responsible Government. He contended that the working classes and the Boers should stand together against the capitalists and endeavour to form a policy which would make the country a white man's.

THE CHINESE.

Speaking on the Chinese question, he asserted that the capitalists had imported Chinese in order that they could make a greater profit; it was not because there was a shortage of native labour. It was the duty of the working classes to join with the Boers in order that employment might be given to white men—the same state of affairs as existed before the war. When the Briton and the Boer worked together, then would the Transvaal be lifted up to Heaven.



(Applause.) He pointed out that although money came out to this country from Europe for the purposes of developing the country—and it was a good thing that it did come out—yet the capitalists were not satisfied with a reasonable percentage of profits on their capital; they expected to receive in return 200 or 300 per cent. The policy of "Het Volk" was to retain a reasonable proportion of the gains in the country for its development. The capitalists had not found the thirty millions promised to Mr. Chamberlain, and he thought the object of Representative Government was to transfer the burden of that liability on the shoulders of the land owners and the agricultural community.

#### THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM.

Referring to the education question, he said that they could not make an Egyptian an Israelite; neither could they make a Boer an Englishman. He contended, therefore, that the English children must learn Dutch, and the Dutch children must learn English in one school, so that the future generation should grow up as one people, each retaining their own traditions, religion, and national sentiments. Then, and then only, could they have permanent peace in South Africa, and they would be better able to understand one another's grievances. They must have equal rights for both. (Applause.)

#### GENERAL BEYERS' SPEECH.

General Beyers received a quiet ovation when he rose to address the meeting. He said that he only wished to say a few words on the question of the alteration of the Constitution. They had now left the old flag, and had come under the new flag, and they would be true to the country and to the flag. According to the Treaty of Vereeniging, the country was to have four phases of Government. First, military, then Crown Colony, then Representative institutions, and then full Responsible or Self-Government. He contended that they had had the first three, arguing that the Representative institutions were represented by the present Legislative Council, Municipal Councils, and Urban Boards. The Johannesburg papers themselves had told the people that when the present Council was constituted that it was a Representative institution, as all classes of the community were represented. Therefore, the present Council must be the Representative institutions meant by the Treaty.

#### MONGREL AND BASTARD.

Representative institutions, or mongrel Governments, had proved failures in the Cape and Natal, and it was, therefore, not necessary to undergo the same experience here. He was not a "bastard" himself, the people were not bastards, and they did not want a bastard Government. He wanted this to be a white man's country. He was a white man, and they wanted a white country. That was their object. Lord Milner had requested their advice with regard to the proposed alteration of the Constitution. Well, they went to Johannesburg and saw Lord Milner, and he had asked for their opinion. They replied that they could not give their opinion until they knew the nature of the Constitution. Lord Milner then said that he had not finished his programme, and he could not say what was going to be done, but he said that they were going to have Representative Government. They told Lord Milner at once that half an egg did not represent anything at all; but if they were going to have a change—and they had not asked for one—let them have Responsible Government. This was the only form which would satisfy them.

#### DO YOU WANT RUIN?

They had now called a meeting of the people to ask them what Government they thought was best for the country. Did they want to have the country ruined or not? If they did not, he asked them to pass a resolution which would also apply for the Free State, which, together with the Transvaal, had offered their blood for them. They wanted to have the same Government to apply to the Orange River Colony at the same time that it applied to the Transvaal, for the Orange River Colony said that they had earned it. He asked what was their position to-day? What had been done? From the various newspapers they had heard of reconciliation and brotherly love, but what did they find to-day? They found that they had performed the deeds, and that the Government had only spoken the words. The Government had done nothing to show their brotherly love and reconciliation, and he could prove what he said.

#### GOING TO THE DOGS.

When he spoke he referred to the capitalist and the Government, and he maintained that the former had greatly influenced the latter through their opinions and gatherings and deputations made on behalf of the mining industry. It did not matter concerning the agricultural community whether they were Dutch or English, they could go to the devil. It did not matter what became of them. That was the feeling. They had been asked to forget the past; but they wished to make South Africa what it should be—a country of progress—that was their object. They were going to the dogs, and it was their duty to stand up and protest against what had been done. It was their duty as Afrianders to take their brethren by the hand and to show them the proper way. As it was the British Government was trying to destroy their nationality, and so long as the British Government was doing that then there never could be reconciliation. They must remember the promises of their fathers and mothers, who before God and man promised not to forget their nationality and religion. He prayed them, therefore, to stand fast in support of their language and their nationality. Their eyes had been opened to the past, and it was now time that they awoke and fought for their rights, constitutionally. They wanted equal rights for both the English and Dutch languages in the school. They had quite enough

troubles and quarrelling, and they must be a united people, otherwise they would go to the devil with all those quarrellings in South Africa. Like rights for the Boers and the British would cause reconciliation, and that was their object; and they wanted nothing more or less. Then there was the great question of education. He referred to Lady Curzon's remarks about catching the Boer children when they were young, and he considered that when the children did learn English they should learn it properly; but they were also to make sure that they did not lose their mother tongue. Adverting again to the new Constitution, he said that they did not want to be treated like a lot of fools, and when a question came in front of them to be always in the minority and laughed at. They did not want to sit on the new Council like a lot of baboons.

#### COMPENSATION.

Then there was the compensation question—the beloved and pleasant question of compensation. If he were going to give a present he did not wait three years, but he gave that present at once. The British Government had said they were giving the Boers three millions by way of a present in compensation; but it did not matter whether it was a present or by what name it was called. They did not want the name; they wanted the substance. But what had they? There had been a Commission formed, and most learned men had been trying to settle the question; but what had they done? They were drawing their cheques and putting them in their pockets, and at the same time they were praying to Almighty God that the compensation question would go on for ever. If the Government wished to help the people, why did they wait three years, while people were starving and the country was going to ruin? The members of the Commission were settling one or two claims a day, while there were hundreds of thousands of claims to be settled and gone into. Out of the three millions there remained about a quarter of a million, the rest having been frittered away and wasted. Although he was a poor man, he had already stood security for half-a-dozen Boers; but even when the Government had got good security why could they not pay out? He wanted the Government to see their position. He was not going to wait and wait like a volcano until it burst out.

#### BRIBERY.

Referring to the "great" repatriation, he said this was a perfect organisation—according to the Government's point of view. Well, he thought that the British Government ought to be ashamed of the way in which the Repatriation Department had been carried on. The British had taken possession of the cattle, and the sheep, and oxen, and wagons, and they had every right to take them from the Dutch—it was the result of war—but why did the Government say they were helping the farmers to work the land when they did not give the farmers the cattle, &c., back at reasonable prices? No; they were charging £20 and £30 for cattle and £21 for mules, which had cost £12 10s. on the market. Was that helping the people, charging them such exorbitant prices? He was merely pointing out these things to them so that they would not go down like a reed in the wind, but so that they would stand up for their rights; to show what they required and to stand up in their own interests. There had been a good many scandalous things happening in the Repatriation Department. If they had offered a few sovereigns to the officials they could get anything. He understood that it was only the old Government which was all wrong; but the British Government was worse. In the old Government it was said they could bribe the officials with £5; but under the present regime a bribe of £100 was required. (Laughter.)

#### THE NATIVES.

He also touched on the labour question, and said that the natives knew that the Dutch had no money. He maintained that the law was wrong in regard to the taxes on the Kaffirs. Farmers could not now afford to pay the high rate of wages, and the Kaffirs were leaving all the farms and going to the Government locations and farms. The farmers could not get Kaffirs to work for them. There were plenty of natives in the Zambesi who could work on the mines, and before the war they had always plenty of labour. They had the building of bridges, railways and all sorts of things, and still they had plenty of Kaffirs; and then natives were cheaper than they were now. Why, he asked, had they brought Chinese to the country? These men only spent a farthing in the country and took the balance away with them, or sent it away. At all events it was spent in other countries. Then there were the coolies. An Englishman could not live in the same way as the coolies and compete against them as shopkeepers. Respectable Englishmen could not live like a coolie, and he asked, "Is that the policy of the British Government to help the yellow man against the white man?" He was now speaking for the Englishman, and that was the policy pursued to-day.

#### HELPING THE FARMERS.

Another question was in reference to the market. If all the rations required for the natives and South African Constabulary and the military were bought in the country that would help the farmers; then why go and import these commodities? He also referred to the fact that when the cattle had been supplied to the farmers, the farms had been quarantined, which was the spirit of "I have given you the cattle, now stop where you are and die." He also quoted the case of a widow in Pretoria, who had borrowed donkeys from the Government. One of these died, and she had to pay for it. Was that keeping the Boers? Speculators, he averred, could get permits to move cattle, but the farmers could not; and, he added, since the veterinary surgeons had come into the country they had proved a bigger pest than the tick. (Laughter.)

## HIS PIETERSBURG SPEECH.

He heard that there was a great noise in the country about the speech he made at Pietersburg. What he said in Pietersburg he said again. In Pietersburg he said what he did when he saw the great poverty which existed amongst the farming population—people who were not lazy; but people who really worked—English and Dutch. People who were trying to work by the sweat of their brows to live. He felt broken-hearted about it. He would point out also that men travelled ten or twelve hours on horseback to pay their taxes or on other business, and they had to wait the pleasure of the officials before they were attended to. The people kept these things in their hearts. He urged them that they must not be frightened at such treatment meted out by the officials or the Government. As long as they listened to the law they could always talk to the Government. He warned them that if they continued to brood over these things that it would eventually be like a sore, which was concealed, and which they did not want to heal. The man Bezuidenhout, instead of speaking out on those things which he had to bear, kept them in his heart, and he rebelled against the Government because he did not speak out. If he had spoken out he would have been assisted by the Government.

