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SIR ABE BAILEY

His Life and Achievements

History Honours Research Paper

by

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PREFACE

On the suggestion that something be written on Abe Bailey, the first question to pass through my mind was, who on earth is Abe Bailey anyway? The name sounded reasonably familiar. And indeed it is. For most people, the name 'Bailey' is associated with the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies (now called 'Centre for Inter-Group Studies') and the Abe Bailey Bursary, the latter being a grant to help university students finance their studies. But, it is probably true to say that not much more is known about this man, who, in his own way, contributed so much to South Africa in such a variety of fields, and who left behind him such a rich legacy for the country of his birth, South Africa.

This research paper deals exclusively with the life and achievements of Sir Abe Bailey. As there is, to date, no official biography on him, the contents of this work have had to be gleaned from a wide variety of source material, ranging from Government and press publications on the one hand to personal interviews and private correspondence of contemporary figures on the other. Where possible, the information gained has been verified, but, inevitably, time has militated against a closer critique regarding the validity of some of the opinions expressed by other writers on the personality and impact of Bailey. Every effort has been made to select only that material which relates either directly to the subject in hand or which serves to clarify those events and movements with which Bailey was associated. Careful selection of material has thus reduced the amount of background information, and focussed attention almost entirely on Bailey: the man, his aspirations and achievements.

CHAPTER IBAILEY'S EARLY YEARS

Abraham (Abe) Bailey was born at Cradock in the eastern part of the Cape Colony on November 6, 1864 and was the only son of Thomas Bailey, who had emigrated to South Africa from his family home near Keighley in Yorkshire several decades earlier. Abe's mother was Ann Drummond, the daughter of Peter McEwan of Crieff, Perthshire. (1) Thomas Bailey started his career in South Africa by running a small trading store at Cradock, but, after a seemingly very modest start, he later managed to build up a business in Queenstown, where he was twice elected mayor. Before the turn of the century, he represented the Eastern Circle Division for the Afrikanerbond in the Cape Legislative Council (1891 - 97). Thomas Bailey died on 29th May, 1905 while visiting friends and relatives in England. (2)

Young Abe quarrelled continually with his father, and relations between the two became noticeably strained after his mother's death in 1872, when the eight-year-old boy, on hearing the news, resolved to run away from home and, as a result, spent the remainder of the year with a Dutch-speaking family in the district. The antipathy between him and his father, a feeling which was in no way lessened by the passage of years, became a guiding force in Abe's life and caused him to hold political views and opinions often quite contrary to those of his father. (3) If his father was a Bondsman, then Abe decided to support the Progressives. On the other hand, the months spent with a Dutch-speaking family provided him with the opportunity not only to learn their language, but also to gain an understanding and appreciation of the values and norms of Dutch-speaking White South Africans.

1. Dictionary of National Biography: 1931 - 1940 (D.N.B.), L.G. Wickham Legg (ed), p. 28.

Dictionary of South African Biography (D.S.A.B.), vii, W.I. de Kock and D.W. Kruger (eds), p. 19.

2. Cape Times, May 31, 1905, p. 7.

3. Personal interview with Mr James Bailey, April 21, 1974, Cape Town.

(4) In later years, Abe was acknowledged as being completely bilingual. As a supporter of the Afrikanerbond, Thomas Bailey was also on good terms with the Dutch-speaking section of the population, but it seems unlikely that Abe would have adopted his father's attitude, had it not been for the kindness shown to him by the Dutch-speaking family with whom he sought refuge at such an impressionable age.

The independent spirit that had already asserted itself in the young Bailey was undoubtedly strengthened the following year when he sailed for England in order to commence his studies on a more formal basis. He must have realised that he would not be returning to his home for a good many years, yet his break with home was somewhat softened by his father, who took the wise precaution of sending him to the Trade and Grammar School in his home town in Yorkshire, so that Abe would be amongst relatives and friends of the family. Abe remained in Keighley for a number of years, before proceeding to Clewer House, a minor private school in Windsor. While still at the Keighley Trade and Grammar School, he surprised one of his friends by confiding in him that his aim in life was to become "a member of parliament and a millionaire" - something, which he mentioned to friends and relatives on several occasions. (5) Later in life, Bailey clarifies this point by emphasizing that adventures were more important to him than wealth. 'The Cape Times' quotes him as having written this in his brief autobiography (now unobtainable). (6) Bailey's formal education ended at the age of fifteen when he decided to join the textile firm of Spreckley, White and Levis of Canon Street, London. His father had suggested that he was prepared to send him to university, but Abe refused. In fact, he always refused assistance from his father after he left school. Although the firm of wool-buyers and cotton-weavers for which he worked during the following two

4. Ibid.

5. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940; p. 13

African World Annual, 1938 - 39, No. 33, p. 13.

6. Cape Times, August 12, 1940, p. 13.

years was well respected in business circles, young Bailey saw no prospect of achievement or even the slightest opportunity for advancement either within the firm or in the city at large. (7) Of his own accord he decided to try his luck in South Africa, and so returned in 1881 to work in his father's business. It was at this time that he put through his first important business deal. Despite the disapproval of his father, Abe bought a large consignment of wool at the ridiculous price of 2½ d per lb., persuaded a local banker to finance the purchase, and shipped the produce to London. The result was a profit of £31,000! He was then nineteen years old. (8) This deal added considerably to the prosperity of his father, but even more important is that it is the first clear indication of Bailey's astute sense for business. Furthermore, it can be regarded as a precedent, which Bailey was to follow for the rest of his life with the utmost success.

The first diamond was discovered on the banks of the Orange river near Hopetown in 1867, and subsequent finds led to the influx of both Whites and Blacks seeking their fortune. When the superb 'Star of South Africa' was found in 1869, South Africa was lagging far behind Australia, Canada and even New Zealand in the search for staples that could be sold in the markets of the world. In South Africa, wool production had responded to the swift growth of England's textile industry, but, as de Kiewiet points out, "wool in South Africa did not nearly approach the commanding position of wool in Australia and could not produce the purchasing power and the credit needed to obtain the benefits of nineteenth-century science, industry and education". (9) "Suddenly ... South Africa was pitchforked into the beginnings of her own industrial revolution and the whole historical direction of Southern Africa was deflected". (10) South Africa had unwittingly entered into a new age, an age into which Abe Bailey had been born and to which he would contribute so much.

7. Ibid.

8. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940, p. 4

9. C.W. De Kiewiet, A History of South Africa: Social and Economic, p. 89.

10. F. Troup, South Africa: An Historical Introduction, p. 141.

The discovery of the Witwatersrand gold-fields some twenty years later was not accidental, as the notion that the Transvaal was rich in minerals had been accepted for at least a generation. Indeed, for some twenty-five years men had tried their luck in this direction, but to no avail. It was only in 1884 that the Struben brothers successfully located the Witwatersrand deposits. By 1886, further discoveries had been made. But the industry itself was still to be born, and it was in this year that Bailey set out for Barberton with £125 in his pocket in order to achieve his aim, that of becoming not so much a member of parliament, but first and foremost a millionaire.

In June 1886, Bailey passed through Ferreira's Camp (near present-day Johannesburg), before there was the slightest suspicion of the immense wealth that lay beneath the camp, and hastened on to Barberton. By this time, Barberton and other camps were flooded by diggers, prospectors and fortune-hunters, and Bailey readily joined their throng. He began by dealing in shares ('brokering in claims') with a capital of £100 and soon amassed a fortune of £10,000, and then, with the intention of becoming rich, speculated in claims for his own account. But, this venture proved disastrous, and, he eventually found himself in such dire financial straits that he was forced to borrow £10 from a friend. These early days tended to 'make or break' men, and Bailey decided to endure all hardships in order to see his treasured aim fulfilled.

During 1886, there were numerous reports concerning the experts' belief that the country was 'not gold-bearing' or, to be more precise, that gold was only to be found in limited supply on the surface. (11) It was left to the indomitable, though somewhat dubious, Joseph Robinson (later Sir J.B. Robinson) to disprove this theory by sinking a shaft twenty-five feet deep, at which depth it was found that the reef yielded the same amount of gold as on the surface. For this

11. L. Weinthal (ed), Memoirs, Mines and Millions, p. 88

reason, Joseph Robinson, some fifteen years older than Bailey, but also, from the same 'home town' in the eastern Cape, has often been described as the founder of the Witwatersrand. In October, 1886, a township was laid out in the vicinity of Langlaagte and named 'Johannesburg'.

The Rand now attracted Bailey as Barberton was rapidly showing signs of decay. Rumours concerning the discovery of the main Reef on the 'Randt' (as it was then spelt) had been rife and, having raised £4,000 for a fresh start, Bailey, together with such people as J.B. Taylor and E. Lippert were among the first to leave Barberton for good.(12)

12. A.P. Cartwright. The First South African: The Life and Times of Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, p. 37.

CHAPTER IITHE RAND AND RHODES

Bailey's arrival in Johannesburg in March, 1887, marked a turning point in his life, for it was here that he made his fortune and met many people, who were to remain life-long friends and on whom he could draw for advice and help in both the financial and political world. The initial source of his later influence lay within the stimulating and cosmopolitan milieu to be found in Johannesburg. Some forty-seven years later, he was able to recall the intense excitement he experienced during this period. "When I first came to Johannesburg, I was bubbling over with nothing but the sheer joy of living and radiant with confident optimism .."

(1). Louis Cohen, who became acquainted with Bailey in those early days in Johannesburg wrote: "Once in Johannesburg, Mr Abe Bailey looked round - in fact, he looked to the right of him, he looked to the left of him, he looked to the front of him, but he never looked to the back of him lest he'd see Barberton." (2)

Very soon after arrival in Johannesburg, Bailey turned his attention once more to the share market and entered into partnership with "a reputable man called Peacock," (3) the firm being known as Peacock and Bailey. The partnership was soon dissolved, however, and Bailey then associated himself with three sharebrokers - Hughes, Hepburn and Ben Curtis. Bailey outlived these three men, for Hepburn died of consumption and both Hughes and Curtis eventually committed suicide. Bailey then launched out on his own, displaying his aptitude for transacting successful financial deals to the full. Emden remarks that he liked to go his own way and that this never made for popularity. "The cosmopolitan financial pioneers of Johannesburg's early days were full of guile and had their own standards - which were sometimes peculiar. The youthful Bailey pitted his brains against theirs and often came off best". (4) The South African

1. Sir Abe Bailey opens the Rand Agricultural Show: March 28 1934, pamphlet printed by Cape Times Ltd., 1934, p. 9.

2. L. Cohen, Reminiscences of Johannesburg and London, p. 31

3. Ibid.

4. P.H. Emden, The Randlords, p. 220

Mining and Engineering Journal pays a similar tribute: "He (Bailey) never hesitated to take a risk - he was a gambler and proud of it - but he also had the instinct ... which told him when the odds against success were too heavy and he was seldom the loser ...". (5) Bailey admitted all this when he wrote: "All my life I have been a gambler. I mean going all out on something which may yield big returns in life - love, politics, everything that touches human activities; but always be guided by a sound knowledge of what is possible (even though seemingly in the realm of the miraculous), and what is not possible. The chances against success may be terrifying, but if you have got the gamblers' instinct, the more nearly they are terrifying, the more fascinating they become. That is your gambler." (6) When asked to account for his success in later years, Bailey often employed two of his most famous maxims: "The stock exchange is like a cold bath ... get in and get out quickly!" and "Buy when everyone wants to sell, and sell when everyone wants to buy!". (7) But these maxims were far more than a mere rationalisation of his approach to the share markets; they were put firmly into practice. "He (Bailey) always adopted a policy of buying when prices were low and selling when they were high - his influence in the markets became almost legendary; so much so that, in times of great activity, any abnormal price movements were popularly attributed to his buying or selling activities." (8)

For Bailey, sharebroking was by no means the only road to success. He held the position of secretary of the Gipsy and Kleinfontein mines for a while, but he eventually abandoned this in favour of acquiring and developing properties. Bailey threw out his engineers far afield, like scouts, and pending of their report, he would weigh up the situation and test the prospects. It was usually a gamble and more often than not he was disinclined to follow the advice of others.

5. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, v. LI, 1940, p. 739.

6. Sir Abe Bailey's Autobiography (1935) as quoted in Cape Times, August 12, 1940, p. 13.

7. Personal interview with Mr James Bailey, August 21, 1974, Cape Town.

8. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, op. cit., p. 739.

Yet this was simply a further manifestation of that spirit of independence which was so noticeable even in his early childhood. In many instances, he bought up property that others had passed by, and a sharp rise in values often enabled Bailey to dispose of his holdings at a spectacular profit, leaving to others the work of developing these holdings to the producing stage. He did own a gold mine at Pilgrim's Rest, but actual "Bailey" mines producing gold and paying dividends were, however, far and few between, and for that reason Bailey never acquired or desired a totally self-owned mining house. (9)

By 1894, not eight years after his arrival in Barberton as an inexperienced young man seeking his fortune, Bailey had made a name for himself in the financial world. The £4,000 he had borrowed in Barberton in order to make a fresh start on the Witwatersrand, soon turned into £100,000.(10) In the previous year, Bailey, along with Alfred and Leopold de Rothschild, Herman Eckstein, Alfred Beit and Lionel Phillips held a large number of shares in Rand Mines Ltd. This company had been formed in order to control the expansion and development of some ten companies resulting from the inexpensive acquisition by Herman Eckstein and Co. as well as Wernher and Beit of some deep level claims. An indication of both Bailey's ability and status can be seen in the fact that in 1894, he had become chairman of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

In this early period, there were numerous ways of making quick and easy money other than merely speculating and purchasing holdings. Referring to the period 1887 - 94, Bailey is reputed to have said that it was not so much in gold that he made his greatest gamble, but in horseflesh. Without any reservation or modesty, he would boast that he backed his horse, Lovematch, to win £64,000 in the Johannesburg Handicap, and it won, with the result that he netted £64,000 - the largest sum ever won in a single bet by a backer on the course. (11) It was precisely at this time that Bailey

9. A.P. Cartwright, The Gold Mines, p. 89.

10. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940, p. 4.

