

THE ADMINISTRATION OF DR. JAMESON

AS

PRIME MINISTER OF THE CAPE COLONY

(1904 - 8)

Thesis presented for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

by

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S O U R C E S

For the purposes of this thesis, owing to the scarcity of available information, I have had to rely to a large extent for facts and opinions on two Cape newspapers - the "South African News" and the "Cape Times". The Merriman Papers have proved very useful, but unfortunately I was unable to gain access to any of Jameson's private papers, the few extracts from letters which I have used having been taken from those which Colvin quotes. I have discovered no secondary sources which deal fully with this period.

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

(a) Official Printed Papers (In the Mendelssohn Library)

(i) Blue Books issued by order of the Imperial Government. Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (cd 2399); The Selborne Memorandum (cd 3564).

(ii) Annexures to the Votes and Proceedings of the Cape Parliament.

A - a paper printed by order of the House of Assembly.

G - a paper printed by order of the Government.

S.C. - a Select Committee's Report.

(iii) The Statistical Register for the Cape of Good Hope for the years 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907.

(iv) The Cape Hansard for the years 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907.

(b) Unpublished Primary Sources

(i) The Merriman Papers (South African Public Library). Letters written and received by Merriman during the period 1904-8.

(ii) Prime Minister's Records (Cape Archives). Miscellaneous letters received by the Prime Minister in 1903 and 1904.

(iii) Prime Minister's Office: Correspondence files (Cape Archives). Letters, minutes, reports etc. received by the Prime Minister during the period 1904-7.

(c) The Press

(i) The "Cape Times" (Jagger Library).

The volumes for the months January 1904 to February 1908 were consulted.

This newspaper has proved of use in that it voices the opinion of the Progressive townsman.

(ii) The "South African News" (South African Public Library).

The volumes for the months January 1904 to January 1908 were consulted.

This newspaper expresses the Afrikaner, but not the Bond, point of view.

(iii) "Imvo" (South African Public Library).

A weekly newspaper, published in King William's Town. The volumes for 1905, 1906 and 1907 were consulted. The volumes for 1904 are missing.

Edited by Tengo Jabavu, "Imvo" is written mainly in the Native language, but does contain an editorial and a few articles in English. Jabavu expresses the Native point of view, at the same time pandering to Merriman and the South African Party.

(d) Published Documents

The Milner Papers: Volume II: South Africa 1899-1905 (1933). Edited by Cecil Headlam.

II. SECONDARY SOURCES

(a) Contemporary Publications

Fort, G. Seymour: "Dr. Jameson" (1908)

A biography of Jameson by one who knew him personally. Very biased, and based rather on report than on actual, first-hand material. (Mendelssohn Library)

Gluckstein & Saxby: "Black, White or Yellow?" (1904)

A pamphlet stating the case for and against the introduction of Chinese coolies. (Mendelssohn Library)

de Thierry, J.: "The Comin^o Man in South Africa".

Article in the "Empire Review" (edited by Kinloch Cooke): Volume VIII. September 1904, number 44. (Mendelssohn Library)

Willis, J. N.: "A Personal Impression of Dr. Jim".
Article in the magazine "New Era": August 3rd, 1904.

(Mendelssohn Library)

(b) Later Publications

Cloete, Bettie: "Die Lewe van Senator F. S. Malan". (1946)

A biography of Malan by his daughter. Represents the Afrikaner point of view and, as such, is biased.

Colvin, Ian: "Life of Jameson" (2 volumes). (1922)

A detailed biography of Jameson and useful as such, but very biased. It is a drama with Jameson as its hero rather than a true historical work.

Hofmeyr, J. H.: "The Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr". (1913)

Jacobsson, D.: "Fifty Golden Years of the Rand". (1936)

Part II, chapter VI, "A Chinese Interlude", contains a brief account of the introduction and repatriation of the Chinese.

Kilpin, Ralph: "The Old Cape House" (1918)

"The Romance of a Colonial Parliament" (1930)

Lawrence, Sir P.: "The Life of John Xavier Merriman" (1930)

Of some use, but it leaves the reader with no clear picture of the character or views of Merriman, or of the political problems with which he had to contend.

Malherbe, E. G.: "Education in South Africa". (1925)

Phillips, Sir Lionel: "Some Reminiscences". (1924)

Sampson, Victor: "My Reminiscences". (1926)

Sampson was in Jameson's Cabinet and, therefore, he gives a first-hand opinion of conditions. But the account is somewhat incoherent in places, and Sampson emphasizes only such incidents as he wishes to.

Schapera (Editor): "The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa" (1937)

Chapter XV: The Imposition and Nature of European Control,

by J. S. Marais.

v.d. Poel, Jean: "Railway and Customs Policies in South Africa" (1933)

Walker, Eric A.: "Lord de Villiers and His Times" (1925)

"A History of South Africa" (1928)

Wolton, Douglas G.: "Whither South Africa?" (1947)

Chapter IV- Industrialisation - proved of some use.

(c) Bibliographies

The Bibliography to the Cambridge History of the British Empire, Volume VIII.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

(a) DR. JAMESON AND THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The period 1904-8 is an interesting one, fraught with many problems. On the one hand we have all the resultant bitterness and racial animosity of a civil war, and on the other, the growing tendency towards union. Besides suffering the ravages of drought which brought with it bad crops, the Cape Colony was faced with disastrous rates and tariffs, declining revenues, and all the natural consequences of a post-war depression. Thus any Prime Minister would have found his task a difficult one at this time and Dr. Jameson, a well-meaning and honest man, but no statesman, found the odds were heavy against him.

Leander Starr Jameson was born on the 9th of February, 1853, in Edinburgh. A doctor of medicine and a bachelor of science, he sailed for South Africa in 1878 to take up a partnership with Dr. Prince of Kimberley, whose practice he later bought. Colvin describes in full and colourful detail the history of Jameson's first years at the Cape.⁽¹⁾ He stresses his popularity, energy and drive. The story of Jameson's early career, and the Raid with its unfortunate outcome, cannot be dealt with here. His friendship with Rhodes, and their ideal - a union of South Africa under the British flag, with equal rights for all civilised people - must, however, be stressed. Rhodes' influence on Jameson was great, and it is the determination to carry out Rhodes' ideas that can be taken as the motivating force behind many of Dr. Jim's actions.

In 1900, during the South African War, Jameson was elected to the Cape House of Assembly, as a Progressive member for Kimberley. But the precarious state of Cape politics at that time owing to the war led to the prorogation of Parliament until 1902, and it was in that year only that Jameson took his seat in the House for the first time. How the once-despised Jameson came to be leader of the Progressive party at the Cape is too long a

(1) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume I

story to be recounted here. Suffice to say that after the death of Rhodes (March 26th, 1902) Jameson became the acknowledged leader of the Progressives, resolved upon the arduous task of completing the work upon which his friend's heart had been set - federation of South Africa under the British flag.⁽¹⁾

Jameson had much to face. Some members of his own party even did not trust him, and many in the Colony were never to overcome their hatred towards him for the part he had played in the Raid at the side of Rhodes. The Dutch people were suspicious of him and of his connection with the de Beers industry, and Merriman, in particular, never lost his distrust of "that capitalist" and "Peruvian plutocrat" as he called him. The Opposition press supported this opinion, declaring that only less important than his disturbing effect racially was his connection with financial corporations.⁽²⁾ Like Merriman, they feared that he would use political power to further his own financial ends. "...If Dr. Jameson had no Raid and no Rhodesian maladministration to his debit, there would still be overwhelming reasons why no prudent Colonist should vote for men who will make him Premier ... It is most undesirable that one of the heads of a great financial corporation whose operations rival those of the State itself, one of the administrators of the vast wealth left by the late Mr. Rhodes for secret political use, one of the men who, if Rhodesia and the Cape were ever amalgamated or federation were ever attempted, would have to represent in his own person the clashing claim of the Cape taxpayer and the Chartered Company shareholder - most undesirable that such a one should ever hold state office ...", declared the "South African News".⁽³⁾

What were the published aims of the Progressive Party? Briefly, as seen in Jameson's election manifesto of 1903⁽⁴⁾ and

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- (1) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II, page 210
 - (2) South African News:Editorial: January 5th, 1904
 - (3) South African News:Editorial: January 20th, 1904
 - (4) Cape Times: September 27th, 1907

his letter to the Electors of the Cape Colony in January, 1904,⁽¹⁾ they were as follows:-

1. The support of all movements calculated to draw closer the ties which unite the mother country and the colonies.
2. The absolute adherence to Mr. Rhodes' policy of equal rights for all civilised men.
3. Better representation of the people in Parliament.
4. Compulsory education, where possible, and free education, where necessary, with local control by means of school boards.
5. Co-operation with the neighbouring states in railway policy with a view to an ultimate railway unification.
6. Extension of the railway systems for the development of agricultural districts, and a simplification of the tariffs.
7. The maintenance of the Customs Union.
8. Reduction of the cost of the necessaries of life; the imposition of an excise on spirits to fall on the consumer, and the acquisition of further revenue, if necessary, by the taxation of all sources of wealth.
9. The establishment of an effective Agricultural Department, and an agricultural credit bank; the inauguration of agricultural co-operation, and the reform and codification of the Irrigation Laws.
10. State-aided immigration, with the object of securing the settlement of a largely increased British population on the soil.
11. Payment of adequate compensation to those who had remained loyal during the war and had suffered financial loss.
12. Opposition to the introduction of Asiatics into South Africa, and the adoption of practical measures to exclude them from the Colony.
13. The improvement of the status of the Civil Service, with a view of retaining and securing efficient public servants, and the establishment of the Pension Fund on a more equitable basis.
14. The prohibition of the sale of liquor to aboriginal

(1) South African News: January 8th, 1904

Natives; legislation along the lines of the reports of the Select Committees on the Glen Grey and Native Location Acts; and the extension of industrial education for Natives.

15. The application of the Employer's Liability Act to the whole Colony. Controversial issues such as the reimposition of the meat duties - and, in fact, the whole Free Trade versus Protection issue - were not referred to, for there was dissension within the party on these questions, dissension which was ultimately to break the power of the Progressive Government.

(b) MERRIMAN AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN PARTY

John Xavier Merriman, an Englishman, was the acknowledged leader of the South African Party. This party had been founded by Merriman, Sauer and others at a time when anti-Afrikaner feeling was very strong at the Cape.⁽¹⁾ The idea was, apparently, to form a new party which, while incorporating the old Afrikaner Bond, did not call to the minds of Englishmen who might wish to join the party the unpleasant associations of the name "Bond". The South African Party, therefore, consisted of two fairly harmonious parts - the Bond, which was primarily a Dutch farmers' association, under the presidentship of Mr. Theron, and which had the support of the extremists of the party, and the more moderate, English-speaking section of which Mr. Merriman was one.⁽²⁾ The nationalist section criticized the views of some members of the party for being too near the Imperialists' ideal of an English colony. F. S. Malan, however, a young and promising leader of the back-benchers, declared for "a united South Africa under the British flag".⁽³⁾ His words drew the fire of the Nationalists throughout the country. What these people were wanting was virtual isolation, but men like Sauer, Hofmeyr and others realised that this was impossible and, if attained, "The Nationalists would have triumphed, but only at the expense of the nation".⁽⁴⁾

(1) Bettie Cloete: Die Lewe van Senator F.S. Malan, page 171
(2) Bettie Cloete: Die Lewe van Senator F.S. Malan, pp. 173-7
(3) South African News:Editorial: March 2nd, 1904
(4) South African News:Editorial: October 11th, 1904

The war was fresh in the minds of all, and Dutch and English still eyed one another suspiciously. Each party took its stand on racial conciliation, while accusing the other of attempts to stir up race feeling. Fort, an ardent supporter of Jameson, declared that "Such items, therefore, as were definite in the Bond programme of 1904 were inevitably racial. Dutch teachers in the schools, and the manipulation of education in Dutch interests - the official recognition of the Taal, which is a dialect - high protective duties on imported meat, even though these involved, owing to the scarcity of cattle, the killing of breeding stock - while brandy and wine were to be freed from excise and the mineral resources of the country to be directly and heavily taxed ..." ⁽¹⁾ - a very biased version of the party programme!

(c) The Suspensionist Agitation and the Fall of the Sprigg Government

After the war a movement was started for the suspension of the Constitution, for it was feared that "rebels" would gain control of the Government. Others felt that parliamentary government would be well-nigh impossible at such a time. A petition to this effect was signed by some forty members of the Progressive party, including Rhodes, and sent to the Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson. The suggestion was that there should simply be a few years without legislation, a nominee legislature dealing with necessary current business such as the budget, and with an Executive Government, responsible not to Parliament but to the Crown. ⁽²⁾ This agitation for suspension was not arrested by the death of Rhodes. Men such as the Speaker, Sir William Bisset Berry, and the Chief Justice, Lord de Villiers, however, addressed letters of emphatic protest to the Governor. In a letter to Chamberlain de Villiers expressed his views in the following terms: ⁽³⁾ "... What offence has the Colony committed that its Parliament should be suddenly suppressed without having an opportunity of showing by word or deed that, in the new order of things, it is prepared to take its place among the loyal

(1) G. Seymour Fort: Dr. Jameson, page 232

(2) The Milner Papers. Vol. II, page 409: Milner to Charles Bovd: March 15th, 1902

(3) Walker: Lord de Villiers and His Times: page 398

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(1) G. Seymour Fort: Dr. Jameson, page 232

(2) The Milner Papers. Vol. II, page 409: Milner to Charles Boyd: March 15th, 1902

(3) Walker: Lord de Villiers and His Times: page 398

and orderly self-governing Colonies in the Empire? ..." J. H. Hofmeyr expressed his views on the subject far more forcefully: "... But it seems that I am utterly at sea as regards the aim and objects of the self-styled Suspensionists ... Far from desiring mere Suspension, they demand Redistribution and settlement of this question as well as of Federation by a complete committee of their own exclusive sweet selves ... This is not suspending the Constitution. It is mutilating it ..." (1)

In spite of the conviction of Lord Milner, the High Commissioner for South Africa, that when the time came and the question was squarely put before the British Government it would yield to the Suspensionists, (2) this did not happen. Chamberlain remained fully convinced that suspension was impracticable and wholly undesirable, and on July 2nd, 1902, he communicated to the Cape the decision of the Imperial Government not to accede to the petition.

In August 1902 the Cape Parliament met for the first time since 1900. Legislation was almost impossible due to the very strong racialistic feeling prevailing. Sprigg, the Prime Minister, had opposed the suspension of the Constitution, and had thereby lost a number of his Progressive supporters. He had, therefore, to rely on Bond support to keep his ministry in power. The main proposals of the Government were for Bills of Indemnity for things done under martial law, for the failure to summon Parliament within the prescribed period, and for unauthorised expenditure which had been incurred. The debates were long and bitter. Memories of the war rankled, and the subject of suspension kept cropping up. Jameson was driven to observe that Parliamentary debates after the war afforded "some justification for those who, thinking at first it was the only remedy, had applied unsuccessfully for suspension. It was simply that the country might have rest, and that we might get on in a quiet manner to the preparation for the future federation of this country, upon which alone its rapid and full development depended ... and as the debate went on, and the

(1) J.H. Hofmeyr: The Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr: page 577

(2) The Milner Papers. Vol. II: page 408: Milner to Charles Boyd: January 31st, 1902

Dutch members, one after another, got up and gave them harrowing details ... he thought that they had not agitated for the postponement of Parliament without undue cause ..."(1)

Such a Parliament could not last. The bond demanded a Railway Bill as the price of its support.⁽²⁾ Sprigg said he would agree to this on condition that they pass the Estimates first, but the Bond insisted that the Railway Bill be passed first, and to this even he could not agree. Finally the Governor issued a proclamation dissolving Parliament in August 1903, after the Government, voting with the Progressives on a motion of Mr. Burton's for the investigation of sentences under martial law, was defeated by a majority of ten.⁽³⁾ The administration of the country had now to be carried on without supply. Sprigg's actions were much criticized and it was with some difficulty that the Progressives finally got his expenditure authorised in the next Parliament - it lived till then to prove yet another bone of contention between the Progressives and the South African Party.

With the defeat of Sprigg one of the hardest-fought election battles as yet known in the history of the Colony began, with the rebels disfranchised and the Coloured voters holding the balance in certain constituencies.⁽⁴⁾ The Chinese question and the Customs Convention were two of the main issues before the country. Although privately fully in agreement with the importation of Chinese labour for employment on the Transvaal mines, Jameson for political purposes made the exclusion of Chinese labourers from the Cape Colony one of the main planks of his election platform.⁽⁵⁾ The South African Party took their stand on the total exclusion of Asiatic labour from South Africa. Better representation of the people in Parliament, too, was stressed by the Progressives. While the South African Party was in favour of a tax on mineral wealth, the Progressive Party stood firm on the principle of taxation of all sources of wealth.⁽⁶⁾ Much was done on both sides in an effort

(1) Sir F. Lawrence: The Life of John Xavier Merriman: page 204

(2) G. Seymour Fort: Dr. Jameson: pages 216-7

(3) J.H. Hofmeyr: The Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr: page 592

(4) Walker: Lord de Villiers and His Times: page 413

(5) See Chapter V

(6) Cape Times: January 20th, 1904 - Report of speech by Mr.

Jagger at Progressive meeting in Cape Town

to catch the farmers' votes. Both parties earnestly pledged their support to "the backbone of the country", promising them help, and, above all, railways.

The part played in the elections by the Native was an important one. Both sides were striving to obtain his support, for in quite a number of districts Native voters held the balance between the two parties. A staunch professed supporter of the South African Party was Tengo Jabavu, editor of the Native newspaper "Izwi". He kept in close touch with Merriman during the elections, promising him every support.

(d) The Elections - Victory for the Progressives

When the results of the Legislative Council elections were made known, it was found that the Progressives had obtained a bare majority of one in that House - and a very uncertain one at that, for Logan, although professing to be a Progressive, was far more concerned with his own affairs than those of his party, and was later to prove instrumental in causing the ultimate downfall of the Progressive Government.

February the 10th was polling day, and on the 16th of that month the final Legislative Assembly results were announced. The Progressives had triumphed in the Assembly, too, having obtained fifty seats in a House of ninety-five. The South African Party had gained two seats and the Progressives eight.⁽¹⁾ Merriman and Bauer were among the eight who lost their seats. The former was, however, later elected member for Victoria West, and the latter gained a seat in the House in the elections held under the provisions of the Additional Parliamentary Representation Act of 1904. Jameson was returned as member for Grahamstown, Dr. Smartt for East London, Walton for Port Elizabeth, F. W. Malan for Malmesbury, etc.

It must be remembered that this was hardly the verdict of the country delivered under normal conditions. Had the dis-

(1) Cape Times: February 16th, 1904

franchised rebels voted in the constituencies of Aliwal North, Wodehouse, Vryburg, Namaqualand and Prieska, for example, it is questionable whether these seats would have fallen to the Progressives.

Sprigg had lost the contest in East London, but even when the final results were made known he did not immediately tender his resignation. Solomon wrote to Merriman from Pretoria saying that "... I quite expect Sprigg to stick to it until a vote of no confidence is passed in him, and I suppose he might defeat such a vote if he could persuade P. Faure to remain with him and some other Progressive to join him in the place of Douglass. He will however have some difficulty in going on without a seat in the House ..."⁽¹⁾ The Governor had been placed in an invidious position by Sprigg not resigning. Would he have to follow the example of Sir Bartle Frere in the case of the dismissal of the Molteno ministry? Fortunately this course did not become necessary, for on February 18th Sprigg finally resigned.⁽²⁾ Jameson was thereupon called upon by His Excellency, the Governor, to form a Ministry.

Who would comprise the new ministry? Would Jameson fill the ministerial benches with his capitalist friends? By February 26th it was known that the following had been appointed - Dr. Jameson (Prime Minister without portfolio); Dr. Smartt (Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works); Colonel Crewe (Secretary for Colonial Affairs); Mr. Victor Sampson (Attorney-General - conditionally on his ceasing all connection with the De Beers Company); Mr. A. J. Fuller (Secretary for Agriculture); and Sir Lewis Michell (Minister without portfolio). Sir Henry Juta and Mr. T. L. Graham had been offered, but had declined, office.⁽³⁾

Criticisms of Jameson's choice of a Cabinet are easy to find. He had formed a ministry of his own personal friends; men, let it be said, of whose loyalty and obedience he could be certain. The strength of the Progressive party lay, surely, in the towns,

(1) Merriman Papers: Solomon to John X. Merriman, February 17th, 1904

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: February 19th, 1904

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: February 22nd, 1904

and yet there was no genuine representative of commerce in the ministry. Would it not have been a further step, too, towards racial conciliation if Jameson had included an Afrikaner in his Cabinet? The inexperience of the ministry was, above all, criticized. Jameson himself was almost a newcomer to the House: "... We are to be governed by a dabbler, a trifler, a prince in a Ministry of unresisting de Beers invertebrates...", declared the "South African News".⁽¹⁾

In a speech at a banquet in his honour Dr. Jameson once more reiterated the principles of his party: "...We, the Progressive party, view this limb of the British Empire as a real integral portion of the Empire, that can never be separated from the Empire - and can never prosper unless we recognise that it is a limb of the British Empire ..."⁽²⁾ He also declared that "...Our desire, if our Ministry is to have any special feature, our desire is to make agriculture, and the proper development of the agricultural resources of this country, the main feature of this Ministry..."⁽³⁾ But he had many difficulties to face. "... To the Opposition, he was an object of mingled fear and hatred, an opponent whom they could howl down with derisive cheers and taunts when he opened his mouth to speak. To his own party, weakened by dissension and broken by the Sprigg betrayal, he was an untried man, and therefore an unknown quantity as a leader. Their support was indeed given to him, but it lacked the stimulus of trust ..."⁽⁴⁾

Such, then, were the men who were to guide the country, sometimes well, more often blindly, stumbling badly, through the trials of the next four years - haunted by an ever-growing deficit, dissension between town and country, the hatred and rivalry between the ports East London and Port Elizabeth; undecided between protection and free trade, many times pleasing none in an attempt to please all - with the large, unsettled questions of union or federation, Native policy, railways and customs etc. looming ahead.

(1) South African News: Editorial: March 4th, 1904

(2) Cape Times: February 26th, 1904

(3) Ibid.

(4) C. de Thierrv: The Coming Man in South Africa

(Article in The Empire Review: Volume VIII, 1904. Page 141)

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD 1904-8

The first session of the eleventh Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope opened with all the usual pomp and ceremony on Friday, 4th March, 1904. The notables turned out in their finery to watch the procession, and the public galleries of the House were crowded to witness the opening of Parliament by the Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson.

Perhaps it would be as well here to give briefly the contents of the Governor's speech, containing as it did the proposed programme of legislation for the session.⁽¹⁾ The most important immediate task of the new Parliament, said Sir Walter, would be the legalisation of the unauthorised expenditure which had taken place consequent on the dissolution of the tenth Parliament. The promised Bill to provide for the better representation of the people in Parliament was to be submitted, as also a Bill to regulate the repeal of the existing Peace Preservation Act. "...An important measure, of a stringent character, will also be brought before you, to prevent the immigration of Chinese into the Colony..." The latter measure was one to which the Progressives were pledged. Steps were to be taken to provide for a review of the decisions of the War Losses Compensation Commission and for payment of claims, and the Ministers were also considering the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the Civil Service of the Colony. With regard to railway policy, "... detailed surveys will be undertaken, with the view of carrying on further construction works whenever the financial condition of the country permits..." The Estimates for the ensuing financial year would be submitted to the House, and, he added, "... They will be framed with a view to strict economy of administration, a course rendered necessary by reason of the fact that a severe depression in trade has lately arrested the normal buoyancy of the revenue, and necessitated great caution in dealing with the public expenditure..."

(1) Cape Hansard: March 4th, 1904

This and more was what Jameson and his ministers proposed to do during the session of 1904. Their programme was an ambitious one, especially when one takes into consideration their very shaky majority in the Upper House. But the Ministry were optimistic, for they had not yet realized the extent of the depression. With the shortage of labour on the mines the prosperity of the Rand declined. Consequently the volume of the inland trade decreased and this, coupled with the fact that much of the Transvaal trade was now going through the port of Delagoa Bay, had an instantaneous effect on the revenues of the Cape. Before long it became obvious that all normal grievances were being intensified by shortage of money, unemployment, etc. - difficult problems for any government to have to contend with.

Parliament got down to work immediately, for a great deal had to be accomplished before the end of the session. By March 22nd the Indemnity Bill had been passed by the Assembly, and debates on Chinese Immigration and Additional Representation were occupying the time of the House. "Dr. Jameson has plainly and openly declared war against us," declared the "South African News". "He will make the Redistribution Bill the condition of proceeding with the other and more useful work. And yet despite all this he pretends to expect a short session ..."⁽¹⁾ The hardest fights of the session took place over this Bill. Very bitter were the denunciations of the "de Beers Additional Powers Bill" or the "Merriman and Sauer Absence Celebration Bill" as it was called by some.⁽²⁾ Finally, by the 18th of April, after two all-night sittings, it was passed by the Assembly. But the way in which this measure was pushed through in no way added to the popularity of the Progressive Government. Debates on the Chinese question dragged on, and it was on the 27th May only that Sampson's Chinese Exclusion Bill was passed.