## DON'T BE COWARDS.

And now he would remind them not to be afraid to speak out—"Don't be cowards." It was wrong for them to keep these things in their hearts, and it was liable to do them damage. That was what he said at Pietersburg, and that was his meaning. He considered it was his duty to speak out; and it was his duty to the English Government to show them the position, which he likened to a volcano. In the war it had been said he was a braggart; but he had warned the Boers, when they talked of driving the British across the border, that that was nonsense. He was not a braggart—it was not his nature to brag; but he would speak the truth whatever it cost him. It was unnecessary for him to say any more about the criticism in the press. There had been a falsehood spoken against him. He had never said that the officials of the Government were not qualified for their position. The Pretoria officials were competent. He had, he said in conclusion, spoken to them on a number of points. What he had said in Pietersburg and what he said in Nylstroom were only his own personal views and opinions, which he would also express. He merely wished to speak the truth, and if "Het Volk" would not stick to the same principles and speak the truth, he would have nothing to do with it. The truth must be the watchword of the people—truth and honour in the Church and in Society. (Loud applause.)

General Beyers then briefly reiterated his speech in English.

## THE RESOLUTION.

A resolution was then passed unanimously in favour of Responsible Government, which should apply equally at the same time to the Orange River Colony.

The usual votes of thanks brought the proceedings to a close.

General Beyers and Mr. A. D. Wolmarans will address another meeting at Warmbaths on Monday, and, if time permits, they will return to Nylstroom and address a meeting of the settlers on Springbok Flats.

## AT POTGIETERSRUST.

## A SPEECH AND AN EXPLANATION.

Potgietersrust, February 18.

General Beyers, accompanied by Mr. Wolmarans, addressed a public meeting here yesterday in the Town Hall. About 60 burghers and others were present.

After explaining the principles of "Het Volk," and distributing a pamphlet containing its propaganda, it was put to the meeting and carried, that a branch of the Association be formed at Potgieter, and a working committee of seven townsmen was elected.

General Beyers, who addressed the meeting in Dutch, said that the Association had been formed to promote the general interests of the community, irrespective of nationality. A struggle was going on in the country between capital and labour; the one represented by the men who lived in palaces in Park Lane, and had only the interests of the mining industry in view, and the other by the population of the agricultural districts. The speaker complained of the neglect of Dutch education in the schools, delay in payment of compensation, the scandal of the repatriation, and want of protection on the part of the Government to the agriculturists. General Beyers said the terms of the Peace Conference had not been carried out by the Imperial Government, and the Boers had only surrendered because they thought the conditions would be fulfilled. If the Imperial Government mistrusted the burghers in the matter of Responsible Government, the burghers were also fully justified in their mistrust. The press and his (Beyers') own party had taken exception to his speech at Pietersburg, but the opinions he then expressed he now adhered to, and if they did not please his party he was willing to resign, but he had every trust in the people and would be against the capitalists till his death. General Beyers said: "They speak of conciliation, but there is an undercurrent which is detrimental to the existence of our nation." In conclusion, he said he hoped they would all work together for the welfare of the country.

Mr. Wolmarans spoke at considerable length in support of General Beyers.

Mr. Allan King, the Sub-Native Commissioner, said General Beyers had spoken of conciliation, but such a speech as he had just made was not likely to promote conciliation in any way, and he had played on the feelings of the people, and had not appealed to their calmer judgment.

In reply to a question, General Beyers stated that the expenses of these political tours were paid out of their own pockets.

The usual resolution for Responsible Government, including the Orange River Colony, was then passed, and the meeting closed with three cheers for General Beyers.

#### HEIDELBERG MEETING.

#### BEYERS' SPEECH DEPRECATED.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Heidelberg, February 19.  
At a meeting of "Het Volk" (Heidelberg branch) last night at the Victoria Hotel, Mr. P. Viljoen presiding, a resolution was passed, "That this branch does not approve of the recent speech of General Beyers, at Pietersburg."

In speaking to the motion Mr. Alberts endeavoured in a measure to shield General Beyers, saying that having slept under the General's blanket he knew him very well and felt sure that he was carried away with his own personal feelings, and his speech did not intend to represent "Het Volk" as an association.

A discussion arose as to the powers of the Head Committee, Mr. Bar being of opinion that more latitude should be allowed local committees.

Mr. P. J. Uys said that as each committee would be represented at the Conferences these matters could be discussed then, when, he thought, the local branches would find that their representations would be well entertained.

(3.)

"STAR," February 18th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

MEETING AT BELFAST.

ADDRESS BY MR. SCHALK BURGER.

#### THE USUAL RESOLUTIONS.

Belfast, Saturday (Special).—As one of the series of the meetings which are being held in connection with the establishment of branches of the Boer organisation of "Het Volk," a public meeting took place here in Mr. O. Coetzee's garden this morning. Mr. Schalk Burger presided, and there were about 300 burghers present, including Messrs. Jan Lombard and O. Coetzee and General Grobler, ex-Raad members, Messrs. Tante, Tenebergen, L. Grobler, Therou, Swart, Matthew, A. Coetzee, Swanepoel and Loubser.

The proceedings having been opened by Mr. Coetzee, who introduced and welcomed Mr. Schalk Burger, the latter thanked them for the welcome extended to him and the expressions of good-will towards the Head Committee. He referred to the Boer Congress, held at Pretoria last year, and the consequent organisation of "Het Volk." The Head Committee thought that it was now time for them to organise themselves, seeing that other political parties had already been established, and, when they were properly organised, he hoped their opinions would be consulted and considered in the matter of the Constitution of the proposed new Government. He hoped it would not be said later, as was now being done by some people, that the burghers were being led blindfolded by the Boer leaders. Everyone had the opportunity of speaking for or against the statutes of "Het Volk," but the statutes were not to be discussed, approved or disapproved of now, as they made provision for amendments which might be desired in the future.

The statutes having been read, Mr. Schalk Burger asked whether anybody desired any information.

In reply to a question, he said that at present the members of the Head Committee were providing their own expenses, but later on some arrangements would have to be made for contributions towards the expenses of travelling delegates.

Continuing, he said their sole object was to co-operate with all white men in the country and to work for the general welfare of the people and country.

At this stage a burgher said there were some gentlemen present who did not understand Dutch, and he thought it advisable to have the proceedings interpreted.

The request was, however, not acceded to.

It was resolved to form a branch of "Het Volk" for the ward Steenkampberg, including the town of Belfast.

The following were elected a provisional committee for the ward: Messrs. O. Coetzee, P. Fengbergen, P. Tante, L. Grobler, S. Coetzee, J. Joubert and A. du Preez.

#### MR. SCHALK BURGER'S SPEECH.

Addressing the assemblage, Mr. Schalk Burger said the next question was the reported new Constitution. They never intended to take the lead in political matters, but now it was their duty to express their opinions, and he was not ashamed to say that the Head Committee wanted that if anything was given to the people it must be something good and sound. They were free British subjects, and could speak out their opinions. The welfare of the country depended on the leaders of the Government. The Head Committee had met Lord Milner, and, in reply to

a question, they told His Excellency that they did not ask for anything, but adhered to the Vereeniging Treaty, and it was for him to say whether they had behaved properly during the last three years. They wanted a good sound Government, and thought it was time they got Self-Government, for which they were fit now. If anything had to be given, it must be Responsible Government. He explained the difference between Representative and Responsible Government. He was afraid that in Representative Government the majority of the members might be Government nominees. He did not say it would happen, but it might, and then it would be worthless to them. They wanted the same system of Government which the Cape and Natal enjoyed. He deprecated the statements published in certain newspapers that, if Responsible Government were granted, the British would lose by the vote what they had gained by the sword. If they got Responsible Government, they were quite prepared to submit to the majority, should their party be in the minority. He had seen certain statements, made by Mr. Abe Bailey, but he assured that gentleman that they had no such dirty plots or conspiracies in view, such as those that were hatched in Johannesburg in connection with the Jameson Raid. (Applause.)

In reply to a question, Mr. Burger said they did not know what proportion of members in the new Government would be elected and nominated, but they could well guess.

Mr. Jan Lombard, ex-First Raad member, said if they could not get Responsible Government, they had better be satisfied with the present form of Government. He criticised the "Tick Commissioners," who, he said, were the work of the present Government. When anyone went to the Government offices to complain about the conduct of those Commissioners, he was told, "It's your own people." (Laughter.) The English Government had compelled them to ask for what they had been promised. He criticised the personnel of the Government officials, and said some boys fresh out from school in London, who did not know the difference between a bull and a cow—(laughter)—had been placed over them to rule them.

Mr. Burger, interposing, said they should leave such trifling matters alone and discuss higher politics.

Mr. Jan Lombard said if he could not get Responsible Government he wanted nothing at all. (Applause.)

Mr. Van De Sandt suggested that their party should approach the other political parties in the country with a view to united action in fighting for the granting of full Responsible Government.

A resolution in favour of full Responsible Government, when the Imperial Government desired to bring about a change in Government, was passed unanimously.

Mr. Schalk Burger then referred to the Orange River Colony, which Colony, he said, was a party to the Vereeniging Treaty. Both States received the same obligations under that Treaty. He could not say what the Imperial Government was doing, but he thought it was their duty to remember their sister State, and to approach the Government with a respectful request that the same measures of Government, which were intended for the Transvaal, should be granted to the Orange River Colony simultaneously.

A resolution to this effect was passed unanimously.

Mr. Hesling proposed that they should decide not to accept any form of Government which the Orange River Colony could not get.