11. Ibid.

began to interest himself in horse-racing, an interest which he maintained until his death. Horse-racing, however, was not the only sport which took his fancy. On the weekends, he enjoyed a game of cricket, and his prowess in this field was certainly acknowledged in 1894, when he was chosen to captain the Transvaal team at Newlands in the Currie Cup cricket tournament. (12) Some time during the 1890's, Bailey played against the "Father of Cricket", W.G. Grace, who was famous not only as a batsman, but also as a bowler and a fieldsman. Bailey was one of the first bowlers to employ the "googly" (an off-break ball, bowled with a leg-break action), and after having bowled against Grace one day, Grace advanced down the pitch, at the end of an over, stroking his long beard and saying, "Which way do you go? Which way do you go?" (13) There are also several references in various journals and books to Bailey's active participation in boxing (some of which are none too favourable), but this appears to have been a most popular sport on the Rand in the latter part of last century. Emden records that in 1889 one of the most important boxing matches was Couper vs. Bendoff, the total purse amounting to £4,500. The match was held on July 26, the day being proclaimed a holiday so that as many people as possible could attend the match. In the generally so industrious Johannesburg, even the Stock Exchange recorded no dealings, as all the brokers had gone to the ring. (14) In this particular match, Bailey had heavily backed Couper, and Couper did not succeed in beating his opponent Bendoff - equally heavily backed by Barnato - till the twenty-fourth round. A year or so earlier, Couper had been Bailey's teacher, and Bailey himself had made several debuts in the ring, eventually winning the title of amateur middleweight boxing champion of South Africa. (15) Bailey certainly did not always excel at this sport, for Louis Cohen remarks that he once saw Abe Bailey; "who had the reputation of being a great sparrer,

12. D.S.A.B., vii, p. 20

13. Personal interview with Mr James Bailey, April 21, 1974, Cape Town.

14. P.H. Emden, op. cit., p. 344.

15. P. Lewson, 'A Complete South African', Lantern, viii, no. 3, 1954, p. 295.

give a most indifferent show during a contest from which, being worsted, he blushinglly withdrew". (16) Many of these matches were held at the Thesbian Temple (the name given to the Old Theatre Royal in Johannesburg), but Cohen found the majority of them extremely unedifying, to say nothing of the Williams vs. Shaw match, which he described as "the most savage contest I ever witnessed". (17) Williams was in the employment of Bailey and had quarrelled with Shaw over some triviality in the Barberton district. Williams was a quiet and inoffensive man, and Shaw was of a similar calibre. As the fight proceeded, Williams's face was battered and bruised in an appalling manner, and Cohen claims that he, like those around him, became so enraged and horrified by the spectacle, that he jumped into the ring to stop the fight. However, "Bailey ... ran to where I stood, and with much aggressiveness threatened me with a thick ear unless I left the magic circle .. which I had not the slightest intention of doing at his behest". Eventually, Williams - "to all intents and purposes a hopelessly beaten and bleeding specimen of a human being" - with a new lease of strength hammered his opponent to the ground. (18)

This story does more than simply illustrate the taste and interests of a large section of the Johannesburg public at this stage, it provides an insight into Bailey's personality. His character matched his physique ... robust and forthright. Despite his ~~sarc~~gacity and very real business acumen, he appeared to some, especially in later years, as somewhat of an enigma, being "rough, devoid of delicacy or refinement." (19) Nobody was more aware of this than Bailey himself, and despite his great wealth and general public acclaim in so many fields later in life, he was able to admit quite frankly at a dinner given in his honour by the Empire Economic Union in London in 1930: "I did not come out of the top drawer. I am the son of emigrants. My parents went to South Africa.

16. L. Cohen, op. cit., p. 29.

17. Ibid., p. 147.

18. L. Cohen, op. cit., p. 147.

19. Ibid., p. 29.

and there I was born, and I love South Africa with all my heart, for it was in that country ... that I was able to rise from the bottom of the ladder." (20)

Even Louis Cohen, who took great pleasure in maligning many of the leading personalities on the Rand at this time through the medium of his controversial 'Reminiscences', held Bailey in high esteem. Although Bailey's sporting prowess is summarily dismissed as "a myth, a snare and a delusion", Cohen notes that "Sir Abe Bailey possesses a strong personality, an active mind as well as a great talent for organisation." (21) He then suggests that Bailey would become the Rockefeller of South Africa.

In 1894, Bailey left South Africa for England, and while there he married Caroline Mary Paddon, daughter of John Paddon, a Kimberley merchant, within a few months, he had returned to Johannesburg taking up residence in his home, 'Clewes House', which was situated in what was soon to become the very fashionable suburb of Belgravia. As Bailey's financial concerns increased in both size and number, so he became increasingly friendly with many of the leading personalities in and around Johannesburg. He was particularly friendly with Major Aubrey Woolls-Sampson, that hardened veteran soldier who had taken part in so many South African campaigns including the Zulu Wars, the Majuba Campaign and the Basutoland Gun War. (22) His other friends at this time included Beit, Farrar, Phillips and 'Sammy' Marks. Alfred Beit, having been initially dispatched to South Africa as a buyer for a Hamburg diamond firm in 1875, eventually made good by entering together with Rhodes into financial negotiations with Barnato for control of the diamond fields, the result of which he (Farrar) became Chairman in 1893. (24) Lionel Phillips began life as a sorting clerk in a diamond firm in London, and, after having held a number of posts, eventually rose to the position of a mining consultant in Hermann Eckstein & Co. (25) Lithuanian-born Samuel ('Sammy') Marks,

20. Empire Economic Unity. a speech by Sir Abe Bailey, p. 43

21. L. Cohen, op. cit., p. 29

22. South African Dictionary of National Biography, E. Rosenthal (Comp.), p. 425.

23. De Kiewiet, op. cit., p. 94

24. D.S.A.B., W.I. de Kock (ed), vi, p. 287.

25. D.S.A.B., vii, p. 544

having started life at the Cape in 1868 as a peddler of cheap jewellery, helped launch the firm of Lewis and Marks some seventeen years later, a firm which by the turn of the century, was one of the 'big ten'. (26).

Soon after his arrival in Johannesburg, Bailey made Rhodes's acquaintance, and before long they had become extraordinarily good friends. Many of Rhodes's ideas were to become Bailey's ideas. In 1877, Rhodes had declared: "I contend that we (the British) are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race." (27) He was dedicated to the policy of expanding British influence over as much of Southern Africa as possible. Bailey's stay in England during his formative years had inspired him with a love of the country and a deep-seated respect for the English way of life. It would appear that these feelings as well as his interest in politics were activated on meeting Rhodes. Henceforth, he became an ardent supporter of British expansion in Southern Africa as well as a firm believer in the destiny of the British Empire, to which he saw South Africa as inseparably linked. Like Rhodes, Bailey envisaged at this time a vast territory of politically and economically federated self-governing units under Cape Colony leadership, a territory which was British protected, but not controlled. When Rhodes's plan for the opening-up and development of the Rhodesias came to fruition, Bailey was one of the first to invest large sums of money there as well as offering 10,000 acres of land for settlers. His own farm in Rhodesia was reputed to be 100 miles long and 30 miles wide. (28) Emden comments on this relationship with Rhodes by saying: "Bailey's business importance only came to him through his relations and subsequent friendship with Rhodes, who had a very great opinion of him and valued the open-handedness and power of quick decision of the man, who took his share in every new venture of the Chartered Company, and who had so strong a faith in the future of the recently opened country, that he became one

26. D.S.A.B., vii, p. 515.

27. K.L. Roskam, Apartheid and Discrimination, p. 84

28. Personal interview with Mr James Bailey, April, 21, 1974, Cape Town.

of the greatest, perhaps even the greatest individual holder of land and mining properties in Rhodesia, which later passed over to the London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co." (29) Lord Elibank also noted the relationship between Bailey and Rhodes and wrote: "... it was his constant endeavour to assimilate as far as possible the objects and policies of both countries (Britain and South Africa). In this respect, he was a true successor to Cecil Rhodes, whom he greatly admired, and, like him, his major thoughts were directed to the economic expansion and political development of South Africa .." (30) *.

In looking back over Bailey's political career, 'The Cape Argus' summed up the relationship between Bailey and Rhodes as follows: "In much of what he was to do in later years, Bailey was undoubtedly guided by the inspiration gained through his friendship with Rhodes, whose ideas and hopes he came to share and to foster to the best of his capacity. ... Throughout his long career as a politician and subsequently behind the scenes, he did his utmost to foster the imperial idea and to influence leaders of public opinion both in Great Britain and in South Africa to an appreciation of the value of the Unity of the Commonwealth". (31)

30. Times, London, August 21, 1940 (a tribute to Bailey from Lord Elibank).

* Lord Elibank sat on the London Committee of Western Holdings Ltd. in 1939, one of the companies in the Bailey and London and Rhodesia Group, and had known Bailey for many years. See 'African World Annual', 1938/39, No 35, p. 13.

31. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940, p. 4.

CHAPTER IIIBAILEY AND THE JAMESON RAID

In the Transvaal, great changes were precipitated by the opening up of the diamond and gold fields. Gold in particular, was responsible for multiplying and accelerating these changes. In 1884, the Transvaal was virtually bankrupt. Not five years later, the Republic's revenue rose to £1½ million, which, in turn, was only slightly less than that of the Cape. (1) By 1896, gold formed 96% of the Transvaal's exports. This sudden explosion of activity in the most stagnant of regions in South Africa resulted in a degree of socio-political instability, for "a community dependent on money and machinery could not exist without friction within another community dependent on land and cattle, nor could the objectives and habits of each be readily made to coincide". (2) Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Bailey, now one of the leading personalities in Johannesburg and a member of the Town Council, should have been drawn into the ensuing melee. The 'grievances' of the newly-formed industrial elite and their followers in Johannesburg and other mining centres served as a 'justification' for the policy of intervention formulated by Rhodes and others. In 1892, some of the 'uitlanders' founded the Transvaal National Union, which "held public meetings, bombarded the Government with petitions for reform and entered into relations with Kruger's Afrikaner opposition". (3) Many of Bailey's associates were members of the Reform Committee, including George Farrar, Percy Fitzpatrick and Lionel Phillips. The last named was "heart and soul in the adventure", and subsequently became the historian of the Reform Movement. (4) Some of Bailey's acquaintances, such as Barnato and J.B. Robinson chose not to identify themselves with the 'Uitlander' unrest. Robinson certainly did not believe in a firm policy towards Kruger and the Volksraad,

1. De Kiewiet, op. cit., p. 119.

2. Ibid., p. 121.

3. The Oxford History of South Africa, M. Wilson and L. Thompson (eds.), vii, p. 314.

4. P.H. Emden, op. cit., p. 188.

and as a result became a staunch advocate of 'conciliation'. (5) In fact, according to Lionel Phillips, only four of the ten companies, who controlled the gold-mining industry, were directly involved in the conspiracy to overthrow the Kruger Government. Nevertheless the petitions drawn up by the Reform Movement were founded for the most part on the complaints made by the mining community and related to almost every department of government administration. Kruger's revenue policy especially, came under attack. The Transvaal derived its revenue by imposing heavy taxation on the mining community. Although this heavy taxation hindered expansion in certain fields, thereby causing great discontent, it did have the beneficial side-effect of forcing the industry to maintain the highest degree of efficiency. (6) However, the situation became critical in 1894 when the London share-market collapsed, further holding up development, and no compensation move was made to lower taxes or control the cost of living.

There were seemingly several reasons for Bailey's joining the Reform Movement. Bailey, one of the leading personalities in Johannesburg, and a member of the Town Council, was personally affected by the Volksraad's policy towards the mining community and was thus open to persuasion from his close associates like Farrar, Fitzpatrick and Phillips. However, the chief reason is given by Emden, who remarks that "after it became known that Rhodes had joined, it was of course obvious that Abe Bailey ... would not stand out," and he subsequently became a spirited figure in the Transvaal National Union and joined the Reform Committee, of which Charles Leonard, another of Bailey's friends, had become president. (7)

Rhodes decided to turn the unrest on the Witwatersrand to his advantage by providing the outside help that would be necessary to ensure the success of a rebellion in the South African Republic, and he and Alfred Beit financed

5. L. Weinthal, op. cit., p. 125

6. F. Troup, op. cit., p. 178.

7. Emden, op. cit., p. 188

the Johannesburg Agitation and supplied arms. They planned to have troops ready on the Transvaal border to go in at the request of the leaders after the rising had begun, and these troops, some 500 in all, moved under the command of Dr. Jameson from Rhodesia to the Western border of the South African Republic.