Walton's first Budget speech was optimistic in tone. Dr. Jameson had hoped that **no** taxation would prove necessary, and

(1) South African News: Editorial: May 28th, 1904
(2) South African News: Editorial: March 9th, 1904

The session had brought forth little legislation of immediate practical value, but there was much of potential value. As yet nothing had been done about education, railways or agriculture, but no doubt these would have their place in the 1905 programme.

The government had, it is true, fulfilled many of their election promises. They had pursued the policy of keeping the Chinese out of the Colony and of non-interference in neighbouring colonies. With regard to taxation, the excise had, as they had promised, been the first of the taxation measures passed. The income tax was a tax on all sources of wealth, and although a diamond tax had been repeatedly called for, they had remained firm on the stand they had taken up.

During the recess Dr. Jameson was compelled to go to England for health reasons, and in his absence Dr. Smartt carried on the government of the country. The elections for the Additional Seats as created by the Additional Parliamentary Representation Act were held in July. Of the twelve new seats created in the House of Assembly, eight went to the Progressives and four to the South African Party.⁽¹⁾ One of the Opposition candidates who gained a seat in these elections was Mr. Sauer (George).

Meanwhile the position of the unemployed in the Colony was becoming worse. Petitions for aid poured in. The Government declined to take sole responsibility for this state of affairs, and the Opposition was forced to agree with them. "... We do not blame the Government for declining trade. Trade would have declined under any government, and we are rather surprised that it has not declined more than it has done..."⁽²⁾ But the Government was blamed, and justly, for faulty Estimates and a further entanglement of the country's finances. They had not created the depression, it is true, but they had certainly aggravated it. Dr. Jim in a letter to his brother, Sam, called this "... a beastly time of retrenchment and a consequent growling public, and a party at sixes and sevens - a continuous egg dance!"⁽³⁾

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: July 15th, 1904

(2) South African News: Editorial: October 20th, 1904

(3) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II: page 248

On his return from England, Jameson made a speech to his Grahamstown constituents, putting the position as he saw it, and dealing with the proposed legislation of the coming session.⁽¹⁾ He explained that it was only after they had assumed office that the Government had become aware of the true financial position. Severe retrenchment had become necessary, and by the end of September they had been forced to retrench in the Civil Service and raise the railway rates, but they had stopped short of what he termed "panic legislation". He promised, moreover, that these measures were only temporary. More was required, he admitted, in the direction of redistribution, but they had resolved not to put such a Bill in the forefront next session. It is obvious that the Government had already realized the impossibility of passing such a measure, the weight of public opinion being too heavy against them.

What was the ~~position~~^{relationship} between the colonies at this time? The idea of some form of union or federation of South Africa was rapidly gaining ground. The terms under which the South African Native Affairs Commission had been appointed were significant. "That in view of the coming Federation of South African colonies, it is desirable that a South African Commission be constituted to gather accurate information on certain affairs relating to the Natives and Native Administration, and to offer recommendations to the several governments concerned, with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of Native policy."⁽²⁾ In addition, a conference of the Attorney-Generals of the four colonies was to be held to discuss the formation of an Appeal Court for South Africa. Railway and customs difficulties were, however, on the other hand, causing relations between the colonies to become very strained.

Interest in the coming session was growing. Would the Progressives introduce further contentious measures? Would an Education Bill acceptable to all sections of the community be evolved? Was it possible to hope for an amnesty for rebels? The Bond Congress met at Cradock on the 23rd February. Proposals for the

(1) Cape Times: December 7th, 1904 - Report of Dr. Jameson's Grahamstown speech

(2) Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (cd..2399)

reimposition of the meat duty, for the repeal or reduction of the excise, and for the reduction of railway rates were among those brought forward. The Congress recommended, above all, rigorous retrenchment all round.⁽¹⁾

Parliament reassembled on the 10th March, 1905. It is significant that the Governor's speech opened on a conciliatory note: "... All prisoners in any way connected with the late war and rebellion have been released, and no further prosecutions for offences contrary to the usages of war will take place. The issue of arms suited to the requirements of the farmers has been sanctioned throughout the Colony to all fit and proper persons, whether they were or were not implicated in the rebellion..."⁽²⁾ After assuring the House that the Colony was at length showing some signs of returning prosperity - a forlorn hope - he proceeded to detail the proposed legislation for 1905. The Agricultural Department was to be reorganised with a view to bringing it into closer contact with the farmers and with the object of providing them with state aid. An Irrigation Bill and the much-talked-of Education Bill were to be introduced, as also the promised Workmen's Compensation Bill. The conference of the four Attorney-Generals had been held and a unanimous agreement reached. He hoped that their proposals for a South African Court of Appeal would be ratified by the various states during the year. The concluding portion of his speech contained a piece of welcome news for Merriman, for the Estimates, as he had desired, were to be submitted to the scrutiny of a committee with a view to effecting further economy.⁽³⁾

In theory the Government's proposals sounded promising, but would they be put into effect? Then, there were certain subjects which were passed over in silence. Was the scab question now to be forgotten? What about the shipping question, the railway conference, the recommendations of the compensation commission and the liquor bill? And as regards finance how did the Ministry propose to deal with the accumulated deficit of £1,350,000? What had

(1) South African News: Editorial: February 28th, 1905

(2) Cape Hansard: March 10th, 1905

(3) Ibid.

happened to Walton's promised Audit Bill to confirm parliament's hold on finance?

The most important measure passed in this session was the Education Act, which in its final form did much to crystallize and systematize educational administration. On the other hand the financial position of the Colony was not improving. The national debt was increasing and the new Cape loan had been raised on terms more beneficial to the investor than to the Colony. The wine farmers continued to complain about the excise, and many were agitating for the reimposition of the meat duty. Jameson had to move carefully in order to avoid a split within the party on this subject. Dr. Smartt, Mr. Sampson, and Colonel Crewe were in favour of a moderate protection on imported meat, but Jameson himself did not consider the time ripe for this. Within the party there had been a very hot caucus meeting on the subject, and on March 27th Jameson, in a letter to Sam, stated that he had "... Tried party at their highest yesterday on meat duties; but with threat of another government came out top and got them in line..."⁽¹⁾ A Select Committee was finally appointed to enquire into the matter. Complaints that retrenchment was too severe, that the tax on wealth was too light, that the plight of the unemployed should be relieved, were hurled at the Government. The need for immediate action was imperative. Protectionists saw the alleviation of their misery in increased duties and agitated for them; others advocated complete freedom of trade. Some thought the solution lay in a tax on diamonds, others in the increase of existing taxation. The mound of difficulties with which the Progressives had to contend was growing steadily.

Jameson had to take care to humour the farmers in an attempt to gain their support, but in doing so he alienated many of his supporters in the towns. The result of the report of the Agricultural Commission which had been appointed in 1904 was a Bill dealing with the formation of an Agricultural Board, but this measure was not passed. Meanwhile attempts to eradicate scab

(1) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II: page 250

and foster co-operation went ahead, and in this session the report of the Select Committee on the Scab Acts was considered. The promised Irrigation Bill was introduced, but it met with great opposition, and was so unwieldy that it was dropped and a revised Bill introduced in 1906.

At the close of the session Jameson once more departed to England for health reasons, leaving the country in the hands of his Ministers. Graham Bower, who saw him in London, said that "...I suppose there will be a change of government at the Cape soon, but Jameson is the sort of man who will die fighting, and I doubt whether the Opposition will find it an easy task despite his wretched health..."⁽¹⁾

In March 1905 Lord Milner had tendered his resignation as High Commissioner for South Africa.⁽²⁾ Lord Selborne's appointment in his place caused some surprise, as it was not thought that the British Government would be able to spare one of its most successful and influential men.⁽³⁾ His appointment at this time was fortunate, for Milner, although he had done much for South Africa, was damned in the eyes of Het Volk and the South African Party. Selborne, on the other hand, although viewed with some distrust at first, was sufficiently moderate to gain the respect of all sections of the community. The importance of his far-sighted and comprehensive Memorandum on South African Affairs cannot be exaggerated — South Africa was a step nearer towards the goal of federation. Meanwhile in England the Liberals came into power in December 1905, and in South Africa the agitation against Chinese labour flared up anew.

The Cape Parliament did not meet in 1906 until May 25th. This was to allow the Customs Convention to meet at Pietermaritzburg first. Efforts to lessen the preference given to the Portuguese under the "modus vivendi" were proving of little avail, and the railway dispute was fast reaching a crisis. The British Government was also negotiating with the shipping companies on the freights question.

(1) Merriman Papers: Graham Bower to John X. Merriman: November 9th, 1905

(2) Prime Minister's Office: (Correspondence file 632/05) Lord Milner to the Governor-General: April 1st, 1905

(3) Cape Times: March 3rd, 1905: Reuter's Special

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The Governor's speech was again optimistic, but it was becoming increasingly obvious that the Government was only just managing to keep its head above water. The Ministers, according to Sir Walter, were still doing much to stimulate co-operation, and the Irrigation Bill would be introduced during the session. The Civil Service Commission had finished its labours and prepared a draft Bill which, together with its reports, would be presented to Parliament for consideration. The War Losses Compensation Inquiry Commission was still at work, but a report showing progress would be submitted to the House, as would an approximate estimate of the amount of compensation, for the delay in payment was causing hardship to many. The financial position of the railways had improved and they had, therefore, resolved to continue their policy of cautious development. With this end in view a Bill for certain new lines was to be submitted. Other important measures, he hoped, would be introduced and discussions on federation held.

The depression continued, and the unemployment problem grew steadily worse. A government notice issued on the 16th of August may serve as an illustration: "... In view of the depressed condition of the skilled labour market, it is hereby notified for public information that a general warning is conveyed to artisans and other skilled workmen abroad against emigration to the Cape Colony at the present time ..."(1)

Workmen's Compensation, as in the previous session, came in for a good deal of discussion, and an Amendment Bill was finally passed. The Immigration Bill, too, was passed although it met with a good deal of opposition. A Local Authorities Railway Contribution Bill which, as its title shows, was a Bill to authorise local authorities to contribute towards the cost of certain lines of railway, passed through its three readings easily, as also did the New and Additional Railway Works and Services Bill. A more important Bill which was passed after being amended in Committee was one authorising the construction of several new lines of railway.

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Although it was on the whole a barren and uninteresting session, the Irrigation Bill had been passed at last, the Customs Convention ratified, the income tax imposed for the third year running, and three Loan Bills passed. Jameson, after studying the report of the Select Committee, had consented to the imposition of a ld. per lb. duty on frozen imported meat - a triumph for the Protectionists - but the Bill to this effect had been rejected in the Upper House at the last moment.

During 1906 the controversy between the ports within the Colony continued, and at the annual congress of the South African Imperial Union (the Progressive party organisation) Port Elizabeth was not represented. Colonel Crewe addressed the Congress and assured them that there was no cause for anxiety with regard to Port Elizabeth. It is significant to note that in discussing the next election he admitted that it was true that they had won the last election partly because of the disfranchisement of a number of persons.⁽¹⁾

At Grahamstown in December Jameson announced that Parliament would not meet in the following year until June because of the Colonial Conference assembling in London in the interval. When it did assemble the Ministry did not propose to introduce any controversial measures, but intended instead to carry on developmental legislation.⁽²⁾ Certain Progressives objected to this policy as it would entail the scrapping of the redistribution bill. Surely such important issues should not be dropped just because they were political, said the "Cape Times".⁽³⁾ There was growing dissatisfaction amongst Jameson's urban supporters. Maitland Park, Editor of the "Cape Times", was Jameson's staunch friend, but even he would not follow him in his policy of conciliating the farmers at the expense of the towns.⁽⁴⁾

Meanwhile the Transvaal had been granted responsible government, and in the elections of February 1907 the Het Volk party

- (1) Cape Times: November 22nd, 1906: report of Colonel Crewe's address to the South African Imperial Union
- (2) Cape Times: December 7th, 1906: Report of speech by Jameson at
- (3) Cape Times: Editorial: December 11th, 1906 /Grahamstown
- (4) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II: page 248

obtained a majority.⁽¹⁾ In March came the official announcement of the new Cabinet, with General Botha as Prime Minister and General Smuts as Colonial Secretary. In June of the same year the Orange River Colony, too, was granted responsible government, thus giving the Bond control in two out of the four South African colonies. The feeling that a change of government at the Cape was necessary grew, and, as Smuts said in a letter to Merriman, "... I hope your party will soon be victorious at the Cape, so that a great forward start could be made all over South Africa..."⁽²⁾

Early in the year the Colonial Conference was held in London. Both Jameson and Botha attended, and at this conference a firm friendship seems to have grown up between these two men. On his return from London Jameson declared that he felt the idea of the separation of Dutch and English was past after the speeches he had listened to day by day from Botha. He was now prepared to work hand in hand with the Dutch for federation, and he felt a final cure for the depression would be union and a united attempt to put the South African industries on their feet.⁽³⁾

In June 1907 Fuller resigned his portfolio on the grounds of ill-health and a Cabinet reshuffle took place, Fuller remaining as minister without portfolio. Colonel Crewe became Minister of Agriculture and took over, in addition, control of the Education Department. The control of mines was placed under the Attorney-General, and Sir Pieter Faure joined the Cabinet as Colonial Secretary.⁽⁴⁾ But this Ministry had not long to remain in office.

The fourth and last session of the eleventh Parliament opened on Friday, June 21st. Sir Walter, in his address to both Houses, admitted that there was no material improvement to be seen in the general condition of South African trade. The Transvaal labour problem was, he said, to a large extent the cause of this and he, therefore, felt justified in expressing the hope that the establishment in the Transvaal of a responsible government might, in

- (1) Cape Times: February 27th, 1907: Results of the Transvaal Elections
(2) Merriman Papers: J.C. Smuts to John X. Merriman: /tions
February 25th, 1907
(3) Cape Times: June 5th, 1907: Report of Speech by Jameson at
(4) Cape Times: Editorial: June 10th, 1907 /Cape Town

the near future, result in some measure of improvement. The Colonial Conference, he continued, had come to many important decisions on inter-colonial questions and on the subject of Imperial federation, and a verbatim report of proceedings would be laid before the House. The South African delegates had obtained the consent of the British Government to their proposals for the establishment of a South African Court of Appeal.⁽¹⁾

The Governor's forecast of financial business, too, was far from optimistic. The Government had been doing their best to curtail expenditure in all branches of administration. They had had, therefore, to cut down expenditure on public works, and the Estimates would show a considerable reduction on those for the current year. A Commission had been appointed to enquire into the future management of railways, and the report of this Commission, together with a Bill giving effect to these recommendations, would be placed before Parliament, as also the final report of the War Losses Compensation Inquiry Commission. At a conference held to discuss the question of South African defence a unanimous report had been adopted, and a Bill to apply its provisions would be submitted. Another railway conference would, the Governor promised, be held after the establishment of responsible government in the Orange River Colony.⁽²⁾

A singularly vague and uninformative speech. Little was said about the important question of finance, and the legislative programme as put forward by the Governor was not particularly ambitious, although practical - the programme of a government whose time of usefulness was past, a government so bound by conflicting interests that it was able to propose little but the bare bones of legislation. How different from the very full programmes of 1904 and 1905!

What was actually accomplished during this turbulent session of 1907? A Precious Stones Act Amendment Bill was passed, the essential principle of this new measure being that without disturbing the rights of individuals or companies in existing mines

(1) Cape Hansard: June 21st, 1907

(2) Ibid.

CHAPTER II
THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR

(a) The Position of Rebels

In reviewing this period, the fact that the Colony was still recovering from the effects of what might be termed a civil war must not be forgotten. In the first place, racialism had played an important part in the election campaign, and it is extremely doubtful whether Jameson would have won the election had not the 'rebels' been disfranchised. During these years racial animosity was kept alive by the party press, although the party leaders themselves insisted that they were doing their best to obliterate the past. In some ways, however, it is astonishing to reflect that a generally contested election was able to be held so soon after the war with so little actual disturbance of relationships.

At the Cape a number of men were suffering under sentences of various kinds, including disfranchisement, for the parts they had played in the war. Here let it be said that the punishment meted out to these rebels was actually very lenient, and by 1906, but a few years after the conclusion of the war, the last remaining disabilities imposed upon them had been removed by the Progressive Government.

On the 28th of March, 1904, the following letter from the Boer generals Botha, de la Rey and Smuts was received by the Governor General: "We have the honour to approach Your Excellency on behalf of the Cape rebels who are still serving the various sentences to which they have been condemned. We do not wish to minimize the offences of which these persons have been guilty, but we feel very keenly that the responsibility rests very largely with the governments and officers of the late Republics, but for whom the offences for which the unfortunate people have been punished might never have been committed We wish also to submit to Your Excellency the desirability of now putting an end to all further prosecutions of rebels, a few of whom are still wandering over the world to escape prosecution ..."⁽¹⁾

(1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 31/04): Letter from Botha, de la Rey & Smuts to the Governor General: March 28th, 1904

The reply to this stated that there were no persons in confinement for the crime of High Treason per se, and none sentenced for any offences by Martial Law Tribunals. There were, however, a few prisoners undergoing sentences inflicted by the Special Treason or Superior Courts for the combined crimes of High Treason and Murder. (1)

On the 13th May of the same year Jameson announced in the House of Assembly that the Government had gone into the record of all cases of people in dura ce in connection with rebellion. The result of this had been that certain pardons had been granted by the Governor on the recommendations of the Government. It was only Visser who had not been pardoned, and his was a case of cold-blooded, deliberate murder. After making this statement Jameson expressed the hope that this concession would further prove that the Government was doing its best to obliterate the past. (2;

A further popular measure was introduced by the Attorney-General, Mr. Sampson, in the session of 1904. This was the Bill to Furtner Amend the Laws for the Better Administration of Justice - more popularly known as the Partial Amnesty Bill. The principal clauses of the Bill provided for the formation of Divisional Courts; for the abolition of Indemnity and Special Tribunals (from now on such cases were to be tried by the Resident Magistrates' Courts with the penalty alone of disfranchisement for five years); for cases of rebellion to be dealt with in future in the ordinary course of law; and for the laws relating to trial by jury to apply in future to the prosecution of offences under any law relating to trade in diamonds. (3) While on the one hand, therefore, the Bill provided for further prosecutions of rebels who had not yet been prosecuted and for the continuation of punishment of convicted rebels, on the other hand it was in the direction of amnesty because it reduced the punishment for rebellion to disfranchisement for five years. The measure passed easily because

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- (1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 31/04): Dispatch from the Under Colonial Secretary to the Secretary of the Law Department: April 7th, 1904
(2) Cape Hansard: May 13th, 1904
(3) Cape Hansard: April 25th, 1904

of these clauses. Mr. Burton did move that a complete amnesty be granted, but when this was stated by Sampson to be completely impossible, he decided not to press the matter to a division.⁽¹⁾ Jameson pointed out that the Government had gone as far as expediency permitted.

There are many different opinions on the conditions prevailing in 1904. Colonel Harris, M.L.A., in an interview in London, said that the old racial animosity was dying out in Parliament and that British and Dutch were working better together, the pardon granted to rebels towards the end of the session having had a good effect.⁽²⁾ True, a good deal of bitterness seems to have died away at this time, the people being driven together under pressure of hard times, and memories of the war became less bitter. A speech made by Sauer at a South African Liberal Association gathering in August seems, however, to give the lie to this: "... They heard much talk of conciliation, but at the same time, every opportunity was taken to foment, and to bring about race feeling ... Why did these things happen? Because the party that was served by that body knew full well that so soon as race feeling disappeared from our politics, their party would disappear also..."⁽³⁾ But by his very words Sauer himself is stirring up race feeling!

On the 16th October, 1905, Dr. Smartt (Acting Prime Minister) forwarded a telegram from the Premier of Natal to Dr. Jameson in England in which Natal stated that, with the approval of the King, it had been decided to grant a free pardon to rebels.⁽⁴⁾ What did the Cape propose to do? Jameson replied asking how many cases of enfranchisement this would anticipate, remembering the next registration in February, 1907.⁽⁵⁾ On the 19th October Smartt wired Jameson stating that, owing to the difficulty about compensation, Cabinet proposed not a free pardon but a commutation from

(1) South African News: Editorial: May 28th, 1904

(2) Cape Times: August 5th, 1904: report of Interview

(3) Cape Times: August 20th, 1904

(4) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1698/05): Cablegram from Dr. Smartt to Dr. Jameson, October 16th, 1905

(5) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1698/05): Cablegram from Dr. Jameson to Dr. Smartt, October 17th, 1905

Peace Preservation Acts, upon the issue of rifles and ammunition, should be removed⁽¹⁾ - was agreed to, and Dr. Jameson promised to see what he could do about it. In May of the following year a motion to the same effect was brought forward by Mr. Malan.⁽²⁾ He claimed that a differentiation was made between one class of man and another, those convicted of treason, etc. only being able to carry certain types of gun, and begged that this, one of the last existing legacies of the war, be removed. Colonel Crewe's excuse for not suspending the Act was that Natives and other undesirables would then be able to carry guns. Jameson concurred with Crewe, but promised to see if a solution could be found.⁽³⁾ On the following day he announced that they had found that they would be able to administer the law without this proclamation, and on June 1st he laid on the table of the House a minute from the Governor assenting to the removal of the restrictions under the Peace Preservation Act. A further measure to wipe out the memories of war had been passed by the Progressives.

To what extent had the disfranchisement of the rebels determined the issue at the elections of 1904? This cannot, of course, be judged exactly, but it is very probable, if not certain, that the Progressives would not have obtained a majority in Parliament if the disfranchised voters had been returned to the roll. Writing to Chamberlain in May 1902 on the question of re-enfranchisement Milner had said, "... My opinion remains as firm as possible, that it would be a great disaster if we allowed such a measure to become law. It not only means handing over the Cape to Bond government for five years, but it will discourage all our real friends, and take the heart out of all resistance to the Nationalist propaganda ..."⁽⁴⁾ Speaking in the Legislative Council on March 7th, 1904, Mr. Graham, too, quoted figures to show that if the disfranchised rebels had voted for South African Party candidates, the Progressive candidates would have been defeated. Something, he

(1) Cape Hansard: May 20th, 1904

(2) Cape Hansard: May 9th, 1905

(3) Cape Hansard: May 10th, 1905

(4) Milner Papers: Vol. II, page 443: Milner to Chamberlain:
May 31st, 1902

said, would have to be done or, in the next election, when the period of disfranchisement for rebellion had expired, the Progressives would be in a far worse position than they had been in the past.⁽¹⁾

Turning to Appendix I, it can be seen that the total increase in the number of electors in the Cape Colony between 1905 (142,940) and 1907 (151,314) was 8,374. No actual statements were issued showing the total number of voters disfranchised by the various courts, but the total number of persons sentenced was, according to the "Cape Times", approximately 10,500, of whom 6,000 odd were disfranchised for five years and the rest for life.⁽²⁾ As a consequence of the Amnesty Act all distinctions were removed and these, if they were in other respects qualified, were free to be registered as Parliamentary voters. The difference this made may, perhaps, be judged by the following table showing the figures for some of the constituencies more especially affected by the disfranchisement penalties:

<u>Constituency</u>	<u>Number disfranchised</u>	<u>Voters' roll</u>	
		<u>1905</u>	<u>1907</u>
Aliwal North	800	1,584	2,273
Barkly West	1,693	1,921	2,945
Prieska	1,027	965	1,699
Wodehouse	1,638	1,926	3,365
Vryburg	721	883	1,559
Namaqualand	271	2,041	2,481
Victoria West	501	2,348	2,811
Albert	902	1,651	2,229

From these figures it can be seen that the voting would show a very different opinion if these disfranchised voters voted, as they almost certainly would, for the South African Party. Take Wodehouse, for instance. With 1,926 voters on the roll the Progressives had obtained a majority of 180, but it is obvious which way the pendulum would swing now that the 1,638 disfranchised voters had been returned to the roll. Similar conclusions can be drawn when

(1) Cape Times; March 8th, 1904: Report of proceedings in the Legislative Council

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: October 16th, 1907

looking at the figures for Frieska, Aliwal North, etc. These seats, and very probably others, too, could therefore be reckoned as lost to the Progressives in an election.

In short, the most cursory analysis of the new register reveals that, even allowing for quite a considerable increase in population, the prospect, now that the rebels had been returned to the roll, was indeed black for the Progressives.