Mr. Schalk Burger said he would not consent to that. They should do their duty towards their sister State, but, at the same time they should take what they could get. He vigorously objected to a resolution which was handed in to that effect, and said they would be doing great harm to the Orange River Colony, as well as to themselves, should they pass such a resolution. They were not there to agitate against the Government and make matters more difficult. They would do an injustice to the Orange River Colony if the resolution was passed. He asked that the resolution should be withdrawn, and he was supported in this by several speakers.

Mr. Hesling, however, refused to withdraw his motion, which was eventually rejected, only three voting in favour of it.

Mr. Schalk Burger said the business of the meeting was now done, and he thanked the burghers for attending. He hoped they would work harmoniously together. The circumstances of the country at present demanded it. Before the war their country was rich and prosperous, but now things were different. He exhorted them to set aside all division and ill-feeling and to work for the general welfare of the country. He believed the present Government did not expect them to be dead members of the community. They should do their duty and co-operate. They should not divide, but strive to maintain their traditions, their Taal and nationality, which they were free to do. He hoped every one who had the welfare of the country at heart would join "Het Volk" and help to build up a prosperous and happy white nation. (Applause.)

An Englishman present asked if the published report of General Beyers's speech was correct.

Mr. Schalk Burger said he could not reply to that question, as he was not present at the meeting, and had received no official confirmation or denial with regard to that report.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Burger and of confidence in the Head Committee was carried unanimously, and the proceedings terminated.

(4.)

"STAR," February 18th, 1905.

POLITICS AT GERMISTON.

MEETING LAST NIGHT.

MR. QUINN AND "THE STAR."

(From Our Correspondent.)

The Germiston School Hall was last night packed to its utmost capacity to hear and take part in the discussion on Responsible Government. On the platform, besides the Mayor, were

Messrs. Evans, Hofmeyer, Wentzel, and the Rev. Mr. Scott, with Mr. Griffiths, and Councillor John Ross. The Johannesburg contingent consisted of Messrs. Quinn, Shanks, and Whiteside. In the body of the hall were noticeable Messrs. C. Brammer, T. A. White (Simmer and Jack), H. C. Gain, W. J. Tully, W. Brammer, Dale, R. Orpen, Joe Ross, Tate, and many other well-known citizens of Germiston.

The Mayor introduced the object of the meeting briefly, and appealed simply for a fair hearing for both sides.

Mr. S. J. Evans moved the first resolution:—

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the immediate granting of Responsible Government is absolutely necessary for the true welfare of this Colony.

In supporting the resolution, Mr. Evans referred to a previous meeting, wherein an amendment favouring Responsible Government was lost only by a narrow majority, and said that he had been importuned, since that meeting by a large number of residents to fix up a meeting for the Responsibles. The chief, and, in his mind, the only objection which could be raised against the granting of Responsible Government was the possible paucity of men competent to run this Government. He (Mr. Evans) ventured to say that there were plenty of men as capable, at least, as the unfledged importations who up till now had monopolised that honour. In speaking of the Dutch section, Mr. Evans said that Lord Milner emphatically stated that the Dutch had faithfully carried out the conditions of the Vereeniging Settlement, and with regard to the ill-chosen words of General Beyers, if he (the speaker) thought they represented the feelings of the majority of Dutchmen, he would cease to support the Responsible movement.

Mr. G. M. Hofmeyer seconded, and in the course of a temperate speech, said that General Beyers's speech was certainly to be regretted. He was not, however, defending General Beyers, who was quite capable of defending himself. He (the speaker) was of opinion that the utterance of the speech referred to was more of a Godsend than a grief to the papers. Extremists were, he said, mimical to the best interests of any party, and what was wanted was a moderate party from both sides, and to that he (the speaker) alone looked for salvation, for the future of this Colony. Mr. Hofmeyer said that distrust was not limited to the Dutch, that Britishers also, who had the courage of their convictions, were alike treated to a similar suspicion. In conclusion, Mr. Hofmeyer said that the hope of this country lay in reconciliation, mutual confidence, and respect, and hearty co-operation. Without these as a "sine qua non," he was firmly persuaded there was no hope for the country.

Mr. Whiteside supported the resolution, and said that the Franchise Law as offered by the Boer Government was more liberal than that offered to the citizens by the British Government. (Cries of "Rats!" "Rats!" and uproar here prevented Mr. Whiteside from continuing for a time.) Continuing, he said, that the notorious raid was created only to put a ring fence round the Transvaal, and when the late Mr. Rhodes found the plot had failed by a "coup de main," he said before going home that he would get by constitutional means what had been unobtainable by the means adopted. Mr. Whiteside continued by saying that the Boer should be taken by the hand, and led along in common fellowship. Speaking of press influence, the speaker said that before the war, one gentleman was employed to work up an agitation to make continued peace impossible, and was for this promised a bonus and a first-class passage back to England. The self-same gentleman had, however, since the war, been unfortunate enough to rub the fur the wrong way, and his services were dispensed with.

Mr. Shanks believed that it was quite unnecessary to introduce the bogey of racial feeling. Let the dead past bury its dead, and all start out with the best interests of the country as their real watchword. The mere word "suspicion" as a word existed in the mind of nations and individuals alike, but it did not necessarily imply painful distrust. Lord Milner said the time was not opportune. He (the speaker) was of a different way of thinking, and the danger fore-shadowed by the opposition, if danger there were, was really reduced to a minimum, inasmuch as the Imperial veto was always there if needed, although he (the speaker) was of opinion that the more seldom such veto were employed the better. Reverting once again to the question of trust, Mr. Shanks said that "if we do not trust the Dutch, we shall never get them to trust us."

Mr. Green here moved an amendment:—

That in the best interests of the country it is inexpedient to grant Responsible Government at the present time.

Mr. Green said that Representative Government was promised by the Imperial Government, and Representative Government it would be. It was useless to kick against the pricks. (Applause.)

The Chairman ruled the amendment out of order, it taking the form of a direct negative.

Mr. H. C. Gain said he was quite content that the vote should be direct on the one issue, and for that reason was glad the amendment had been ruled out. In his (Mr. Gain's) opinion, while much had been said, little had been advanced to show that Responsible Government was necessary. The whole crux, from beginning to end, of the Responsible Government Party hung upon the stale saying: "Trust the Dutch." He said that bitterness must exist in the minds of a conquered race. It was human and natural. Even the Scots (said the speaker) had not yet got over the bitterness of being conquered. (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Brammer here insisted that Mr. Quinn, who, he said, was lying low, should speak, and this the gentleman in question at last did.

Mr. Quinn referred to the notoriety he had gained for himself by rubbing the editor of "The Star" the wrong way. The press, he said, was largely responsible for the dissemination of distrust. As for Responsible Government, a half of the people in this country enjoyed the fullest measure of political freedom before the war. The Boers had possessed it under their own régime, why withhold it now? He would never rest, and his party would never rest, until they should get what was in his opinion necessary, viz., Responsible Government. If the census returns had shown a balance in favour of the British numerically, the very men who to-day were

clamouring against Responsible Government, would to-day ask, nay, demand, Responsible Government being granted at once. "I feel sure that if anything short of Responsible Government is granted it will lead to anarchy in this country."

Mr. Brammer looked upon Mr. Quinn as an extremist, and said what was required were moderate spirits. Should the Executive introduce any measure which should be against the wishes of the representatives of the people, the latter had it in their power to render such an attempt abortive by the withholding of supplies. The Responsible Party ignored these facts, which, in the speaker's mind, was really the essence of security against unpopular measures being passed in opposition to the "vox populi." The Imperial Government was quite justified in withholding Responsible Government until the certainty of its use and not abuse would be beyond question. It was usual, and experience had justified the system, and precedent could and should be followed in this Colony as it had been in other Colonies. Mr. Brammer added that the voting of supplies or withholding them would lie with the lower House as obtained at home, and this power would, therefore, lie in the hands of the representatives of the people.

The vote was put, and resulted in the narrow majority of 15 on the "Responsible" vote.

For Responsible Government	...	...	...	...	...	...	152
Against	...	...	...	...	...	...	137

The Rev. Mr. Scott's resolution regarding voters' qualification was carried, Mr. C. Brammer remarking that, considering that two-thirds of the company had left the hall, the vote could scarcely be called a popular vote.

Practically the qualification implies manhood suffrage, the only exception to white male adults of one year's residence being aliens, lunatics, criminals and paupers.

(5.)

"STAR," February 21st, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

MEETING AT WARMBATHS.

MESSRS. BEYERS AND WOLMARANS.

STATEMENTS CHALLENGED BY MR. MACKIE NIVEN.

Warmbaths, Tuesday (Special).—An important meeting, summoned by General Beyers and Mr. Wolmarans, for the purpose of forming a branch of "Het Volk," was held here yesterday afternoon. There was a considerable attendance of Boer farmers of the neighbourhood—some forty or fifty—a few Government settlers, and a sprinkling of visitors.

Mr. Jan Du Plessis De Beer, ex-First Volksraad member for the district, introduced General Beyers and Mr. Wolmarans, who were accompanied by Messrs. Boshoff, of Nylstroom, and Van Saden, and welcomed them to the district.

General Beyers acknowledged the greetings, and Mr. Wolmarans explained that the gathering had been called for the purpose of organising the Boers and workers of the Transvaal for the mutual protection of their interests. He was careful to include in his definition of those eligible for membership, the settlers, English, French and Germans, and all whites making the Transvaal their home. The object of the organisation was to protect themselves against capitalists, who were, he said, gradually absorbing the substance and the government of the country.

General Beyers read the statutes of "Het Volk," and called for nominations for a provisional district committee. He explained that the Statutes had to be accepted "*en bloc*," and could only be altered afterwards by Congress. He referred particularly to Article 14, to which exception had been taken at previous meetings, as arbitrary, but said that at any rate it could not be discussed there.