Although there was widespread talk of revolution in Johannesburg and other mining centres, it would appear that there was no true revolutionary spirit among the 'Uitlanders' and no firm leadership. Not only were their military plans vague, but organisation was almost non-existent, (8) and as the weeks passed, the 'Uitlanders' were increasingly at loggerheads among themselves on minor issues; which simply revealed their complete unreadiness. The flag issue can be cited as a good example. For some time it had been a bone of contention whether they should rise under the Vierkleur (the flag of the Republic) or the Union Jack. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, insisted on the latter, as he had no intention of sanctioning an independent revolutionary republic, which could, by virtue of its steadily increasing economic importance, absorb the whole of South Africa. Eventually it was decided that the rising should take place under the Vierkleur, and Rhodes agreed. (9) However, Bailey and Woolls-Sampson on their way out from England were told on arrival in Cape Town in mid-December (1895) that Jameson intended to march under and raise the British Flag in the Transvaal. Lionel Phillips describes the position as follows: "The news came as a bombshell and was considered by a small meeting of the confederates, at which Colonel F. Rhodes, Sam Jameson (Dr. Jameson's brother), Bailey, Sampson and a few others, including myself were present ... We not only appreciated the error from a tactical stand point, but were in a most embarrassing situation, as we had solemnly pledged ourselves to the Afrikaners, who were in with us, and to men who had been through the 1881 war and were ruined after Gladstone's surrender, that we would

8. Oxford History of South Africa, vii, p. 314.

9. L. Phillips, Some Reminiscences, p. 148.

not tamper with the flag". (10) This issue was eventually settled, but the date of the 'uprising' was postponed until January 4 (1896), because there would be thousands of visitors to Johannesburg over the Christmas period. "Jameson was an impetuous man, with an adolescent sense of the heroic", (11) and hoping to goad the Reform Committee into action, he sent Rhodes a telegram informing him of his intention to stick to the original timetable. Jameson's message was delayed, and Rhodes's reply ordering him not to move, never reached its destination due to cut telegraph wires at Mafeking. On December, 29, Dr. Jameson commenced his invasion of the Transvaal. Soon after midday the following day, Bailey received a telegram sent by "Godolphin" from Cape Town. The message read: "The veterinary surgeon says the horses are now all right; he started last night; will reach you on Wednesday; he says he can back himself for seven hundred." (12) Bailey did not understand the meaning of the message nor did he know who the sender "Godolphin" was, and so promptly showed it to the other members of the Reform Committee. (13) They eventually came to the conclusion that the telegram concerned Dr. Jameson, and this only served to increase the already existing apprehension. It afterwards transpired that the sender was Dr. Rutherford Harris, who stated that he took the first and safest means of conveying the news that Dr. Jameson had actually started in spite of all. (14) At a meeting held later in the day, Bailey was asked to define his stand-point, and the very fact that such a question was asked at this stage, points to the fact that a general nescience reigned among many interested parties not intimately connected with the Secret Committee. From the evidence available, it seems clear that Bailey was a member of the Secret Committee or inner group of the Reform Committee, and thus took part in all the major decisions during these critical days. Bailey's reply to the question was in conformity with the decision taken by the Secret Com-

10. Ibid.

11. Oxford History of South Africa, p. 317.

12. I.P. Fitzpatrick, The Transvaal from Within : A Private Record of Public Affairs, p. 137.

13. L. Phillips, Some Reminiscences, p. 61

14. I.P. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 138.

mittee some time earlier. He did not want to move against the 'Boers', but wanted to remain in Johannesburg - "standing up for his rights, and if attacked, to defend life and property". (15)

On the evening of the same day, a telegram was sent to Sir Hercules Robinson, the British High Commissioner, stating that Dr. Jameson's action had put Johannesburg in a very dangerous position. Robinson was urged to come to Johannesburg immediately and to prevent a civil war. The telegram was signed by Bailey as well as by such men as Sam Jameson, Max Langermann, Percy Fitzpatrick, Lionel Phillips and George Farrar, there being twenty-two signatures in all. (16)

During the period of December 30 to January 2, the Reform Committee found it necessary to perform relief work among the people entering Johannesburg to find safety. Large numbers of women and children from surrounding areas were housed in the Wanderers Pavilion and the Tattersalls Building. A relief fund was established to which Bailey contributed approximately £2,250, having initially promised £5,000. The reason for this change was that Bailey felt the fund had been wrongly used. (17) On December 3, representatives of Kruger's Government met the Reform Committee in Johannesburg, as this latter body was anxious to know whether and to what extent the Government was prepared to make concessions. At the meeting, it was decided to send a deputation to Pretoria. At noon the following day, the Reform Committee's four delegates, one of which was Abe Bailey, gathered in Pretoria to discuss matters with the commission appointed by the Government to negotiate. (18)

On January 2, some four days after the commencement of his march into the South African Republic, Dr. Jameson and his force were rounded up at Doornkop in the vicinity of Krugersdorp by General Cronje. On the same day, Bailey was arrested along with more than sixty other Reformers, and was thrown into goal a week later. (19) While awaiting

15. L. Phillips, Some Reminiscences, p. 69

16. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

17. L. Phillips, Some Reminiscences, p. 77

18. *Ibid.*, p. 80,

19. 'Pioneers of the Transvaal and Glimpses of South Africa', Men of the Times, 1905, p. 19.

trial, Bailey shared a cell with Major Battelheim, a Johannesburg businessman of Turkish origin. Their confinement together started a life-long friendship. Afterwards Major Battelheim often visited Bailey at his London residence. (20) Abe Bailey was tried for high treason by the Transvaal High Court, presided over by Judge R. Gregorowski. The four leaders - Colonel F. Rhodes, (brother of Cecil Rhodes) John Hays Hammond, Phillips and Farrar - were sentenced to death, but President Kruger commuted their sentences into fines of £25,000 each. Bailey was sentenced to three years imprisonment, but how much the intercessions of his father, at this time a Cape Bondsman and friend of Kruger, helped lessen his sentence is open to conjecture. Abe Bailey is reported to have said: "What sort of argument he used to the President I do not know, but he told me that Kruger had said: 'You have not brought your son up properly. I am going to give him a lesson'".(21) In any event, Bailey's sentence was commuted into a fine of £2,000, similar fines being imposed on the other sixty, who were tried and initially sentenced to terms of imprisonment. After his release, Bailey left for Great Britain with the majority of his fellow ex-prisoners, returning in the same year to Johannesburg in order to resume his speculations. (22)

There is little evidence to show that Bailey ever regretted the part he had played in the Jameson Raid or even that the Jameson Raid had ever occurred. Some forty-four years later, he told Mr Charles Emmott, a British Member of Parliament, that "people talk about the Jameson Raid and say it was the worst thing that ever happened. They don't know what they are talking about. Without the Jameson Raid there would have been no war, and without the Boer War there would have been no Union. The Germans would have got this country, and they would have won the last war." (23) This conversation between Mr. Emmott and Bailey took place only a few weeks before the latter's death, and it must be admitted that the great physical suffering Bailey experienced during the last few years of his life might well have impaired his intellectual judgement; yet, there

20. Personal interview with Mr James Bailey, August 21, 1974, Cape Town.

21. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940, p. 4.

22. Men of the Times, op. cit., p. 19.

23. Times. London, August 17, 1940, p. 9 (tribute to Abe Bailey)

is little evidence of this, for, in spite of physical deterioration, his grasp of reality and intense interest in South African as well as international affairs remained with him until the last moment. After the Second South African War, Bailey adopted a policy of reconciliation towards the Dutch - and English-speaking White people in South Africa, but, this in itself was not personal recognition and acknowledgement of possible past errors. Indeed, it was his firm belief that it was only in a united South Africa, in which both White groups sank their differences, that a bright future not only for this country, but for the British Empire as a whole, could be assured. This was the view held by many of Bailey's associates in the early part of the twentieth century, although few practised reconciliation to the same extent as he. The Jameson Raid, on the other hand, could hardly be regarded as a step in the direction of reconciliation, for it tended to polarise relations between the 'Uitlanders' and the Transvaal Government, and resulted in the formation of the South African League in 1896 in which the 'jingo' spirit became dominant. There was at this time little attempt to reconcile differences, on the part of Bailey and others, although the 'Uitlanders' were admittedly divided on this issue

CHAPTER IVTHE SECOND SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

The Jameson Raid not only interrupted the evolutionary development towards co-operation and federation between the constituent parts of South Africa, but also succeeded in bringing full-scale war one step closer. The South African Republic now feared other attempts would be made to arrest her treasured independence. As a result Kruger accelerated his re-armament program. Various reforms, especially with regard to the enfranchisement of 'Uitlanders' were demanded by the South African League and the British Colonial office, but neither side was fully prepared to make sacrifices, and negotiations were continually impeded by sentiment and emotion on both sides. Since the Jameson Raid, political control had passed into the hands of men between whom there could be little dialogue.

On October 9, 1899, an ultimatum was presented to the British Government by the Transvaal demanding that all British forces on the Republic's borders be withdrawn, that all troops which had arrived in South Africa since June 1, be sent out of the country, and that re-inforcements then on the high seas be landed anywhere else other than at a South African port. The British could not conform to these demands, and, as the ultimatum expired at the end of forty-eight hours, it was announced that a state of war existed between Great Britain and the two republics. Hostilities began on October 12 at Kraaipan on the western border of the Transvaal.

During 1899, Bailey had spent much of his time in Britain, but he returned to South Africa as soon as it had become known that war had broken out. (1) He assisted in raising several irregular corps, more especially Robert's Horse, Robert's Bodyguard and Kitchener's Horse. Besides this, he helped raise and equip Gorringer's Horse and the City Imperial Volunteers (C.I.V.), (2) and agreed to be the

1. Men of the Times, op. cit. p. 19.

2. D.N.B., op. cit., p. 28.

latter's honorary representative in Cape Town. (3) The C.I.V. was a London-based regiment with a long and proud fighting record, and they acquitted themselves well in the South African field. Their first engagement was the capture of Jacobsdal (Orange Free State) on February 15, 1900, from whence they marched to Bloemfontein, eventually entering the city. (4) The greatest C.I.V. success was achieved by their Infantry Corps at Florida, west of Johannesburg, by which the Witswatersrand ridge was won.

Bailey was appointed intelligence officer in the Ninth Brigade commanded by General R. Pole-Carew., (5) and as such was involved in the battle of Modder River (western Orange Free State) on November 28, 1899, in which the Boer attack on the British came as a surprise, for even during the course of the actual battle "no Boer could be seen, not even a puff of smoke from his rifle". (6) The British attempt to launch a frontal attack on the opposing forces across the river resulted in a deadlock, which was broken only after General Pole-Carew succeeded in capturing a deep 'donga' and thereby cut off the Boers occupying a nearby farmhouse from their trenches to the east. Eventually, the British forces took the whole area and were able to continue their march both northwards and eastwards. Bailey proved to be an efficient officer, and was promoted to the rank of Chief Intelligence Officer in the Ninth Brigade in January, 1900. (7)

The next important military venture in which Bailey was involved was the engagement at Elandsfontein, and he was one of the five, who were captured by the Boers there. (8) It seems probable that he escaped, for not long afterwards he appeared in Johannesburg and took an active part in the Battle of Diamond Hill, in June, 1900. An attempt at negotiation to terminate the war had been undertaken by Lord Roberts with leaders of the Boer forces, and it was pointed

3. Men of the Times, op. cit., p. 19

4. The City Imperial Volunteers' Regimental Record, p. 14.

5. D.S.A.B., vii, p. 19

6. W. Baring Pemberton, Battles of the Boer War, p. 68.

7. Men of the Times, op. cit., p. 19.

8. Ibid., p. 19.

out to General Botha that continuation of the war was futile. (9) Johannes Meintjes remarks that the negotiations did not break down, but that on the Boer side there was simply no talk of surrender, unconditional or otherwise. (10) This was proved by the fact that the Battle of Diamond Hill, in which fighting took place over a stretch of more than thirty miles to the east of Pretoria during a period of two days, followed closely on the heels of negotiation and was claimed as a victory by both sides. (11) Following upon the Battle of Diamond Hill, Bailey was attached to Colonel Gorrings's flying column, and with that force he remained till 1901 as Major on the Staff, having command of the column. (12) At that time, regular warfare had been superseded by a prolonged period of guerilla warfare, despite the fact that Lord Roberts had annexed the Transvaal in September, 1900, before handing over his command to Kitchener. The erstwhile republics now regrouped their home areas and concentrated on seizing British Supplies, cutting the railway tracks and annihilating small British units. (13) It was in just such a skirmish that Bailey was involved when the train in which he was travelling was held up at Kendrew (Transvaal). Both the engine driver and guard were severely wounded and no fewer than fourteen bullets penetrated the compartment which Bailey occupied! (14) For his part in the war, Bailey, having been twice mentioned in dispatches, was decorated with the King's and Queen's medals and five clasps.

In his private life, 1902 was an unfortunate year for Bailey, as his wife died on February 13, after which it became necessary for him to leave South Africa for England, due to ill health. (15)

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In the first thirty-eight years of his life, Bailey had achieved much, and in these achievements two trends can be

9. W.K-L. Dickson, The Biograph in Battle, p. 249.

10. J. Meintjes, General Louis Botha, p. 67

11. Ibid., p. 68.

12. Men of the Times, op. cit., p. 19.

13. Oxford History of South Africa, vii, p. 327.

14. Men of the Times, op. cit., p. 19

15. D.S.A.B., vii, p. 19.

detected - the search for and accumulation of wealth, and the gradual consolidation of political ideas. He had amassed a considerable fortune through dogged perseverance and an innate ability to speculate and gamble successfully. Bailey often claimed that he was "a self-made, self-made man". (16) There is a degree of truth in this statement, for he continually refused financial help from his father earlier in life, and the independent spirit which had manifested itself in childhood, came to the fore when, as a young man, he started out in life resolving to 'go it alone', when any number of people in the mining community were bent of forming partnerships. His rise in the industrial world, like so many of the other early pioneers in the diamond and gold mining industry, had been meteoric, and his newly-acquired position won him many influential friends in various fields, not the least being Cecil Rhodes. We have noted how partly through his friendship with Rhodes and partly through force of circumstances, Bailey found himself entangled in the political ferment in the South African Republic, which led him to become inextricably involved both in the Jameson Raid and the ensuing war. Both events did much to crystallize in Bailey certain political view points, some of which were to remain his life-long companions. Thus, by 1902, the stage was set on both a personal and national level for Bailey to play an important role in South African affairs.