(b) Compensation for War Losses

Compensation to loyalists for losses incurred during the war had been one of the things promised the electors by the Progressives. Many colonists were suffering because their losses had not been made good, for the work of previous Commissioners had by no means been completed. The Governor, before the opening of parliament in March 1904, had warned the Ministry that any additional expenditure beyond that awarded by the original Commissioners would have to be provided for solely at the expense of the Cape Government. (1)

On April 19th the full report of the previous Commission was laid upon the table of the House. It revealed clearly the enormous difficulties of the task facing the Commission. By the act of 1902 only those persons were debarred from compensation who had been convicted of High Treason, and this only in respect of losses sustained before their surrender. The amount actually assessed by these Commissioners was somewhere near two and a quarter millions sterling. (2) In the same month a Bill authorising the appointment of a War Losses Compensation Inquiry Commission was introduced into Parliament and passed. The terms under which these Commissioners received their appointment from the Governor were as follows:

"... Now know ye that I, the governor aforesaid ... have appointed and do by these presents hereby appoint you, the said - Sir Ebenezer John Buchanan, Sir Gysbert Henry Stockenström, Sir Pieter Hendrik Faure, Samuel John Deauclerc Uppington, and Frederick James Centlivres to be a Commission to

(1) Prime Minister's Office: (Correspondence file 38/4): Minute from the Governor: March 3rd, 1904

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: April 20th, 1904

Firstly - Enquire into awards of compensation made by the Commissioners aforesaid, and report, with particulars, upon the question of increasing the said awards, or any of them.

Secondly - Enquire into claims for compensation for War Losses ... and report, with particulars, upon the question of compensation, if any ...

Thirdly - Recommend the amount of compensation ..."⁽¹⁾

No money was to be paid by way of compensation to any person who had been convicted of the crime of High Treason.

The question of the actual payment of a claim was not the task of the Commission. They were really to confine their attention to assessing claims and making recommendations.⁽²⁾ The only awards of the Inquiry Commission that the Government was authorised by the Act of 1904 to pay were awards on claims, firstly, which were sent to the former Commissioners but not considered or finally dealt with by them in consequence of the expiration of the specified period within which they should have been sent in or finally dealt with; and, secondly, which were duly sent to the Commissioners, but were not received or were lost or mislaid.⁽³⁾

The Commissioners tackled their enormous task very conscientiously. They had many problems to face, for each claim had to be fully enquired into. Many of these claims were exaggerated, and proof was difficult to come by, particularly in view of the fact that this had all happened years before. The number of personal hearings had to be cut down, but still the volume of work which the Commissioners had to tackle was very great. By May 1906 it had become obvious that the Commission were not likely to complete their work of enquiry for some time yet.

On the 31st May it was resolved in the Legislative Council that "a Return be laid upon the Table showing:

- (a) The total amount which has been noted for compensation;
- (b) The sum which has been paid out for claims;

(1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 203/05): June 4th, 1904

(3) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1759/05): January 9th, 1906

(2) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1759/05): Under-Secretary War Claims Department to the Prime Minister: March 10th, 1905

- (c) The amount still in hand or reserved;
- (d) The number of claims still to be dealt with;
- (e) The amount which has been paid to the Commissioners;
- (f) When the whole matter of compensation will be settled."⁽¹⁾

In reply the Commission stated that there were about 6,000 claims still to be disposed of (viz. about 2,900 review, 2,350 new, and 750 old). From the amount of claims still to be disposed of they estimated that it would take them at least until the following February, but would not venture to express an opinion on how long it would be before the claims were all finally settled and disposed of.⁽²⁾

Petitions pressing for the payment of claims continued to be submitted, but it was in May 1907 only that the third and final report of the War Losses Compensation Inquiry Commission was submitted to the Governor. In this report was included a majority report signed by the chairman and three members of the Commission and a minority report signed by Mr. F. J. Centlivres. Mr. Centlivres agreed with the other members of the Commission on most questions but, he added, "... I feel in honour bound to place on record that I am of opinion that a large number of the claimants were entitled to assessments where none were made, while some claimants were entitled to more substantial compensation than they were actually awarded. In a considerable number of these cases claimants, however, have themselves to blame, because they did not take the precaution to see that facts were properly recorded, or because they did not adduce all available evidence ..."⁽³⁾

The publication of this minority report is regrettable. Injustices may possibly have taken place but, considering the fact that the Commission acted as a sort of Court of Appeal with five judges, surely it is possible to accept the opinion of the majority? On the whole, therefore, the Commission fully deserved the thanks they got for carrying out so ably the work which they had undertaken.

(1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 733/06): Legislative Council: Resolved on May 31st, 1906

(2) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 733/02): Reply from the Commission to the Legislative Council

(3) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 268/07): Minority report of the War Losses Compensation Inquiry Commission as submitted to the Governor: May 22nd, 1907

It is a pity that the Government did not fulfil its obligations in the same way as the Commission did. But here it was a question of raising the necessary money to do so. The following table shows the assessments of the Commission in each description of claim, divided according to the classification of claimants as 'A' and 'B' respectively: ⁽¹⁾

		£	£
REVIEW CLAIMS	- Assessments and increased assessments recommended by the Inquiry Commission ...	91,095	8,616
OLD CLAIMS	- Assessments recommended ..	29,388	3,348
NEW CLAIMS	- Assessments recommended ...	<u>41,804</u>	<u>3,720</u>
		£162,287	£15,684
		<u>£15,684</u>	
	Total	<u>£177,971</u>	

Asked in the House why the loan of £300,000 voted in the previous session for the payment of the awards had not been raised, Jameson replied that he would promise that the first money raised would be devoted to that object, but in the present state of the money market, the Government did not feel justified in pledging the country to the price which it would have to pay for money at that time, even to settle the question of compensation. The motion that the Government should take immediate steps to raise this loan was agreed to by the House. ⁽²⁾ On August 30th, however, Jameson was still prevaricating and saying that the raising of such a sum was impossible at that time, and so another very good bit of work started by the Government was not fully carried out.

By the end of 1907, therefore, most of the effects of the war were no longer discernible. It remained only for the compensation claims to be paid. Much of this had been done by Jameson in an attempt to conciliate the Dutch, and economic, rather than racial, grievances came to the fore at the next election. Had a Bond ministry been returned to power immediately after the war, it is conceivable that the antagonism between English and Dutch would have been so great as to make union virtually impossible.

⁽¹⁾ Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 268/C7): From Statistical Summary to the Majority report of the War Losses Compensation Inquiry Commission: May 22nd, 1907

⁽²⁾ Cape Hansard: August 6th, 1907

CHAPTER III

REPRESENTATION AND REDISTRIBUTION

A review of this period would be incomplete without a discussion on representation and redistribution. The Progressive manifesto had promised better representation of the people in Parliament, and a Bill to this effect was introduced soon after the new Parliament first assembled in March 1904.⁽¹⁾ In this chapter an attempt will be made to put forward clearly the arguments voiced for and against additional representation, to trace the course of the Bill through Parliament, and to work out, with the aid of statistics, the actual position with regard to representation.

That a certain amount of redistribution was necessary is undeniable, but it is also undoubtedly true that the Progressives saw in this measure a means of increasing their narrow majorities in both Houses, for they were fairly confident of winning the three Legislative Council seats, and hoped to get nine of the twelve additional seats in the Lower House.

The Opposition cannot be blamed for the fight they put up *against this Bill*. *The way they saw the position was that, owing to the disfranchisement of the rebels, the Progressives had obtained a majority in Parliament and were using it to push through the first of a series of measures to ensure their remaining in power should these men be once more returned to the voters' roll.* According to the "South African News", the Bill would have the effect of "... placing the country tied hand and foot in the power of the great mining groups to which a Parliamentary majority in the Cape would be of crucial importance should Federation proposals be made during the next five years...."⁽²⁾ The Bond set up a howl as it saw its predominance slipping away from it, and at the Bond Congress at Stellenbosch the following resolution was carried unanimously:

"... that Congress express its strong disapproval of the tactics of Government in attempting to force the Redistribution Bill before the country has had time to consider it..."⁽³⁾ From all quarters

(1) See Appendix II for full text of the Additional Representation Bill
(2) South African News: Editorial: January 11th, 1904
(3) Cape Times: March 7th, 1904

came pleas that the Bill be postponed until after census figures should be obtained, and that, if redistribution were to be tackled, more time at least should be devoted to the proper working out of the figures as far as was possible.

On the 14th March, however, Mr. Sampson moved the second reading of the Bill. Referring to the current opinion that the Government should postpone the Bill until after the census had been taken, he said that it was conceivable that the census might have an important bearing on a Redistribution Bill, but the census had no bearing on the Parliamentary representation in the Colony. They were not represented by the amount of population, but by the number of people in each constituency who had the qualification which the law required.⁽¹⁾ He declared the Bill to be merely a preliminary measure, ensuring only that such constituencies as were grossly under-represented should be given a certain measure of redress. Afterwards the House would be in a position to deal with the wider problems involved.

The arguments brought against the Bill by the Opposition were many and varied. Mr. de Waal, in the debate which followed upon Mr. Sampson's speech, said that there had been a war in the country and the rebels had been punished with disfranchisement for five years - but if the Bill were passed, what would be the good of putting these men on the register again?⁽²⁾ The "South African News" put its objections to the Bill far more forcefully: "...This Bill is a shameless and cynical bid for a monopoly of power. And it is thoughtless as it is unwise ... They have but one aim, and that is to beat down the country party and subdue it to the financiers of the brilliant capitals of Europe ..."⁽³⁾ Mr. Zietsman drew ironical cheers from the Opposition by declaring that the Progressives had a perfect right to assure their majority for a number of future years by introducing the Bill⁽⁴⁾ - surely a rather unfortunate

(1) Cape Hansard: March 14th, 1904

(2) Ibid.

(3) South African News: Editorial: March 15th, 1904

(4) Cape Hansard: March 22nd, 1904

way of describing a measure the introduction of which the Progressives were attempting to base on the question of right and not of party dominance? The South African Party members agreed that it was a Bill to increase the town vote unfairly at the expense of the country - the old contention that the settled farmers deserved the vote rather than the floating town population. But why should the countryman be regarded as superior to the townsman? Mr. Burton questioned the Prime Minister's extreme haste over legislation and hinted at Logan's imminent departure for England.⁽¹⁾

March 28th and 29th were trying days for all Parliamentarians, ~~including~~ ^{involving} as they did an all-night sitting on the Additional Representation Bill. (The last all-night sitting recorded had taken place on August 6 - 7th, 1894, in Committee on the Glen Grey Act.) Jameson commenced by stating that the House would sit all night if necessary in order to reach a vote. Continuing his speech, he said that one of the constituencies which would have increased representation was Paarl and, he added, "I understand that that seat will be contested by the late senior member for Aliwal North (Mr. Sauer). Make haste and pass the Bill, and then we shall have him back among us before the end of the session ..."⁽²⁾ Mr. Graaff thereupon called the Bill "the latest Jamesonian invention for catching Dutchmen, patented in the Transvaal".! The Opposition continued to protest against pushing the Bill through, and pressed for an adjournment, but this the Government would not agree to. Dr. Jameson thereupon placed an ultimatum before the House - adjournment on condition that they promised to come to a division on Thursday, 7th April, after the Easter recess. This was, of course, not accepted by the Opposition, and the debate continued, or rather, was deliberately kept open. Dr. Beck, for example, spoke for two and a half hours without bringing forward any fresh arguments against the Bill.⁽³⁾ At 1.32 a.m. the motion for the adjournment was put and lost by the Opposition.

(1) Cape Hansard: March 28th, 1904

(2) Cape Times: "Notes in the House": March 28th, 1904

(3) Cape Hansard: March 28 - 29th, 1904

way of describing a measure the introduction of which the Progressives were attempting to base on the question of right and not of party dominance? The South African Party members agreed that it was a Bill to increase the town vote unfairly at the expense of the country - the old contention that the settled farmers deserved the vote rather than the floating town population. But why should the countryman be regarded as superior to the townsman? Mr. Burton questioned the Prime Minister's extreme haste over legislation and hinted at Logan's imminent departure for England.⁽¹⁾

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(1) Cape Hansard: March 28th, 1904

(2) Cape Times: "Notes in the House": March 28th, 1904

(3) Cape Hansard: March 28 - 29th, 1904

The "Cape Times" reports as follows on the proceedings:
"... The 'Trial' flowed freely, for hours at a stretch. Nobody listened. Half the House were away in the tea-room or the billiard-room. The other half were dozing over Blue-books. Mr. Frost and Sir Pieter Faure, after a last appeal to the Government, left the House about half-past ten o'clock. And so the evening droned away ..."(1) The debate continued, each side determined not to give in. There were suggestions that both sections of the House meet together in an endeavour to formulate some kind of compromise, but nothing came of these. Finally at 2.30 p.m. on the 29th, the Speaker applied a closure on the debate, justifying his action as follows: "I think the time has come when it is absolutely necessary for me to intervene in this debate. I must say that, at all risk to myself, I must take a step unprecedented in this Colony ... But I feel it to be a duty to Parliaments in general, and this Parliament in particular, to step in to save this House from itself ... I can only hope that this House will absolve me from any endeavour to curtail its privileges ..."(2) There was a certain amount of argument and protestation, but the Speaker remained firm in his decision. When the question was put at 2.45 p.m., it was found that the Government had a majority of eight. The Bill was, therefore, read a second time, and set down for the Committee stage on Thursday, April 7th.

Was the Speaker's action justified? There was no precedent for such an action in the Cape House of Assembly, but in 1881, during a debate on the Irish Protection of Person and Property Bill in the House of Commons, a very similar situation arose, and progress was obstructed by repeated dilatory motions for the adjournment. As the ordinary rules of procedure gave no relief to this impossible situation, the Speaker had applied the closure.⁽³⁾ Now in this case, too, all orderly and effective debate had ceased, and further discussion would have been pointless. In view of this Sir William Bisset Berry, the Speaker, took really the only

(1) Cape Times: "Notes in the House": March 29th, 1904

(2) Cape Hansard: March 28th, 1904

(3) Cape Times: "Notes in the House": March 30th, 1904

course open to him. Certain members of the Opposition declared his action to be unconstitutional, maintaining that the precedent of 1881 was in no way similar. But Sir William was a moderate, level-headed man, and he would certainly not have resorted to this extreme measure unless he honestly thought that the position warranted it. The Opposition's fears that it would establish a precedent for a majority ready to be tyrannical were, surely, groundless. Whether the Government was justified in forcing the measure through at this time is a different matter altogether.

On April 8th, on the motion for the House to go into Committee on the Bill, another all-night sitting took place. The Opposition were still insisting that discussion on the Bill had been too meagre. At 6.55 a.m. on the 9th, a motion for the adjournment was put and defeated, and so the debate dragged on. Finally at 11.30 a.m. the House divided on the main question. The Government majority had risen to eight on the division, so the Prime Minister announced briefly that the Committee stage would be taken on Wednesday and every following Government day until the Bill had been passed. In spite of protests Jameson remained firm, and the House finally adjourned at midday after a sitting lasting twenty-two hours.⁽¹⁾

In Committee on the Bill, clause II, providing for the increase of representation in the Legislative Council, came in for the most discussion. This was regarded by the Opposition to be the most pernicious portion of the Bill. Finally at 11 p.m. on the 15th of April, the motion that the Bill be reported without amendment was carried, ninety-four out of the ninety-five members of the House being present.⁽²⁾ So high a percentage of members present was without precedent in the history of the Cape House.⁽³⁾ The debate on the third reading of the Bill took place on the 18th of April. One by one members of the Opposition got up and made 'final appeals'. The Bill was eventually read a third time at 6.30 p.m., and passed by a majority of six, after Mr. Kolteno had asked that the third reading be postponed for six months!⁽⁴⁾

(1) Cape Hansard: April 8 - 9th, 1904

(2) Cape Hansard: April 15th, 1904

(3) Cape Times: "Notes in the House": April 16th, 1904

(4) Cape Hansard: April 18th, 1904

On the following day Colonel Crewe wrote to Lord Milner to tell him of their success in the following words - "... I think the Additional Representation Bill will go through the Upper House now safely enough. I am sure you will have been pleased with our success. Jameson has been admirable as a leader and has won golden opinions from friend and foe. I think now the future of the Cape Colony may be looked upon as assured, and we shall be able generally to help on in South Africa ..." ⁽¹⁾ - concrete evidence surely for those who were of the opinion that the Bill was introduced to assure the continuance of a Progressive majority in Parliament!

Crewe's prophecy proved correct, for on the 21st April the second reading of the Bill in the Upper House was carried by one vote, and on the following day it passed the final stage in the Council, Logan having voted with the Progressives. ⁽²⁾ At the beginning of April Logan had caused a stir by announcing his intention of leaving for England. After a deputation had pointed out to him that his departure would "inevitably lead to the rejection of the Additional Representation Bill ... which you pledged yourself to support", he was prevailed upon to stay "until such time as the leader of the party could dispense with his vote". ⁽³⁾

The Progressives were, as they had hoped, successful in the Legislative Council elections, held in the same year according to the provisions of clause IV of the Act ⁽⁴⁾, for all three seats were won by Progressive Party candidates. In the House of Assembly they won eight of the twelve additional seats. They had counted on winning nine, but the Opposition candidate for Queenstown had unexpectedly managed to capture that seat. The Additional Representation Act had, therefore, had the desired effect of increasing the Progressive majorities in both Houses.

This measure, according to Jameson, had the effect of removing the more glaring abuses by giving additional representation to those

(1) Milner papers: Volume II: page 504. Colonel Crewe to Lord Milner: April 19th, 1904

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: April 23rd, 1904

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: May 18th, 1904

(4) See Appendix II

areas which were most obviously under-represented, but was only the preliminary to a more comprehensive redistribution measure which he hoped would be introduced in the near future. In 1905 he refused to put redistribution in the forefront of the Government's legislative programme, as there was too much necessary business to be got through, but kept promising that it would be dealt with if there were time. By 1906 the Ministry was already beginning to feel the insecurity of its position, and Jameson realized that, although certain of his followers were clamouring for a redistribution Bill, its introduction would very probably have disastrous results. There the matter rested although, with the publication of the New Register in 1907, interest in redistribution was renewed by the "Cape Times", which asserted that this proved, beyond doubt, the fairness of the Representation Bill and the necessity for an effective redistribution measure. But by that time the Prime Minister had come to the conclusion that redistribution was a question which should remain in abeyance until closer union had been accomplished.⁽¹⁾

The question now is, were the Progressives justified in introducing such a measure at this time? Redistribution of some sort certainly was necessary, but was this their primary object in rushing this Bill through the House? Was it not a useful excuse for increasing their slim majorities in both Houses?

To take Clause II of the Bill first. This clause provided for the increase in the number of members in the Council from twenty-three to twenty-six.⁽²⁾ The basis of the present representation of the Upper House was the Seven Circles Bill of 1894. These circles were apportioned on a purely arbitrary division of territory and could not for a moment be said to represent vested interests, according to Mr. Jagger⁽³⁾ - e.g. the Western Circle was comprised of wine farmers and townsmen, and the South-Eastern was commercial, agricultural and pastoral. In addition, the areas were very unequal in size, the Western Circle, for instance,

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: October 17th, 1907

(2) See Appendix II

(3) Cape Hansard: April 14th, 1904

being not one-tenth the size of the North-Western. In 1894 these electoral provinces had contained a more or less equal number of voters. Before the passing of the Additional Representation Bill the seven original electoral divisions for the Legislative Council (i.e. the Western, North-Western, South-Western, Midland, South-Eastern, North-Eastern and Eastern Circles) had each had three members, but the difference in the number of registered voters in each district was very great - e.g. the Midland and North-Eastern divisions had 9,826 and 11,753 voters respectively, while the Western, South-Eastern and Eastern had 35,180, 22,015 and 20,516 respectively.⁽¹⁾ That reform of some sort was necessary here is obvious. With the addition of one member each to these three latter divisions, the Western electoral province was still under-represented, while the Midland province, in particular, was over-represented. The addition of these members, then, did improve matters slightly, but a proper delimitation of territory would have been far more to the point. Here ample justification can be found for a redistribution measure, if not for additional representation as introduced by the Progressives.

It had originally been laid down, and was still generally accepted in 1904, that the number of voters requisite for a rural constituency to return a member should be less than that for an urban constituency. This was said to be because of the shifting nature of the urban population and the necessity, therefore, of securing the representation of the permanent population. The Additional Representation Act increased the number of members in the House of Assembly from 95 to 107.⁽²⁾ Were towns which were very obviously under-represented just summarily dished out with additional members?

The total number of registered voters was approximately 142,940 in 1905 - i.e. about 1,337 voters per member.⁽³⁾ Cape Town and Woodstock, even when taking into consideration the fact

(1) See Appendix III for number of registered voters per electoral province

(2) See Appendix IV

(3) Appendix I: Full table of representation in the House of Assembly in 1903, 1905 and 1907

that they were urban areas, were still under-represented with 2,720 and 2,653 voters respectively. East London which, before the passing of the Act, had had two representatives for 4,697, had received an additional member, but by 1907 these three members were representing 6,188 electors. With the addition of a third member each to King William's Town, Paarl and Oudtshoorn, the result was over-representation here, for now in 1905 King William's Town, for example, had 3,113 voters for three members, while Middelburg had 1,688 for one. At the other end of the scale we find Grahamstown with only 852 voters per member, Albert with 825, Vryburg with 442 and Victoria East with 422. It is impossible to draw up hard and fast rules about representation, but the whole question needed adjustment, and the Additional Representation Act only served to show up the need for this, for the electoral divisions were purely arbitrary and it was a redistribution and not an additional representation bill which was necessary. Divisions could not be justified on geographical grounds (e.g. one half of Uniondale was classified with George and the other half with Oudtshoorn), and on an equal basis of voters the disproportion was even more evident. In 1907 the total number of voters on the roll was 151,314. Strictly mathematically, therefore, the number of voters per member should have been 1,414. Allowing a balance of 300 voters on either side, we find that twenty-one constituencies were fairly represented, eighteen over-represented, and seven considerably under-represented. Evidence, surely, of the crying need for redistribution in the Colony?

It is easy enough to speak scathingly of this Bill which the Progressives introduced and the manner in which it was forced through the House. It is equally easy to say that a proper redistribution measure, which might have met with more approval from the Opposition, would have been more to the point. Conditions in 1906 and 1907 show that, had the Government waited and drawn up a more comprehensive measure, it might never have been passed - and would many of the useful measures which they did pass have been passed if their majorities had not been assured by this Bill?

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1905

Educational reform had for some time now been felt to be necessary at the Cape. There were very few measures dealing with education on the Cape Statute Book. Bills had been drafted in 1896, 1897 and 1898, but none of them had passed.⁽¹⁾ A serious fault of the existing system was the number of white children receiving no education at all. In 1898 Dr. Smartt had drafted a Bill which abolished the single-school system of committees and established large school districts to be controlled by Boards. This Board was to make education compulsory in its district for European children between the ages of seven and fourteen, and could extend compulsion to Non-Europeans if it thought fit.⁽²⁾ They could also make provision for the education of the children of poor parents. But the Bill had not touched upon an important problem. What was to be done about children living too far away from the existing schools?

There were other difficulties which would have to be faced in the drawing up of a Reform Bill. Should all the regulations be embodied in a general act? Should accredited Ministers of religion go to state-aided schools at specified times? Should inspectors have the right of entry into and inspection of private schools? The goal was a system of compulsory education, but this could not be reached at one jump. In the past five years the number of white school children had increased by 7.6% only, while the number of coloured children attending school had increased by 92%.⁽³⁾ Was there not a danger of the coloured surpassing the white in educational matters? In view of this, should the children of European and Coloured parentage be given equal advantages?

The Progressives had pledged themselves to educational reform, and accordingly in August, 1904, Sir Lewis Mitchell sent round a circular to all chairmen of School Committees, asking for their

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: July 14th, 1904

(2) Ibid.

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: August 3rd, 1904

views on certain specified subjects.⁽¹⁾ This gave the Colony time to formulate and express its opinion before the Bill was actually drawn up. What the Progressives were aiming at was a system of compulsory education, where possible, and free education, where necessary, with local control by means of school boards, but the details of such a system had still to be decided upon. Should compulsion be applicable at the outset to large towns only, and should free education only be given to the children of very poor parents? Should the system of farm schools be extended, or was a more comprehensive system an urgent necessity? Should the proposed School Boards work side by side with the existing committees? Should accredited ministers of religion be given the right of entry into state-aided schools, and should the principle of inspection be extended to private schools? These are but a few of the problems which Colonel Crewe had to face in the drawing up of the Education Bill. The financial position of the Colony had, too, to be taken into consideration. The extension of free and compulsory education to all would involve a great deal of expense and money would have to be obtained for the building of new schools, the payment of additional teachers, etc.

Dr. (Sir Thomas) Muir (Superintendent General of Education at the Cape from 1892 to 1915), in his report of the educational position in 1904, commented strongly on the apathy of European parents in regard to the education of their children. The proportion of coloured children attending school was increasing steadily, but the proportion of white children to the number of white children of school-going age was exceedingly low.⁽²⁾ It was this fact that put so many people against education of the coloured people. There was some difference of opinion between Merriman and certain of his party members over this question. Referring to a speech made by Merriman at Victoria West in which he dwelt on the subject of compulsory education, and asked, "was the law to be for one class and colour, or was it to be a general compulsory

(1) See Appendix V for copy of Sir Lewis Mitchell's circular

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: September 17th, 1904

law?", De Villiers said, "... Now I cannot be sure, but I fear, from the way in which the question is put, that you contemplated the possibility of its being considered fair that under a system of compulsory education the coloured people should be placed on an equality with the whites on the ground of their also contributing to the Public Revenue. But if so I would like to ask you: Can we lose sight of the fact that the white population are practically the tax-payers of the country, and in comparison with their contribution to the revenue, that of the coloured classes is practically nil? You yourself refer to the very great cost that would be involved. If the system should be made to apply to the white population only, the cost no doubt will be large, if to the coloured also it will indeed be 'tremendous'..."⁽¹⁾ He considered that the coloured classes were already fairly treated and if they desired more advantages they should be made to pay for them.