Seven nominations were made by Mr. Jan Du Plessis De Beer, which brought out the first discordant note.

Mr. Carl Potgieter, an influential farmer of the district, requested that his name should be removed, on the ground that he was too old to take part in politics, also that the association was not really on the broad lines claimed for it by the speakers, but was meant particularly for Afrikanders.

An amendment, submitting other names, including at first two settlers, who, however, declined and refused to join the association, was put forward by Mr. Aitchison, and carried. The names were as follows: Mr. Von Brandis, Mr. Jan Du Plessis De Beer, Mr. Potgieter, Mr. Grobler, Mr. Jacobus Botha, Mr. Paul Botha, and Mr. De Vos.

At this stage the proceedings were briefly explained in English by General Beyers, for the benefit of any non-Dutch present.

A motion was then put to form a branch of "Het Volk" at Warmbaths, and carried, with five dissentients. Messrs. Wolmarans and Beyers then spoke, their speeches being practically a repetition of the Nylstroom speeches, as reported in the "Star" yesterday.

Mr. Wolmarans said that while the workers, and the Boers were poorer than before the war, the capitalists were growing stronger, and would eventually absorb the whole country. The only object was to get the gold out of the mines, and retire to Park Lane or Hamburg, leaving the country sucked dry. More gold was being got out than before, but the people were poorer. There were enough Kaffirs in the country for all purposes, and it was unnecessary to import Chinese coolies, and send money away. The Kaffir spent his in the country, and if all the sources of native labour were tapped, there would be quite sufficient for the mines. The Boers and the workers must stand or fall together against the capitalists, who controlled the Government, and,

unless there was a change, in the form of Responsible Government, they would be squeezed by the capitalists to the last drop.

General Beyers practically repeated his Nylstroom remarks, including the explanation of the Pietersburg incident, which he said, was misrepresented, and misreported. He did not preach rebellion, but that people should speak out their grievances. Regarding native labour, he stated that labour agents at Potgietersrust had informed him that there were three thousand Kaffirs willing to go to work in the mines, but that the agents had instructions not to go to the kraals and recruit, but only take those who offered themselves at the station. It was the same in the Spelonken. The language question, Chinese labour, compensation, repatriation, &c., were dealt with as at Nylstroom.

A settler, Mr. Matthewson, asked on what authority General Beyers stated that two millions had been spent on the settlers, and that they were not likely to see any of the money back. He said that the settlers had put considerable sums of money into their holdings, and that, at the same time as the Boers obtained cattle and supplies from the Repatriation Department on credit, at what appeared exorbitant prices, the settlers paid cash.

General Beyers replied that he misunderstood that matter. He was told by a member of the British Parliament that two millions had been spent on the settlers, and he hoped they had got it.

Mr. Matthewson stated that concerning compensation delays, he knew that Boers, who were not worth £20 before the war, had put in claims for compensation for thousands.

General Beyers admitted that there were rascals among their people, as amongst other nationalities.

Mr. Mackie Niven took exception to the remarks made by Mr. Wolmarans and General Beyers regarding the native labour supply, and contended that statements should not be made at random by those holding responsible positions, such as Mr. Wolmarans and General Beyers; that he (Mr. Niven) was in a position to emphatically contradict the statements regarding the sufficiency of labour in the country for its requirements, having been Chairman of the Labour Commission Inquiry, to whose report there were only two dissentients. He referred also to the recent report of the Native Affairs Commission. He asked for the name of the Member of Parliament who informed General Beyers of the expenditure of two millions on the settlers, and said if General Beyers knew irresponsible M.P.'s as well as he did, he would not pay much heed to their statements. With reference to the recruiting of native labour, he asked General Beyers to supply the names of the agents, who stated that more natives were not wanted. He related how he himself last week wanted to obtain 200 natives from the Labour Association for a colliery in Natal, and was laughed out of the office by the Chairman of the Association, who said he could do with two natives for every one he had now. Mr. Niven contended that the Chinese, instead of sending money out of the country, as had been said, were purchasing such productions of the country as bread, partly manufactured from mealie meal, tobacco, fruit and other articles, while 80 per cent. of the natives employed on the mines were drawn from the Portuguese country, and a large proportion of their wages were taken back by them, and did not benefit the Transvaal.

In reply, Mr. Wolmarans said that General Botha's written statement was refused by the Labour Commission.

Mr. Niven explained that that was because it chiefly contained arguments against introduction of Chinese, which was outside the terms of reference. It was rejected as other statements had been rejected.

General Beyers regretted he was unable to furnish the name of his informant, the Member of Parliament, but he would write and obtain his permission to do so. He could not give the names of the labour agents without their consent, for fear they might be sacked. He could give the name, however, of Mr. James Bristowe of the Spelonken, for the statement about the native recruiting.

After desultory remarks by Messrs. De Beer, Boshoff and Potgieter, a resolution, the same as that passed at Nylstroom, was carried, signatures to the district branch were taken, and a by no means unanimous meeting, which had occupied two hours, terminated.

General Beyers left for Nylstroom, and Mr. Wolmarans for Pretoria during the night.

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(6.)

"LEADER," February 23rd, 1905.

POLITICS AT RUSTENBURG.

PROGRESSIVE BRANCH FORMED.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Rustenburg, Wednesday.

A private political meeting of those in sympathy with the Transvaal Progressive Association has been held in the Transvaal Hotel, Rustenburg. The attendance was rather small, and indicated that apathy exists in the town, but it was gratifying to note the presence of a fair muster of Boers and Britons from distant parts of the district.

Mr. C. Jordan Jones occupied the chair, and among those present were Sir Archibald Murray, Bart., Messrs. H. Kembal-Cook, C. H. Mullett, Jaspar Malan, Isaac Meyer, C. Buitendag, and George Musson.

The object of the meeting was to endeavour to form a branch of the above association in Rustenburg.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Dalgety Campbell, of Krugersdorp, who was expected to be present at the meeting to explain the objects of the association, the chairman endeavoured to fill the gap.



After referring to the origin and scope of the organisation, the platform was read, and the clause explained.

Although a certain amount of cleavage between the Responsibles and Progressives appeared to exist just now, it must be remembered that the Progressive Party would be a political factor long after Responsible Government is established.

Referring to the Vereeniging Treaty, the speaker said that the Progressive Association was following the policy on which the treaty was based, and laid emphasis on the forms of government promised in Article 7. With regard to the forms of government, mention was made of the element of danger that would doubtless be introduced by the immediate establishment of Self-Government, especially in view of the financial responsibilities involved. It was also pretty certain that Responsible Government would be chiefly divided, not on party, but on racial lines. That was the tendency, which was being proved since the launching of "Het Volk," its aims and objects being purely racial, despite the disavowal of the originators. As we were now all British subjects, conciliation should be our watchword. The Boer organisation appeared to be established on the lines of the Afrikaner Bond, which was probably at the back of it. At present its policy was shrouded in mystery, although the bulk of the Boers were being driven with apparent willingness to its fold, despite the clause of the "Council of Seven" that unless they abide strictly to their ruling they would be excommunicated. Instead of trying to co-operate with the British element on a common platform for a policy of progress and mutual welfare, they preferred to join hands with the Bond and continue a policy of disunion. They had experienced quite enough trouble in South Africa, and it should be the endeavour of every sensible and right-thinking person to try and abolish the war of class sections and class interests, and work together for the common good of the country.

Mr. Caspar Buitendag (Bokfontein) said that they all knew the Boer generals and the promises that some of them made when war broke out. They said that the country was safe, that they would never lose it, and that they would fight to the bitter end. Even if they were going to lose by it, they would not lose the country. They (the Afrikaners present) had not come to that meeting to benefit their pockets, because they had their farms to work, but there were some of the Boer leaders, now ex-generals, ex-commandants, and ex-fieldcornets, who, by losing their positions through change of Government were very sore. They naturally expected them to bark about it. (Loud laughter.) Those of them who were present represented the party of the Dutch who were progressive.

The Chairman said that the war was now over, and they should therefore try to forget the episodes which had happened during that period of strife. Boers and Britons alike should now strive to co-operate for their mutual benefit.

#### OTHER SPEAKERS.

Mr. Jasper Malan (Hoogboomen) desired to have the articles and constitution of the Progressive Association printed in Dutch and supplied to the committee for distribution amongst the farmers.

Mr. Jacobus Swartz (Lemoenfontein) supported this, and said that they would be able to secure numbers of adherents by having printed forms both in Dutch and English.

Mr. C. H. Mullett, J.P. (Woodstock), also dwelt strongly on this matter, and said that with proper organisation they would be able to have a branch organisation amongst the farmers of Zwarttruggens and Elands River.

It was then decided to form a branch in Rustenburg of the Transvaal Progressive Association.

Mr. C. Jordan Jones was elected provisional chairman and hon. secretary, the provisional committee comprising the following: Town, Messrs Victor Schoch, George T. Topper, and two more; country, Messrs. C. H. Mullett, C. Buitendag, George Musson (Steenbokfontein), Isaac Meyer, and Jasper Malan.

A vote of thanks was accorded the farmers for their presence.

Letters were received from several in the district who were unable to be present, but who were in sympathy with the cause; while the following letter was addressed to the chairman from Mr. D. G. V. Dalgety-Campbell, but received too late to be read to the meeting: "With efficient organisation, it is expected that a strong roll of membership will be secured both in the town and district. The list is already increasing. It is natural that strong opposition is expected, considering that the district has a considerable percentage of reactionaries, which will no doubt receive a strong filip by the presence of the Boer leaders, Generals De la Rey and Smuts.

(7.)

"LEADER," February 23rd, 1905.

"HET VOLK" AND BEYERS.

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Heidelberg, Tuesday.