16. Personal interview with Mr James Bailey, August, 21, 1974, Cape Town.

CHAPTER VBAILEY IN THE CAPE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Cecil Rhodes died in March 1902, and the South African War continued for a further two months, after which peace terms were accepted by both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In September of the same year, Bailey returned to South Africa from England greatly recovered from his illness. Upon his arrival, he not only acquired the stately house "Rust-en-Vrede", which Rhodes had commissioned to be built in Muizenberg (the architect for which was Sir Herbert Baker), but also Rhodes's constituency of Barkly West (Kimberley). In many ways, it seemed as if Bailey had "inherited" much from his old associate, and Emden remarks somewhat caustically: "All this may have induced a highly impressionable Bailey to believe that the mantle of Rhodes had fallen on his shoulders, and he did not conceal this view". (1) Sammy Marks, who had some experience of second-hand clothing in the Western Cape during the early 1870's, is reputed to have warned Bailey that the mantle would not fit. (2) In any event, Bailey entered the Cape Legislative Assembly in 1902 as Progressive Party member for Barkly West.

In December of that same year, Bailey paid a visit to King Williams Town on behalf of the Progressives in order to secure the Native vote in the forthcoming elections. (3) The following day, Mr J.T. Jabavu notified John X. Merriman of this, remarking that the result of Bailey's visit remained to be seen. (4) Jabavu's letter to Merriman is of interest as this is the first time that Bailey's name is mentioned in the wealth of correspondence to and from Merriman. In November the following year, Merriman wrote a letter to T.J. Truter, a farmer at Beaufort West, describing the Progressive Party as being "ruled by a junta consisting of Jameson, Sampson, Walton, Abe Bailey and others" and the majority of these were either De Beers

1. P.H. Emden, op. cit., p. 221.

2. Ibid.

3. Imvo Zabantsundu Bomzantsi Afrika, December 10, 1902, p. 3.

4. Selections from the Correspondence of John X. Merriman: 1899 - 1905, v. 47, p. 412.

directors or capitalists, party funds being supplied from capitalist sources. (5) It was at this time that an intense dislike grew between Merriman and Bailey, a dislike which rested on far more than the mere fact that both men held opposing political affiliations. Although in 1898, Merriman had been a protagonist of Rhodes, the Progressives and the South African League, he had aligned himself with Sprigg after the South African War, becoming leader of the South African Party and thus opposing Jameson and the Progressives. Despite the fact that by 1914 Bailey and Merriman supported the same party, the antagonism between the two men lasted until Merriman's death in 1926. Could this have been the result of Merriman's unfavourable experiences in the diamond fields, where he proved singularly unsuccessful, and which in turn led to his mistrust of capitalists and the vast accumulation of wealth centred in a few hands? Or was it something very personal? Whatever the case, during the following years, much heated correspondence took place between these two politicians on various issues, and in each instance, there is every indication that neither ~~were~~ favourably disposed towards each other.

One of the issues that caused much heated debate in the Cape Legislative Assembly in 1902 was the Progressive proposal to suspend the Constitution, and this brought about an outburst of indignation from Merriman on September 11; he referred to the then current agitation for suspension of the constitution as the desire for "the suppression of Parliament". (6) The agitation had begun in June the previous year, when Dr Thomas Te Water (M.L.A. for Graaff-Reinet) had circulated a petition in his constituency calling for a suspension of the Cape Constitution, but the matter died a natural death, only to be resurrected in early 1902, following the return of Rhodes to South Africa. Rhodes had come to the conclusion that "it was imperative in the interest of the Imperial cause in South Africa that the Constitution of the Cape Colony should be suspended, and that responsible government should for a time remain in abeyance". (7) Under Rhodes's auspices, a committee was formed to

5. Ibid., p. 412.

6. Debates in the House of Assembly of the Cape of Good Hope, 1902, p. 184.

7. Cape Times, May 30, 1902, p. 5.

draft a petition to the Governor, Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, to this effect, and the bulk of the Progressive Party, including Bailey, signed the petition. The petition listed the following points for suspending the Constitution: "That parliamentary representation was not properly provided for" and "that it would be impossible to pass a Bill of indemnity through Parliament due to the passions that had been aroused by the war". (8) In May of that year, 'The Cape Times' supported the proposals to suspend the Constitution by asking: "Can we look forward with confidence to a system of 'changing ministries and shifting majorities' during the period immediately following acute strife?" (9) Sir Gordon Sprigg, ably backed by Merriman, did his utmost to resist any suspension of the Constitution.

The debate on Merriman's motion protesting against the agitation was resumed on September 17, and then again on September 22. It was on this last date that Bailey rose to speak. He felt that the motion could have no object but to stir up 'race-hatred' and strife. He claimed that until the beginning of that year, he had not believed in placing the Constitution in abeyance, but his opinion had changed after he had heard members of the South African Party saying that war was likely to last a further two years, and as a result he had signed the petition. However, as soon as peace had been concluded, he assumed that the object of the petition had lost all relevance, the main object of the petition being to secure the supremacy of the British Government in the Cape Colony. (10) Bailey made it clear that he was not ashamed of having signed the petition and would do the same if similar circumstances were to recur.

In 1903, the mines of the Rand were desperately short of labour, and attempts to recruit labour from other areas in Southern Africa and even further afield, had proved most unsuccessful. Milner, who had become Governor of the new colonies in 1901 and who had undertaken the job of recon-

8. Cape Assembly Debates, 1902, p. 186.

9. Cape Times, May 30, p. 4

10. Cape Assembly Debates, 1902, p. 264 f.

struction following the devastation of war, believed that the function of the mines "was to impart as quickly as possible a stimulus to the rest of South African economic life". (11) He accepted the view of many leading Rand mining magnates that it was only by using cheap labour that the yield of the mines in relation to profits and dividends could be effectively increased. Bailey entirely supported this view and was a staunch advocate of the importation of Chinese labour to the Rand as the most feasible solution. In a letter dated November 7, 1903, Bailey provided Merriman with several statistics concerning the Rand mining industry and its labour difficulties. He pointed out that it cost some mines nearly 30s to extract one ton of gold, whereas he was in the slightly more fortunate position of having an average cost of 23s 9d per ton. On the strength of these figures, he estimated that an increase in the labour supply would bring all costs down to less than 20s per ton. "Our high cost (that is of mines in general) is due to the Native working only for six to twelve months and then he goes back to his kraal for two years. Then a new lot comes and they require teaching". (12) Colonel F.H.P. Creswell, pressed for the replacement of Blacks by White unskilled workers by arguing that cheap labour was not cheap in the long run. (13) Bailey on the other hand, felt that a large White labour force was not a realistic solution as many of the White skilled workers on the mines preferred working with the Blacks, and even if they did tap Europe for labour, he doubted whether the number of Whites from such a source would prove sufficient to meet the requirements. On these grounds, Bailey claimed that the Chinese would be the only solution, but hastily added: "The 'Chinese' I am against as much as anyone, but I see they have got to come, or the country of South Africa as a whole, will go nearly bankrupt". (14) In advocating the importation of Chinese, Bailey was placed in a very unenviable position, as he must have realised that this was very much against the stand taken by the Progressive Party

11. De Kiewiet, op. cit., p. 146.

12. Merriman Correspondence, v. 47., Bailey to Merriman, November 7, 1903, p. 404.

13. De Kiewiet, op. cit., p. 146.

14. Merriman Correspondence, v. 47., Bailey to Merriman, November 7, 1903, p. 404.

Party in its manifesto.

On March, 1904, J.W. Jagger (M.L.A. for Cape Town) stated in the Cape Legislative Assembly that the current depression of the mining industry on the Rand could be attributed to the fact that during the Second South African War, there had been an enormous inflation of trade, imports having been doubled in the period 1898 - 1902, while export trade had declined drastically. It was therefore an unavoidable situation and could not be averted by simply importing labour. (15) Speaking later in the day, Bailey felt that Jagger's analysis of the economic situation was too superficial and that a closer enquiry into matters would show that the depression was due solely to the want of labour in the Transvaal. (16) According to Bailey, the shortage of labour was partly due to the fact that during the war money had been made easily by the Natives, whose requirements, not being great, had retired on a very small sum; while, on the other hand, developments in railway and harbour works had also taken away a large percentage of the Rand's potential labour force. (17) Bailey had obviously gathered as much material as possible for this speech, and by means of innumerable statistics, he depicted the future of the mining industry in the gloomiest of terms. Much attention was paid to exact detail, and in no instance was this lengthy speech clouded by unnecessary sentiment. He 'let the facts speak for themselves', and in so doing made it clear to the House that all prospects of future development and expansion in the mining industry were continually thwarted by the fact that no money would be forthcoming until such time as the labour shortage was rectified.

In his plea for legislation permitting the introduction of Chinese labour, Bailey drew the Assembly's attention to the Inter-Colonial Conference of Native Affairs in Bloemfontein. At this conference a resolution was unanimously passed to the effect that, although the Conference considered the permanent settlement of Asiatics in South Africa to be injurious to the interests of the country, it was accepted that if industrial development positively required it, then

15. Cape Assembly Debates, 1904, p. 17

16. Ibid., p. 23.

17. Cape Assembly Debates, 1904, p. 23.

the introduction of Asiatics under a system of government control by which provision would be made for their indenture and repatriation should be permissible. Although Bailey supported the introduction of the Chinese, he did not wish to see their permanent settlement in South Africa either. This he made perfectly clear in a letter to Merriman the previous year, when he wrote: "... in case there is the slightest chance of their overrunning the country, WE will all join and kick them out of the country. I am as sincere as anyone on this point." (18) In another letter written to Merriman on November 11, 1903, Bailey once more placed his views on record by writing: "The Chinese are required by the Rand as a makeshift and it is no intention (of ours) of having them permanently." (19)

Merriman, like Jagger, was against all proposals for the introduction of Chinese, and in December, 1903, after Merriman had had discussions with several leading mining magnates on the Rand, Bailey found it necessary to send him an article concerning the high cost of White labour on the mines. This article was included with a curt, though mordantly witty note from Bailey himself, beginning with the words: "Whilst on your tour, abusing Rand Magnates and Chinamen," and ending a few lines after with "be fair, even to a magnate." (20)

Despite opposition from many quarters, including the Dutch-speaking section of the population in the Transvaal, Bailey and the Chamber of Mines got their way, and the first contingent of 10,000 Chinese labourers arrived in 1904. Bailey's claim that an increased labour supply would, from an economic point of view, put not only the Transvaal, but the whole of South Africa back on its feet again, was to some extent proved right. (21) By 1906 the mines were in full production with a labour force of 163,000 of which 51,000 were Chinese (22), and by 1908 the post-war depression in the

18. Merriman Correspondence, v. 47, Bailey to Merriman, November, 7, 1903, p. 404.

19. Merriman Correspondence, v. 47, Bailey to Merriman, November 11, 1903, p. 404.

20. Merriman Correspondence, v. 47, Bailey to Merriman, December 12, 1903, p. 405.

21. see Cape Assembly Debates, 1904, p. 85

22. Oxford History of South Africa, vii, p. 15.

mining sector had almost completely lifted. (23)

Bailey took an active part in several other important debates in the Cape Legislative Assembly, and on September 29, 1902, he supported the Second Reading of the Native Reserve Locations Bill by stating that had Native locations been established many years earlier, the country would not have had to spend so much money combating plague and disease in urban areas. He suggested that the municipalities should assume the power to plan and run these locations. (24) He also drew the House's attention to the plight of the workmen at the Salt River Railway Workshops, noting the disparity in pay between railway workers in the Cape and those in the sister colonies. Whereas a mechanic was paid 16s per day in the Transvaal and 14s per day in Natal, the workmen at the Salt River Workshops were paid only 11s 6d per day. (25)

Bailey's interest, however, centred once more on the political affairs of the Transvaal after it became reasonably certain that the colony would be granted responsible government at some time in the not too distant future, and carrying Rhodes' ideas on British supremacy in the whole of South Africa with him, Bailey helped establish and organise the Progressive Party there in 1904. This renewed interest in the affairs of South Africa's northernmost colony can be attributed to the fact that Bailey was very much concerned with the economic prospects of South Africa, and he saw the Transvaal in particular as leading the way. At the same time, his personal stake in that colony would have undoubtedly done much to detract his attention from Cape politics. It would appear as if Milner were impressed by Bailey's wealth, popularity and shrewdness, and anticipated (as he wrote in private correspondence) that Bailey would be useful as an elected member of the Transvaal Parliament. (26)

In 1905 Bailey resigned his seat in the Cape Legislative Assembly and proceeded to take stock of the general political situation in the Transvaal.

23. De Kiewiet, op. cit., p 146, p. 147.

24. Cape Assembly Debates, 1902, p. 330

25. Ibid, p. 526, p. 527.

26. D.S.A.B., vii, p. 19

CHAPTER VIFIVE YEARS IN TRANSVAAL POLITICS

The first dispute that attracted Bailey's attention in the Transvaal surrounded the proposed regulations concerning the language media in Transvaal schools. The agreement arrived at between the Responsible Government Association and 'Het Volk' gave rise to numerous ambiguities.* It was not clear for instance whether English was to be the medium of instruction in Std. IV or after Std. IV, and this led some people to wonder whether English-speaking children were expected to commence their education through the medium of Dutch. Nor was there any reference in the agreement to the position of English-speaking children in outlying districts. Lionel Phillips mentions that Bailey sent a letter to 'The Rand Daily Mail' in which he (Bailey) describes the proposed education scheme as "reactionary". Bailey accused the the Responsible Government of "deliberately pandering to 'Het Volk' aims and ambitions" and in the process had "bargained away those educational possibilities which would have enabled our children to take their places amongst the enlightened citizens of the world (1) In the letter, Bailey also attacked the policy of giving the local committees too much power in the management of schools, especially regarding their right to draw up curriculums and appoint or dismiss staff.