At Kimberley on November 30th, 1904, Colonel Crewe made a statement in connection with the proposed Education Bill. After briefly sketching the history of the schools in the Colony, he went on to say that the Government had drafted the Bill with a view to reform of the old system rather than with the intention of effecting any revolutionary changes. As far as he could see there were about 20,000 European children receiving no education. Surely this showed the necessity of compulsory education? The Bill, he said, contained measures of compulsion, provided for the establishment of School Boards, for the sub-division of the country into school areas and for the £ for £ system. How should the School Boards be elected? Colonel Crewe considered that perhaps one-third of the members should be elected by the Government (to enable them to appoint people who had done service to education); one-third should be elected or nominated by a local authority (i.e. the municipal or divisional council); and the remaining one-third by the parents and guardians of the children plus the guarantors of the present system.⁽²⁾

How did the Government propose to carry out the system of compulsion? Crewe said that the School Boards would have the power

(1) Merriman Papers: De Villiers to John X. Merriman. October 22nd, 1904 (288/04)

(2) Cape Times: November 30th, 1904: Report of speech made by Colonel Crewe at Kimberley on November 29th

to enforce compulsion as far as possible, i.e. within a three-mile limit of any school. Compulsion would extend only to the fourth standard, and between the ages of seven and fourteen. The enforcement of the compulsory clauses of the Bill would be a matter of local option until the end of the third year, when compulsion would become general throughout the Colony. He had come to the conclusion that the state should bear the burden of providing free education for children of European descent, whose parents were too poor to pay fees, but he did not think it would be wise to institute general free education throughout the Colony at the present time. The deficits of any school should be divided between the Government and the local authorities equally. (1)

What about the general financial aspect of the affair? Firstly, the Government was prepared to spend half a million building new schools so as to enable compulsory attendance to be enforced eventually at the end of the third year. Secondly, it proposed increased grants for teachers on the £ for £ principle at a maximum cost to the Government of £20,000 per annum. As regards Native education, if they were prepared to pay for ^{it} the Natives could have higher grade schools managed by themselves, under the direction of the School Boards. (2)

How was education controlled locally at the moment? There were no statutory local organisations. The School Committees were voluntary associations organised by the local public for the purpose of managing and financing their school. These Committees depended on Departmental aid to eke out such money as was derived from school fees, for they had no statutory powers to raise money in any way. They received their grants on the £ for £ system, and if this was not sufficient they had to depend on the goodwill of the people, decrease expenditure, raise the school fees, or pay out of their own pockets. This was obviously an unsatisfactory position. What happened if the district did not form a Committee, or if they were crippled by lack of funds? The School Board would fill these gaps

(1) Cape Times: November 30th, 1904: Report of speech made by Colonel Crewe at Kimberley on November 29th

(2) Ibid.

and provide the necessary control and money, for the Bill laid down a system of public local liability for education. For the existing system of personal guarantee for the deficit was to be substituted a charge upon the funds of the Municipal or Divisional Council, the liability being divided equally between the Department and the local authorities. The Municipal or Divisional Council could then either pay the charge out of its funds or levy a rate for the purpose.⁽¹⁾

The objections put forward to Crewe's Bill were many and varied. The Opposition desired a tightening up and extension of the old system rather than the introduction of a new one. Merriman, Theron, and others were in favour of the appointment of a Commission from both sides in equal numbers to consider and agree upon some of the more definite principles and points before they were embodied in the Bill, but it did not seem likely that the Government would agree to this. Crewe's idea of one system of educational control for the whole country was severely criticized. Should the towns be administered in the same way as the far-flung country districts? The section that came in for the most disapproval was that providing that the Government should nominate one-third of the members of the School Boards - here the Opposition favoured giving full power to the town or district.⁽²⁾ In addition, they thoroughly disliked the suggestion that the Government and local authorities should merely make up the deficits in the accounts of the School Boards. Then there were others who had always been against free education for the poor alone, and in favour of free elementary education for all. Some, on the other hand, feared that class legislation was an integral part of the Bill, and so could not consent to it. Many thought that provision should be made for education in the remoter country districts, before compulsion was introduced in the towns - an extremely valid criticism. A contemporary newspaper complained that "... we want a life-giving Education Act. The merits of the Bill

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: January 14th, 1905

(2) South African News: Editorial: December 1st, 1904

before us are those of a skilfully contrived machine ..."(1) Criticism of the Bill came, too, from Tenge Jabavu, editor of "Imvo", who objected to the Bill because it almost totally ignored the coloured people. Coloured parents could petition the school Board for a higher grade school for their children, but there was no provision in the Bill compelling the school Board to provide it. In the election of the Board the coloured people were entirely ignored - but not when it came to a question of paying rates.(2) On the 24th February, 1905, a large number of coloured people gathered in the Clifton Hall to hear an address by Dr. Abdurahman and discuss the education question. At this meeting a motion, "That it is resolved that we as a coloured people are prepared to make every necessary sacrifice in common with our fellow-citizens to oppose such measures as that designed", (3) was carried unanimously.

When on March 15th, 1905, Colonel Crewe moved the second reading of the Bill in the Assembly, he declared that they did not look upon it as a party measure, and that, while they were determined to pass the main clauses of the Bill, they were quite ready to consider amendments on questions of detail. He then proceeded to outline the Government's reasons for introducing the Bill, the necessity for compulsion, etc.(4) Criticism of the Bill followed thick and fast upon Crewe's speech. Mr. Malan pointed out the advantages of a voluntary system of education and, while deploring any break with the existing system, nevertheless admitted the present looseness of administration, and want of control by the ministerial head. The school committees should not be abolished for they "breathed the very spirit of the people", but he considered that they should be reorganized and some continuity of policy brought in.(5) Long debates on the Bill followed in the House for many days. The Opposition stressed the need for the appointment of a Minister of Education responsible to Parliament. Mr. Jampson asserted that education would help to keep the white population in the dominant posi-

(1) South African News: Editorial: January 14th, 1905

(2) Imvo: Editorial: January 25th, 1905

(3) Imvo: Current Notes: March 7th, 1905

(4) Cape Hansard: March 15th, 1905

(5) Ibid.

tion and to settle the differences of opinion between Dutch and English. The Opposition need not, he said, oppose the Bill on racial grounds, for the Board would consist of both English and Dutch.⁽¹⁾

Mr. Merriman then took up the cudgels on behalf of the Opposition, and condemned Sampson for bringing controversial issues into a non-political debate. He concluded by saying that he would support the second reading because some measure of reform was needed, but hoped that a more generally acceptable Bill would emerge out of the committee stage.⁽²⁾

Finally on the 29th of March the Bill was read a second time without a division and set down for the committee stage. Two days later Colonel Crewe announced that the Opposition had agreed to the appointment of a Conference to deal with the Education Bill. He felt sure that this would prove a satisfactory expedient.⁽³⁾

The two parties selected their representatives, Colonel Crewe being supported by Mr. Jagger and Sir Henry Juta, while the Opposition was represented by Messrs. Sauer, N. F. de Waal and Malan.⁽⁴⁾ Their report was published on the 20th of April. The result of the Conference had been a compromise. How had this affected the main clauses of the Bill? The original Bill had provided that in all cases divisional areas and municipal areas should be separate school districts, Now, however, if existing school committees in a municipal area did not desire to be separate, they could be lumped with the divisional area. Now, too, while one-third of the Board was still to be nominated by the Government, the remaining two-thirds was to be elected by the ratepayers. The school committees were not to be abolished completely, but to retain office for the period for which they had been elected and then to become elective bodies chosen by the parents and guardians. The school committees would retain the immovable property, but the Boards would take over the

(1) Cape Hansard: March 20th, 1905

(2) Ibid.

(3) Cape Hansard: March 31st, 1905

(4) Cape Times: "Notes in the House", April 1st, 1905

movable property. The Ministerialists had obtained the abolition of the guarantee system, and the Boards were to have complete financial control.⁽¹⁾ The position of the Native had been much improved, and Jabavu thanks Sauer for this.⁽²⁾

Although fault was still found with the Bill, relations between the two parties were now less strained. But the calm was not to last. Ill-feeling flared up again over the 46th section of the Bill re the right of parents in the fiscal district but outside the municipal area to have a vote in the committees which were to select the teachers.⁽³⁾ Finally the Government consented on May 22nd to send back to the Conference the most vexed clauses of the Bill. The result was that parents who lived within three miles of the bounds of a school area were to be allowed to vote for the committees, as were parents who occupied houses in a school area.⁽⁴⁾ The question of religion in schools had been quite amicably settled - "... in future 'it shall be lawful' for the School Committee or the School Board to prescribe for any particular school the reading of the Lord's Prayer and a portion of the Holy Scripture..."⁽⁵⁾ On the 29th of May the Bill was read a third time and passed without a division.

By June 2nd the Bill had passed through the Legislative Council and become statute. Briefly, then, what had this Act provided? It introduced the spirit of compulsion which educational reformers had been striving to obtain for the past twenty years or so; it gave the school board a statutory instead of a voluntary organisation for the management of existing schools - and also for the erection of schools where new schools were needed; and it provided for the levying of educational rates. A great advance had been made, therefore, in the fields of administration, finance and attendance. Thanks to co-operation between the two parties a workable measure had been evolved - new elements being brought in where necessary, while existing local bodies were not entirely swept away.

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: April 21st, 1905

(2) Imvo: Editorial: April 25th, 1905

(3) Cape Hansard: May 18th, 1905

(4) South African News: Editorial: May 30th, 1905

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: May 20th, 1905

How did this Act work during the next few years? Kenhardt was the first Board to pass the preliminary resolution for compulsion in 1906.⁽¹⁾ But it was three years before any practical effect was given to this Board's action. Why was this the case after the Government had been so eager to push the Act through? It was partly owing to the general antipathy to compulsion of any sort, but also to a large extent to fear of the expense which compulsion would involve, for the Government's financial position was becoming more and more desperate. It was not until 1909, under Merriman, that the country was induced to give the idea a trial. Once tried, however, it proved a great success, and by 1910 it was in operation in 91 out of the 119 School Board areas.⁽²⁾

The Committee and Board worked fairly well side by side. What it amounted to was that the Boards controlled while the Committees managed the schools. The real responsibility lay with the Board, while final control was vested in the Education Department. The financial problem fell on the shoulders of the School Board, which received aid from the Department - a responsibility which, with Union, was assumed by the Provincial Councils. In 1905 at the passing of the Act there were about 67,000 white pupils in school - and nearly the same number of children who were not in school. By spending £100,000 during 1906-07 on education the Jameson Government succeeded in increasing the number of children attending school by about 12,000.⁽³⁾ A notable achievement for any Government. In the following years the Merriman Government was forced to economise and we find a drop in figures in consequence.

This Act, theoretically at least, brought the school system of the Cape up to date and laid the basis of our present system. Praise is due to the Progressives for effecting the passing of the measure, if not for carrying out its provisions, and criticism such as this, voiced by G. A. Maeder in a letter to Merriman, cannot be justified: "... I am thoroughly disappointed with the Education Bill in the

(1) Malherbe: Education in South Africa: page 128

(2) Ibid.

(3) Malherbe: Education in South Africa: page 175

form in which it has passed the third reading in the Assembly, and agree with the South African News that its main object (as far as Colonel Crewe goes) is to crush the Dutch Reformed Church and fight the Dutch people scholastically as well as politically and underhandedly ..."(1)

(1) Merriman Papers: G. A. Jaeder to John X. Merriman. June 2nd, 1905

CHAPTER V

THE NON-EUROPEAN QUESTION

(a) Chinese Immigration

The depression in South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War was severe, and the efficient working of the mines was essential to a trade revival. The trouble was, however, that the mine-owners were unable to obtain a sufficient labour supply. The suggestion had, therefore, been made that Chinese be imported into the Transvaal for a certain number of years until the mines were well on their feet again. Negotiations with the British and Chinese Governments were commenced in an attempt to gain this end. Feeling ran high on the subject both in the Transvaal and the Cape Colony. In the latter colony the exclusion of the Chinese was one of the issues upon which the elections were fought. The Progressives favoured non-interference in the affairs of a neighbouring colony, maintaining that statutes to keep the Chinese out of the Cape would be sufficient, while on the other hand the South African Party claimed that it was a matter concerning the whole of South Africa, and interference was therefore essential.

Jameson's position was a difficult one. It seems that while openly declaring against the introduction of Chinese, he was secretly supporting Lord Milner, who was working for their introduction. It was said of him that "... In Rhodesia, where he is ruler and where neither black men nor white have votes, he supports it and signs a report in favour of it. In the Transvaal he tolerates it. In the Cape Colony, where it is essential for his success at the polls that the Native and Coloured voters should support him, he will not have it ..."⁽¹⁾ Some of Jameson's letters to his brother, Sam, seem to confirm this view. On December 9th, 1903, he wrote as follows: "... Very busy with these beastly elections. Would win certain if there was no pigtail question - but that makes it uncertain. Bond using it for all it is worth. Doubtful if I can make Coloured men

(1) South African News: Editorial: January 8th, 1904

see difference between the C.C. and T.V. before voting. It all depends on that and it is a somewhat difficult game to play ..."⁽¹⁾ - an indication, too, of the importance of the Chinese issue in the election. In his next letter to Sam he committed himself even further: "... Milner arrived yesterday. I spent the afternoon with him, and of course he will be as helpful as he can; but naturally his own show comes first; and re Chinese, etc., he wants me to do more than I think safe. It is a beastly difficult position. Of course they must come, and sooner the better; but I have to continue the egg dance down here until they do arrive, or at all events are sanctioned ..."⁽²⁾

On December 30th he wrote that he was "sticking to the honest line of keeping out of Colony and non-interference with T.V."⁽³⁾ but was finding it difficult to keep his party together on it. Only contrast these letters with an election speech he made at Grahamstown in which he stated that "... We realize honestly the desirability of keeping the Chinaman out of Cape Colony, and out of the rest of South Africa also, if possible ... With regard to the neighbouring colonies, we have done all we could to induce them not to introduce the Chinese, but at the same time, being common sense men, we cannot dictate outside our own border ...!"⁽⁴⁾ He promised that it would be made absolutely impossible for the Chinaman to come into the Colony without a written pass.

The Chinese question had been discussed at the Bloemfontein Convention in 1903, and Sprigg, on behalf of the Cape Government, had voiced his opposition to their introduction.⁽⁵⁾ In addition, many protest meetings were held within the Colony. The following resolution is typical of the type sent to the Government: "That the inhabitants of Bedford view with extreme concern the possibility of the introduction of Chinese labour into British South Africa, and place on record their earnest conviction that the entry of large numbers of Chinese into any colony would be to the detriment of the

(1) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II: page 229

(2) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II: page 230

(3) Ibid.

(4) Cape Times: January 7th, 1904: Report of Jameson's election speech at Grahamstown

(5) Sir P. Lawrence: The Life of John Xavier Merriman: page 219

whole of South Africa ..."(1)

The question of whether the advantages of Chinese labour would outweigh the disadvantages was hotly disputed. There was, of course, much to be said on the debit side, and sceptics could point to the effect of the importation of Indians into Natal. But, on the other hand, the same mistakes would not be made again if proper regulations for the repatriation of the Chinese after their term of indenture was up were made. It was insisted that a good deal of money would leave the country in the form of wages paid to the Chinese, but the wages were not high, and they would surely spend most of them in the country. Others claimed that white labour would be ousted. But what white men in South Africa would be willing to work side by side with the Natives in the mines? And if the immigration of white labour were encouraged, it would result in an influx of the wrong class of European. In any case, the cost of living on the Rand was too high to make the wholesale employment of white labour possible. It was contended that there was already sufficient Native labour in the country. Mine-owners disclaimed this and stated that, even if the recruiting organs were efficient, there would still not be a sufficient number of Native workers, for Natives were needed for agriculture, railway construction, etc. One very valid argument against their introduction was that the race question was already sufficiently complicated without the addition of the Chinese.

When the Cape Parliament met in 1904 it was inevitable that the Chinese question should come up for discussion. Was the Government going to carry out the promises it had made during the elections? On March 8th Mr. Jagger moved "that this House now reaffirms the opinion it expressed in the resolution adopted unanimously on the 2nd July, 1903, and reasserts its strong opposition to any such importation as prejudicial to the interests of all classes of the people of South Africa."(2) A long and heated debate followed. Mr. Cats put the argument in a nutshell when he said that "...Whether

(1) Prime Minister's Records: Miscellaneous Letters Received (1903-1904): Resolution adopted at meeting of Bedford citizens: January 13th, 1904

(2) Cape Hansard: March 8th, 1904

for good or ill, the state of feeling in the country was such that one could not get the Europeans to work on the same level on farms and mines or at domestic labour, and do the same kind of work as was performed by the Natives ...,"⁽¹⁾ and Mr. Abe Bailey put the practical side of the question before the House by producing trade returns to show how severely the labour question was affecting the Colony.⁽²⁾ Dr. Jameson tried to postpone the question as he did not think it of immediate vital importance. Eventually, however, Mr. Jagger's motion was won by one vote, the closest division of the session.

In May the Chinese Exclusion Bill was introduced into the House of Assembly by Sampson, the Minister of Justice.⁽³⁾ This was a measure to keep Chinese from entering the Colony and was intended to keep all classes of Chinese out of the Cape except those who obtained permits (i.e. high officials and British subjects). Those already resident in the Colony were to be allowed to remain, but would be given certificates which they could be called upon to produce at any time. In addition, anyone found bringing a Chinaman into the Colony would be required to pay a very heavy fine. In spite of these provisions Mr. de Waal and others considered that the Bill was not nearly drastic enough. It was, however, finally passed by Parliament on the 27th and reserved for His Majesty's pleasure.

On the whole the news of the signing of the Chinese Labour Convention in London on the 13th of May was received with enthusiasm among the miners of the Transvaal.⁽⁴⁾ But others were sceptical, and considerable diversity of opinion existed as to whether the signing of the Convention would be the immediate precursor of a wave of prosperity to the country. In June, 1904, the first contingent of Chinese, numbering about five hundred, arrived at Durban. Merriman drew a very gloomy picture of this, stating that "... The Chinese are probably while I write landing at Durban and you can but faintly picture what a revolution this will introduce in a

(1) Cape Hansard, March 8th, 1904

(2) Cape Hansard: March 16th, 1904

(3) Cape Hansard: May 5th, 1904

(4) Cape Times: Article, "The News on the Rand": May 16th, 1904

country where the colonial races are to the white as four to one already ..."(1)

The agitation against Chinese labour died down for a while, although every now and again the Opposition press attempted to flog some life into the subject with lurid tales of murders and atrocities on the Rand.⁽²⁾ But conditions were not as bad as they were made out to be, although a certain amount of crime did take place. On the whole the experiment seemed to be working well, and prosperity on the Rand undoubtedly revived. In December, 1905, however, the whole question came to the fore again, for it was on the cry of "Chinese slavery" on the Rand, based on false reports of working conditions, that the Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman were returned to power in the general elections in Britain. There was a great deal of speculation as to the exact position the new Government would take up. Would immediate repatriation be insisted upon, or would those Chinese already in the Colony be allowed to remain? Finally it was announced that no more Chinese were to be allowed into the Transvaal until the country was in a position to decide for itself.⁽³⁾

Merriman once again set about stirring up anti-Chinese agitation in the Cape.⁽⁴⁾ In January, 1906, a meeting in Cape Town called by Malan and Hofmeyr confined itself to wholesale denunciation of Chinese labour.⁽⁵⁾ Not one of those who spoke faced the facts from the point of view of the economic situation. In the same month the "South African News" declared that "... We do not depreciate the value of the Transvaal mines to this Colony. We do protest against the once almost universal belief that our prosperity is directly and solely dependent on the gold output ... Last month was a record gold output, and yet the country is in a miserable condition of depression ..."⁽⁶⁾ A true enough statement, as far as it goes, but it does seem that conditions would have been

(1) Merriman Papers: John X. Merriman to Professor Goldwin Smith: June 17th, 1904

(2) South African News: Editorials: August 30th, 1904 and September 27th, 1904

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: December 23rd, 1905

(4) Merriman Papers: John X. Merriman to Mackarness: January 7th, 1906

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: January 10th, 1906

(6) South African News: Editorial: January 13th, 1906

far worse had not Chinese been imported in 1904. In June resolutions were adopted in the Cape Assembly and the Legislative Council reaffirming the opinions expressed in the 1904 resolutions on the importation of Chinese into South Africa. The Assembly at the same time deprecated any interference in the affairs of a neighbouring colony.⁽¹⁾

Until the repatriation of the last batch in February 1910 altogether 63,000 Chinese coolies were introduced into the Transvaal on three years indentures.⁽²⁾ The Botha administration which came in in 1907 decided against wholesale repatriation, and labourers were sent back to China as their indentures expired. Their place was taken by such labour as could be found within the country, but their departure left an economic gap difficult to fill. In the long run, therefore, it cannot be denied that the importation of Chinese saved the slump from being more severe than it was.

From a brief review of events, then, it would seem that the attitude which the Jameson Government took up on the Chinese labour question was the right one from the point of view of political expediency. Jameson's actions may not be ethically justifiable, but by adopting the policy of non-interference in a neighbouring colony he managed both to keep his own party together on the question and to maintain the friendship of Milner and the Rand miners, while yet preventing the immigration of Chinese into the Cape itself.

(b) Native Affairs and the Franchise

The Native question could not but be an important one in a colony where they far outnumbered the Europeans. But the fact that in the Cape the Natives had a more liberal franchise than in any other South African colony, and thereby held the balance between parties in certain districts, makes it even more so, for we find both parties doing the utmost to gain the support of the

(1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 777/06): Resolution in the House of Assembly adopted 14th June, 1906

(2) Jacobson: Fifty Golden Years of the Rand (1886-1936), page 83

Natives. The Progressive party principle on this question was clearly expressed - "absolute adhesion to the great dictum of Mr. Rhodes, equal rights to every civilized man of whatever race or creed or colour".⁽¹⁾ They accused the Bond of attempting to curtail the Natives' rights, but the stock answer which they received to this accusation was, "How comes it, if the Cape has been ruled according to 'Bond ideas' for so many years, and there is no Bond in Natal and Rhodesia - how comes it that in the Cape Natives enjoy political and municipal rights which in Natal and Rhodesia they do not?"⁽²⁾

Politicians had reached the stage where they were almost afraid to express their minds on the Native question in case those of the other side used what they said against them. Opinions on the subject of the Native franchise differed greatly, and in view of the coming federation of South Africa this question was an important one. The existing qualifications at the Cape were as follows: For a man to be an elector he had to be (1) at least twenty-one years of age, (2) be able to write his name, address and occupation and (3) must have lived in the Cape Colony for twelve months and during that time have been in actual occupation of property of the value of £75 or in receipt of a salary at the rate of not less than £50 per annum.⁽³⁾

This liberal franchise was not a generally acceptable one, although there were many who favoured it. On the one side there was Tengo Jabavu clamouring for universal suffrage and equal treatment in every respect.⁽⁴⁾ On the same side was Mr. Sauer, urging that the Native should get the same franchise all over South Africa, with one qualification for black and white, and supporting him the "South African News" declared "That the franchise should not be denied to anyone on account of race or colour is to our mind an axiom of political wisdom ... A system which degrades men on the score of colour makes an agitator of every civilized man who is

(1) Cape Times: January 7th, 1904: Report of Jameson's election speech at Grahamstown

(2) South African News: Editorial: January 16th, 1904

(3) Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (cd 2399)

(4) Imvo: Editorial: January 30th, 1906

deprived of his vote..."⁽¹⁾ Mr. Merriman contrasted the Native policy of the Cape with the "barbarous and repressive policy" of Natal,⁽²⁾ and declared that "... there are four million South Africans in South Africa whom we ought to look to not as a servile race but as possible friends and allies against the moneyed power ..."⁽³⁾ In a letter to Professor Goldwin Smith he admitted that "...So though having like most white men who live under South African conditions a great distaste for colour, I must confess that viewed merely as a safety valve I regard the franchise as having answered its purpose ..."⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand, the "Cape Times" declared that "... one thing is certain, and that is that in the hearts of most white men, the present system of granting the Natives the same franchise as the whites, is held in vehement dislike. Of course that is quite another thing from saying that the Native should have no representation at all ..."⁽⁵⁾

As described in Chapter I, a South African Native Affairs Commission was enquiring into Native affairs in South Africa. The two Cape representatives on this Commission were Mr. F. R. Thompson and Colonel Stanford, the permanent Secretary to the Native Affairs Department. Many doubts were voiced as to the intentions of this Commission, particularly by certain Cape colonists who saw in it a movement to deprive the Cape Natives of their franchise, but the report when eventually published in January 1905 gave evidence of a great deal of careful investigation and enquiry. The report ranges over the whole field of Native life, law, customs, administration and policy. As it concerned the whole of South Africa it cannot be fully dealt with here. The sections particularly concerning the Cape Colony must, however, be touched upon. The Commission found that while the Cape franchise was humane, liberal and generous, it was becoming dangerous as the number of Native voters increased, for "... the Natives ... by throwing their weight in

(1) South African News: Editorial: October 20th, 1905

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: April 22nd, 1905

1906

(3) Merriman Papers: John X. Merriman to Julia Merriman: March 18th, /

(4) Merriman Papers: John X. Merriman to Professor Goldwin Smith:
April 24th, 1905

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: April 22nd, 1905

favour of one or other of the two European parties now existing, can already determine the issue of any election."⁽¹⁾ Looking at the number of Non-European voters in some constituencies, e.g. Aliwal North, Fort Beaufort, Queen's Town and Tembuland, it would seem that this statement was a ^{very} true one.⁽²⁾ As an alternative the Commission proposed separate voters' lists and separate candidates for Natives only.