A meeting of "Het Volk" was held at the Victoria Hotel, Heidelberg, on Saturday evening, when about sixty people were present, and ex-General P. R. Viljoen occupied the chair. In his opening remarks, the chairman said he was very sorry that Mr. Beyers had spoken in such a hasty and impetuous manner. He (the speaker) and the Dutch nation had given up their arms, and had no intention of fighting again in the field, though they would fight constitutionally for their rights.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the committee, viz.:—Messrs. Stockenstrom, Viljoen, Uys, and Wepener.

Mr. G. J. Bär questioned the chairman as to Article 2, and stated that he did not object to the committee, but wanted to know if they elected themselves, or were they elected by the people. He was under the impression they were elected at the Congress in Pretoria merely to draw up rules and regulations?

The Chairman replied that they were elected at the Congress, an answer which did not seem to give entire satisfaction.

Mr. G. C. Bär then asked if the head committee were elected for six years, but no answer was given.

Further questioned as to Article 14, whether, in the event of a member being elected by a strong local majority in country towns, and not approved of by the head committee, the head committee could compel resignation and elect their own nominee, the chairman replied that the head committee had absolute power.

Mr. Bär said he was sorry to hear of the remarks made by Mr. Beyers, and his opinion and that of the majority was that a man who so far forgot himself in public—though he might have been a good general—could not be trusted to lead the people, who wanted cool-headed and discreet leaders.

Mr. Mangold said he hardly knew what to believe. Having known Mr. Beyers for a long time, he could hardly attribute those words to him.

Mr. Alberts said Mr. Beyers merely expressed his private opinion. (Laughter.)

(8.)

"LEADER," February 24th, 1905.

BOTHA-BAILEY.

CRITICISM OF "HET VOLK."

THE BOER LEADER'S REPLY.

Reuter's correspondent at Pretoria has been furnished with a copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Botha to Mr. Abe Bailey\* in reply to the latter's letter criticising "Het Volk" and defining his attitude in defence of Representative Government.

The letter is as follows:—

Dear Mr. Bailey,—I have read with surprise your letter to the newspapers, and I say with surprise because I am unable to understand why you assume such a hostile attitude towards us. I intend to remark briefly on a few points in your letter. You say, "But General Botha followed suit at Volksrust by plainly and definitely stating that the swamping of the British vote by the Dutch majority was the very thing that ought to come about."

This assertion is entirely false. A certain Mr. Fisher at Volksrust had written a letter to Lord Milner, in which he states that if Lord Milner does not assist the English, the British vote was bound to be swamped by the Boers. These words were therefore employed by Englishmen, and not by me. Your accusation that "Het Volk" is a military organisation amounts to an insinuation so unworthy that it hardly merits serious attention, and it is my firm conviction that you insinuate this for the sole purpose of discrediting our organisation in order to excite suspicion against us.

Our organisation aims at nothing else but mutual co-operation of all white men in the Transvaal, in furtherance of the best interests of the land and people; and in spite of everything that is being attributed to us, it is my firm intention to carry through effectively the organisation, and I shall certainly employ all my powers to make it the best of its kind in South Africa.

We shall prove by deeds the genuineness of our intentions, and the position we intend to take up towards all whites in South Africa, of whatever nationality. If what you say is truth, viz., that the Boers are so untrustworthy as you would picture them to the world, why are you in favour of giving them Responsible Government? Military Government would suit the case much better for the removal of your fears of the Boers. Regarding your contention, one vote one value and the automatic redistribution of seats, I can only say that I shall never be able to approve of such a scheme, because I consider it absolutely against the interests of the entire population of the Transvaal, and I feel convinced that the Imperial Government's sense of justice will never permit the forcible introduction in the new Colonies of a system which is not tolerated in England itself.

I am, &c.,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

(9.)

"LEADER," February 24th, 1905.

"HET VOLK."

THE POTCHEFSTROOM CONGRESS.

SPEECHES BY BOER LEADERS.

MORE MODERATE TONE ADOPTED.

(From Our Own Reporter.)

Potchefstroom, Thursday.

Potchefstroom has not for years witnessed such an invasion of the rural element as that which occurred to-day on the occasion of the visit of Mr. De la Rey and Mr. Smuts, who are

\* See page 95.

conducting an organising campaign in the Western Transvaal under the auspices of "Het Volk." From far and near sturdy Boer farmers came to hear addresses of their leaders, and some had travelled in their ox-wagons for days to be present at the meeting.

The gathering was held on the veld adjoining the Park, and the assembly of about 2,000 furnished another striking instance of the political stability of the Boers and their unshaken faith in their leaders.

The meeting was undoubtedly by far the largest and most enthusiastic held during the campaign, and viewed from the platform, which had been erected under a canopy amongst the trees, the assembly presented an interesting sight. There was nothing new in the speeches. The usually rabid and fiery Mr. Wolmarans was much more temperate in his tone, and made no inflammatory observations, although the inevitable reference to capitalistic tactics was again brought forward.

During the proceedings the platform, which had long shown signs of weakness, collapsed, and the occupants were precipitated to the ground. Willing hands rescued the grey-bearded warriors from the mass of timber and other material. The incident, however, was a pleasant interlude to the proceedings.

#### THE MEETING OPENED.

Mr. N. S. Malherbe presided, and amongst those on the platform were Messrs. De la Rey, Smuts, P. Liebenberg, M. Koenig, A. D. Wolmarans, F. S. Alleman, P. Zinn, Dreyer, F. Fleischack, Advocate Ferreira, J. S. Perold Pienaar, D. van Graan, and C. M. Douthwaite.

The Chairman introduced Messrs. De la Rey and Smuts, who, he said, would explain to the people the objects of the meeting.

Mr. Zinn read an address of welcome to the leaders, in which the people expressed their thanks for their efforts to better the condition of the people.

#### MR. DE LA REY'S SPEECH.

Mr. De la Rey, who was received with enthusiasm, thanked the people for their welcome, and for the confidence which they showed in their leaders. They appeared before the people to submit a scheme of government to their consideration. The time had arrived for a change of government, but the leaders had to wait for the opinions of the people before they took any steps. It was time the people were being brought together in one body, and on one basis. It was said that changes of great importance would take place this year. The people of the Transvaal were split up into different camps. There were other organisations composed of the very people who were in the early days qualified men to take part in the government of the country; yet to-day it was said in some quarters that these men were not now good enough to govern the country. He could not agree with the present representatives, but this was not the first time they had had to agitate. They knew what took place on the occasion of the first annexation. At that time they were poor, and when the State was taken away from them they had only half-a-crown in the exchequer, and when a few days later the country was handed back to them there were liabilities to the extent of £365,000. (Laughter.)

#### THEN AND NOW.

In those days the whole of the Transvaal was filled with cattle and sheep, and everyone had a roof above his head and drove in his own wagon. What was the case now? What was their position? It was difficult properly to describe it. There were not twenty-five per cent. of the residents of this country who had now a roof over their heads, and the majority of these were very deeply in debt, which would take them all their lives to work off. Thirty millions had been put upon the country on the completion of the war. Was it fair and proper that such a debt should be saddled on a country which had nothing left? Other people—people who were responsible for the war—should take over the debt and wipe it off. It was totally unfair to place it on the shoulders of the residents of the country. For three years the burgher had remained quiet and had endeavoured to pull the cart out of the mire. Now, however, if the time had arrived for a change of government the people must have Responsible Government. They must have at the head of affairs people whom they could trust. He was not at one, he went on to say, with what appeared in the papers about away with Lord Milner and this, that and the next man. If they had unqualified men then just put them away gently, and put qualified men in their places; but let them not make this continual shouting on the subject. He would like to say, however, that what under the old Government method was done by one man was now done by ten men, and they were paid practically double the salary. It might be more—(laughter)—and all that tremendous body of men had to be paid out of the taxes. It was not within the reasonable power of the people to do it. Referring to Mr. Beyers' recent speech, he said there had been a great deal of discussion in the papers and all over the land as to the remarks made by Mr. Beyers. He had said things which the committee could not accept responsibility for. Mr. Beyers was old enough to look after himself, and let each of them consider the case with their own mind. Mr. Beyers was a man who could usually account for his own actions, and each man must be held responsible for his own actions. They must endeavour, he continued, to understand one another and to work together for the best. It seemed an impossible thing that they did not understand one another at this time of day. They had their new Government and all its power and riches and development, and the new Government did not know two people of the Boer Government. Their houses and farms had been pulled down; but that was now past, and it was only by respecting each other that they could work harmoniously together. He might say he did not want any impossible proposition to be put before the meeting. He did not want anybody to come to the platform and shout against the Government. Let their deeds show what they really meant and what was in their hearts. (Loud applause.)

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

Mr. A. P. Roos enquired how it was that the working men of Johannesburg were not represented on the Head Committee, seeing that the organisation was not intended entirely for the Dutch, but for all white people.

Mr. De la Rey replied that anyone could be a member.

Mr. Roos contended that the white workmen of Johannesburg ought to be represented.

Mr. De la Rey said the Head Committee was appointed by the different bodies, but as soon as the organisation was properly formed the statutes of the organisation could be altered at the will of the people, so that other qualified men could be selected.

On the motion of Mr. Liebenberg, it was unanimously decided to form a branch of "Het Volk," and after Mr. Smuts had replied as to the work which would have to be done by the committees, the meeting proceeded to appoint the following committees:—

For Potchefstroom and Settlement.—Messrs. Hans Grobler, Van der Merwe, B. Pienaar, C. M. Douthwaite, R. Zinn, A. P. Roos, F. D. Conradie, and J. van der Graan.

Mooi River (above).—Messrs. D. van Graan, A. Bothma, H. Oberholzer, H. Joubert, D. Walton, S. van Kalkwasse, and F. Wolmarans.