In February, 1905, Smuts visited London and pressed for self-government, but found most of the ministers somewhat reticent or even discouraging. (2) On February 6, Bailey, whom Lionel Phillips described as a "vigorous supporter of British interests" (3), wrote a letter to 'The Transvaal Leader' in which he stated that he would prefer to see an immediate grant of self-government, including among others, the following: single member constituencies, equal electoral districts (that is 'one vote, one value'), elections restricted to one day, and an automatic redistribution of seats in the event of the aforesaid conditions not being put into effect. (4) In the same letter, he expressed his mistrust of

* 'Het Volk' was a political party formed in the Transvaal by General Louis Botha in January, 1905.

1. L. Phillips, Transvaal Problems : Some Notes on Current Politics, p. 207

2. E. Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p. 517

3. L. Phillips, Transvaal Problems, p. 203

4. Ibid.

the extreme section of the Dutch-speaking sector of the Transvaal population, citing a certain Mr Hans Burger as an example. At a 'Het Volk' meeting in Krugersdorp Mr Burger had advocated "a united South Africa under an independent flag". (5) Bailey then proceeded to charge General Botha with plainly and defiantly stating at Volksrust that he thought the swamping of the British vote by the Dutch majority was "the very thing that ought to come about". According to Bailey, 'Het Volk' was no more than "a military organisation following very closely on the lines and conduct of the Bond in the Cape Colony," as it was "racial in character" and imposed "a pledge of obedience upon its members to the orders of its self-constituted leaders" denying "liberty of opinion either to its individual members or to its branches".* Towards the close of his letter, he wrote: "Despite their protestations the policy of the Dutch party (that is 'Het Volk') is not South Africa for the South Africans, but South Africa for the Dutch and those who will subordinate themselves to these ideas." (6) This was followed eleven days later by a short communication from Mr. J.W. Leonard in the course of which he asked why General Botha did not reply to or comment upon Bailey's letter. A week later, Botha's reply was published in which he denied having used the expressions attributed to him at Volksrust and described Bailey's accusation of 'Het Volk' being a military organisation as "an insinuation so unworthy that it hardly merits serious attention. (7) He finally discounted the notion of equal electoral districts as not being in the interest of the entire population of the Transvaal.

Nevertheless, Bailey, like Fitzpatrick, thought it was. He realised that if the boundaries of the constituencies were based on total population figures and not just those

5. L. Phillips, Transvaal Problems, p. 203.

* It is interesting to note what Merriman had said about the Progressive Party in the Cape some three years earlier. He wrote: "To describe the Progressive pledge would require the ingenuity of a Jesuit, so protean are the changes that it undergoes to suit the platform and the individual .." From Merriman Correspondence, v. 47, Merriman to Truter, November 25, 1903, p. 412.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

7. L. Phillips, Transvaal Problems, p. 203

qualified to vote, then the country districts, where large families predominated, would secure more representation than Johannesburg, which was largely populated by single men. Thus, in the interest of the Transvaal Progressive Party, whose supporters were by and large limited to the major industrial and urban areas in and around Johannesburg, Bailey and Fitzpatrick began a campaign for "one vote, one value", by which constituencies were to be delimited on the basis of only counting the heads of those qualified to vote. Fitzpatrick summed up the situation from the Progressive point of view by claiming that any other form of delimitation would be "a betrayal of the late Queen's loyal subjects, who had established the gold mines and bravely fought the Boers". (8)

In March, 1906, the British Prime Minister, Campbell Bannerman, appointed the West Ridgeway Commission to report on the form of franchise and constituency delimitation most suitable in the Transvaal. The Commission tried to reach an agreed solution to the problem, by taking both sides into account, and eventually proposed an allocation of seats, which they hoped would secure the even balance of parties in the first Parliament. Manhood suffrage was to be granted to all Whites fulfilling the required qualifications and the Dutch-speaking community was to receive a slight electoral advantage through an arbitrary allocation of seats. The principle of "one vote, one value" was not included in the report. Instead, under the Commission's recommendations, British influence would prevail in Thirty-four constituencies on the Rand and in the remaining thirty-nine constituencies the influence of the Dutch-speaking group was to be dominant. (9) When George Farrar, leader of the Progressives, declared that he was prepared to accept the delimitation proposals of the Commission, Fitzpatrick flew into a rage, declaring that the proposals would lead to nothing short of a "Boer Junta". (10) Fitzpatrick, Bailey, Willem van Hulsteyn and Drummond Chaplin then left South Africa for London to appeal against the West Ridgeway proposals and to secure the principle of "one vote, one value", but without success.

8. A.P. Cartwright, The First South African, p. 140

9. B. Sacks, South Africa: An Imperial Dilemma, p. 164

10. A.P. Cartwright, The first South African, p. 141

During 1906, there was much campaigning by both the Progressives and 'Het Volk' for the forthcoming elections, which were scheduled for December that year. The Progressive Party stood for the permanent settlement of South Africa by a united nation, forming at the same time an integral part of the British Empire, as well as the recognition and maintenance of British principles in the public life and government of the Transvaal. Although the Progressive Party was distinctly imperialist in sentiment, it was much more conciliatory in its domestic policies than its election slogan of "vote British" indicated; its amnesty measures helped to reduce race antagonism. The process of conciliation was greatly facilitated by Milner's departure in April, 1905.

(11) The Progressives also supported the notion of federation in South Africa. In a speech given at a garden party for the Federation of British Women at his home in Belgravia (Johannesburg) on January 10, 1907, Bailey compared the two parties. He expressed his dislike for the name 'Het Volk' claiming that there was no such thing as 'the people' in South Africa, and went on to say that 'Het Volk' possessed no idea of the meaning of the word 'democracy', citing the manner in which the party's candidates were selected as an example. He pointed out that under the Progressive Party Constitution, any voter in any constituency had as much right in selecting a candidate as the biggest magnate connected with industry, while under 'Het Volk's' Constitution, the 'Hoofd Comite' simply nominated a candidate to stand for a certain area, regardless of whether the area concerned wanted that particular candidate or not. (12)

A few months earlier, Merriman remarked in a private letter to Smuts that he had noticed Smuts's Campaign for the elections was progressing well, as judged by the reaction of his opponents. However, Merriman felt it was necessary to add a few words of warning: "Beware of A. Bailey - he is an unscrupulous fellow and is trying to convince some people down here that he is a true South African... Beware of wolves in sheep's clothing". (13) With regards to 'un-

11. see D.S.A.B., vi, p. 287 and D.S.A.B., vii, p. 468.

12. Rand Daily Mail, January 11, 1907, p.5

13. Smuts Private Papers, U.C.T. Archives (on microfilm); 1906, v. 4, no.64, Merriman to Smuts, n.d.

scrupulous behaviour', Bailey himself was fully aware of the pitfalls of politicians and partisanship. He had previously admitted to Merriman that he had come to the conclusion that the art of 'politicking' was a very immoral pastime and wondered whether it did not have a degrading effect on an individual, who felt compelled to "enter into the pasts of personalities". (14)

In the elections for the Legislative Assembly Bailey contested the Krugersdorp seat and defeated the 'Het Volk' candidate, G. van Blommenstein. His natural gift for public speaking, his fluent repartee and quick sense of humour, all of which had been displayed to the full in the Cape Legislative Assembly, served him well during the election period, and these attributes together with his personal interest in the mining industry appealed to the largely English-speaking mining community of Krugersdorp. The distribution of seats following the election was as follows: 'Het Volk' gained thirty-seven seats and the Progressives twenty-one. Of the remaining eleven seats, six were taken by the National Party, three by the Labour and there were two independents. Both Nationalist and Labour Party support came largely from the English-speaking sector. (15) 'Het Volk' had an overall majority of five and its leader, General Botha, took office with Smuts as his Colonial Secretary. Despite the fact that Bailey was frequently at variance with other Progressive leaders, he was made party whip, but subsequently resigned this office when internal opposition was shown to Botha's proposal to present the Cullinan diamond to the King.

On June 14, the Prime Minister broached the issue of unskilled labour in the Transvaal, noting that the three year indentures of the Chinese working on the mines were due to expire that month and that by the end of the year, indentures affecting some 16,759 labourers would have expired. He then informed the House that on the strength of this, the Government had decided to let the repatriation of labourers take place as the indentures expired. In referring to this

14. Merriman Correspondence, v. 47, Bailey to Merriman November 11, 1903, p. 504.

15. A.P. Cartwright, The First South African, p. 142.

decision, Botha said that "they (that is the Government) have been moved to this step not only by their unalterable conviction that the system of Chinese labour is in the highest degree inimical to the abiding interests of the Transvaal and should cease at the earliest opportunity, but also by the consideration that the supply of native labour is, and has been for some time, in marked excess of demands". (16) Smuts then stood up and mentioned that the Native Labour Bureau had been established by the Government in the meanwhile, which would regulate and supervise labour on the mines. He also pointed out that the repatriation of Chinese would lead to healthier and more stable conditions on the mines, to larger employment of White labour and to more economic and efficient use of Native labour. Farrar then notified the House that he would shortly propose a motion against the Government's decision, as both he and his party were of the opinion that such a drastic policy would result in the continuation of the then current deplorable state of uncertainty. On June 21, Bailey addressed the House on the indentured labour issue, and informed the Government that it was running headlong into ruin and there was still not sufficient labour on the Rand. (17) His own constituency in particular would feel the exodus of the Chinese and according to Bailey, experience had taught him that the Prime Minister's suggestion of recruiting labour from Natal would be impossible to implement. He then asked whether the Government intended closing down the mines or else employing farm children to do the miners' work instead of going to school. As far as he was concerned, the policies of the Government were the "three R's" - "the policies of Retrenchment, Repatriation and Replacement", and replacement would occur only a long time after repatriation. (18) Farrar's motion against the Government's decision to repatriate the Chinese was voted on that evening and was lost.

Bailey had witnessed both the fulfilment and collapse of his scheme for providing the mines with an adequate supply of unskilled labour. Together with other leading Rand magnates, represented on the Chamber of Mines, he had successfully averted an economic recession in the industrial sector and

16. Debates of Legislative Assembly of the Transvaal, 1907, p. 2

17. Ibid., p. 149.

18. Transvaal Assembly Debates, 1907, p. 151.

this can largely be attributed to the rectification of the chronic labour shortage following the Second South African War. Yet under the circumstances, the importation of labour could never have matured into anything other than a temporary measure, and although Bailey expressed his recognition of this fact on numerous occasions, he seemed unable to envisage any alternative solution of a more permanent nature. (19) Nor could the Progressive Party as a whole. It was left to Botha and more particularly to Smuts to advance a more realistic policy by which the vast labour reserves within the borders of South Africa were to be tapped, thereby clearing the way for the incorporation of Blacks more fully into the White economic system. At the time, Bailey, as a mining magnate, was primarily concerned with the economic future of South Africa as part of a greater economic whole - the Empire - and this over-riding interest caused him not only to ignore the social and even political consequences of his scheme on a national level, but also to favour short-term rather than long-term solutions. Greater insight into the future of this country in which all social and economic implications were taken into consideration, was not to be his until later in life.

In June of the same year, Smuts introduced the Land Bank Amendment Bill, the purpose of which was to assist those who possessed landed and/or moveable property through a co-operative society. Bailey supported the Bill as he felt that its aim was partly to re-establish the agricultural industry on a sound basis and partly to assist this industry once it had been established for the purpose of fighting depression, but he noted that "in order to be a national Bill, it must be a lasting Bill, and in order to be a lasting Bill, it must be devoid of philanthropy and politics." (20) Bailey agreed with Smuts that the Banks tended to advance money to those farmers who were reliable, but that they also had the habit of calling in money when it was most required by the farmers. Bailey put the matter most succinctly when he said: "In fact, I think a Bank Manager is only civil to his customers, when

19. see Merriman Correspondence, v. 47, Bailey to Merriman, November 7, 1903, p. 404f.