With regard to education at the Cape, the Commission said that while the liberality of the Cape Government was commendable, evidence disclosed the need generally for more liberal total grants. (The position which the Progressives took up on the question of Native education has already been discussed in Chapter IV). The weight of evidence was overwhelmingly in favour of total prohibition of liquor to Natives, although the Commission did not oppose the use of kâfir beer in moderate quantities and under due control.

The Progressives had, in the elections, taken their stand on the total abolition of the sale of intoxicating liquor to aboriginal Natives. The Government had, however, found it impossible to introduce a Bill to this effect into Parliament because, although there had been continuous attempts to reach some form of compromise, it seemed impossible to get a concensus of opinion between the liquor traders and the advocates of temperance. In 1906 the Upper House declared against total prohibition.⁽³⁾ Finally in 1907 the Ministry consented to the appointment of a Select Committee to enquire into the question and in September this Committee presented a majority and a minority report. What would the Progressives' next move be? Mr. de Waal (Chairman of the Committee) then introduced into the Assembly a Liquor Law Amendment Bill which undertook to give effect to the majority proposals of the Select Committee,⁽⁴⁾ and the Government supported this Bill (which was to maintain the

(1) Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission (cd.. 2399: page 70)

(2) See Appendix VI for the numbers of European voters per constituency

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: August 9th, 1907

(4) Cape Times: Editorial: September 11th, 1907

restrictions of the Innes Act of 1898, but to regulate them if possible) to the annoyance of many temperance friends. Jameson declared that they were still in favour of total prohibition, if it was at all possible,⁽¹⁾ but his supporters maintained that the provisions of De Waal's Bill were irreconcilable with the views enunciated at the general elections.⁽²⁾ Debates on the Liquor Bill became very heated, and an all-night sitting took place on September 13-14th. The voting on the second reading, which finally took place at 5.10 a.m. on the 14th, was curious. The majority for the Bill was 28, of whom 11 were ministerialists, and of the minority of 12, 10 were ministerialists.⁽³⁾ With the dissolution of Parliament, the Bill could not be proceeded with, and the Progressives had to face the country on this question. Would their change of opinion be countenanced by the electors? In October Crewe attempted to explain the Government's position. They had had to climb down from their original standpoint but, he maintained, were not insincere because of the change. He was doubtful whether any Ministry could pass total prohibition.⁽⁴⁾ The Progressives' apparent change of front on this issue was, however, made much of by the Opposition in the elections.

There had been repeated complaints about the working of the Glen Grey Act which had been passed by the Cape Parliament in 1894, and in January 1905, as a result of a Parliamentary Commission, a proclamation appeared in the Gazette reforming the Act. In 1905 a Glen Grey Amendment Act, which removed some of the blotches of the original Bill, was passed without much discussion. Among other things the hated labour clause had been abolished, and the land could not now be liable to hypothecation for debt.⁽⁵⁾ In 1904 Walton had attempted to increase Native taxation by means of an additional ten shillings hut tax on Natives who lived outside the areas but, as this tax did not find favour within the

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: November 7th, 1907

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: September 11th, 1907

(3) Cape Times: Notes in the House: September 13th, 1907

(4) Cape Hansard: September 9th, 1907

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: May 6th, 1905

party, he withdrew it.

The Progressives had secured the support of the majority of Natives during the elections by means of vague promises, few of which they had fulfilled. Their attitude towards the Natives was, during their term of office, negative rather than positive. True, there was little that could be done at this time. South Africa was on the eve of union and the Cape's attitude towards the Native was already regarded with suspicion by the other colonies, and her every move in that direction watched. It was therefore far better to leave the solution, if solution there was, of the Native problem to a central parliament, although it is extremely doubtful whether this was the motive behind the Progressives' actions.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL SERVICE

(a) The Civil Service Commission

One of the promises made by Jameson and his party in their election manifesto had been that they would appoint a Commission to enquire into all branches of the Civil Service of the Colony and make recommendations for reform where necessary. There were many complaints about inefficient organisation, lack of a satisfactory system of grading, etc., and some measure of reform was really necessary. On the 4th June, 1904, a Commission "... to enquire into the Public Service of this Colony, with a view of effecting economy in its administration without loss of efficiency and to deal with certain other matters appertaining thereto ..." ⁽¹⁾ was appointed by the Governor.

The Commission was required (1) To consider the standard and subjects of examination for candidates desirous of entering the Civil Service, and the question of establishing a system of grading, with a view to encouraging the entry of graduates, and other persons of high educational attainments; (2) To enquire into the rules and regulations then in force for the management of the Civil Service; (3) To undertake a careful examination of the duties of the various Departments, with a view to securing greater efficiency in all branches, by the weeding out of aged or inefficient officers, and by the creation of such organisation for each Department as should regulate the number of officers in each class, the promotions from class to class, the salaries, and the steps by which salaries should be increased, as also the amounts of pension and superannuation allowances; (4) To make further suggestions and recommendations for promoting efficiency and satisfactory administration of public affairs as the evidences and facts may, in the opinion of the Commissioners, have demanded. ⁽²⁾

(1) Appointment of the Civil Service Commission (G 92-04)

(2) Instructions to the Civil Service Commission (G 92-04)

The Commissioners were faced with a long and arduous task. Their first report was published in September 1904, and it was not before 1906, with the publication of the tenth and final report in May of that year, that their labours were at last completed. In their first report the Commissioners stated their belief that the Departments had too much control over estimates and expenditure, and proposed the adoption of the British system whereby the estimates were scrutinized and revised by the Treasury.⁽¹⁾ The advantages of this are obvious, but so are the disadvantages of over-centralization and lack of the necessary technical knowledge on the part of the Treasury. The second part of the report deals with the abolition of the departmental audit.⁽²⁾

The second report, an enquiry into the Public Works Department, was published on the 17th of November. The Commissioners showed the weak organisation of the Department and the great deal of unnecessary work done. They showed, too, that the men with the necessary knowledge who should have been doing more useful work were overburdened with mere routine work.⁽³⁾ What, then, did they propose? The Commissioners advocated reform along broad lines, with a radical rearrangement of duties, powers and responsibilities, the employment of qualified men for responsible jobs, and the proper control of finance - "... a short Bill providing the entire funds under a temporary loan is at once a more sensible and a more economic way of doing business..."⁽⁴⁾ The Railway Department, according to the next report, suffered from more or less the same faults of overmanning and duplication of clerical work, and the Commission advised the appointment of a Railway Board to assist the General Manager. Above all they recommended the organisation of the railway employees as an entirely separate branch of the Civil Service - as also better arrangements for the storage of coal, and some form of compensation for unremunerative railways.⁽⁵⁾

(1) First Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 92-04),
September 27th, 1904

(2) Ibid.

(3) Second Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 92-04),
November 17th, 1904

(4) Cape Times: Editorial: November 26th, 1904

(5) Third Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 13-C5),
March 28th, 1905

The Department of Posts and Telegraphs was, according to the Commissioners, "a well-balanced and business-like organisation", and few reforms were really necessary there, except that a revised scheme of pay might be advisable, as also the more extensive employment of women.⁽¹⁾ Very different was their opinion of the Agricultural Department. The Commission recorded complaints that the Department "as a whole is out of touch with the people, wasteful, dilatory in business; that its machinery, in short, is cumbersome and defective."⁽²⁾ They advised more definite correlation between the departments, the employment of experts, and, in addition, the appointment of a directing professional head. They drew up a scheme providing for three technical branches under the Director of Agriculture, the Surveyor-General, and the Chief Conservator of Forests, each with clearly defined powers. Over all these should be the Minister of Agriculture with a permanent secretary with a full knowledge of affairs.⁽³⁾

The sixth report (December 1905) contains certain recommendations on subjects affecting the Civil Service as a whole. "...If the State is to be well served, it must attract the best available men in the service, it must offer them reasonable pay, and it must encourage them in a high standard of work and duty. Both economy and efficiency are bound to follow."⁽⁴⁾ The Commission, therefore, suggested a whole-hearted scheme of reorganisation, for the main weakness of the Service was the almost entire absence of grading. They proposed that there should be two divisions, the first containing a comparatively small band of men who should be required to pass high education tests, these men then filling the higher posts, and the second admitted by a much simpler examination - the clerks and routine men of the service. In addition there should be a professional division for men who required expert or special knowledge.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: July 24th, 1905

(2) Fifth Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 43-05), August 7th, 1905

(3) Ibid.

(4) Sixth Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 2-06), December 22nd, 1905

(5) Ibid.

The seventh report deals with the pension fund and contains proposals for its improvement and for future regulations.⁽¹⁾ The actual fund was in a poor state, and it was essential that the Commissioners' proposals be adopted in on a sound financial basis.⁽²⁾ (There was an actuarial deficiency in the pension fund of two millions sterling.)⁽³⁾ A further report dealing with Treasury control was published. The Commission had decided that the Treasury should be given the power of financial supervision and control, and they showed what changes the introduction of such a system would require.⁽⁴⁾ This scheme was a good one, for it would in no way interfere with the rights of Parliament, and it would certainly be a check on administrative extravagance.

The final report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission deals with the administrations of the Colonial Secretary and the Attorney-General.⁽⁵⁾ The Commissioners urged the appointment of a permanent Attorney-General (to place him outside the domain of party politics), and the improvement of the Divisional Courts. They proposed, too, considerable reorganisation of the Colonial Office in order to effect greater economy and efficiency.⁽⁶⁾

On the 2nd April, 1906, the Commission submitted a draft Bill to the Government, giving effect to the proposals embodied in the sixth and seventh reports.⁽⁷⁾ A few days later Jameson called a meeting of all heads of Departments to consider this Bill clause by clause.⁽⁸⁾ Negotiations for the wholesale reform of the Civil Service seemed to be getting under way. On the 23rd of April Jameson wrote as follows to Merriman: "... I am sending you a copy of the draft civil service reform bill as drawn up by the Commission. Personally I am willing to accept it with very few

(1) Seventh Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 3-06), December 22nd, 1905

(2) South African News: Editorial: January 4th, 1906

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: January 1st, 1906

(4) Ninth Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 27-06), April 12th, 1906

(5) Tenth Report of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission (G 45-06), May 14th, 1906

(6) Cape Times: Editorial: May 17th, 1906

(7) Prime Minister's Office: (Correspondence file 3/C5): Civil Service Commission to the Governor

(8) Prime Minister's Office: (Correspondence file 3/C5): Prime Minister's Secretary to Heads of all Departments

alterations, and am anxious to see it passed this session if possible. Should you concur we might have a meeting on the subject, as I feel sure you will agree with me that this is a subject which should be dealt with altogether outside party ..."⁽¹⁾ But this was not to be.

In expressing his thanks to Meston, the expert adviser to the Commission, and to the Commissioners themselves for the great and painstaking job of work which they had completed, Jameson said, "... The result of your labours will leave a lasting impression on the life of the Civil Service, even though it may be impossible to obtain Parliamentary sanction to all the reforms proposed ..."⁽²⁾ The Government did not even try to get Parliamentary sanction to the reforms. In July the Prime Minister intimated that the draft Bill would not be considered in that, the 1906, session.⁽³⁾ Was this because of doubts whether the Bill would be passed at all? But the work of the Commission had met with widespread approval and their proposals, which had been submitted only after careful consideration and investigation, were practical ones.

The Jameson Ministry did not introduce the Civil Service Bill - and yet the need for reform was being felt more and more, and the depression only served to throw the faults of the whole system into relief. It was obvious that many departments were over-staffed, and the country was paying too much for the work that was being done. Surely, until these reforms were effected, the best government in the country would not really be capable of keeping the purse strings tight or the Service contented?

(b) The position of the Dutch Language in the Civil Service

In 1904 English was the official language of the Cape Colony, and the Dutch were then, and had been for years previously, agitating because they considered that their language was not given sufficient recognition. In the Civil Service, for instance, they

(1) Merriman Papers: Jameson to John X. Merriman: April 23rd, 1906

(2) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 3/C5): Jameson to Meston: June 12th, 1906

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: July 4th, 1906

thought it should be made a compulsory failing subject. But High Dutch or Hollands was not the language spoken by all Dutchmen, amongst some of whom there had grown up what might be termed a new language - Afrikaans - a simplified version of the Dutch language but differing from it already in vocabulary, expression and idiom. The development of this language brought with it fresh problems. If Dutch was made a compulsory subject in the Civil Service, this would not only affect the English-speaking section of the Colony, but also prove a hardship to some Afrikaners.

First Dutch and then English had been guilty of compulsion as regards language. In the early 1830's Dutch and English had got equal rights in the courts. At that time English was still the only official language, although Dutch was recognised. Between the years 1881 and 1901 Dutch had been a compulsory failing subject in the Civil Service. In 1901, however, Dutch became a general compulsory subject, but not a failing subject. During the session of 1902-03 Sprigg had said that this was only a temporary measure, but as yet nothing had been done about it.⁽¹⁾

On March 21st, 1905, Mr. Malan moved in the House of Assembly that "it be an instruction to the Civil Service Commission to revert to the system which obtained before 1901 with regard to the Dutch language at the Civil Service Examination, namely, that failure to obtain the minimum number of marks in that subject shall disqualify a candidate from passing; and further, that the name of no graduate or under-graduate, wholly or partially exempt from passing the Civil Service Examination, shall be inserted in the official list of successful candidates, unless he has satisfied the examiners as to his efficiency in the Dutch language up to the standard required for the General Civil Service Examination."⁽²⁾ Mr. Malan was trying to revert back to the 1881-1901 position because he considered it essential for Civil Servants to know both languages. A heated discussion flared up in the House on the merits of Dutch as a language and on the question of whether the Dutch as such suffered disabilities in the Service through racial discrimination.⁽³⁾ How could Dutch

(1) Cape Hansard: March 21st, 1905

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

be made compulsory in the Eastern Province, for instance, where very little Dutch was heard at all? The opposite view is tenable, of course - why should English be compulsory in Dutch-speaking districts? But English was the official language, the language of commerce and of the towns, and as such a working knowledge of it was essential. Finally on April 5th a motion to the effect that the question of the Dutch language being made compulsory in the Civil Service Examination be referred to the Civil Service Commission was agreed to, Mr. Malan's original motion having been defeated by a majority of seven.⁽¹⁾

On the 21st June, 1906, a Committee, consisting of the Colonial Secretary, Messrs. Vosloo, C. J. Krige, Tod, de Waal, Malan, Blaine, McIntosh and Sir John Frost, was appointed to inquire into the position occupied by the Dutch language in the schools, at the public examinations, in the Civil Service and in the Courts of Justice.⁽²⁾ After due deliberation the Committee was finally unable to agree and, therefore, submitted two reports - a majority report and a minority report.

The following is a summary of the main points of the majority report:-

1. "Your Committee recognize that in a bilingual country it is desirable to offer inducements to the two races, each to learn the language of the other, for by these means harmony and good understanding between the two races can best be promoted, and it is only by such means that the happiness and prosperity of both races can be obtained."⁽³⁾

2. Re the position of the Dutch language in subsidized schools, here the choice of the medium of instruction was, and should be, left to the Committees.

3. Inspectors. It was difficult to find bilingual ones. The Committee, therefore, recommended that preference be given to bilingual candidates. Every opportunity should be given to pupils to learn both languages, and the inspector should provide for a

(1) Cape Hansard: April 5th, 1905

(2) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1287/06): Appointment of the Select Committee on the Dutch language

(3) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1287/06): Report of the Select Committee on the Dutch language

report of the teaching of Dutch in the school.

4. They considered the position whereby a candidate could take either English or Dutch as a compulsory language in School Elementary sound.

5. Civil Service. The present position was that while Dutch was not a plucking subject it was a necessary one.

6. The Committee recommended the increase in the number of marks given to Dutch in the Civil Service Examination.

7. They advised that wherever possible Dutch magistrates should be sent to the districts where the majority of the inhabitants were Dutch.

8. In the railway and post office preference should be given to those with a knowledge of both languages.

9. Each race should be induced to learn the language of the other. This would, they considered, promote racial conciliation.⁽¹⁾

The signatories to the Minority Report, however, said that although Dutch was tolerated and allowed for convenience sake, it was not put on the same basis as English, and not treated as an official language to anything like the same extent. They felt that the recognition of the equality of both languages as official languages would be only fair and just towards the inhabitants of the Colony. They recommended that the medium of instruction, at least up to Standard III, should be for every child the language of its parents, and complained of the general lack of sympathy towards Dutch in schools. It was, they maintained, practically a general rule that only one hour per week was taken for Dutch, and Dutch was no part of the regular inspection. The curriculum should, therefore, be altered to provide for the proper instruction of Dutch. Dutch should be restored to the same position in the Civil Service Examination as in 1901. They advised strict adherence to the clause in Act No. 32 of 1895 which stated that

(1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1287/06):
Report of the Select Committee on the Dutch language

and incapable of expressing ideas connected with the higher spheres of thought", he nevertheless said that "It appears to me to be a legitimate demand in a country where the majority of people are Dutch-speaking, that knowledge of that language should be required from candidates for the Civil Service. ... If a majority of the people are content, on the grounds of sentiment or of patriotism, to let the country remain bilingual there is no harm done to those who wish to have a united South African nation speaking one common language ..."(1) What was Dr. Jameson's attitude to Dutch? Although he stated in the House that he was prepared to recognise the fact that South Africa was a bilingual country and that "...we must help to foster the language which is the mother tongue of the people. We are prepared to go very far lengths to do that..."(2), he was on the whole not particularly sympathetic, except when it was to his advantage politically.

What did the Progressive Government actually do for the promotion of the Dutch language, particularly in the Civil Service? They declared their sympathy with the Minority Report, but that was as far as they went. Although they had promised to offer inducements to the people to learn Dutch, nothing definite was done, and the position of the Dutch language in the Colony remained much as before.

(1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1287/C6): The Chief Justice's views on the language question: June 12th, 1907
(2) G. Seymour Fort: Dr. Jameson: page 299

magistrates should possess a sufficient knowledge of both the English and Dutch languages. In conclusion, they urged full recognition of South Africa as a bilingual country.⁽¹⁾

The two reports differ greatly in tone. The Majority Report puts forward the position as seen from the English-speaking person's point of view, while the Minority Report presents the Dutch point of view. Somewhere between these two accounts must lie the true state of affairs. The Dutch language, it is true, should have received more recognition, but, on the other hand, to make it compulsory at such a time would not have been practical. Both reports were submitted to the Government, and at a Cabinet meeting it was decided to adopt the recommendations of the Majority Report.⁽²⁾ In 1907 the Government submitted a report on the reports of the Select Committee.⁽³⁾ Among other things, the Government had decided that Dutch should remain an optional subject in the entrance examination of the Civil Service, but were prepared to make it obligatory on all entrants to qualify in the Dutch language within a period of two years from their appointment. In this report, too, the Government stated that during the recess they had ordered the recommendations of the Majority Report to be carried out and this had, as far as was possible, been done.

Within the ranks of the South African Party the struggle of Dutch versus Afrikaans continued.⁽⁴⁾ Many associations had been founded to foster Afrikaans, and there were hot debates on the language question in Parliament, for it was considered by some that "Afrikaansch" was the language which should be taught in schools and required for the Civil Service.

In a letter to the "Cape Times" the Chief Justice, Sir J. H. de Villiers, expressed his views on the language question. While stating that Cape Dutch was certainly "poor in the number of its words, weak in its inflections, wanting in accuracy of meaning,

(1) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1287/06): Minority Report on the Dutch language

(2) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 1287/06): Adoption of the Majority Report: Letter from the Prime Minister's Secretary to Colonel Crewe: 22nd August, 1906

(3) See Appendix VII for summary of this report

(4) Cape Times: Editorial: November 6th, 1906

CHAPTER VII

AGRICULTURE

"... We quite recognise that if the Progressive party is to remain a united and effective political force, the section more particularly identified with agriculture and stock-raising must have every consideration within reason: but it is equally certain that the interests of the towns must not be sacrificed. The problem of harmonising the two may at times be difficult; but the only basis upon which it can be worked out is to discover means of assisting the producer without penalising the consumer ..."(1)

This was the problem which the Progressive Government had to face. Their position was a difficult one, for at all costs the party had to be kept together. Owing to peculiar circumstances over which he had no control Jameson was in the position of being unable to give economic assistance to the wealth distributors who were his political friends, whilst he had to strain every nerve to help the wealth-producing Dutch farmers and wine-growers who were his political opponents.

The Progressives did do a great deal for the farmers during these years, but were at times hard put to it to reconcile their ideals with practical government, particularly with regard to the Free-Trade - Protection issue over which there was great difference of opinion within the Progressive ranks. The most ardent free-trader was Mr. Jagger, who maintained that heavy duties would have the effect of discouraging farmers from exerting themselves. (2)

Others within the party, however, held that free trade would never answer in the Colony, and that on the contrary a policy of judicious protection and support for all colonial industries was absolutely necessary for the country. (3)

In their manifesto the Progressives had declared that no legislation would be undertaken of a nature likely to increase the

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: May 11th, 1905

(2) Cape Times: March 22nd, 1906: Report of Jagger's address to the Imperial Union Club

(3) Cape Times: March 22nd, 1906: Report of Abrahamson's address to the Imperial Union Club

^{cost of the}

necessaries of life. In 1905, however, agitation for the reimposition of the meat duty commenced, and many Progressives associated themselves with this movement. What position would Jameson take up? On March 27th Mr. C. J. Krige moved "That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that the Government immediately take the necessary steps required under the existing Customs Convention, to obtain the consent of the contracting parties thereto for the removal of the suspension of the duties imposed in the existing Customs Tariff on meat and slaughter stock."⁽¹⁾ He believed that the agricultural community of the country was entitled to a moderate and reasonable protection. Jameson in his reply to the motion admitted that on the Government side of the House there were both Free-Traders and Protectionists (Smartt, Sampson and Crewe were among those who favoured moderate protection.), but he did not think the time was ripe for the reimposition of the duties. If, however, he thought that the ld. duty would not fall on the consumer he would gladly vote for it.⁽²⁾ The discussion on the duties became very heated, but Mr. Tod was the only ministerial member who at first gave any definite indication of voting with the Opposition.⁽³⁾ He maintained that the cause of the financial depression was the non-imposition of the meat duty. The question seemed to be whether there was sufficient stock in the country to meet the demand. Finally the matter was referred to a Select Committee for inquiry and report.⁽⁴⁾

In July Natal obtained leave from the parties to the Customs Convention to reimpose the meat duty, and in November the Orange River Colony obtained the same privilege. The result was that agitation in the Cape Colony for the reimposition of the duties increased.⁽⁵⁾ In February 1906 a resolution to this effect was passed almost unanimously by the Farmers' Congress.⁽⁶⁾ Merriman

(1) Cape Hansard: March 27th, 1905

(2) Ibid.

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: March 29th, 1905

(4) Cape Hansard: May 10th, 1905

(5) South African News: Editorial: November 13th, 1905

(6) Cape Times: February 21st, 1906: Resolution at the Farmers' Congress, Queenstown

supported the imposition of a duty.⁽¹⁾ After the report of the Select Committee on the meat duty had been presented, Dr. Jameson announced a change of opinion, justifying his action by saying that he was convinced the duty would not fall on the consumer, and supported a 1d. duty on frozen imported meat. The consent of the other parties to the Customs Convention having been obtained, the duty was accordingly imposed. In 1907 an agitation for an increased duty commenced, and the Bond Congress passed a resolution in favour of this.⁽²⁾ In August a motion was put in the House, to the effect that the Government should approach the other colonies in accordance with the Customs Convention to obtain permission to impose an extra 1d. per pound duty on frozen imported meat.⁽³⁾ Was the Colony going to turn to protection? The Ministry, having supported a 1d. duty, were going to have difficulty justifying their opposition to a 2d. one. Dr. Jameson's very vague opinion - as put to the House - was that the motion was undesirable and inopportune.⁽⁴⁾ The House came to a division on the question, and the motion was carried by 62 votes to 31, the Government voting in the minority. In the following month Mr. Weeber demanded to know when Jameson was going to do something about the wishes of the House.⁽⁵⁾ Jameson replied that he was waiting for the opinions of the other parties to the Convention. The Transvaal and Orange River Colony, however, strongly protested against an added duty. The matter was, therefore, shelved for consideration in the next session after the meeting of the Customs Conference,⁽⁶⁾ but by that time the Jameson Government was no more.