Gatsrand District.—Messrs. J. van der Merwe, P. Schutte, A. Z. Roussouw, Jan Pistorius, H. du Preez, S. C. Cronje, D. J. van Graan, and T. F. Dreyer.

Vaal River.—Messrs. J. van Vuuren, T. H. D. Hattingh, G. Holl, G. Van der Vuuren, H. Muller, G. G. Prinsloo, and Jan van der Oner.

## SPEECH BY MR. SMUTS.

Mr. Smuts was loudly cheered on rising to address the meeting. He said he was exceedingly pleased to again be in Potchefstroom after so many years' absence—and they would never forget the troubles of those years. Now they had a new time since the end of the war, and yet nothing had been done so far. (Applause.) There were many things submitted to the Government, many complaints made by the people; but no attention had been paid to them. In the interests of the whole people they had waited, and had kept everything back until now, when they could discuss the question properly. Then they were a nation divided, and it was not then the time to cause a commotion amongst the people, so they waited until now. They knew they had stood, as it were, in a bush. Now they were united, and the time had come. The old watchword was "Unity," and it had for its ideal one united Africa from Capetown to the Zambesi.

## A UNITED PARTY.

And, still further, they must make themselves as one. It was only by becoming one united party that they could ever be a free and strong nation. That was why "Het Volk" had been started. The object of the society was to carry out that unity, and let them leave out fault-finding and resolve to go with each other and give the hand of friendship and help each other along life's journey. (Applause.) They were beginning a new chapter in their history. A Constitution or new Government was being granted, but they would take no responsibility before they knew what the Constitution was to be. It was left to the English Parliament to decide whether or not they would trust them and give them full Responsible Government. They would have no bastard Government—nothing but full responsibility. That was the position. It was told them that the time had not yet arrived for that, and that it was only the time for Representative Government—for a half egg, not a whole one; but they must demand and insist upon having the whole egg, and how could they get Responsible Government if they were divided amongst themselves? They must, therefore, resolve to go back to their wards and employ all their influence to forget their past quarrels, and if they went back in that spirit to their wards and worked with those feelings, then there was nothing too great to obtain. The lesson of unity was a great one, and must be learned. They would never lose anything by it. They wanted to see the society become a strong and permanent society in the Transvaal, and a society that every individual white person would join. (Loud applause.)

## THE PLATFORM COLLAPSES.

At this point, the platform, a rather flimsy erection, which had been ominously creaking under its heavy weight of Boers, collapsed completely, and Messrs. Smuts and De la Rey were precipitated to the ground, along with the entire platform company.

Mr. De la Rey was for a moment pinned between the table and the wood flooring; but willing hands speedily extricated him from his awkward position, and he was raised to that portion of the platform which remained intact, amidst loud cheering.

## THE SPEECH CONTINUED.

General Smuts next explained the difference between Representative and Responsible Government. Under the former system the people would elect a Parliament, but the Executive would be appointed by His Majesty's Government. The elected members would voice the feelings of the people, but the Executive would listen only to the Governor, and it would lead to great discontent amongst the people if the elected members and the Executive did not agree. The contention of the Head Committee was that if the Parliament had to be elected by the people, the Parliament ought to elect the Ministry, so that the Administration would be carried out by the representatives of the people entirely. (Applause.)

## MORE MODERATE TONE.

Mr. Wolmarans next addressed the meeting, and made a strong appeal for unity. There were yet dissensions in their midst, but he hoped English, Dutch and all other nationalities would unite and co-operate for the furtherance of the welfare of the country. The country

was in such a state now that only Responsible Government could save it. Since the signing of the peace treaty the Dutch had faithfully kept their part of the contract. He thanked the Boer leaders who refused Lord Milner's offer to take part in the present system of Government. If they had accepted they would have been bound to the Imperial Government. They refused, however, to enter the Legislative Council until they were selected by the people. With Representative Government the Executive could refuse to pass any law which had been approved by the people's representatives. The capitalists would not co-operate with the people, because they wanted all the power to themselves, but the people did not want the capitalists to govern and rule over the country, and if they were to prevent this they would all have to work together and be united to the Orange River Colony, which he contended should receive the same form of Government as the Transvaal.

#### LANGUAGE AND RELIGION.

Mr. Wolmarans urged the people not to allow their language and their religion to die away. At present an attempt was being made to Anglicise their children, and to this he strongly objected. Children in the schools ought to learn both the English and Dutch languages, which would tend to better feeling and more rapid and complete conciliation. No matter what sacrifices had to be made, their language must be maintained. (Applause.)

Mr. Amm asked if the Boer leaders would acknowledge the thirty millions loan.

Mr. De la Rey replied that he hoped not. They were too poor to pay it.

Mr. Liebenberg, in thanking Messrs. De la Rey and Smuts for their presence at the meeting, made reference to what he described as the Press warfare, and said if he could put half a dozen editors in gaol he would do so, and then there would be peace in the country. (Laughter.)

Mr. Douthwaite then formally moved a resolution asking for Responsible Government, remarking that the time had now come when they must press forward their claims. It was their duty to themselves and to the country. There was not a single person wanted war; let them have peace. The capitalists were all working against them, but they must put their shoulders to the wheel and do their utmost to assert themselves.

Mr. Fleischack seconded, and the motion was unanimously approved.

Mr. Roux moved the usual resolution asking that similar privileges granted to the Transvaal be also granted to the Orange River Colony. He said they had wanted to help the Government as much as possible, but the Government would not go with them, and they were justified to assist the Government, and knew more about that than the Government did. In the old days the Free State was a well-governed country. When the British came they found the Government perfect, but they did not follow in the footsteps of previous Governments, and the same could not now be said. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr. F. S. Allemann proposed a vote of welcome to ex-President Steyn. He said it was their duty to register, register! register!! Let them work together, and all would yet come well. Ex-President Steyn had been with them in good times and in bad times, and they must now give him a hearty welcome back to the country.

This motion was unanimously approved, the audience enthusiastically giving three cheers for the ex-President and for the leaders present at the meeting.

The meeting concluded by Mr. De la Rey thanking them all for their presence, and expressing the hope that all other meetings held would prove as successful as their Potchefstroom one.

(10.)

"STAR," February 24th, 1905.

#### MEETING AT PRETORIA.

#### MR. LOVEDAY ON REDISTRIBUTION.

Last evening the first public meeting of the Pretoria Responsible Government Association was held in the Empress Theatre, which was packed with people, the attendance including a large number of ladies. The Mayor, Mr. A. Johnston, presided over the proceedings, which were enthusiastic, but certainly not marked by any spirit of unanimity; in fact, at times they were decidedly of an obstructive nature. When the resolution of the evening—that in favour of Responsible Government without the intervention of a period of Representative Government—was put it appeared impossible to state with any degree of accuracy how the voting went, as the meeting was about equally divided. The Chairman declared it carried by a large majority. Amongst those present were Messrs. R. K. Loveday, M.L.C., T. W. Beckett, Hugh Crawford, W. K. Tucker, C.M.G. (Johannesburg), E. P. Solomon (Johannesburg), Advocate Duxbury, I. van Alphen (late Postmaster-General), F. Nettelton, J. Reid and others.

The Mayor having declared the meeting opened, Advocate Duxbury moved:—

That this meeting of the inhabitants of Pretoria is in favour of full Responsible Government being granted to the Transvaal without the intervention of a period of Representative Government.

—(Hear, hear.)

He said that the resolution was clearly worded. There were two affirmatives contained in the resolution; the first was that the inhabitants were in favour of full Responsible Government (applause), and the second affirmative was "that they were in favour of Responsible Government being granted without the intervention of any period of Representative Government." ("Hear, hear," and "No, no.") It was first his duty to make perfectly clear the attitude of the Pretoria Responsible Government Association. He wished to say clearly and

distinctly on behalf of the association that in putting before them that resolution that the association was strongly in favour of Responsible Government being granted to this Colony, there was no wavering so far as they were concerned; although it had been suggested that they were wavering, because in sub-committee it was suggested that if the Imperial Government should have decided, or should now decide to grant a form of Representative Government, that they would abide loyally by any such Government. They believed from the bottom of their hearts that Responsible Government was the form of government which would conduce to the best welfare and best interests of the country, and the Empire in general. They could abide loyally by any decision of the Imperial Government—(hear, hear)—if in their wisdom the Imperial Government's advisers granted a period of Representative Government. They were not going to sit in a row and sulk in their tents, but they held that form of government they were advocating was one which would in any event come into the Transvaal before long. They were now discussing a question which had been discussed again and again in various Colonies, but they must discuss the question in its scale of importance to the other Colonies. They were one of forty-four independent governments in the Empire, all of which possessed governments of various forms, some possessed full Responsible Government, some Representative Government and some were conducted by the Crown or its advisers. Of those forty-four governments, 12 of them came under the category of Responsible Government. They had been told they were unable to govern themselves, and if full Responsible Government were granted the power would fall into the hands of a political party that could not be trusted. He maintained they were fit to govern themselves, that the matter of government was still an open question, and that any discussion which might take place in Pretoria or any other part of South Africa would have due weight in influencing the decision of the officers of the Crown. They did not want interference from party politicians at home. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. Nettelton (who was received with cries of "Who's he?") seconded the resolution, and claimed that those who paid taxes should have the right to administer the laws.

#### MR. GREENLEES.

The Mayor then read a letter from Mr. Greenlees, in which he said he knew nine-tenths of Pretoria was solid in favour of Self-Government at once. They saw no reason why 300,000 white people in the Transvaal should not have the same privileges as 500,000 in Cape Colony or 50,000 in Natal. If their traditions of Empire, which changed not, decreed that for their sins they must endure Representative Government, let them loyally accept that, and use it for their ends. Full Self-Government was then to be won at the polling booth and in the Legislature, and he was sure that the Parliamentary candidate in Pretoria who did not pledge himself to vote for it at the first opportunity in the new House would have short shrift.