20. Transvaal Assembly Debates, 1907, p. 333.

they owe him nothing, or perhaps when they owe too much." On the other hand, he hoped that the Land Banks would not corrode the spirit of self-reliance among farmers. He pointed to certain oversights on the part of the Land Bank Commission, of which the most blatant was the absence of statistics on the availability of suitable land for agriculture. He drew the House's attention to the fact that 25% of the land was not fit to be inhabited by the White men, and of the remaining 75% about 10% was fit for houses, and 25% - 30% for sheep and cattle (these statistics refer to the Transvaal only). (21) On the strength of these figures, he felt that any prospective Land Bank should be modified to suit South African conditions and that the hazardous and often harsh climate prevalent not only in the Transvaal, but in other regions of the country, necessitated the establishment of an insurance fund. Bailey told the House that he had certain reservations about the co-operative societies, for he feared that if they were carried out on a large scale, then the individualism so characteristic of the South African farmer would be lost. One member of the House interjected with a question concerning the introduction of co-operatives in the Cape Colony, to which Bailey replied that the Cape was copying Australia... "at any rate, if socialism is to come to this country, I hope it will come slowly. I hope and trust, and I am confident, that the Government are not going to contract that disease". (22)

Bailey's interest in agricultural legislation is evidenced by the number of occasions on which he broached the subject in parliamentary debates. For instance, in the estimates debate on the budget dealing with allotments of monies to forestry and agriculture on July 17, 1907, Bailey mentioned that he wished to see more emphasis placed on the training of up-and-coming farmers, and that a proper Agricultural College should thus be established in the Transvaal. (23) There was in fact an Agricultural College at Potchefstroom, but Bailey maintained that the conditions and facilities there were grossly inade-

21. Ibid., p. 334.

22. Transvaal Assembly Debates, 1907, p. 333

23. Ibid., p. 574 f.

quate... "I have been given to understand that the students there (that is at Potchefstroom Agricultural College) are badly housed, very much worse than some gentlemen have their Natives housed." (24) He continued by saying that he hoped the Government would follow the example of the Cape and establish an Agricultural Journal (in fact, Bailey was misinformed on this matter as there was already an agricultural paper, "The Agricultural Journal", in existence). (25) He suggested that the Government should encourage farmers to exhibit their stock and produce, and to do this, the Government should throw all its financial assets into creating an agricultural show. Bailey dwelt some time on this matter, and in many ways, he was one of the prime movers behind the Rand Agricultural Show*. Bailey also proposed a stiffening of the Branding Law, and for good reasons. He informed the House: "I may mention my own experience some months ago when I had stolen from me 150 goats and 360 sheep. These were not taken by Natives. I am quite convinced that they were taken by some of the White farmers in the district. The removal of brands should be met with very severe punishment." (26)

The stealing of livestock was still very much in existence in 1916, when Bailey, after having sold several of his farms in that year, discovered that he was short of some 20,000 sheep. (27) Nor had the situation changed very much by 1934, when he found it necessary to broach the matter once again during his address at the official opening of the Rand Agricultural Show, saying: "The stealing of sheep is on the increase, and I have suffered through the 'White shepherds who watched my flocks by night' - and now find that it is impossible to allow sheep to run in camps along the main roads. If agriculture is to thrive, stock thieving must be put down, even if the 'cat' has to be applied." (28) In spite of these various personal set-backs, Bailey still managed to meet with great

* Bailey later became the Honorary President of the Witswatersrand Agricultural Society - See Sir Abe Bailey opens the Rand Agricultural Show: March 28, 1934, Pamphlet printed by Cape Times Ltd., 1934, p. 12.

24. Transvaal Assembly Debates, 1907, p. 574

25. Ibid., p. 576.

26. Transvaal Assembly Debates, 1907, p. 574

27. Personal interview with Mr James Bailey, April 21, 1974, Cape Town.

28. Sir Abe Bailey opens the Rand Agricultural Show: March 28, 1934, Pamphlet printed by Cape Times Ltd 1934, p. 9.

success in the sheep section of this particular show, winning three championships in the Merino wool classes; his most outstanding exhibit was "Powder Monkey", a Merino ram which took most of the top honours. (29) His address at this show was liberally stocked with humour and at the same time offered farmers much sound advice. According to Bailey, one of the first lessons a farmer should learn was that "everything goes in at the mouth, and a good animal eats no more, and drinks no more, than a bad one." and therefore his only advice to stock breeders was "kill your worst animals and breed better." (30) He added a few words of caution about the dangers of overstocking and erosion, but admitted that the Government's efforts to combat erosion were obstructed by recurring droughts followed by sudden floods. Bailey also mentioned the drain of man-power from the country to the towns: "You find that the standard of living and wages and other attractions in the towns drain the farms of the best White labour, and also the best Native labour. The professions and Civil Service drain the country of its probable best farmers. The young Boer is rightly not content merely to continue in the ways of his fathers ... the Government must realise that by higher wages, made at the expense of another industry, no new purchasing power is being created." (31)

Bailey, in his own right, was also a farmer, and thus much of what he said on agricultural matters was drawn from personal experience. His interest in farming went back to the time when 'Clewes Estates' had been formed. This was part of an ambitious scheme into which Bailey entered with Cecil Rhodes and Otto Beit, but after the death of his two partners, Bailey was saddled with the whole venture. In 1912, Sir Owen Phillips, Controller of the Union Castle Co., made a tour of South Africa, and one of his visits was to Bailey's estate in the Hantam district in the vicinity of Colesberg (Cape). In an article, which appeared in 'The African World Annual' (December 1912), Sir Owen reported that the estate comprised some forty farms extending over an area of 300 square miles. It was "typical

29. Cape Times, March 28, 1934, p. 11.

30. Sir Abe Bailey Opens the Rand Agricultural Show, op. cit., p. 7.

31. Ibid., p. 8.

of the finest and healthiest of Karoo Veld, with mountainous prairies carrying herds of Springbuck and excellent pastoral and agricultural lands." (32) Six of the biggest farms were devoted to the raising of high-bred cattle, stud-horses, sheep, angoras and ostriches. "Further outstanding features are the huge outlays made on fencing - 1500 miles, mostly closely netted against vermin." (33) The three largest farms on Bailey's Karoo estate were Klipfontein, Oorlogspoort and Grootfontein, and on the last-mentioned farm, Bailey build himself a house designed by Sir Herbert Baker. Sir Owen described the estate as "an object lesson to colonial farmers - perhaps the greatest of its kind." What seemed to have impressed Sir Owen immensely was not so much the size and scale of this agricultural enterprise, but rather the manner in which Bailey had demonstrated both scientifically and commercially "the productive capacity of South Africa's soil" and the favourable nature of South African conditions generally for raising cattle. (34) Geographically, Bailey's estate could not have been more admirably placed for stock-breeding, but the "favourable conditions" of the Karoo did not, and indeed still do not, apply to every region of the country, something of which Bailey was fully aware. (35)

During his term of office as a Member of the Legislative Assembly, both in the Cape and the Transvaal, Bailey did not concern himself entirely with those broader political and economic aspects of national importance, but also with the plight of the common man. In June, 1903, while still serving in the Cape Parliament, Bailey asked the Prime Minister whether he was prepared to institute a full inquiry into the existing regulations for the payment of employees of the Postal Department for work on Sundays and holidays. (36) Again, in July of the same year, he appealed to the Government to establish relief works for the inhabitants of Prieska, Kenhardt and Gordonia, owing to the effects of a long drought. (37) Several years later, he called upon the Government to establish a

32. The African World Annual, No. 10, 1912, p. xvi.

33. Ibid.

34. The African World Annual, No. 10, 1912, p. xvi.

35. see Transvaal Assembly Debates, 1907, Land Bank Amendment Bill Debate, 28 June p. 264 f.

36. Cape Assembly Debates, 1903, p. 125

37. Ibid., p. 243.

hospital in Krugersdorp, for, according to Bailey, as a mining community of some size, the town desperately needed such a place in case of emergencies. (38)

The above-mentioned examples simply serve to illustrate Bailey's concern with the affairs of both local communities and individuals. Despite his wealth and high social status, it was a life-long characteristic of Bailey's to take an interest in the 'small man' and his difficulties.

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In spite of his participation in politics, Bailey did not neglect his many business interests. In 1905, Bailey merged his estate company, the Witwatersrand Township Estate and Finance Corporation, with the Jeppe and Ford Estate Co., by entering into partnership with Julius Jeppe. It was with this company that Bailey carried out some of his most spectacular estate deals on the Rand, and through which he acquired a large share in the development of building sites from Jeppes-town to Fordsburg. (39) Bailey's activities now extended far beyond Johannesburg. He established an alkali manufacturing plant in Pretoria North; cotton and tobacco were planted, coal and platinum were prospected for, and the Estate Company soon became the largest of its kind on the Rand, its interests being focussed on the the East Rand and Eastern Transvaal. (40) By 1919, Bailey had developed this Company into the South African Townships, Mining and Finance Corporation.

In 1910, some seventeen different mining companies and syndicates had amalgamated to form one of the biggest and most successful mining companies in the World, Crown Mines Ltd. This company was to some extent the offspring of the depression, which hit the Rand following the Second South African War, and as such can be regarded as an economic measure designed to make the best possible use of a limited labour supply by cutting production costs. (41) The idea for amalgamation was first put forward in October 1907, but was somewhat modified during

38. Transvaal Assembly Debates, 1909, c. 410.

39. Emden, op. cit., p. 344.

40. Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, E. Rosenthal (ed), p. 31.

41. A.P. Cartwright, op. cit., p. 524.

subsequent months. Bailey was on the whole quite favourably disposed towards the plan, but felt that he was not offered enough in return for the land he would hand over to the Company. He made this clear in a letter to Hermann Eckstein, stating that he had no wish to reduce the number of shares he would hold in the prospective Company. At the time, Bailey expected to hold some 30,000 shares, but under pressure he settled for 27,771 Crown Mine Shares as payment for 455,848 claims. (42) Thus by 1910, Bailey had not only greatly extended his own financial interests, but also gained a considerable portion of shareholdings in what was to remain for many years the largest Gold Mining Company in the world.

During the period in question, Bailey was also indirectly involved with the Zulu Rebellion. Following the Second South African War, there was a rapid extension of land expropriation in both Natal and Zululand at the expense of the Blacks, and this, together with the imposition of tighter labour laws and sundry taxes, led to the significant growth of Black opposition and resistance. (43) An attempt to enforce tax collection in the Richmond district in February, 1906, resulted in a skirmish between police and members of a separatist church. Two White policemen were killed and martial law was immediately proclaimed. At the request of the Natal authorities, imperial troops were hastily dispatched from the Transvaal, and Bailey offered to raise, equip and maintain at his own expense a contingent of 150 men (25 being mounted) of the Lancashire and York Association. (44) In effect, Bailey was prepared to defray all expenses relating to equipment, clothing and saddlery, but not salaries and food supplies. The offer was accepted by the Natal Government, and enrolment began on June 1; under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Peakman, the corps (subsequently nicknamed 'Bailey's Rosebuds') presented itself for inspection some three days later. On arrival in Natal on June 4, the corps was directed to attach themselves to MacKay's column, where they remained until the end of operations in Zululand. (45)

42. Ibid., p. 64, p. 65.

43. E. Walker, op. cit., p. 524.

44. J. Stuart, A History of the Zulu Rebellion: 1906, p. 65

45. Ibid., p. 330.

CHAPTER VIITHE CLOSER UNION MOVEMENT

In following Bailey's general political career during the first decade of this century, some attention should be paid to his contribution towards the cause of Union between the four colonies.

In order to win some support for the idea of Union in the Transvaal, an effort was made on the part of those who were pro-Union to pave the way by preliminary propaganda and by winning the support of leaders of both the main parties in the Transvaal. As early as November 30, 1906, Patrick Duncan, the Colonial Secretary for the Transvaal, had spoken at length during a St Andrew's Night banquet in Johannesburg of the troubles that beset South Africa and asserted that the cure was in union. (1) In January, the following year, Lionel Curtis broached the subject in discussion with Smuts. At the same time, Bailey tried to arrange a dinner party for the delegates to the Intercolonial Defence Conference, Botha, Smuts and others being invited. However, the 'Het Volk' leaders declined the invitation, as they feared being drawn into too close an association with the popular movement for unification. (2) In point of fact, Merriman, Steyn and Smuts had accepted the need for an early Union some time earlier that month, but agreed that the matter should not be pushed until such time as 'Het Volk' was in power in the Transvaal, and its counterpart in the Orange River Colony. Merriman wrote a letter to Smuts on January 19, 1907, informing him that he was aware of Bailey's activities but was pleased that he (Smuts) and Botha had refused the dinner invitation. He also noted with certain displeasure that Lord Selborne and his associates were "desperately anxious to break up our party by professions of civility to some members of it". (3) * Exactly a year later, Smuts wrote to Merriman that Bailey was running

* In fact, Merriman regarded Bailey as an "extremist" in the matter of federation. See J.X. Merriman's letter to his wife, May 6, 1909 in Merriman Correspondence, v. 50, p. 127.

1. L.M. Thompson, Unification of South Africa: 1902 - 1910, p. 127.
2. Oxford History of South Africa, vii, p. 348.
3. Merriman Correspondence: 1905 - 1921, v. 50, Merriman to Smuts, January 19, 1907, p. 27.

federation "as a sort of barnum policy to advertise himself". (4) It can certainly be said that Bailey did much to 'advertise' the idea of a closer union between the four colonies. Much of the address given to the Federation of British Women at a garden party on January 10, 1907, was devoted to the question of Union. He spoke of the various aspects of unity, mentioning the unity between husband and wife, which he described as "a unity, that with a few troubles or a few differences of opinion, went to cement the two rather than separate them". (5) As far as he was concerned, "the position in South Africa was somewhat analogous to family unity". The different states of South Africa had their small troubles, and certain boundaries which should not exist and which in reality did not exist, except in imagination. These boundaries must be got rid of, and he would like to see in all the schools the maps of the different colonies on the wall, and alongside should be a map of South Africa, or preferably a new map of the whole continent. (6) He felt that a close Union would be preferable to a federation, but, as the former was not possible at that time, they should settle for the latter. For any form of unification to take place, not only should both language groups settle their differences, but also learn to work together. He stressed the urgency of Union by pointing out that the four colonies in South Africa, as well as in the major cities in these colonies, had accumulated a debt of over £108 million, while the system of state railways was strangling the growth of industries. (7)

Bailey finally turned his attention to what he described as "a great bugbear" - formulation of Native policy. (8) After noting that South Africa had eight times as many Blacks as Whites, he strongly suggested that formulators of Native policy should take a trip to some parts of the Cape Colony and other parts of Africa, where "they would find some of the Natives quite civilised and possessed of more worldly goods than some of the White people in South Africa". He went on to advocate that in a unified South Africa, every step should be taken to "stem the tide" and "not allow any Native to take the place of

4. Merriman Correspondence: 1905 - 1921, v. 50, Smuts to Merriman, January 25, 1907, p. 28.

5. Rand Daily Mail, January 11, 1907, p. 5

6. Ibid, p. 5

7. Rand Daily Mail, January 11, 1907, p. 5

8. Ibid.

any White man ..." (9) In Progressive circles in the Transvaal, there were essentially two popular arguments for Union: the argument favoured by Bailey and Farrar was that Union was the only way of enabling the White population of South Africa to deal with the Native question as a whole and without the interference of Downing Street, while Lionel Phillips stressed the second argument, the economic one. (10)

It was at this time that Bailey sponsored and founded the Union Club Movement, which sought to establish and maintain throughout South Africa points of social contact between the two White language groups. The headquarters of the movement were situated at the corner of Bree and Joubert Streets in Johannesburg and was the forerunner of others elsewhere in the country. Bailey also lent financial assistance for the founding of the quarterly 'Round Table' in which problems of the British Commonwealth were freely discussed. Although Bailey never took part in the proceedings of the National Convention, he nevertheless donated £6,000 for the establishing of a monthly journal to serve as an organ for the Closer Union Societies. The journal was called 'The State', and largely due to Bailey's donation, each copy, which contained over one hundred pages of text and several illustrations, was sold at the fixed price of 6d. (11) 'The State', first published in January 1909, served as a useful means of propagating the idea of Union, and preparing White people in South Africa to give a favourable reception to the Convention's report.