The methods which Jameson employed to carry out his ideas, rather than the actual measures themselves, often aroused the opposition of the farmers. The Progressive Government had promised reform of the Agricultural Department, and accordingly in 1904 Mr. Tod moved that it was desirable that a Commission should be appointed to inquire into the whole state of agriculture in the country.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: March 10th, 1906

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: March 23rd, 1907

(3) Cape Hansard: August 13th, 1907

(4) Cape Times: Notes in the House: August 14th, 1907

(5) Cape Times: Notes in the House: September 6th, 1907

(6) Cape Hansard: September 12th, 1907

(7) Cape Hansard: May 11th, 1904

The idea was to institute an inquiry into the ways of bringing the Agricultural Department into closer contact with the farmers, the best ways of promoting co-operation among farmers, the possibilities of eliminating the middleman, the feasibility of experimental stations, and so on. The Government did not vote for the motion, on the grounds that as it stood it practically meant a vote for protection.⁽¹⁾ During the recess, however, the Government determined to appoint an Agricultural Commission, and the Opposition can hardly be blamed for objecting to this action. When it came to the appointment of the members of the Commission, the Government experienced great difficulty. One after another Theron, Malan, van Heerden, Michau and others refused appointment. As Beck said in a letter to Merriman, "... I may say I agree with the general idea of the Government, for enquiry in the directions suggested ... but I do not like the way they have set about it..."⁽²⁾ The "South African News" made a grievance of the fact that Merriman was not asked, but after all Malan and Theron were offered appointment.

Eventually on the 28th November, 1904, the following were formally appointed by the Governor - Messrs. van Zyl, Weeber, Blaine, Orpen, Owen-Lewis, Oosthuizen, Tod, Rubidge, Rogers, Schoeman and Abrahamson.⁽³⁾ They were required "to enquire into and report on the advisability of reorganising the existing Agricultural Department, with a view to the establishment of a Department of Agriculture, Colonial Industries and Technical Instruction."⁽⁴⁾ A memorandum of suggested reforms was sent to each. The Commission was to consider and report on various suggestions by which financial assistance was to be granted to the agricultural population, and also to report on the best means for the advancement of agricultural colleges, technical instruction, etc. Mr. Weeber, one of the most representative and intelligent of the Bond farmers, was elected chairman.⁽⁵⁾

In January 1905 the Commission presented its report. According

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: November 17th, 1904

(2) Merriman Papers: Beck to John X. Merriman: September 7th, 1904

(3) Appointment of the Agricultural Commission (G 1-05)

(4) Prime Minister's Office: (Correspondence file 21/05) Despatch from Prime Minister's Secretary to each member of the Commission November 28th, 1904

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: December 8th, 1904

to the Commissioners, the evidence indicated that the Agricultural Department was not sufficiently in touch with the farming community, that it failed to fulfil its proper functions, and that radical reforms were urgently needed in its administration and organisation in the interests of the farming community and the general body of taxpayers.⁽¹⁾ They recommended the following -

1. The appointment of an official trained in agriculture as permanent head of the Agricultural Department.
2. The establishment of a Board of Agriculture to advise the Agricultural Department.
3. The inauguration of certain much-needed technical branches in the Agricultural Department.
4. The appointment of an official to organise and stimulate the co-operative movement in the Colony.
5. The establishment of a number of experimental stations in different parts of the Colony.
6. An alteration in the Departmental system to secure greater freedom of action and responsibility to the Heads of the existing and proposed Technical Divisions.
7. The organisation of the farming community by the establishment of a Local Agricultural Committee, elected by the Farmers, in each Fiscal Division.
8. The raising of a Loan for the purpose of granting aid to Farmers to carry out reproductive works.
9. The simplification of the regulations under which state-aid is granted to Farmers for Irrigation Works.
10. The appointment of a small commission to enquire into and report upon the extension of the system of Industrial Education for the poorer section of the community.
11. The establishment of a permanent Colonial Industries Board.⁽²⁾

These recommendations show that what was needed more than anything was a properly manned and equipped Agricultural Department.

As a result of the recommendations of this Commission a Bill

(1) First Report of the Agricultural Commission (G 1-05)

(2) Ibid.

was published dealing with the formation of an Agricultural Board.⁽¹⁾ Colonel Crewe, in moving the second reading of this Bill in Parliament on April 14th, 1905, admitted that considerable opposition had already been voiced to the idea of such a Bill. He proposed a nominated Agricultural Board, and Agricultural Committees elected by the farmers, on the qualification of holding or hiring land to the value of £500.⁽²⁾ The measure was not a popular one, the majority believing that such legislation would be unsatisfactory and that the only lasting improvements would come as a result of a movement from the farmers themselves. Strong objections were raised to the nominated principle for the Board. Merriman refused to support the Bill and proposed instead a meeting of twelve of the leading men of the country once a quarter to advise the Minister of Agriculture on his policy.⁽³⁾ It was contended that it was not artificial organisations that were needed, but protection and more railways in the country districts.⁽⁴⁾ Eventually the Government was forced to drop the Bill.

Meanwhile some reorganisation was going on in the Department along the lines recommended by the Commission. Experts were being put in control, and the Surveyor-General's office was separated from the Agricultural Department proper.⁽⁵⁾ The Government was doing more and more to maintain the support of the farmers. The construction of additional railways was authorised in 1906, and in 1907 Mr. Jagger's "Bill to prevent the Monopoly of the Meat Trade" was finally passed, after having been rejected at the last moment in the session of 1906.

In 1907 a Bill dealing with the establishment of an Agricultural Credit Bank was introduced. After it had passed the second reading it was referred to a Select Committee. The evidence given before this Committee on the whole seemed to justify some confidence in the future of a Credit Bank,⁽⁶⁾ for all agreed that it was not likely to

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: April 10th, 1905

(2) Cape Hansard: April 14th, 1905

(3) Ibid.

(4) South African News: Editorial: May 2nd, 1905

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: July 18th, 1905

(6) Cape Times: Editorial: October 2nd, 1907

involve the country in any loss. This Bill, which provided for the formation of a Board empowered to lend money to farmers on sufficient security, at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}\%$,⁽¹⁾ finally became law in October, 1907, but it seemed improbable that immediate steps would be taken to put it into effect. It was not an auspicious time to inaugurate a new scheme and, in addition, the million sterling required to put the bank on its legs had still to be raised. The measure was a good one, but the future success of such a Bank would depend largely on its management.

The Progressives did a great deal to promote agricultural co-operation. Walton was in favour of starting co-operation as soon as possible, and £150,000 was voted for this purpose by the Government. The terms on which this money was lent were very fair. Seven or more bona-fide farmers had only to combine and submit their scheme for co-operation to the Government with sufficient security and the money would be lent at a low rate of interest.⁽²⁾ The idea met with much opposition at first, but by August 1905 we find Walton writing to Merriman in the following terms: "... It is gratifying to find on all sides unmistakable evidence of the great interest farmers are taking in the question and also of the determination, if possible, to take full advantage of the provision made by Parliament..."⁽³⁾

Mr. Hannon, an expert on co-operation from overseas, had been appointed and in October 1905 he and Fuller toured the country putting across the idea of co-operation, and trying to convince the farmers of the necessity for it. Hannon had much to do with the general success of the scheme, for his attitude remained strictly non-political throughout his term of office, and he gained the support of the Dutch by delivering an address to the Bond Congress in March 1907 in the Dutch language. A number of associations were formed and the results were very encouraging, but certain farmers were expecting too much in the way of help from the Government. At the Bond Congress Hannon warned the people against this and said, "I urge earnestly upon this important gathering that, in spite of the pre-eminent urgency of

(1) South African News: Editorial: February 4th, 1907

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: July 26th, 1905

(3) Merriman Papers: E.H. Walton to John A. Merriman. August 1st, 1905

agricultural development in this Colony, the works should proceed along lines thoroughly sound from a business point of view, with no tendency whatever to throw upon the general population the burden of a grave loss in the event of unforeseen catastrophe."⁽¹⁾ Much praise, then, is due to the Government for their work in connection with co-operation.

The administration of the Scab Act was another bone of contention between Progressives and South African Party. The whole question was, could scab be eradicated by legislation? There were many who favoured the suspension of the Act, but experts vowed that more stringent supervision would lead to the eradication of scab within three years, as under the weak existing laws good farmers were suffering from the neglect and laziness of bad ones. The amended Scab Act of 1899 had enacted "that Scab Boards shall be established in the various districts of the Colony, that they shall be re-elected every three years, that nominations for the appointment of Scab Inspectors should be made through them, and that where a temporary appointment is made by the Department, from time to time, that the person so appointed shall act 'until further applications can be called for, and a suitable person recommended'."⁽²⁾ Owing to the war, these provisions had not been enforced before 1902, but even so there was much delay. At the present time there were sixty-nine temporary appointments. In some cases the Scab Boards had only recently been constituted, and in others vacancies arising had not been filled. Sufficient attention had not been paid to the characters of persons appointed as inspectors, and this had caused considerable dissatisfaction in certain districts.

A Scab Conference at Beaufort West in September 1904 adopted by an overwhelming majority the decision that Scab Inspectors should be abolished as far as possible, and the administration of the Act left in the hands of Scab Boards consisting of elected members with the Resident Magistrate as official chairman; that

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: March 26th, 1907

(2) Report of the Select Committee on the Scab Acts (S.C.12. A 12-05)

provision be made for compulsory simultaneous dipping at times decided by the Board, and that compulsion should be applied to induce farmers to report the outbreak of scab in their flocks.^{(1), (2)} Fuller promised earnest consideration of these resolutions. He purposed, he said, dividing the country into blocks, and instead of Scab Boards he considered competent commissioners should be appointed, and the selection of the inspectors placed in the hands of the Government.⁽³⁾ Nothing came of these proposals.

A Select Committee had been appointed to enquire into the working of the Scab Acts, and in June, 1905, they submitted their report. Their recommendations amounted, in fact, to a more stringent supervision of the Act. They asserted that Scab Board members should be experienced men, favouring scab eradication, practical farmers, and owners of at least fifteen hundred sheep, and inspectors should, if possible, have a knowledge of the Dutch language and a thorough knowledge of scab.⁽⁴⁾ From the evidence before the Committee, it is clear that the Act was not being applied in the best way.

In spite of many resolutions both for and against the Act which were submitted to the Government, nothing was done to change the actual provisions of the Act, although an attempt was made to appoint more efficient inspectors. The 1906 report of the Chief Scab Inspector, Mr. Davison, showed a remarkable reduction in that disease. Davison considered that this was due to three things - a greater degree of co-operation from farmers within the past twelve months; a better class of inspectors, supported by a more efficient staff - and he felt that a more stringent Act then would cause the loss of much support and co-operation.⁽⁵⁾ Dr. Jameson promised that more drastic legislation would not be introduced without thorough investigation⁽⁶⁾ and there, in spite of protests, the matter rested.

Another Act which has still to be dealt with in this chapter

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- (1) Cape Times: Editorial: September 22nd, 1904.
(2) South African News: Editorial: September 22nd, 1904
(3) Cape Times: December 9th, 1904. Report of speech by Fuller at Adelaide
(4) Report of the Select Committee on the Scab Acts (S.C.12. A 12-05)
(5) Cape Times: February 23rd, 1906: Report of the Chief Inspector, Mr. Davison
(6) Cape Times: June 13th, 1906: Premier's reply to deputation from

is the Irrigation Act of 1906. The Progressives had promised an Act to amend and consolidate the irrigation laws of the Colony, and a Bill to this effect was drawn up by Dr. Smartt in 1905. On the question of who should control irrigation there were two schools of thought.⁽¹⁾ (a) would fain see the entire rights in water vested in the government, so that the streams of the country could be put to the best possible use without respect to private rights and vested interests. In theory this was no doubt the ideal system, but how would it work out in practice? (b) believed that the community which used the water should direct its use, and desired to place the apportionment of the water and the construction of irrigation works as much as possible in the hands of the farmers themselves. Smartt's Bill did not depart from the system of popular control, but provided for the creation of two bodies which might be elected by the riparian owners. The first body - a River Board - could be created by the Minister of Public Works on the petition of three or more riparian owners. The Government had decided that control of water should be separated from the actual erection of irrigation works, and for this purpose Irrigation Boards could be formed on the petition of any three or more owners of lands situated within any area for which they considered it expedient that there should be a combined system of irrigation. The Bill also gave greater facilities for the borrowing of money for irrigation works from the Government.⁽²⁾

There was every hope that the Bill would be passed in the 1905 session, but it proved too cumbersome and was jettisoned along the way. During the recess, however, it was taken in hand, redrafted and simplified, and in April 1906 it was once more introduced into Parliament. After having passed the second reading it was sent to a Select Committee for amendment and report. In June debates on the Bill, as amended, took place in Parliament. The principles of the Bill met with fairly general acceptance, but it was the details upon which agreement was found difficult. A tangle of amendments

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: March 2nd, 1905

(2) Ibid.

and counter-amendments confused the issue more and more, and the Bill finally emerged from the Committee stage considerably changed in form. The main provisions were, however, still there in essence, and the final Bill did remedy the crying defects in the law. It consolidated the existing acts, regulated the utilisation of flood waters and, as to the River Boards, these were still in the Bill, but their formation was conditional on the petition of two thirds of the riparian owners.⁽¹⁾

Jameson and his Government, then, pursued the policy of friendship with the Dutch farmers in the hopes of gaining their support. They did a great deal for them but, in the long run, it did not prove the best course, for it inevitably brought them into conflict with their own supporters, the townsmen and free-traders, to whom cheap food was of prime importance.

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: August 15th, 1906

CHAPTER VIII

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE CAPE COLONY

"... Throughout South Africa during the latter part of 1903, the boom in mining shares and real estate died away. The troops and the camp-followers, the eagles and the vultures together, poured out of the country; drought and disease smote the crops and the cattle. South Africa showed signs of economic prostration ..."⁽¹⁾ Jameson and his Ministers, therefore, had very severe financial difficulties to face when they took over the government of the country in 1904, for, in addition, they had the unauthorised expenditure of the Sprigg Parliament on their hands.

Speaking at the opening of Parliament in March 1904, Jameson explained that, owing to the depression, they would immediately have to begin cutting down expenses as far as possible. He tried to reassure the House on the Colony's financial position, and expressed the hope that it would not become necessary to introduce taxation measures.⁽²⁾ But Jameson was ever too optimistic on this score. Had he and Walton faced the facts squarely at first, the vast deficit which was ultimately accumulated might have been avoided. Unfortunately, they did not pay sufficient heed to the warnings of old and tried financiers such as Merriman and others.

In the same month Walton introduced the Financial Indemnity Bill into Parliament. By this Bill the House was asked to authorize some £5,000,000 which, owing to the circumstances of the defeat of the Sprigg Government, had been spent without the authorisation of the 1903 Parliament.⁽³⁾ The Opposition objected to the Bill, not because they considered that it should not finally be passed, but because they thought a clause should first be introduced into the Bill rendering any future infringement of what they termed "the rights and privileges of Parliament" a high misdemeanour,⁽⁴⁾ in order to prevent future Parliaments from spending money without authorisation. But how could a hard and fast rule to this effect

(1) Walker: Lord de Villiers and His Times: page 412

(2) Cape Times: March 5th, 1904. Account of the Opening of Parliament

(3) Cape Hansard: March 7th, 1904

(4) Cape Times: Notes in the House: March 10th, 1904

be laid down? Mr. Sampson declared that by refusing to pass the Bill the Opposition was directly attacking the Governor or, if not him, then a Ministry already out of power.⁽¹⁾ After a great deal of discussion, which at times became very heated, the Bill was finally passed without amendment.

On March 10th Walton showed the House that Sir Gordon Sprigg's Estimates had been completely falsified by results, and the financial position as compared with Sir Gordon Sprigg's forecast would be as follows:

Revenue as estimated by Sir Gordon Sprigg:	£11,695,886
Actual Revenue: (probable)	<u>£10,309,881</u>
Shortfall:	<u><u>£1,414,121</u></u>

In addition to this, Walton had further bad news for the House. He produced figures to show that the Colony's share of the transit trade to the Transvaal was rapidly dwindling away, and warned them that it was very probable, therefore, that conditions would become much worse.⁽²⁾ Instead of choosing to meet the deficit by taxation the Government decided to carry it over in the hopes that conditions would improve. The Opposition protested, and with some justification, that fresh taxation was necessary, and that an attempt should be made to balance revenue and expenditure.

Mr. Walton thereupon resorted to a Temporary Loans Bill, the object of this measure being to allow temporary loans to be raised on debentures, or Treasury Bills.⁽³⁾ The Opposition were very much against this, and demanded the raising of permanent loans, but this was declared to be impossible because of the state of the money market, and the Bill was eventually passed. The proposal of the Government as embodied in this Bill was to take authority to borrow by means of Treasury Bills the amounts authorised to be raised as permanent loans, amounting in all to about £7,000,000. Jagger had suggested that the country resort to the usual expedients of a country faced with an unfavourable money market - the raising of a loan, at

(1) Cape Hansard: March 9th, 1904

(2) Cape Times: Notes in the House: March 11th, 1904

(3) Cape Hansard: March 18th, 1904

a sufficient rate of interest to secure a par quotation with the option of paying off at any time after five years, and with the obligation of repayment at a longer date.⁽¹⁾ In a letter to Jagger Merriman gave his reasons for preferring these latter proposals and for being doubtful of the expediency of the temporary loans: "... We shall have several millions of short-dated Bills current in London - issued presumably at such a rate of interest as to cover the capital, issued without public tender and ... 'with the same people who take up our permanent loans' - i.e. the syndicates of moneylenders who make a market out of colonial necessities..."

The fact of the matter was, he said, that they would have to pay more than $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ if they wanted to secure par, and "... one great difference is that by issuing a permanent loan you appeal to the investor, while by these temporary instruments, negotiated in a hole-and-corner way, you are bound up to the moneylender in a big way of business..."⁽²⁾ What policy did Merriman advise? He considered that the only thing to do would be to curtail reckless expenditure, minimize borrowing and strengthen the sinking fund. Above all the Ministers should remember that the Cape was a debtor and not a creditor country, and shape their policy accordingly.⁽³⁾

The correctness of Merriman's assertions was supported by the fact that while Natal managed to raise a permanent loan at 95% and at $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest, the Cape had to pay practically 5% for a three years' loan at $98\frac{1}{2}\%$ and at 4% interest.⁽⁴⁾

The Estimates of 1904-5 again showed a shortfall, and the result was that in May 1904 Walton put his taxation proposals before the House. He proposed an excise on brandy and beer; a graded income tax on all sources of wealth; an additional hut tax on Natives who lived outside the areas; certain increased duties on licences, stamps, etc.; and a form of estate tax.⁽⁵⁾ Merriman in his reply to the budget speech criticized the excise and

(1) John X. Merriman to J. W. Jagger. March 23rd, 1904

(2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) South African News: Editorial: April 28th, 1904

(5) Cape Hansard: May 3rd, 1904

the hut tax in particular, and delivered an earnest appeal for the Estimates to be sent to a Select Committee.⁽¹⁾ The following is the proposed scheme of taxation with the amounts it was expected to yield -⁽²⁾

Excise on brandy (6/- per gallon)	£350,000
Excise on beer (3d. beer 1½d. per gallon; lager and other beer 3d. per gallon)	£73,000
Income tax (6d. in the £ on incomes over £500 and 1/- over £2000)	£275,000
Hut tax on Natives (10/-)	£35,000
Licences and stamps (increased duties) ...	£20,000
Estate duties	<u>£75,000</u>
Total Additional Taxation	£830,000
Deficit to be met	<u>£675,000</u>
Estimated surplus	<u>£155,000</u>

The actual proposals of Mr. Walton's scheme were in absolute accordance with the Progressives' declaration of policy in their manifesto, but nevertheless they met with a great deal of opposition. Discussion on these proposals became very heated, the Opposition complaining bitterly of the injustice of the proposed excise. On May 9th Merriman moved that the Estimates be referred to a select Committee, for he thought this would make for efficiency and economy.⁽³⁾ Jameson agreed with the proposition in principle, but did not think that the procedure was advisable in this case, for there were only about two weeks left to the end of the session, and Merriman's motion was eventually defeated.

In Committee on the taxation proposals Merriman moved that a tax or royalty on diamonds be levied instead of a tax on incomes.⁽⁴⁾ But Walton declared that the Government stood by a tax on all sources of wealth and admitted that they could not carry a diamond tax and keep the party together.⁽⁵⁾ But if Walton was trying to tax all alike why should he tax brandy and not diamonds? With a revised excise and a diamond tax, asserted the Opposition, further

(1) Cape Hansard: May 3rd, 1904

(2) Cape Times: Notes in the House: May 4th, 1904

(3) Cape Hansard: May 9th, 1904

(4) Cape Hansard: May 11th, 1904

(5) Ibid.

taxation would be unnecessary.⁽¹⁾ The income tax applied to land, too, and objections were raised to this. "Ever since the days of the Roman Empire, a land tax has been reserved for farmers and an income tax for others ..."⁽²⁾ Eventually, by a majority of five, the Treasurer's proposal for a tax on incomes was adopted.

The estate duties were dropped, for Walton said the Government had found that this introduced highly contentious proposals. It would, however, be brought up early next session. In committee a compromise was reached on the excise on Mr. Merriman's proposal to empower the Treasurer to buy up the brandy then on the hands of the farmers. This would, according to Merriman, involve an initial expenditure of £70,000, but would certainly be repaid with interest in time.⁽³⁾ On May 24th the Bill passed the Assembly. In addition to the estate duties, the hut tax and the ~~estate~~^{stamp} duties had been abandoned, leaving only the income tax and the excise on beer and brandy.

How did the Government's Taxation Bill work out in practice? The excise brought in a fair amount of money,⁽⁴⁾ and it was declared that the price of brandy had gone up from £8 or £9 to £12 a leaguer, so the farmer was now much better off than he had been before the war.⁽⁵⁾ It follows from this that the excise had fallen not upon the producer but upon the consumer as the Government had intended, for Jameson had told the wine farmers that if it were proved that the consumer did not pay the tax he would be in favour of its being rescinded.⁽⁶⁾ The regulations for the advance on brandy to the farmers, too, met with approval.⁽⁷⁾ The fairness of the income tax was being proved, but agitation for a diamond tax continued, although de Beers, for example, paid £140,000 to £150,000 in taxation already.⁽⁸⁾

The depression continued to brood over the country, and revenue

(1) South African News: Editorial: May 12th, 1904

(2) South African News: Editorial: May 25th, 1904

(3) South African News: Editorial: May 21st, 1904

(4) See Appendix VIII for the Excise returns (1904-7)

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: July 5th, 1904

(6) Cape Times: May 20th, 1904: Dr. Jameson's reply to a deputation from the wine farmers of the Cape districts

(7) South African News: Editorial: September 14th, 1904

(8) Cape Times: December 8th, 1904: Report of Speech by the Treasurer at Port Elizabeth

returns fell off month by month. The result was that the Government had to resort to fairly severe all-round retrenchment. In addition, the new Cape loan was proving a failure so far as public subscriptions were concerned. The outlook was dismal.

In 1905 there appeared the welcome news in the Governor's speech at the opening of Parliament that "Pursuant to desire expressed by you last session, and with a view, if possible, to further economy, it is proposed to submit these Estimates to the scrutiny of a Committee ..."⁽¹⁾ This Committee, the appointment of which was moved by Walton on March 14th, had the power to examine and report on the Estimates, and to reduce expenditure, but not initiate it.

Agitation for a diamond tax continued. Logan in the Legislative Council in 1905 moved a resolution in favour of an export diamond tax, stating that he had promised his constituents to do so, and attacked his own party violently on the question, asserting that diamonds were more a luxury than brandy.⁽²⁾ Would Jameson eventually be forced to ^{yield to} Parliament's desire for this tax?

Walton's 1904-5 Estimates had once more shown a shortfall⁽³⁾ and he admitted the seriousness of the position - although the income tax had worked with a minimum of trouble and friction and the cost of collection was low, and the excise was equally satisfactory.⁽⁴⁾ Further retrenchment had, therefore, been unavoidable. By reducing pay rather than staff (because they did not want to throw more men out of employment as it would be difficult to replace these men when prosperity returned), they had saved £413,000, but had^{had} in spite of this to reduce their staffs to the extent of over three thousand men.⁽⁵⁾

In his Estimates for 1905-6, Walton optimistically predicted a small surplus.⁽⁶⁾ On the motion to go into Committee of Supply a no-confidence debate took place, with the final result of a vic-

(1) Cape Hansard: March 10th, 1905

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: March 22nd, 1905

(3) See Appendix IX for revenue returns

(4) Cape Hansard: May 4th, 1905

(5) Ibid.

(6) Cape Times: Notes in the House: May 5th, 1905

tory to the Government which obtained a majority of eight on the division.⁽¹⁾ Once again the Opposition was clamouring for fresh taxation and retrenchment, but beyond reimposing the excise and the income tax, the Government refused to comply with these requests.