#### OPPOSITION.

Mr. J. S. Cowie opposed the resolution. They were not, he said, yet prepared for Responsible Government. As loyal Britishers they were prepared to accept what their King thought fit to grant. By asking for Responsible Government at the present time they were dividing the community into two sections.

Mr. James Reid also addressed the meeting, but his speech was interrupted all through, making it almost impossible to hear the speaker. He said this was a question of the greatest importance to their future, and they had to live under their future Constitution, every one of them, whether of Dutch or British origin. (A voice: "Africa for Afrikaners.") To-day they were fighting for political equality. Let them, he said, accept representative institutions, let them pull together to the best of their ability, and the sooner would they have the maximum power, and the sooner would they have control of their internal affairs. (Cheers.)

The Chairman then put the resolution, and declared it carried by a large majority.

#### SOME PRINCIPLES.

Mr. J. F. Rubie next proposed and Mr. E. Dusting seconded, the following resolution, which was carried with only two dissentients:—

That this meeting affirms the following principles: (a) That the franchise be granted to all white British subjects (excluding paupers, vagrants, lunatics and criminals) of the full age of 21 years, who have resided in the Transvaal for a period of twelve months, and in the constituency wherein they seek to register a vote, for a period of at least three months before the voters' roll is made up; (b) one man one vote; (c) payment of members at a reasonable annual rate.

#### MR. LOVEDAY'S SPEECH.

Mr. R. K. Loveday proposed:—

That this meeting affirms the principle of representation on the basis of population, and recommends that a Commission be appointed to arrange the first distribution of seats, and also the basis of future redistribution.

He said, whether representation should be based upon a population basis, or a voters' basis, promised to be the most contentious of all the questions raised in connection with the great problem of representation with which they were now face to face, and probably the least understood by the general public both inside and outside the country. And yet it was the gravest of all the points that have been raised, and it was an equitable settlement of this question alone that would bring them amity and rest. It was a point which could only be settled equitably after thorough, impartial investigation by a Commission outside the influences of political parties. It was a point bristling with diverse and complex interests which had not their parallel

in any other part of His Majesty's dominions. If any mistakes should be made, any unfair leaning be shown to one section or the other, any injustice done in the framing of the first distribution of seats, there would be created a feeling of great distrust, which would bring with it unrest of an undying nature. Upon this one question alone depended more than upon all the others put together, it was the lungs, the heart, the head of the body about to be created. Here to-day was a country absolutely hungering for white population. Here a Government spending hundreds of thousands in promoting immigration with a view to building up a permanent population. To-day great nations were urging the necessity of procreation. Even in the United States, that great sponge which went on absorbing the population of Europe, President Roosevelt viewed with alarm the tardy increase of population amongst the permanent residents of the States. Here in a country where the whites were out-numbered by three to one by the aborigines, and the Imperial Government were endeavouring to make their lot still more intolerable by letting loose upon them its Indian subject races. He said it was impossible in the face of such facts, in the face of such conditions, to base their distribution and redistribution upon anything but population, the only fair basis. And yet it was sought to put the unmarried man, with his carpet bag, who had still to make his home in this country, and who, until he did make that home, was a migratory quantity, against such a State asset, a grand State asset as the father surrounded by eight or ten children. The proposition was unsound. The one, a single individual, who may pass out of the country at any moment, the other, a father with a wife and five to eight children planted in the country, part and parcel of the country. These conditions were not only confined to unmarried but to a large percentage of married men, whose wives and families reside in other countries, and these men were living, in many instances, he was informed, the quietest of lives in order that they may save sufficient to take them out of the country and give them a start in the land of their birth. And yet it was seriously suggested to give a section of the population, situated as he had pointed out, the power to dominate politically the true residents of the country. What encouragement for immigrants! To-day the advocates of a large section of the community, a certain defined section, told them that their salvation lay in accepting "equal electoral districts upon a voters' basis"—that was, "one vote one value"—"and single member constituencies, with automatic redistribution." They were told that if they accepted this they would have an ideal form of representation. But before allowing themselves to be the sport of theoretical experimentalists, who had no practical knowledge of their own theories, it might be found wiser to adhere to the practical customs of past generations. He was sure they had had enough of experimentalists, and if they accepted this latest political nostrum from quack advisers, then they deserve to be poisoned. It was possible that the suggested theoretical experiment might prove a success in a country where conditions were equal, interests all of one nature, but where was there such a country? Could they compare the conditions of this country with those of any other? Could they even find a faint resemblance to any other?

To accept the theories of those who had no practical knowledge of what they preach would be an act of madness.

Has any one of these theorists come forward and shown that what they propose actually exists elsewhere under conditions such as pertain in this country; or was there any person in that room, or in that country, who from practical experience could step on to a platform and enlighten them? He would be very pleased to attend his meeting if he could be found, and give him his earnest attention.

#### THE CENSUS.

Had any of them ever studied the advance census returns? It was true they were incomplete, but a study of them would enable them to gain sufficient information to make them look with anything but equanimity to the propaganda set forth in the catch words: "One vote one value," "Single member constituencies," "Automatic redistribution." It was all so simple! They had merely to start the machine going—redistribution complete—members elected. "Legislation cut and dried." In fact, everything complete according to the desires of the party in power—in possession of the machine. He reverted to the census returns, they showed that of the 290,000 white inhabitants of the Transvaal, exclusive of military, the urban and rural populations were evenly divided, 145,000 each. It should be remembered that urban included mining population, and, therefore, the 122,000 whites upon the Witwatersrand were included in the urban, so mining and urban are equal to rural. A close study of the census figures discloses some startling differences between the male and female populations. Taking the details they would find sections of the mining population disclosed 2,000 males to 750 females—1,730 males to 580 females, or a preponderance of males over females equal to two and three to one. Since preparing these figures he had received a pamphlet which had just been published by Thomas Naylor, the special commissioner of the "Daily Chronicle," on the Chinese labour question, and amongst the statistics furnished by him he found, he states, that the white male inhabitants of the Rand were in the following proportion, namely:—20 per cent. married, 64 per cent. unmarried, 16 per cent. married, but families in Europe or out of the country. Compare these figures with the rural districts, where they found six males to five females and yet it was sought by men who professed to be statesmen to use these abnormal conditions against the settled population of the country. The cat was out of the bag, and they had the reason for the theoretical programme, "one vote one value," which meant nothing more or nothing less than handing over the country to the domination of the mining section of the population. If the voters' basis were accepted Pretoria would undoubtedly be the richer by one or two members; but he was sure they would agree with him that they did not wish to hold the candle to the devil, and all they wanted was a fair and reasonable policy—justice to all.

#### SINGLE MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES.

Now a word regarding "single member constituencies based upon equal numbers of voters." If such were done the greatest injustice would be done to districts which had enjoyed representation since this country was occupied by white men. It was contended that the old districts,

such as Waterberg with its 4,000 odd population, and Zoutpansberg with its 7,000 odd population,\* would have to be merged into one and receive one member. Thus two districts, with an area of 41,157 square miles of the total area of 111,196 square miles—or more than one-third of the whole country—and with a black and white population of 384,000 out of a total population of 1,268,000—or more than one-third of the whole population—was to have one member in a House of 30 representatives. That would be the effect of the just and equitable scheme put forward by the theorists. That was only one instance of the many injustices that would be done. He could give them many others, but there was no time that night. To disfranchise any district still existing (there were only 15) would be a political crime, and he was only using the words of the men who now suggested it when they referred to the late Government's action in disfranchising the towns. The towns had no claim to representation upon a population or voters' basis, yet those who now advocated the disfranchisement of sparsely-populated districts called the disfranchisement of the towns a crime. They would naturally ask how were they going to get over the difficulty? In a very simple way. Give the rural population the number of members they were entitled to upon the total population; say the districts carried 150,000, and they gave one member to each 10,000, they would be entitled to, say, 15 members for the 15 districts, so that each district would receive its representation. What business was it of theirs if one district was more thickly populated than another if the districts themselves were contented with the distribution. To disfranchise old districts merely to meet a theoretical proposition would be an unpardonable sin which would bear bitter fruit in the future. He would say just a word on the catching phrase "automatic distribution based upon voters, divided into single member constituencies." Could any of them conceive a more perfect scheme for jerrymandering purposes? When redistribution took place the whole country would, if the population had increased much, have to be divided into new constituencies according to every 1,000 or 2,000 voters, which would mean moving boundaries north, east, west, or south or sub-division of constituencies, and was human nature to suppose that those boundaries would not be affected by the political atmosphere of the party in power at the time? Automatic redistribution in such a case would be positively humorous, the laugh always being entirely on the side of the party in power.