On May 31, 1910, South Africa was united. In the June issue of the following year, 'The State' announced that Bailey intended to retire from his connection with that journal. (12) The reason for Bailey's withdrawal of funds was not given, but it was probably due to a realisation on his part, that the journal had fulfilled its purpose now that Union had been achieved. Bailey had served the cause of Union well, and in recognition of this, he was created a Knight Commander of St Michael and St George in 1911.

9. Rand Daily Mail, January 11, 1907, p. 5

10 L.M. Thompson, op. cit., p. 79.

11 Ibid., p. 309.

12 The State, v. v, no 6, 1911, p. 809 f.

In 1910, Bailey was nominated as a Unionist candidate for Krugersdorp, which had been enlarged by the inclusion of Randfontein. * His opponent was the South African National Party candidate, Jan Langermann, who had considerable influence in that mining area as he was Sir J.B. Robinson's lieutenant. In the ensuing fierce contest, Bailey was defeated by a small number of votes, and was thus excluded from entering the Union Parliament. Lord Gladstone, the new Governor-General of South Africa, summoned General Botha to form a cabinet, after his party emerged from the elections with a majority of twenty-seven seats over the Unionist Party. Soon after the election results were made known Bailey left for England, where he was to spend the best part of the next two years.

* The Unionist Party developed out of the earlier Progressive Party.

CHAPTER VIIIBAILEY IN THE UNION PARLIAMENT: 1915 - 1924

On September 5, 1911, Bailey married Mary Westenra, twenty-one year-old daughter of Derrick Westenra, fifth Lord Rossmore of Monaghan. During the next few years, Bailey spent much of his time in England, but the moment war was declared on August 4, 1914, he sailed for South Africa. In a secret communique sent from London on August 27, Smuts was notified that both Bailey and Farrar intended to raise a South African corps for service in Europe, and had already broached the matter with Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War. (2) Kitchener had turned down Bailey's proposals, as he thought that the Union was already undertaking enough in its own defence and in regard to the expedition to German South West Africa. (3) On his return to South Africa, Bailey became intelligence officer to General Lukin's force and later, with the rank of major, he served under General Louis Botha in the Sixth Mounted Brigade as Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General in the South West Africa Campaign. (4) He was present at the final surrender of the Germans at Octavifontein in July, 1915. During the following months, he raised, equipped and paid for a South African corps of sharpshooters for overseas service. For this he was awarded the Croix de Guerre by France in 1917, and two years later he was created a Baronet for services rendered during the war.

Bailey resolved to enter politics once more, and in the 1915 General Election, he stood as an Independent candidate for Krugersdorp. Neame states that the reason why Bailey stood as an Independent can be attributed to the fact that he was not by temperament an ideal party man. Neame writes that in the past "Bailey had always played a lone hand, and he was inclined to do the same in politics." (5) He was successful in the elections. However, he sat with the South African Party and not, as was expected among the Unionists. It would seem that even though he stood on an Independent ticket, his

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1. D.S.A.B., vii, op. cit., p. 19
 2. Smuts Private Papers, U.C.T. Archives (on microfilm); 1914 v. 12, no. 58, Graaff to Smuts, August 27.
 3. Smuts Private Papers, U.C.T. Archives (on microfilm); 1914 v. 12, no. 62, Graaff to Smuts, August 28.
 4. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940, p. 4
 5. L.E. Neame, Some South African Politicians, p. 166

sympathies were very much with Botha's policy of reconciling the two sections of the White population. It is also possible that Bailey had been impressed by Botha's personality, while serving under him in the South West Africa Campaign.

Bailey's term of office in the Union Parliament is characterised by strong views on a number of issues. Yet, it is essentially in connection with Asiatic legislation that he is chiefly remembered. In order to gain a closer insight into Bailey's strong anti-Indian stand, it is necessary to summarise very briefly the legal position of the Indian with regard to trading and acquisition of property during the period before 1919.

Law No. 3 had been introduced in the Transvaal in 1885 in an attempt to prevent Indians from acquiring fixed property, except in such places as the Government might assign them. However, Indians had, in fact, been permitted to acquire land by various devices of indirect ownership. The segregation contemplated in Law No. 3 was residential only, not commercial, and this was confirmed by a legal decision in 1904. (6) During the ensuing years, there emerged a considerable degree of commercial rivalry between White shop-keepers and their Indian counterparts. Within time, this rivalry led to conflict. The White shop-keepers claimed that their sales were being continually undercut by Indians. The truth is that Indian traders were marketing the same goods as the Whites, but at vastly reduced prices, while at the same time keeping their businesses open longer hours and giving easier credit facilities. In short, the Whites believed that their own economic prosperity was being jeopardised by Indians, who had emerged as a very real competitive force in the commercial sector of local economy. Feeling ran highest particularly in the smaller towns.

In 1914, Smuts, then Minister of the Interior, and Gandhi agreed that the vested rights hitherto acquired by Indians would be respected. A few years later, it was none other than Krugersdorp, Bailey's constituency, which was instrumental in launching the anti-Indian campaign by founding the 'South Africans' League', the aim of which was to press for legislation curtailing the existing trading and property rights of Indians. (7) Before long, the South Africans' League had

6. W.K. Hancock, Smuts : The Fields of Force, vii, p. 142.

7. Ibid.

vigorous branches in all the main centres both in the Transvaal and in Natal.

On May, 8, 1919, a select Committee, which had been appointed to take evidence and report on the alleged evasion of Law No. 3 of 1885 by Transvaal Indians, delivered its first report. The Committee stated that the modus operandi in use at that time for acquiring landed property, notwithstanding the Provision of Law No. 3, was for an Indian and some of his friends or employees to form and register a limited liability company for the purpose of purchasing and acquiring land. The Committee recommended amongst other things that the vested rights of Indians, who had obtained trading licences both before and after 1914, were to be respected, but that steps should be taken immediately to render it impossible for any Indian or Asiatic in future to obtain a trading licence for a new business. The Committee also suggested that legislation should be introduced for the purpose of amending Law No. 3 to prevent their acquiring fixed property. (8)

A week later, Bailey entered the debate on Asiatic legislation by saying that he was delighted to represent a constituency, which had been the means of initially bringing forward the issue, but that he was not entirely satisfied with the Committee's views. For one thing, he felt that the vested interests of those Indians, who had acquired their licences after 1914, should not be respected. Bailey gave no reason for this. If anything, he was extremely vague. He simply alluded to the heavy superstructure of South Africa with its "millions of natives" and "thousands of coolies" as against its small European foundation, and remarked that it was not by opportunism and expediency that Parliament was going to put matters right. (9) Bailey later made it clear that he respected the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, but that it was essential the Government accept the Amendment of Law No. 3 "to stop the Indians encroaching on the White man's preserve". (10)

On May 22, 1919, Merriman entered the debate and pleaded for moderation on the whole issue. As far as he was con-

8. see Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, v.i November - June 1916, p. 296.

9. Ibid., p. 316.

10. see Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, v.i, November - June, 1916, p. 338.

cerned, the race that was going to be the dominant race, was the tolerant race, and he told the House that with these views in mind he had listened with surprise and pain to what Bailey had said. He then launched an attack on Bailey, by saying that he, Bailey, was always posing as a great Imperialist, a friend of statesmen and generals, and yet when the problem centred on India and the Indians, then the Empire was of no more importance to him. In any event, Merriman felt that there was something far more important than just Krugersdorp or the Transvaal, and that was "to treat other races with justice". (11)

Bailey was extremely upset by Merriman's personal attack on himself. In his reply to Merriman, he gave an exaggerated description of the socio-economic relations between Indians and Whites. He informed the House that "in nearly every South African village, the Indian was prosperous, while the White was starving". Furthermore, "Natal was almost an Indian reservation and was becoming an Indian dependency." Bailey noted that unless the "Indian invasion" was checked, South Africa was likely to become a second Jamaica. (12)

In August 1919, when Smuts arrived back in South Africa after two and a half years of absence, he found the Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act already on the Statute Book. Towards the end of the same year, he appointed another Commission to inquire into the affairs of Indians in the hope that this new Commission "would make reason rather than passion the arbiter policy." (13) The Commission, headed by Sir John Lange, a judge of the Supreme Court, gathered a wide range of evidence and took all sides of the issue into consideration. The 'South Africans' League' lost no opportunity of presenting the Commission with a list of twelve complaints against the Indians. Prominent on this list were complaints about the Indians' insanitary habits, their unscrupulous methods of competition and their bad influence of the Africans. Furthermore, Indians were reputed to be unassimilable, immoral and too familiar. In its final report, however, the Commission rejected the sensational evidence of the 'South African

11. Ibid.

12. see Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, v.i, November - June 1916, p. 344f.

13. Hancock, op. cit., p. 143.

League' and offered instead a cool, non-alarmist diagnosis of Indian activities. (14) It totally rejected proposals submitted to it for wholesale expulsion of the Indian and for compulsory segregation. Nevertheless, the Commission made certain concessions to those in favour of segregation or expulsion. It favoured voluntary repatriation and segregation, while all existing legislative controls were to be maintained.* For Natal, the Commission proposed new legislation to stop Indians buying agricultural land outside a twenty or thirty mile strip along the coast.

Hancock points out that the concessions "calmed no passions." (15) Bailey declared in 1921 that it was the weakest document that any Commission had ever produced; it might satisfy the Indians, who "were eating into the vitals of South Africa", but it would not satisfy a large contingent of White South Africans, who meant to assert themselves and show the Indians that they were not wanted. Bailey was supported by G. Heaton-Nicholls, the South African Party representative for Zululand, who wanted to know what was going to happen to White civilisation in Africa. It is worth noting that the South African Party was completely split on the Indian issue, and that neither Bailey nor Heaton-Nicholls were supporting the more moderate line adopted by Smuts. Hancock sums up the situation as follows: "The spectacle of Indians in any African territory setting themselves up as the equals of White people made South Africans see red. The men of Durban and Krugersdorp stood up to show India and the whole world that South Africans were masters of their own house." (16)

On May 9, 1922, H.G. Mackeurtan, the South African Party member for Durban-Umbilo, moved a resolution requesting the Government to introduce legislation for the compulsory segregation of Asiatics. He told the House that he considered himself a moderate man as he did not take up the popular

* The word 'repatriation', although frequently used at the time, was meaningless when applied to the Indians. The word implies that all the Indians living in South Africa were born in India. However, this was not the case. By the 1920's, more than 60% were South African born.

14. Ibid.

15. Hancock, op. cit., p. 143.

16. Ibid., p. 145.

cry for shipping all the Indians back to India. Mackeurtan was obviously comparing himself with Bailey, who, during the course of this debate, called on the Government to increase its efforts to ensure the departure of Asiatics from the Union. (17) More than this, Bailey recommended that the Indians should not be allowed to settle in the twenty to thirty mile strip proposed by the Commission, but rather in an area well away from the coast; otherwise they would be taking up the best land in Natal for the sugar industry. Every Indian in South Africa, Bailey said, took the place of a White man, took his livelihood away and forced him to leave the country. What was to become of the 42,000 children born last year? Were they to be the salaried clerks of Asiatics in South Africa? "My policy", said Bailey, "is to reserve the whole of South Africa for White people and the Natives." (18) Later in the debate, Merriman sarcastically pointed out to the House that Bailey's present policy stood in marked contrast to his policy of 1905. At that time, Bailey had been emphatic in saying that the Asiatics must come, for without them the mines would not flourish.

Two years later, during the debate on the Class Areas Bill, Bailey continued to advocate the compulsory 'repatriation' of all Indians from South Africa. He felt it was essential to give the White trader every protection possible and quoted the following figures for Klerksdorp (Western Transvaal): There were fifteen Europeans with a turnover of £88,410 and twenty Asiatics with a turnover of £74,919. (19) "The Asiatic", he said, "has quite a different civilisation to our own and therefore they are a menace to Empire civilisation in this country, and a menace to the authority and supremacy of the White races in South Africa." He referred to the Indians in India as "wallowing there in the mire of ingratitude, ingratitude to the English in what they have done for them." (20)

Bailey's views on the future of the Black and Coloured peoples in South Africa is also of interest, for once again he took a strong line, and in so doing, rejected the more

17. Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, v. vii, 1922, p. 197.

18. Ibid.

19. Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, January - April, 1924, p. 1299.