In June 1906 Logan moved in the Legislative Council for an export tax on minerals and precious stones and the motion was carried by one vote.⁽²⁾ The 1905-6 revenue and expenditure balance did reveal a surplus - of £5,160 odd⁽³⁾ - but this was not to be the sign of approaching good times. Although Walton once more predicted a surplus for the year 1906-7, his Budget was severely criticized and, as it turned out, justly so. The "South African News" put its objections very forcefully: "... Mr. Walton's Budget, stripped of all verbiage and circumlocution, is capitalism pure and simple. It was conceived in the interests of de Beers. It was born in the fear of further taxation of wealth ..."⁽⁴⁾

In 1906 the income tax was agreed to for the third year in succession, and it was generally admitted that expectations of trouble in regard to it had to a large extent been falsified. Objections were, however, still raised to the fact that the farmers had to pay the income tax instead of a land tax.⁽⁵⁾ In this year, too, a new Loan Bill was introduced to provide funds for railways, public works and war losses compensation.⁽⁶⁾ It was said that fresh taxation should have been imposed instead. That is a matter of opinion. The Progressive Government took the view that the raising of loans was preferable to burdening the country with further taxation - a view due, probably, to the difficulty of agreeing on what form the additional taxation should take.

There had been two exceptionally good agricultural seasons, and the gold and diamond output had increased, and yet 1906 had appeared to be the worst year since the depression began. Trade stagnated and industrial enterprise came to a standstill. Jagger

(1) Cape Hansard: May 11th, 1905

(2) South African News: Editorial: June 6th, 1906

(3) See Appendix IX for full statement

(4) South African News: Editorial: June 29th, 1906

(5) South African News: Editorial: July 25th, 1906

(6) Cape Times: Editorial: August 13th, 1906

in a review of colonial trade in 1906 said that until confidence had been restored both in the political and economic outlook, the country would have to make up its mind to a hard uphill struggle.⁽¹⁾ He considered that the main cause of the Colony's financial embarrassment was the burden of branch lines which did not pay.⁽²⁾

Dissatisfaction in the country increased, as it always does when the people's pockets are affected, and Jameson and his Ministers were blamed. Already many were looking to Merriman to pull the Colony out of its financial rut. Growls and threats of electioneering vengeance were heard on all sides. The Government was not only being blamed for the depression but, it seemed, being accused of having deliberately aggravated it by their actions.

In 1907 the outlook was blacker than ever. Would fresh taxation be necessary, and would Jameson be able to keep his party together on the question? Walton's budget once more showed a deficit. To meet this deficit he proposed a surtax on all incomes over £10,000⁽³⁾, but proposed to allow no abatements - i.e. an income of £9,999 would pay approximately £387, whereas an income of £10,000 would pay £625. At a level of £100,000 the difference would be still more marked.⁽⁴⁾ This proposition naturally met a great deal of opposition.

Merriman criticized the budget and Government finance in general very strongly. He declared that the Government had largely helped to create the depression, and that the Treasurer's optimism was the quality of mind that had driven people to bankruptcy courts. The over-estimates of revenue for the past three years had amounted to £3,799,000. In three years they had borrowed £11,300,000, and paid £588,000 in discounts and underwriting to the moneylenders. The last loan of £2,000,000 had cost the country £67,000, and altogether their financial expedients had made the Cape look ridiculous in the eyes of the other states. It was impossible for any country to go on year after year piling

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: March 26th, 1907

(2) Cape Times: May 24th, 1907: Report of Speech by Jagger in Cape

(3) South African News: Editorial: August 13th, 1907 /Town

(4) South African News: Editorial: August 14th, 1907

up deficits as the Cape was. In conclusion, he appealed once more for a diamond tax. ⁽¹⁾

Disapproval of the Government's taxation proposals grew. Rumour had it that the Opposition intended making a determined effort to oust the Ministry from their seats on the Treasury benches during the taxation debates in August. ⁽²⁾ On August 15th Merriman's motion to the effect that the House declined to go into Committee of Supply until other proposals were submitted or indicated ⁽³⁾ was accepted by Jameson as a vote of no confidence. The Government finally obtained a majority of two in a House of ninety-eight, Jagger voting with the Opposition. ⁽⁴⁾ In spite of this, it was becoming increasingly obvious that the Government could only remain in office by pandering to the Opposition. On August 19th a compromise was arrived at on the taxation proposals. The Ministry proposed to drop the surtax above 1/6 in the £ and to impose a profits tax of ten per cent. or two shillings in the pound on diamond and copper mining companies making over £50,000 a year net profits, exempting incomes which paid the profits tax from the income tax. ⁽⁵⁾

On August 29th, by a majority of four, Parliament decided to impose a special income tax in excess of the existing one, and by a majority of two to impose this exclusively on Companies with their headquarters outside the Colony. ⁽⁶⁾ On August 30th the Government escaped defeat by a majority of one only. This was when Merriman moved for the deletion of Searle's proviso that Companies whose headquarters were stationed in the Colony would pay under the old income tax scale. ⁽⁷⁾

Meanwhile the retirement of men from various branches of the Service was continued by the Government in its frantic efforts to retrench, but the Jameson Ministry was defeated and went out of office before it could prove the worth - or otherwise - of these

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- (1) South African News: August 16th, 1907: Report of Speech by Merriman on Government Finance
(2) Cape Times: Notes in the House: August 16th, 1907 (3) Ibid.
(4) Cape Times: Notes in the House: August 17th, 1907
(5) South African News: Editorial: August 20th, 1907
(6) South African News: Editorial: August 30th, 1907
(7) Cape Times: Notes in the House: August 31st, 1907

measures, leaving a balance net deficit of £2,271,852 with which Merriman had to contend.⁽¹⁾ This was, of course, in addition to the £11,129,350 which the Government had added to the permanent public debt in the shape of loans.⁽²⁾

What were the merits of Jameson and ^{his} Ministry as financiers? Let the enormous debt which they had accumulated tell its own story of bungling, inefficiency and, above all, inexperience. The depression was the cause, but also to a certain extent the effect, of the financial situation, for lack of trust in the Government's measures had caused investors to pause doubtfully before concerning themselves with a colony whose deficit was growing so alarmingly. Broadly speaking, then, the Progressive Government had not created the depression, but had done much to aggravate it.

(1) See Appendix IX

(2) See Appendix X

CHAPTER IX
RAILWAYS AND CUSTOMS

The depression in the Cape Colony after the war was accentuated by the actions of the Transvaal Government which, in order to gain permission to recruit for labour within Portuguese territories, concluded a "modus vivendi" with Portugal, giving the latter every facility for the carriage of goods for Johannesburg from Delagoa Bay. This agreement was subject to a year's termination, but then the mining companies' rights to recruit natives would cease at once and with the supply of Native labour as uncertain as it was, it really meant that the Transvaal was bound to observe the treaty. The result of this was a decrease in the traffic over the Cape lines and a corresponding decline in the revenue. The Cape ports, too, which during the war had had increased business, now felt the dropping off in tonnage. Severely handicapped by her geographical position - the Delagoa Bay route being a shorter one - the Cape had willy-nilly to face the fact that the Transvaal really dominated the politico-economic situation in South Africa.

With the four colonies disunited, and each depending to a large extent upon railway and customs dues for revenue, it was inevitable that dissension should result. As Lord Selborne said in his Memorandum on South African affairs, "... the interests of the Cape Colony, of Natal, and of the Orange River Colony conflict one with the other. But when it comes to considering the railway interests of the Transvaal, then it will be found that the interests of the Transvaal are diametrically opposed to the interests of Cape Colony, of Natal and Orange River Colony. The Transvaal loses revenue in every ton of goods which enters by any other port than that of Delagoa Bay ..."⁽¹⁾

The following figures tell the story of the steady decline in the percentage of the trade handled by the Cape ports -

(1) The High Commissioner to the Governor of the Cape Colony (Selborne Memorandum): January 7th, 1907 (cd. 3564)

	<u>1903</u> %	<u>1904</u> %	<u>1905</u> %	<u>1907</u> %	<u>1908</u> %
Cape ports:	25.1	16.2	12.0	13.0	12.5
Durban:	44.0	40.8	36.5	29.0	24.0
Lourenço Marques:	30.9	43.0	51.5	58.0	63.5

Naturally the Cape objected to this preferential treatment of a foreign port. The Transvaal was willing to co-operate to a certain extent now that her railway system had been united with that of the Orange River Colony, for "As the owner of a separate system the Transvaal had had no reason to consider the fortunes of the Cape lines or the Cape ports, but as the northern partner in an extended system whose southern section was geographically dependent upon the Cape lines and ports, it was to her interest to encourage traffic to travel via the route from the south ..."⁽¹⁾, but, as Milner explained, it would have been highly injurious to her to abandon the "modus vivendi" without entering into a permanent connection with Portugal which safeguarded the interests of the Transvaal, especially in the matter of Native labour, to the same extent.⁽²⁾

On April 27th, 1904, the Cape House of Assembly recorded its dissatisfaction with the treatment meted out by the Transvaal to the Cape Colony and Natal under the Customs Convention (Bloemfontein 1903) and the "modus vivendi"⁽³⁾. In an attempt to improve matters Jameson had arranged with the Transvaal that the Cape railways be linked up with those of the Transvaal by the building of a line from Fourteen Streams to Klerksdorp. This would make the route to Johannesburg fifty miles shorter.⁽⁴⁾ The money for the scheme had been advanced by de Beers, and the Opposition complained that too many agreements were concluded secretly by the ministers with the Transvaal, and that it was a dangerous policy to give de Beers power over the railways and a hold on the Exchequers of South Africa.⁽⁵⁾ The construction of this railway went ahead, however, and it was

(1) Van der Poel: Railway & Customs Policies in South Africa: page 110

(2) Prime Minister's Office (Correspondence file 11/25 April 1904):

Milner to the Governor, April 5th, 1904

(3) Cape Hansard: April 27th, 1904

/Town

(4) Cape Times: July 8th, 1904. Report of speech by Walton in Cape /

(5) South African News: Editorial: September 16th, 1905

opened by the High Commissioner on April 5th, 1906.⁽¹⁾

The question of railway rates within the Colony, too, was proving a problem. Should these rates be raised? In 1904 the accounts were showing a deficit, and traffic over the railways had lessened considerably. Jagger attributed this deficit to the reduction in rates, but more especially to the large number of branch lines which were being worked at a loss.⁽²⁾ There were heated arguments in the House over differential rates which, some contended, caused the up-country towns to bear burdens which the coastal towns escaped.⁽³⁾ There were disputes, too, over customs dues, many declaring that protective duties would aid colonial industries to right themselves again. On the 14th September, 1904, a resolution of the Kimberley Chamber of Commerce was sent to Jameson, protesting against "the action of the Government in increasing the Railway rates on the necessaries of life".⁽⁴⁾ Dr. Smartt replied that the depressed condition of the country had rendered the step imperative, as the railways had to pay working and maintenance expenses. Unless the railway revenue materially improved, or until Parliament directed otherwise, the rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per ton per mile was to remain permanent, although the Government would, Smartt said, give the fullest consideration to a recommendation to increase the rate on imported produce by a further $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per ton per mile, so as to preserve the proportion of protection of colonial produce of 100%.⁽⁵⁾

The agitation for the readjustment of the through rates to Johannesburg continued, and in December Walton announced that he hoped that a conference with the other colonies over the question of railway rates would be able to be held early in the following year.⁽⁶⁾ This conference, which met in February 1905, unanimously agreed that the figures placed before them proved conclusively that the result of the existing rates was to cause a progressive

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: April 6th, 1905

(2) Cape Times: Notes in the House: March 18th, 1904

(3) Cape Hansard: March 24th, 1904

(4) Prime Minister's Office (Miscellaneous Letters): Chamber of Commerce, Kimberley, to the Prime Minister. September 14th, 1904

(5) Prime Minister's Office (Miscellaneous Letters): Smartt to the Secretary of the Kimberley Chamber of Commerce: September 27th, 1904

(6) Cape Times: December 8th, 1904: Report of Speech by Walton at Port Elizabeth

diminution of sea-borne traffic to Cape and Natal ports and an increase in similar proportions in sea-borne traffic to Delagoa Bay and that the rates should be re-adjusted.⁽¹⁾ But how was this to be done? The conference ultimately proposed to leave matters as they were in principle, but to reduce the preference to Delagoa Bay and the penalisation of Port Elizabeth. The former would still receive a heavy bonus and the latter be penalised, but they would not be so far away from the middle position of Durban and East London as they had been.⁽²⁾ It was decided to submit these resolutions to the Portuguese authorities for confirmation, as under the "modus vivendi" the Transvaal could not alter the rates without their consent - and two years later negotiations were still proceeding according to the usual dilatory nature of the Portuguese Government.

In March 1905 Mr. Sauer moved in the Assembly for the appointment of a Select Committee on railways to take into consideration and report on the report of the General Manager of Railways and all such matters concerning the management and construction of railways as might from time to time be referred to them.⁽³⁾ They would, for instance, deal with the questions of railway rates and the use of colonial coal (which, many considered, met with unequal competition from imported coal). Dr. Smartt did not oppose the appointment of a Committee, but maintained that he could lay papers before the House showing that they were already giving more than a ten per cent. preference to colonial coal to prevent certain mines from being closed down. He was prepared to abolish the differential rates when the customs tariff had been adjusted to afford the protection to colonial industries which they should be given. The Government, he explained, had had two alternatives - dismiss employees or raise the railway rates - and had, of course, adopted the latter expedient.⁽⁴⁾ In June 1905 the report of this Committee, signed by Dr. Smartt, was submitted to Parliament. They had

(1) Cape Times: February 9th, 1905: Interim Report of the Inter-Colonial Railway Conference

(2) South African News: February 11th, 1905

(3) Cape Hansard: March 16th, 1905

(4) Ibid.

found that the quantity of colonial coal used had but slightly decreased, and thought the time not far distant when the Cape Government Railways could be worked almost entirely by South African coal, "provided low transit rates continue to be conceded by neighbouring administrations". They recommended that the use of imported coal be restricted as far as possible and that a ten per cent. preference be given to colonial coal. They considered, too, that the rates should be revised on the following lines -

- (a) Decreasing rate per ton per mile for long-distance traffic.
- (b) Conveyance at a uniform rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per ton per mile of agricultural produce grown in the Colony.
- (c) Conveyance at the lowest payable rate of low-valued articles travelling coastwards in return empties, especially when, by so doing, such articles could compete in the vicinity of the ports with imported articles.
- (d) To encourage agriculture, the conveyance at low rates of manures and fertilizers.

Conditions did not improve. The value of importations into the Colony in 1903 had been £31,425,543. The report of the Controller of Customs for 1904 showed that this had dropped to £19,995,229, a very considerable fall in revenue.⁽²⁾ In spite of great losses on the railways, too, the Opposition continued to urge the reduction of the railway rates. As one member remarked, there seemed to be a pretty general idea throughout the House that the Government railways could not or ought not to be run as a business concern would be run.⁽³⁾ A battle royal was raging within the Colony between East London and Port Elizabeth over the Transvaal trade. Jameson refused to commit himself on the subject at first, but at last announced his conviction that the penalty against Port Elizabeth was unfair and unjust and should be modified.⁽⁴⁾ In August 1905, the General Manager of the Central South African Railways in

(1) Select Committee Report on Railways (S.C.4. A. 4-05)

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: March 22nd, 1905

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: April 5th, 1905

(4) Cape Times: Notes in the House: May 24th, 1905

a letter to Merriman said that he was "... sorry that the traffic on the C.G.R. continues so poor and the outlook for an immediate substantial improvement is not more encouraging.... it does seem such a pity that with the difficulties confronting them the Cape ports should be occupying their time in squabbling instead of combining, and so using their united efforts to retrieve the position ...⁽¹⁾ In addition, the conflicting desires of Free-traders and Protectionists made matters worse. Were they going to go in for high protection or for a protectionist tariff and lose the markets they now enjoyed, which were a source of wealth to the Colony, asked Jagger, or were they going in for a moderate revenue tariff, such as they now had, and for keeping those markets?⁽²⁾

In March 1906 another Customs Conference was forced on the members of the Convention by the threatened withdrawal of Natal. This conference was held at Pietermaritzburg, and here the divergent economic interests of the colonies were clearly revealed. Times were hard, and each colony was less willing to make concessions and out to get as much as possible for itself. The Cape particularly, and to a lesser extent the Orange River Colony, wanted a high tariff in order to produce revenue. Natal, on the other hand, wanted a low tariff in order to encourage imports. Within the Transvaal itself there were conflicting interests. The urban population naturally wanted a low tariff to bring down the cost of living, the farmers protection for their produce, while the mine owners sought, above all, to retain the friendship of the Portuguese. Small wonder that the difficulties before the delegates appeared almost insurmountable. In addition to this, the holding of the conference at such a time had been strongly opposed in the Cape by people who wanted to see the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony with responsible government first, before they proceeded with further negotiations.

(1) Merriman Papers: T.E. Price to John X. Merriman: August 3rd, 1905
(2) Cape Times: October 10th, 1905: Report of Speech by Jagger at a Trades Meeting

In May the new Customs Convention was published. Very few changes had been made, for it had been almost impossible to reconcile the various interests. The rates on a few goods only had been equalised and certain colonial industries given protection⁽¹⁾ - an attempt merely to keep the colonies quiet until a more permanent solution could be found. At the Cape the Opposition ranged themselves with the Ministry in support of the Convention and it was finally ratified.⁽²⁾ Hardly had this been done, however, when fresh quarrels broke out between the Cape Government Railways and the Natal Government Railways on the one hand and the Cape Government Railways and the Central South African Railways on the other.

There seemed no solution short of union. Dr. Smartt responded to the action of the Central South African Railway in imposing countervailing duties equivalent to the rebates allowed by the Cape Government so as to maintain the status quo in the rates to the north of the Orange River Colony by increasing the rebates by the amount of the countervailing duty. But as fast as he did this, the Central South African Railways in turn increased the countervailing duty.⁽³⁾ Undoubtedly the Cape and Natal had a strong case - they were competing in an unfair field under the terms of the "modus vivendi". But there was the Portuguese anxiety lest Delagoa Bay should not receive a fair share of the trade to the Rand to be considered. The Transvaal was deeply involved on all sides, but a permanent settlement was virtually impossible until responsible government had been obtained. Something had to be done to prevent a disastrous rate war. Selborne eventually effected a settlement^{which} was to last for one year, unless previously terminated by agreement arrived at by the Inter-Colonial Conference.⁽⁴⁾ The existing state of affairs under the "modus vivendi" was to continue, and with regard to the Kroonstad trade countervailing duties were no longer to be imposed by the Central South African Railways, but rebates were no longer to be given by the Cape Railways.⁽⁵⁾ This arrange-

(1) South African News: Editorial: May 26th, 1906

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: May 31st, 1906

(3) South African News: Editorial: October 13th, 1906

(4) Cape Times: November 21st, 1906: Lord Selborne's "Gazette Extraordinary"

(5) South African News: Editorial: November 22nd, 1906

ment had perforce to suffice for the time being.

At this propitious moment Lord Selborne's famous Memorandum on South African Affairs was published. Selborne traced the history of the railway and customs disputes and showed that an immediate solution to these problems was necessary. He put the position as follows: "As long as the governments of the five British colonies in South Africa are wholly separated from, and independent of, each other, their railway systems are not only distinct but incompatible. There is a competitive struggle between the ports of Cape Colony and of Natal to snatch from each other every ton of goods which can be snatched. The Orange River Colony desires as many tons of goods as possible to be passed to the Transvaal through its territory, but it is to the interests of the Cape Colony that no such tons of goods should pass into the Transvaal through the Orange River Colony. On every ton which, on its way to the Transvaal, passes through the Orange River Colony at Norval's Pont, the Cape Colony loses revenue compared with what she would receive if it passed into the Transvaal by the Kimberley-Fourteen Streams-Klerksdorp line. In the same way it is to the interest of Natal to pass the goods consigned to the Transvaal from Durban into the Transvaal at Volksrust, and not at Vereeniging through the Orange River Colony ..."⁽¹⁾ The only solution was to be found, he said, in federation. Coming as it did at a time like this, Selborne's Memorandum received a great deal of attention. But nothing could be done until the Orange River Colony received responsible government, and the Jameson Government had been defeated at the Cape. Once a Bond ministry was in power at the Cape, it was felt, the movement for federation, and with it the solution of the railway problem, would forge ahead.

Meanwhile what was happening within the Cape itself? In June 1906 Smartt laid a Railway Bill before the House.⁽²⁾ This Bill proposed a large number of new railways, the total expenditure involved being something like £3,400,000. Smartt explained that

(1) The High Commissioner to the Governor of the Cape Colony (Selborne Memorandum): January 7th, 1907 (cd. 3564)

(2) Cape Times: Editorial: June 23rd, 1906

he thought these lines necessary to the development of the country.⁽¹⁾ The Bill was read a second time on August 6th and then referred to the Select Committee on railways. After the report of the Select Committee had been considered, the Bill was further amended in Committee before being finally passed on August 16th.⁽²⁾ This Act made provision for a considerable increase in the number of branch lines.

In February 1907 a Commission was appointed to consider the advisability or otherwise of effecting some change in the future management of railways. The idea was to endeavour to formulate a scheme which would dissociate the railways of the country as far as possible from the influence of party politics, without at the same time lessening Parliament's legitimate right of control.⁽³⁾ In March the recommendations of this Commission were published.⁽⁴⁾ Briefly, they proposed the institution of a permanent railway council with the Commissioner as chairman. No proposal for a new line would then be submitted to Parliament unless accompanied by a full and detailed account from the Board of the expense involved, etc. There was also a provision that the Board could recommend that the construction of new railways should be conditional on local contributions from the districts concerned on the lines of the Railway Guarantee Act of 1906. The Board would, in addition, advise the Commissioner on all railway estimates to be submitted to Parliament. The report was signed by all the members of the Commission (Smartt, Merriman, Bauer, Jagger, Cliver, Searle and Whitaker), and met with the approval of both parties.⁽⁵⁾ The Railway Advisory Board Bill was introduced into Parliament but, unfortunately, was not passed owing to the dissolution of Parliament.

From a study of the situation at the Cape, then, it can be seen that conditions were very bad. The only solution to the problem was the unification of South Africa, and a pooling of all the difficulties with the creation of one South African railway system.

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: June 25th, 1906
(2) Cape Hansard: August 16th, 1906
(3) Cape Times: Editorial: February 9th, 1907
(4) Cape Times: Editorial: March 8th, 1907
(5) Ibid.

A mere railway unification was not what was wanted, for it was inevitable that each separate treasury would still fight for more than its legitimate share. In 1907 the Orange River Colony obtained responsible government, and a Bond ministry was returned to power. With the increasingly unpopular Progressive Government still in power at the Cape, federation seemed impossible. When in 1908, however, a Bond ministry was finally returned at the Cape, South Africa was able to go ahead to the final solution of the railway problems.

CONCLUSION

(a) The Fall of the Jameson Government

Jameson had been fairly sanguine that his ministry would be able to stay its course, but this was not to be. Dissatisfaction with the Progressive Government was growing, both inside and outside the party ranks. Towards the end of the 1907 session the Government suffered defeat after defeat. On August 13th, the House rejected by a majority of fifty-seven to thirty-eight the motion that the debate on the meat duties should be adjourned. A little later the House adopted by a majority of sixty-two to thirty-one Mr. Weeber's motion that the Government approach the other parties to the Customs Union with a view to securing the imposition of a further duty of 1d. per lb. on frozen imported meat.⁽¹⁾ This was after Walton and Jameson had both urged that such a motion should not be adopted. It soon became evident that further attempts were going to be made to oust the Government.

While heated debates were going on in the Lower House during September on the liquor question, a crisis had developed in the Upper House, where supply was refused by Logan's action in voting against the Government.⁽²⁾ Although there were ^{few} precedents for the Upper House refusing supply, it was quite within its rights in so doing. In Committee the President of the Council leaves his chair and his place is taken by a ministerialist, thus diminishing the voting power of the Government by one. In Committee Logan moved that the Chairman leave the chair, and so was able to carry his motion by one vote.⁽³⁾ The Council continued in this manner to refuse to vote supply.⁽⁴⁾ The question was, would this lead to a resignation, or not? There was a great deal of practical business still before the House, but the Prime Minister seemed to think it should be adjourned until he could make his way out

(1) South African News: Editorial: August 14th, 1907

(2) South African News: Editorial: September 13th, 1907

(3) Cape Times: Editorial: September 14th, 1907

(4) South African News: Editorial: September 16th, 1907

of the impasse.