#### A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

He had been what some persons would call a destructive critic so far, and they naturally asked what remedy he could suggest. His resolution gave the remedy. The appointment of a special commission of inquiry. In the face of the attacks made upon the bona fides of some of the highest officials of the Government by the Representative Party's agents and newspaper supporters, the Government should welcome such a suggestion. The evidence before such a commission would enlighten, not only those abroad, but the great majority of those within; all parties would then be able to place their views before the world. And the theoretical advocates would be able to give that information they had so carefully withheld regarding the practical working of their scheme. Conditions so extraordinary as theirs demanded the most careful, most critical examination. And he had no doubt that the appointment of a commission would be the first practical step in the direction of conciliation. A fair, reasonable, and equitable settlement would draw together the great bulk of the population who wanted peace, who wanted unity, who wanted to solidify the races, leaving the extremists to eat their own rancorous hearts. They had seen that present parties, with their Mauser and ballot-box fables on the one side, and the bogey-man's nursery rhymes of Slachter's Nek on the other side, were scarcely likely to bring together Horatio Tompkins, the Britisher, and Gert Swanepoel, the Afrikaner. It might be asked from where it was possible to obtain an impartial commission. From two places. One from England, of men outside politics; or here, from among the Judges of the High Court. At a critical political juncture like the present, no Judge would refuse, he thought, to accept the task of settling such differences. He had put before them the plea for distribution upon a basis of population, and shown them, he hoped, the absolute necessity for the appointment of a special commission where they, where he, and where everyone could go and place his views upon record. That commission might deem it necessary to recommend a middle course, a compromise between a population and a voters' basis as regards initial distribution, but redistribution should be upon a population basis. Well, if they should, and that compromise should bring a hearty handshake, a truce to dissension, they might thank God for the dawn of that day, to which they had been looking forward for more than 30 long years.

Mr. J. Walker, Trades and Labour Council, seconded the resolution. He said that the council he represented supported the principle of Representative Government, and he strongly advocated representation on the basis of population.

Mr. Vere Stent, editor of the "Pretoria News," said they had listened that night to a most fantastic scheme of Responsible Government to ensure the return of certain members for certain districts. They were, he contended, not prepared to give up a member or two members of the House of Representatives in order to strengthen the party led by Messrs. Beyers and Wolmarans.

Mr. Rees next addressed the meeting, and said that Mr. Stent's assertions were unfounded. The association was not founded to support "Het Volk," although they were working on much the same lines.

The resolution was then put and carried, but there was absolutely no order in the meeting at this stage.

Mr. H. Crawford next proposed, and Mr. J. Dougall seconded, that a copy of the resolution be forwarded to His Excellency the Governor for transmission to His Majesty's Government. The motion was carried.

The meeting then ended with a vote of thanks to the chairman and to Mr. Reek for the loan of the theatre.



"STAR," February 24th, 1905.

THE BOER ORGANISATION.

MEETING AT KLERKSDORP.

DE LA REY AND CHINESE.

Klerksdorp, Friday (Special).—Generals De la Rey and Smuts held a public meeting here this morning, in connection with the formation of branches of the Boer organisation "Het Volk." The meeting was held in the pavilion on the racecourse, and was attended by several hundred burghers.

General Liebenberg welcomed the generals, and said they also welcomed all English friends who might be present.

An address of welcome was presented to Generals De la Rey and Smuts.

In reply, General Smuts expressed great appreciation of the address and said they had gone through many hardships. There was much suspicion in such times, and the suspicion generally rested on the leaders. He was, however, glad to see the confidence which the burghers had in their leaders, and he assured them the leaders would do their utmost to advance the interests of their people. (Applause.)

General De la Rey expressed his appreciation of the huge gathering, and explained the objects of the meeting. It was their object to bring together in harmony again their people, who, in many cases, were living in open hatred to their kith and kin. (Applause.) They wished for union among all the white inhabitants of the country, irrespective of nationality. They had gone through three years of terrible hardships, and it was their duty to study and labour in the interests of the coming generations. It was not their duty to go and shout on public platforms. They had to watch and guard against things which were to their detriment. They were prepared to co-operate and assist the new Government, and he had heard that a new form of government was going to be given them from England. They had heard that some form of Representative Government was going to be established, but they were afraid that might be bad for the country generally. He regretted that the Administration had shown itself incapable of paying out the three millions sterling which was promised. (Applause.) Only Responsible Government could set right things and do justice to the promises that had been made. He thought it was very detrimental to their interests that the Chinese should have been introduced into this country. If all the profits had to go to Europe and the labour wages to go to China, then it was far better for them that the mines should be closed down altogether. (Loud applause.) He did not want to urge the deposition of Lord Milner, but they should go to His Excellency and point out the dangers of pursuing such a policy. If they worked harmoniously in a body, he was sure they could convince the Government that the people of the country could not accept the obligation of the war debt, which Mr. Chamberlain was promised by the capitalists. He was sure that the humane British Government would never compel them to pay the debts, which they themselves never had incurred. (Applause.) The country was now in a deplorable condition, and he did not believe in the statements made from without that things were going on all right and that the country would prosper in the near future. If they were given Responsible Government and thus enabled to raise a loan to right the wrongs that had been done, he believed all would come right in the end. (Applause.) He asked them to decide as to whether they would form branches of "Het Volk" in Klerksdorp. (Applause.)

It was unanimously decided to form branches of "Het Volk," and General De la Rey said he hoped they would work harmoniously and co-operate with all white men to make the people and country prosperous. (Applause.)

The statutes of the "Het Volk" organisation were then read and provisional committees for Klerksdorp and Haartebeestfontein were appointed.

Commandant Allemann spoke in support of the granting of full Responsible Government, and submitted a resolution to that effect. They did not want prosperity in the country for themselves, but also for those who had recently come to live among them. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

A similar resolution with regard to the Orange River Colony was also carried.

General J. C. Smuts, who received an ovation, in addressing the assemblage, said there were other political associations in the country, one of which was called the Progressive Party, which very much resembled a party of the same name in the Cape Colony. (Laughter and applause.) There was also a so-called Responsible Government Party, but the object of "Het Volk" was far deeper than either of those parties. (Applause.) Their object was the general welfare of the permanent white population of the country. (Applause.) Their association was open to all white men, whether Boer, Jew or Briton, whether "wild" or tame Boers. (Applause and laughter.) They wanted to get the country out of the gutter. The Transvaal was a great country, but it was now like an old cow, which had fallen into a sluit, and it was their duty and aim to drag the cow out of the sluit. (Applause.) They were prepared to extend the hand of brotherhood to all white men in the country. (Applause.) They wished for no distinction of nationality or creed. He referred to the successful coalition of the Irish, Scottish and English nations and expressed the hope that they would have a similar united white nation in South Africa. (Applause.) They wanted no Ireland in South Africa. (Applause.) Let them co-operate and live as one nation in South Africa and unite to form a great nation. They wanted the Government to have confidence in them and to allow them to govern themselves through the people of the country. Let them get a Government which could be held responsible for their doings to the people of the country. He urged all to join "Het Volk" and combine in making a great nation. He was not against capitalists, for capital was required in the country, but he objected to people who did not live in the country and who used their money solely for their own selfish ends. (Applause.) They were prepared to join with all white men, whether capitalists or no, as long as their object was to further the interests of the Transvaal. If they were united, all grievances would disappear, and the great ideal of their forefathers, namely, a united South

Africa, would still be realised. They should not only unite under the same flag, but also unite in studying one another's interests and welfare, and thus establish the unity which was the great ideal of their forefathers, and which should be the crowning point of the great battle, which was being fought for unity throughout South Africa. (Applause.)

Three cheers were then given for President Steyn, and a vote of thanks to Generals De la Rey and Smuts concluded the proceedings.

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No. 27.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 18, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, February 27, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of to-day's date,\* I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a resolution passed by the Klerksdorp branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association on 6th February, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

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Enclosure in No. 27.

KLERKSDORP BRANCH OF THE TRANSVAAL PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION to GOVERNOR.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Klerksdorp, February 6, 1905.

AT a meeting of the local branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association held here on Friday evening, 3rd instant, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—

“That this meeting desires to place on record its firm conviction that no constitution will be acceptable to this Colony which does not contain provisions establishing at the outset, and maintaining for the future, equal power and equal privileges for each voter.”

It was also resolved that the resolution, as above, be forwarded to you with a request that it be transmitted by cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Trusting that Your Excellency will kindly comply with the wishes of the meeting,

We are,

Yours obediently,

H. M. GUEST, Chairman.  
ALEX. LAWRIE, Secretary.

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
Governor of the Transvaal, &c.

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No. 28.

GOVERNOR VISCOUNT MILNER to MR. LYTTELTON.

(Received March 25, 1905.)

SIR,

Governor's Office, Johannesburg, March 6, 1905.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 27th February,† I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a resolution passed by the “Het Volk” Association at Middelburg on the 25th February, on the subject of Representative Government in the Transvaal.

I have, &c.,  
MILNER,  
Governor.

Enclosure in No. 28.

General L. BOTHA to HIGH COMMISSIONER.

(Translation.)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Middelburg, February 25, 1905.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith two resolutions, which were taken to-day at a public meeting of about one thousand of the inhabitants, and respectfully request you, after perusal, to submit the same to the Imperial Government.

I have, &c.,  
LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency Lord Milner,  
High Commissioner for South Africa,  
Johannesburg.

(Translation.)

This meeting of the public of the town and wards of Middelburg, Transvaal, having resolved to establish a branch of "The People" Association, and being acquainted with the contents of the Vereeniging Treaty, is of opinion that, when the time comes to make a change in the form of government of the Transvaal, no other than complete self-government should be instituted.

Resolved to request the Chief Committee to give notice of this to His Excellency Lord Milner.

S. P. E. TRICHARDT.  
J. A. GILFILLAN.

Carried.  
J. N. MUNNIK,  
Secretary.

Correct.  
LOUIS BOTHA.

(Translation.)

This meeting of the Middelburg wards of "The People" Association,

Resolved to request the Chief Committee to bring to the notice of His Excellency Lord Milner that the conditions of the Vereeniging Treaty affect the Orange River Colony as well as the Transvaal, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the Orange River Colony should at the same time be offered any change in the form of government which might be introduced here. This is according to the general wish of the Transvaal public.

JACOB DE CLERCQ.  
J. H. VISAGI.

Carried.  
J. N. MUNNIK,  
Secretary.

Correct.  
LOUIS BOTHA.