The minority continued to repeat their tactics in the Council. A resolution against this was moved in that House and passed, the President in voting for the motion doing so on the ground that it was his duty as President to assist in every way in carrying on the business of the country.⁽¹⁾ But then the Opposition repeated their manoeuvre, and what could he do? According to Standing Rule 198 the Council could suspend any rule or rules, and Mr. Wilmot accordingly moved on September 17th that "any rule or rules which require that the Council should again go into Committee upon the Bill, or observe any forms or form of procedure before a motion can be made that the Bill be now read a third time, shall be suspended up to that point, in regard to the said Appropriation Bill".⁽²⁾ When Mr. Wilmot placed this motion before the Council Mr. Michau called attention to the section of the rule which said that for this to be done fifteen members had to be present. Excluding the ministers there were only twelve there, so the Opposition ruse worked. Dr. Jameson rose at once and announced his decision to appeal to the electorate. "The great issue," he said, "which will be put to the electors, will be whether a condition of things that makes it possible to render Parliamentary Government in this country an absolute impossibility shall continue or not."⁽³⁾ Mr. Michau thereupon gave assurance that supply would not be delayed any longer, and during the day the Taxation Bill and Appropriation Bill were passed.

Of the closing scene in Parliament, Maitland Park, Editor of the "Cape Times", remarked, "How can any drama be impressive, the catastrophe in which turns upon the dependence of the two great parties in the state upon the peculiar eccentricities of Mr. J. D. Logan?..."⁽⁴⁾ Parliament was finally prorogued on the 19th of September, after both Houses had voted supplies sufficient to carry on until the election of a new Parliament.⁽⁵⁾ It is

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: September 17th, 1907 (2) Ibid.

(3) Cape Times: September 18th, 1907: Article on the Political Situation

(4) Cape Times: Editorial: September 18th, 1907

(5) Cape Times: Editorial: September 19th, 1907

strange to note that the Jameson Government held office for a longer term than any other since the establishment of Responsible Government, with the one exception of the Poltens ministry.

The Government could tell quite a full tale of useful achievement, but they had lost much by the final circumstances of their fall, and their strange inconsistencies, developed no doubt in an attempt to please as many as possible.

What was the general opinion of the Government's defeat? The "Kimberley Advertiser" supported Jameson and declared that his policy had embraced two cardinal features - the mitigation of race feeling, and the proper development of the internal resources of the Colony - and these he had carried out. The "Eastern Province Herald" and the "Cape Mercury", too, supported Jameson, the latter paper declaring that the battle would be fought on the liquor problem. The "Friend" of Bloemfontein said there could not be much doubt over the issue of the elections, for "with the Transvaal, Orangeia and the Cape under homogeneous governments, the federation problem should come speedily into the range of practical politics".⁽¹⁾ There were two points - the liquor question and duties on the necessaries of life - upon which the Government would have to satisfy their constituents if they wished to return to office.

In September 1907 Jameson issued his election manifesto. The constitutional position was placed in the foreground. He declared that the only item of their 1903 election manifesto which had not been achieved was the total prohibition of liquor to aboriginal Natives, and on this question the Government had not changed its views. A new party had been formed - a moderate South African Unionist party which had the definite object of Union in view, and it appealed to the country on the record of work accomplished, its platform embracing - "A policy of development of South African products and industries; Equal rights for all civilized men; The Union of the European races, and The Union of the British South

(1) Cape Times: September 24th, 1907: Colonial Press Views

African Colonies."⁽¹⁾ That Dr. Jameson hoped to obtain the support and, perhaps, leadership of W. P. Schreiner for this new party seems almost certain. Schreiner, who had at first declined to support Jameson because of the Raid, now said of him that "I recognise that full appreciation has not been given to the services he has rendered the country in his earnest efforts to remove racialism. In this he has gone far, and I think he has not been fairly met by members of the Opposition, not Bondmen, who have repeatedly raised the old offence."⁽²⁾ In a letter to his brother, Sam, on December 11th, 1907, Jameson admitted that "My aim is to put Schreiner in if he is not too impossible. I am not making any alliance with him, merely will support him, but won't take office myself, so most probably shall be home in May..."⁽³⁾ Later he wrote - "All things working towards the moderate party I was trying for. Schreiner of course has not played up; but he will be in the House and active, which is the main object gained..."⁽⁴⁾

In the forefront of his manifesto Merriman placed finance, urging the need for reform and economy. Next he placed Federation or Closer Union, then the appointment of a Minister of Education to secure uniformity of policy. The Poor White problem and local government reform were also, he considered, questions needing immediate attention; and on the liquor question he expressed the opinion that a solution could be found in the establishment of a State Alcohol Monopoly.⁽⁵⁾ A far more practical programme than the one Jameson had laid down.

The issue was never really in doubt. With the disfranchised rebels back on the roll and the widespread dissatisfaction with the Government, defeat was inevitable. On January 31st, 1908, Jameson formally tendered his resignation as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.⁽⁶⁾ He had resigned on the results of the Legislative

(1) Cape Times: September 27th, 1907: The Prime Minister's Manifesto
(2) Cape Times: Editorial: October 11th, 1907
(3) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II, page 269 (4) Ibid. page 270
(5) Cape Times: September 28th, 1907: Mr. Merriman's Manifesto
(6) Cape Times: February 1st, 1908: Resignation of the Government

Council elections, before the Assembly results were made known, because, he said, there was to be an inter-colonial conference just after the election and those in office at the Cape had to have time to prepare for it. (1) Jameson himself was returned as member for Grahamstown on March 12th, but the Party as a whole suffered a severe defeat in the House of Assembly elections, the South African Party having gained seventeen seats. The final results were as follows - South African Party, 69; Unionists 34; Independents 4. A new ministry, under the premiership of Herri-man, thereupon took over the reins of government.

(b) The Progressive Government

In a review of the useful achievements of the Jameson administration the following can be placed - the Education Act; the Irrigation Act; new life in the Agricultural Department (agricultural credit, co-operation, etc.); the Workmen's Compensation Acts; the Animals' Diseases Act; the General Dealers' Licensing Act; the Half-Holiday Act; the Acts for the Better Administration of Justice; the Amnesty Act; as also important legislation on the Meat Monopoly laws. Unfortunately other useful measures, such as the Railway Advisory Board Bill and the Agricultural Board Bill, had been slaughtered. They had had much to face - a heavily falling revenue and a continuous and steadily growing commercial depression unprecedented in the history of the Colony - but in spite of these difficulties, and the work which they did accomplish, Jameson's Government comes in for but little praise. The Progressives might be credited with a great deal of positive legislation but, on the whole, it was legislation which any government could have proceeded with at that time, and much was accomplished only with the aid and co-operation of the Opposition. There were, too, many of their promises which they had not carried out. Among other things, they had not introduced an effective redistribution measure, and they had not reduced the cost of the necessaries of life - vide the meat duties and the increased railway rates. They

(1) Cape Times: Editorial: February 5th, 1903

These, I admit, are all negative reasons in favour of the Progressive Government, reasons why, at this time, such a Government was preferable to Bond rule. Judged solely on its achievements, however, Jameson's Government cannot be described as anything but a failure.

It is difficult to get a true impression of Dr. Jameson's character or any definite idea of the principles motivating his actions. His friends are too enthusiastic, and his opponents too much against him. It is said, however, that those who came into contact with him felt the power of his magnetic personality, and testified to his energy and enthusiasm. Colvin, his biographer, says in talking of his achievements - "No, it was something in the personal gift of a man who was by training a healer as he was by genius a leader of men ... Friends and enemies reconciled, even Schreiner, even Merriman, testified to the miracles he wrought: one after another the stalwarts of the Bond, wary old Theron, the darkly brooding Malan, and many an old Boer, steeped and engrained in the belief that Jameson was the arch-fiend himself, all came under the spell, all fell into the habit of dropping into the Prime Minister's Office, or rather into the Doctor's consulting room, and submitting with bland smiles to his unfailing frankness of treatment..."⁽¹⁾ Of him too W. N. Willis, in "A Personal Impression of Dr. Jim", says "...But he is mesmeric, genial, courteous, considerate, a man of large mind, imaginative intellectuality, and administrative dexterity. In him His Majesty's Colonial Empire has evolved a premier statesman worthy of inclusion in the most illustrious list..."⁽²⁾ And here is an opinion voiced by de Thierry, another of his friends - "... Initiative, promptness in action, a master in the art of managing men, experience as an administrator and a wide perspective of South Africa, not of a party politician, but of a statesman ..." ⁽³⁾

I do not consider that events prove the truth of these statements. Jameson was a kindly, likeable and intelligent man, but no statesman. Of him it was said that he handled South African affairs

(1) Colvin: Life of Jameson: Volume II, page 274

(2) W. N. Willis: "A Personal Impression of Dr. Jim" (in the magazine "New Era" - August 3rd, 1904)

(3) C. de Thierry - "The Coming Man in South Africa" (article in the "Empire Review" of September 1904)

as a fairly benevolent visitor. He could never speak as the Prime Minister of a Colony which, after all, was united on many points. He was always the mere leader of a party. On the other hand, he failed in that instead of pursuing a definite policy he attempted to please all, with the result that he pleased few. His change of front, particularly on the question of the meat duties, caused him to lose the political support of many, including Maitland Park, editor of the "Cape Times".

From his attitude to South African affairs it would appear that Jameson was influenced first by Rhodes and then by Botha. This is hinted at in the press of the day. Certainly when Jameson came back from the 1907 Imperial Conference he commented favourably on Botha's speeches and adopted a more liberal attitude towards the Dutch. Although at times easily influenced, he ruled his Cabinet with an iron hand, threatening them with resignation if they differed with him. His ministers were, as explained before, personal friends and loyal to him but, had he chosen a more representative Cabinet, he might have retained the support of a larger number of his party.

Jameson had too many other interests - de Beers and the Chartered Company, for example - to be able to give his full attention to the affairs of the Colony. In addition ill-health, and a consequent yearly expedition overseas in search of a cure for his ailment, made matters worse. Had he appeared heart and soul for the interests of the Colony he might have been more successful as a Prime Minister. But his roots were not sufficiently deep in the Colony; he had no real understanding of the many and varied problems which he had to face.

As a Government Jameson and his ministers had failed lamentably, but indirectly and unwittingly they made a Union of South Africa possible. Once the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony had gained responsible government, it was felt that the time had arrived for a Bond ministry at the Cape. The Progressives had served their purpose, and it was left for the South African Party to accomplish their ideal - a united South Africa under the British flag.

(a)

APPENDIX IREPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(Compiled from the Statistical Registers of 1904-7 for the Cape of Good Hope, and figures quoted in the "Cape Times" of October 16th, 1907)

<u>Electoral Divisions</u>	Number of electors registered			Number of Representatives in House of Assembly
	1903	in 1905	1907	
<u>Cape Town</u>	17,131	19,032	15,368	7
Albany	2,036	2,057	2,144	2
Albert	1,824	1,651	2,229	2
Aliwal North	1,452	1,584	2,273	2
Barkly West	1,953	1,921	2,945	2
Beaufort West	2,124	2,246	2,384	2
Caledon	2,478	3,130	3,476	2
Cathcart	1,171	1,166	1,194	1
Clanwilliam	1,713	1,826	2,409	2
Colesberg	2,284	2,000	2,057	2
Craddock	2,025	1,885	2,032	2
<u>East London</u>	4,697	5,598	6,188	3
Fort Beaufort	1,659	1,665	1,852	2
<u>George</u>	4,012	4,550	4,813	4
Grahamstown	1,837	1,705	1,829	2
Graaff Reinet	2,417	2,528	2,688	2
Humansdorp	1,395	1,569	1,672	1
Jansenville	1,937	1,981	2,086	2
<u>King William's Town</u>	2,800	3,113	3,000	3
Kimberley	6,404	7,132	8,674	4
Malmesbury	2,443	3,033	3,292	2
Middelburg	1,484	1,688	1,748	1
Namaqualand	2,016	2,041	2,431	2
<u>Oudtshoorn</u>	3,160	3,274	3,507	3
<u>Paarl</u>	2,864	3,078	3,097	3
Piquetberg	1,582	1,769	1,896	2
<u>Port Elizabeth</u>	10,951	9,123	9,208	5

APPENDIX IITHE ADDITIONAL REPRESENTATION BILL OF 1904

Be it enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly thereof, as follows:

1. All laws inconsistent with or repugnant to the Provisions of this Act are, to the extent to which they are so inconsistent or repugnant, hereby repealed.

2. The electors in and for each of the electoral provinces set forth in the first schedule hereto shall, from and after the promulgation of this Act, be entitled to return to the Legislative Council one member in addition to the members at present returnable by such electoral provinces respectively.

3. From and after the promulgation of this Act the electors in and for each of the electoral divisions set forth in the second schedule hereto shall be entitled to return to the House of Assembly one member in addition to the members at present returnable by them respectively.

4. The elections for the additional members herein provided for shall take place as soon as may be after the promulgation of this Act, and all and several, the provisions of the law relating to bye-elections shall, mutatis mutandis, apply thereto.

5. This Act may be cited as the 'Additional Parliamentary Representation Act, 1904'.

First Schedule

Electoral provinces: Western Electoral Province, South-Eastern Electoral Province, Eastern Electoral Province.

Second Schedule

Electoral divisions: East London, George, King William's Town, Paarl, Cudtshoorn, Fort Elizabeth, Queenstown, Uitenhage, Woodstock and Wynberg.

Third Schedule

Electoral division: Cape Town

(d)

APPENDIX III

Number of Voters in each Electoral Division
for the Legislative Council

(Compiled from the Statistical Register of 1904
for the Cape of Good Hope)

<u>Electoral Provinces</u>	<u>Number of Seats</u>	<u>Number of Registered Voters</u>
I. Western	(3 + 1 under the 1904 Act) 4	35,180
II. North-Western	3	11,384
III. South-Western	3	14,444
IV. Midland	3	9,826
V. South-Eastern	(3 + 1 under the 1904 Act) 4	22,015
VI. North-Eastern	3	11,753
VII. Eastern	(3 + 1 under the 1904 Act) 4	20,516
VIII. Griqualand West	1	8,357
IX. British Bechuanaland	1	1,702
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	<u>26</u>	<u>135,177</u>

APPENDIX IVINCREASE OF MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(From Kilpin: The Old Cape House: Annexure D - Reprinted from the "Cape Civil Service List")

In 1908 the House of Assembly consisted of 107 members. The following table shows the increase of members since the establishment of Parliament, giving the Act, the name of the electoral division, and the number of members added:-

<u>Constitution Ordinance:</u>	44
<u>Act 3 of 1865:</u>	
Aliwal North	2
Namaqualand	2
Oudtshoorn	2
Piquetberg	2
Queenstown	2
Richmond	2
Riversdale	2
Victoria West	2
King William's Town	2
East London	2
<u>Act 7 of 1872:</u>	
Wodehouse	2
<u>Act 39 of 1877:</u>	
Kimberley	2
Barkly	2
<u>Act 13 of 1882:</u>	
Kimberley	2
<u>Act 30 of 1887:</u>	
Tembuland	1
Griqualand East	1
<u>Act 4 of 1895:</u>	
Vryburg	2
Mafeking	1

Act 19 of 1898:

Cathcart	...	...	...	...	...	1
Humansdorp	...	...	...	...		1
Middelburg	...	...	...	...		1
Prieska	...	...	...	...	...	1
Simonstown	...	...	...	...		1
Jansenville	...	...	...	...		2
Woodstock	...	...	...	...	..	2
Wynberg	...	...	...	...	...	2
Cape Town	...	...	...	...	..	1
George	...	...	...	...	...	1
Griqualand East	...	...	...	...	..	1
Tembuland	...	...	...	...	..	1
Worcester	...	...	...	...	..	1
Port Elizabeth	...	...	...	...		2

Act 5 of 1904:

East London	...	...	...	...		1
George	...	...	...	...	...	1
King William's Town	...	...	...	...		1
Paarl	...	...	...	...	...	1
Oudtshoorn	...	...	...	...		1
Port Elizabeth	...	...	...	...		1
Queenstown	...	...	...	...		1
Uitenhage	...	...	...	...	..	1
Woodstock	...	...	...	...	..	1
Wynberg	...	...	...	...	...	1
Cape Town	...	...	...	...	..	<u>1</u>
					Total	...	<u>107</u>

APPENDIX V

SIR LEWIS MITCHELL'S CIRCULAR ON EDUCATION

(As printed in the "Cape Times" of August 3rd, 1904)

1. Whether you would advocate the introduction of the principle of compulsion under suitable regulations, applicable at the outset to the larger towns only, and only to the children of European descent?
2. Similarly, as to the principle of free education for such children, where it can be conclusively shown that the parents are in sufficiently indigent circumstances?
3. Whether, and on what lines, you favour an extension of the system of farm schools?
4. Whether you favour the existing system of administration by regulation, or prefer to have the principal regulations embodied in the Act itself?
5. Whether you favour the creation of School Boards to administer the Act irrespective and independent of existing committees, or would you confer on the latter the additional powers to be granted under the Act, and, if so, what alterations would you recommend in the constitution and method of election in the case of the Committees?
6. Whether you advocate an extension of technical and industrial training for European children of both sexes?
7. Whether you favour the right of entry on the part of accredited ministers of religion into state-aided schools, and, if so, within what limits?
8. Whether you favour grants, scholarships or bursaries being given by municipal and divisional bodies to public schools, and, if so, should these bodies be entitled to special representation on the relative School Boards?
9. What are your views as to the emoluments and pensions of teachers?

(h)

10. Whether you favour the Education Department right of entry into, and inspection of, and demanding statistical returns from, private schools, and, if so, whether you would give modified state aid as against the right thus required?

APPENDIX VINUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN 1903(Compiled from the Statistical Register of 1904
for the Cape of Good Hope)

<u>Electoral Divisions</u>	<u>European or White</u>	<u>Other than European or White</u>	<u>Total</u>
Albany	1,772	264	2,036
Albert	1,733	91	1,824
Aliwal North	824	<u>628</u>	1,452
Barkly West	1,498	455	1,953
Beaufort West	1,756	368	2,124
Caledon	2,002	476	2,478
Cape Town	15,687	1,444	17,131
Cathcart	952	219	1,171
Clanwilliam	1,588	125	1,713
Colesberg	1,980	204	2,184
Cradock	1,930	95	2,025
East London	4,431	266	4,697
Fort Beaufort	1,030	<u>629</u>	1,659
George	3,439	563	4,002
Graaff Reinet	2,293	129	2,417
Grahamstown	1,639	198	1,837
Griqualand East	1,495	494	1,989
Humansdorp	1,056	339	1,395
Jansenville	1,804	133	1,937
Kimberley	5,497	907	6,404
King William's Town	2,048	752	2,800
Mafeking	652	106	758
Malmesbury	2,117	326	2,443
Middelburg	1,443	41	1,484
Namaqualand	1,432	584	2,016
Oudtshoorn	2,866	194	3,060
Paarl	2,093	771	2,864
Piquetberg	1,401	181	1,582
Port Elizabeth	8,486	2,465	10,951

(j)

<u>Electoral Divisions</u>	<u>European or White</u>	<u>Other than European or White</u>	<u>Total</u>
Prieska	814	215	1,029
Queen's Town	2,661	956	3,617
Richmond	1,807	115	1,922
Riversdale	2,108	101	2,209
Simon's Town	1,372	262	1,634
Somerset East	2,202	375	2,577
Stellenbosch	1,510	685	2,195
Swellendam	2,491	204	2,695
Tembuland	1,827	962	2,789
Uitenhage	2,817	263	3,080
Victoria East	557	222	779
Victoria West	2,175	139	2,334
Vryburg	811	133	944
Wodehouse	1,258	743	2,001
Woodstock	5,932	510	6,442
Worcester	3,112	518	3,630
Wynberg	4,032	882	4,914

SUMMARY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S REPORT ON THE REPORTS
OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE DUTCH LANGUAGE ⁽¹⁾

1. The Reports differ, particularly on the question of the official language, the Minority Report desiring that both Dutch and English should be recognised as official languages.
2. "Section 92 of Constitution Ordinance, as amended by Act I of 1882, provides that debates in Parliament may be in either the English or the Dutch language, but that all journals, entries, minutes and proceedings shall be in the English language. The official language of this Colony is therefore English."
3. "The Charter of Justice, 1834, also provides that all pleadings and proceedings in the Supreme Court shall be conducted in the English language, and Act 20 of 1856 lays down that all pleadings and proceedings in Magistrates' Courts shall likewise be in English. Act 21 of 1884 provides that in Superior Courts judges may, and in the Inferior Courts, Resident Magistrates, Justices of Peace and Field Cornets must, at the request of any party to a suit before them, allow the use of Dutch. It further provides that a Divisional Council, or one-third of the voters in a Division may secure the issue in Dutch of all documents relating to judicial proceedings. The judicial language of the country is therefore clearly laid down as English."
4. "With regard to the teaching of Dutch in schools, upon which the Minority Report lays great emphasis, the attention of Parliament is drawn to the fact that in the Report it is admitted that the medium of instruction can be either the English or the Dutch languages, at the discretion of the Committee, and as these Committees are elected by the parents of the children attending the schools, in terms of Section 41 of Act No. 35 of 1905, further action seems unnecessary as full powers already exist.

"With regard to the Inspectorate, every endeavour has been made in the past, and will be made in the future, to obtain as

School Inspectors gentlemen with a knowledge of both languages."

5. There was much difference of opinion over the Civil Service entrance examinations, but it was finally decided that Dutch should remain an optional subject, but the Government was prepared "to make it obligatory on all entrants to qualify in the Dutch language within a period of two years from their appointment, in the event of their not qualifying in Dutch at the initial examination."

6. "As regards such establishments as Railways, Police and Post Office, Government adhere to the policy of offering inducements to employees acquiring a knowledge of the Dutch language."

7. "During the recess, after careful consideration, Government ordered that the recommendations of the Majority Report should be carried out, and the various provisions and recommendations therein contained have, as far as lies within the power of the Government, been put into force."

8. "Dealing seriatim with the views of the Minority Report of the Select Committee, as expressed in paragraphs 1 to 12:-

(1) Government do not propose to amend the laws dealing with the use of the Dutch language in Parliament and in the Courts of Justice.

(2) and (3) The powers of School Committees are already so ample that no further legislation seems necessary.

(5) Every care is being taken to appoint in the Colony Inspectors with a knowledge of Dutch.

(6) The Government exercises no direct control over the examinations conducted by the University.

(7), (8) and (9) This report has already dealt with the Government proposals regarding the position of Dutch in the Civil Service Examination.

(10) The Government concurs in the views put forward in paragraph (10), and at the same time desires to point out that some of the statements put forward by witnesses on enquiry are not borne out by actual facts.

(11) With the principle of offering inducements for a knowledge

(m)

of both languages, Government entirely sympathises.

(12) With the concluding paragraph of the Minority Report Government most heartily concurs, in so far as the desire is expressed to bring about a better understanding between the two races, but it is inclined to think that the hostility which it is suggested therein exists against the Dutch language is not borne out upon enquiry."

APPENDIX VIIITHE EXCISE

(From the Statistical Register of 1907 for the Cape of Good Hope)

<u>Revenue</u>	<u>1904 (July to Dec.)</u> £	<u>1905</u> £	<u>1906</u> £	<u>1907</u> £
Colonial Beer	17,758	42,492	37,620	32,881
Colonial Spirits	118,490	222,624	227,183	227,786
Colonial Spirits (other than Wine Spirit)	-	10	15	6
Foreign Spirits	-	43,994	65,530	53,126
	<u>136,248</u>	<u>309,120</u>	<u>332,348</u>	<u>313,799</u>
<u>Expenditure</u>				
Salaries & Allowances	3,926	8,676	11,026	11,460
Travelling & Subsistence	961	1,581	1,817	1,353
Contingencies, including Excise Instruments	<u>1,300</u>	<u>382</u>	<u>164</u>	<u>161</u>
	<u>6,187</u>	<u>10,639</u>	<u>13,007</u>	<u>12,974</u>
Refunds of Revenue	<u>3,019</u>	<u>4,659</u>	<u>3,964</u>	<u>1,735</u>
<u>Net gain to Revenue</u>	<u>127,042</u>	<u>293,822</u>	<u>315,377</u>	<u>299,090</u>
% cost of administration on Revenue Collected	<u>4.5%</u>	<u>3.4%</u>	<u>3.9%</u>	<u>4.1%</u>

ORDINARY REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE AND BALANCES

(From the Statistical Register of 1907 for the Cape of Good Hope)

Financial Year	Ordinary Revenue	Ordinary Expenditure	Ordinary Surpluses	Ordinary Deficits	Balance net Surplus	Balance net Deficit
1900-1	7,957,499. 3. 9	7,900,161. 5.10	-	32,662. 2. 1	-	509,369.12. 6
1901-2	9,050,371. 5. 4	8,617,625.13. 7	432,745.11.9	-	-	372,478. 1. 5
1902-3	11,701,149.15. 6	11,197,970. 7. 2	503,179. 8.4	-	-	-
1903-4	9,913,854.16. 5	10,862,866. 0. 6	-	949,011. 4. 1	-	948,432.16. 1
1904-5	8,472,302. 6. 1	9,142,497.10.10	-	677,195. 4. 9	-	1,626,205. 3. 8
1905-6	8,236,379.19. 1	8,231,719. 3.10	5,160.15.3	-	-	1,626,205. 3. 8
1906-7	7,701,191.17. 8	8,432,316. 9.11	-	648,124.18. 5	-	2,271,852.13. 4