20. Ibid., p. 1300.

moderate stand adopted by other members of his party. Although the Native Affairs Bill (1917), which proposed inter alia some form of territorial segregation, was never passed, it nevertheless succeeded in stimulating much lively debate and provided Bailey with the opportunity to express his views on the subject. Commenting on the Bill, Bailey said that to his mind, it was far from complete, as it did not go far enough. If segregation was the solution, then this Bill was not the solution. (21) He saw the Bill as no more than an attempt at segregation, and gave three main reasons for thinking this: Firstly, he noted that there were 129 reserved areas scattered all over the Union, and the Bill made no mention of consolidating these nor whether segregation was to occur in urban areas as well. These omissions could only lead him to ask the question whether the Bill really intended to implement a policy of segregation. Secondly, out of a population of 4,500,000 Africans, only 2,149,000 were included in the Native areas, which meant, in effect, that segregation was to be applied to less than half the total population of Africans; and thirdly, the Bill was incomplete as it allowed the practice of "Kaffir farming" and "Squatting" to continue. (22)

Bailey prophesied that regardless of how much land was set aside for the Africans, the time would come when they would not have enough. As it was, the Blacks had too much land, and, according to Bailey, they did not cultivate what land they had properly. The only remedy for this was agricultural training. Nevertheless, despite his criticisms of the Bill, he would vote for the second reading "with both hands", as it was a step in the right direction. (23)

Bailey's last, and indeed longest speech in the House during his term in Parliament, was made on February 18, 1924. (24) Although essentially dealing with White unemployment, and poverty, the speech is significant inasmuch as besides being a summary of his views concerning the relations between Whites and non-Whites at the time, it also highlights how he foresaw

21. Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, v.ii, February - July, 1917, p. 145.

22. Ibid.

23. Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, v.ii, February - July, 1917, p. 145.

24. See Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, January - April, 1924, p 284f.

the future of South Africa. At the very outset, Bailey made it clear that he believed the poor White and unemployed question was caused by labour contact between Whites with Coloureds and Africans. It had become increasingly necessary for the Government to formulate a well-defined policy to regulate relations between the various races in South Africa. Bailey made several suggestions as to what the aim of such a policy should be: "I, personally, am of the opinion that the policy in regard to the Coloured man is a policy of education, of advancement and improvement, and finally of absorption by the White race. With regard to the Natives, the policy must be ... absolute protection from the Native on White preserves." (25) Above all, it was essential that the Government should pass enactments, which would stabilise the existing African labour force with a view to ensuring that this force would operate at the highest level of efficiency. Bailey explained the issue at stake by providing an example: "Take the ordinary Kaffir boy 'January'. He helps in the kitchen for twelve months, the next six months in a racing stable, then the next twelve months he is down a mine, and the following twelve months he is nursing the baby for recreation. How can he be efficient? The Government should take the Native and train him to work at one job for a time and so get proper work out of him. There are ... very few skilled workmen in this country. For unless a person has done unskilled work, he cannot be skilled. The White man in this country must also work, and renounce the idea that work is Kaffir work, for, if he does not, then South Africa will continue to spout poor Whites for the rest of its existence. South Africa might be saved with organisation, inspiration and perspiration." (26)

Bailey also made his views clear by criticising Creswell's suggestion that Whites be substituted for Black and Coloured labour on the Witwatersrand. As far as he, Bailey, was concerned, a reduction in Black labour meant a reduction in White labour and the whole country would be adversely affected. Bailey's sense of humour spiced much of this lengthy speech,

25. Ibid., p. 284.

26. Debates of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, January - April, 1924, p. 287.

and at one stage, his wit was turned on Creswell, when he asked the House whether they thought the latter's 'higher civilisation argument' had any validity if Whites, having been substituted for Blacks on the Rand, were expected to work 5,000 or 6,000 feet below the ground. (27)

Four points emerge from the various speeches made by Bailey in Parliament. Firstly, he was a strong advocate of a well-defined policy for a greater degree of segregation between Africans and Whites. Any such segregationist policy should be applied to Indians as well, in the event of their not being asked to leave. Secondly, any policy which the Government formulated, should aim at securing and promoting the economic superiority of the Whites, if 'White civilisation' was to survive in South Africa. Thirdly, his 'dislike' of the Indians remained constant throughout the last five years he served in Parliament; indeed, his views on the Indian issue were expressed in nearly every major speech he made during and after 1919. This could have been the result of pressure put upon him by his constituency, but seen in relation to the first two points, it is probable that these views corresponded fairly closely with his personal beliefs, which were racialistic and intolerant. And fourthly, it would seem that Bailey's standpoint with regards/Indian and Native legislation was not in step with the slightly more moderate line adopted by other South African Party Members of Parliament. Bailey had his supporters in men such as Mackeurtan, Brigadier-General. the Hon. J.T. Byron, and Heaton-Nicholls, but Bailey continually found himself unable to support fully a bill, motion or policy promulgated and accepted by the majority of his colleagues in the South African Party. All in all, Bailey's parliamentary career would tend to support Neame's idea that he was not an ideal party man. (28)

If Bailey's prominent position, great wealth, and influence are taken into consideration, it is perhaps somewhat surprising that he did not make a greater impression in the political sphere. Bailey's failure to make a more lasting

27. Ibid, p. 285.

28. Neame, op. cit., p. 166

impression can perhaps be partly attributed to the fact that his interests were far too numerous, for "few South Africans have succeeded in so many activities." (29) Bailey's time was continually divided between Parliament and business operations both on the Rand and overseas. On top of all this, there were numerous official and social obligations in both England and South Africa, which Bailey felt committed to fulfill. At least six months of each year were spent in Great Britain. Yet, the more probable reason for Bailey's failure to win greater political influence is that his views were too reactionary for his own party, and thus he was unable to achieve any power-base in the form of strong party support for greater participation and activity in the political field. All these factors, taken as a whole, must have undoubtedly militated against Bailey ever making a greater contribution to the South African political scene. Yet, in spite of his strong views on certain issues, Bailey was a popular member of the House and had friends in all camps. On the other hand, while he treated his foes as if they might one day be his friends, he was sometimes apt to treat his friends as though they were potential foes. This disposition to find the happy medium in politics "in a no man's land between the opposing armies" often led to his being opposed and criticised by both sides of the House. (30) Neame writes that he was too South African for the ultra-British, and too British for the extreme Afrikaners. (31)

Bailey stood in the General Election of 1924, but was defeated by Mr Hattingh. This was the last parliamentary election in which Bailey was to stand.

29. Ibid., p. 165.

30. Neame, op. cit., p. 167.

31. Ibid.

CHAPTER IXRECONCILIATION, NATIONAL UNITY AND THE EMPIRE

It seems true to say that party politics and debate were not the main sources of Bailey's political influence. That lay in his boundless hospitality, which he dispensed from his home at Muizenberg and from his London residence, 38 Bryanston Square. His dispassionate personality, his skill and tact as host, made his houses centres, where men of all shades of opinion and experience intermixed and exchanged views. (1) There is ample evidence of this. The formation of the first South African Ministry was celebrated by a large crowd assembled in the gardens of Bailey's Muizenberg home in January, 1910. Among those present were John Shepstone, Philip and Olive Schreiner and C.F. Tainton, an official of the Cape Native Affairs Department. According to J.M. Buckland, these four people discussed Native Policy, the possibilities of extending the franchise and the dangers of miscegenation. (2) The critical meeting of December 3, 1916, which led to the supersession in the Premiership of Asquith by Lloyd George, was held at 38 Bryanston Square. The General Strike in England during 1926 was settled there too. Even in 1940, there is evidence that Bailey continued to pursue this tradition, when he invited Smuts to a special dinner he had arranged for the press. He wrote to Smuts as follows: "I thought perhaps you would like to meet them (the Press) and have a talk. There is so much trouble in front of us, more than most people realise and you know it. I consider it a good opportunity for you to address them." (3)

Even after 1924, Bailey held frequent informal dinners for parliamentarians, and this ensured that he never lost touch with South African politics. (4) There is another reason for this. He hoped that by entertaining members of different political parties, he could stimulate an interchange

1. D.N.B., op. cit., p. 28.

2. See The African Monthly, January 1910, v. vii, no 38. p 114 - 135.

3. Smuts Private Papers, U.C.T. Archives (on microfilm); 1940, v.61, no.30, Bailey to Smuts, January 11.

4. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940, p. 4

of opinion on a less formal level and thereby bring about some form of reconciliation. It was essentially his horror of embitterment that made him a constant reconciler between the two White races. Lewsen writes: "At times of the greatest political tension, he would invite to the same luncheon parties men so diverse in outlook as Botha, Smuts, Malan, Smartt, Duncan and Jameson and many others. These parties, as many of them bear witness, had nothing of the self-conscious constraint of forced amiability. Bailey's unforced geniality in good-fellowship and tact created a genuinely friendly atmosphere. It did not and could not dissolve outstanding points of disagreement, but it could and did soften the personal resentment that political controversy is apt to cause."

(5) 'The Forum', in paying tribute to Bailey after his death, described him as follows: "There was always something of the veld about the breezy, big-hearted ways of Sir Abe Bailey, about his directness and heartiness, his interest in the old Boer types and his knowledge of the language and their customs. His desire was always to promote harmony between the races in South Africa" (6)

Thus, Bailey's real political influence was not so much in party politics, but rather in the fostering of unity among White people in South Africa. Bailey described friction between the two dominant White groups in South Africa as a "rocking horse which keeps on going, but takes you nowhere." (7) On one occasion he claimed that "the work of building up South Africa is not possible, nor even desirable unless it proceeds from the goodwill of Dutch and English alike." (8) It was partially as a result of his firm adherence to the idea of reconciliation between English and Afrikaans-speaking Whites that by 1930 he became a staunch advocate of a national government for South Africa. In the period 1930 - 33, he never ceased to urge upon Generals Smuts and Hertzog the necessity of sinking their differences and working together in the same cabinet. "They (Smuts and Hertzog) must both realise,"

5. P. Lewsen, 'A Complete South African', in Lantern, 1954, viii, no 3, p. 295.

6. "Two Notable Figures". editorial in The Forum, August 17, 1940, viii, no. 21, p. 1.

7. Sir Abe Bailey opens the Rand Agricultural Show: March 28, 1934, pamphlet printed by Cape Times Ltd., 1934, p. 11.

8. Empire Economic Unity, a speech by Sir Abe Bailey, p. 8.

he said, "that the cause is infinitely greater than the quarrel. That cause is the maintenance, extension and improvement of our people, and so they must be as stout-hearted in rendering aid as in giving battle." (9) In addressing a gathering to commemorate the twenty-first Anniversary of the Union Club in Johannesburg on April 22, 1930, Bailey made not only constant reference to co-operation between English and Afrikaans-speaking Whites, but also dwelt some time on the notion of strong government in relation to democracy. He said: "Democracy is the seat of authority, compels political leaders to think only of trying to give first what other leaders are likely to promise the electors. Democracy does not allow statesmen to give their experience full play. They are restrained. The time is coming, however, when people will wish to be governed and led." (10)

It is thus fitting that in March, 1933, Smuts and Hertzog should have met at Bailey's home in Muizenberg to discuss plans to form a national government for the Union. Bailey was simply the host, and took no part in the deliberations. (11) In the year following the formation of the Coalition Government, Bailey noted with satisfaction that at last the great problem facing South Africa could be tackled, but was disappointed by the fact that conflict between the two White sections of the population continued. (12) His idea on the benefits to be accrued by forming a National Government also led him to propose the abolition of Party government in England in the period just before 1940.

Another of Bailey's main concerns during these years was South Africa's position in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In early 1930, Bailey wrote to Lord Melchett informing him that an Empire Economic Union would be formed in South Africa to promote the ideal of economic unity throughout the Union and the Empire. In this letter, he remarked that his interest in Imperial affairs had been originally aroused by the political education he received at the knees of Cecil Rhodes and Jan Hofmeyer. Bailey concluded by saying that South

9. Cape Argus, August 12, 1940, p. 4

10. Empire Economic Unity, a speech by Sir Abe Bailey, p. 47

11. D.N.B., op. cit., p. 28.

12. Cape Times, March 28, 1934, p. 11

Africa realised that the future troubles of the world in politics would arise from tariffs and surplus populations, and that Africa must be kept together, united from Cape Town to Cairo, not only from the trade and economic point of view, but also from that of defence for the future. (13)

Unlike Hertzog and many of his supporters at this time, Bailey did not wish to see a weakening of ties between South Africa and the Imperial Government. Bailey had been the founder of the Union Clubs throughout South Africa, and his desire to witness the strengthening of ties between the Dominions and the Imperial Government largely correspond to the aims and objects of these clubs. When Bailey delivered the official address on the occasion of the twenty-first Anniversary of the Union Club in Johannesburg on April 22, 1930, he enumerated these aims and objects by saying that the Union Clubs were more than just resting and refreshing places for newcomers from every part of the Empire; they were there to foster a genuine South African sentiment, to preach the gospel of the Empire, and to further the interests and strengthen the bonds of the Empire. (14) For Bailey, political ties between the component parts of the Empire were not as important as economic links. In fact, he felt that a large degree of political autonomy for the Dominions was highly desirable. But he urged that South Africa and the Dominions should reject any idea of complete economic independence. Instead, they should rather alter the character of exports and imports in a manner which would ensure to the Dominions and Colonies increasing and certain markets, and to Great Britain a broader field for its manufactures. Bailey felt the economic conditions would force Britain and the Dominions to reconsider their fiscal policies, in order to add to the spending power of people in the Empire and prevent a fall in the standard of living. Deterioration in the standard of living would be brought about by the economic competition of Europe, Japan and China, where the workers earned lower

13. Empire Economic Unity, a speech by Sir Abe Bailey, p. 4.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

wages and had lower living standards. According to Bailey, the freest trade possible within the Empire, and protection against competition from outside should be the motto for the Empire. (15) In fact, it was precisely the stand taken by delegates attending the first Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa some two years later.

Bailey regarded the British Empire as the greatest single political entity in the World, and as such, it had a role to play in preserving the 'civilised' standards and norms of the West - and in this case, more particularly of Great Britain - against the onslaught from Asia. Throughout the 1930's Bailey made continual reference to those forces which he believed would attempt to bring about the dissolution of the Empire in one way or another. In 1934, he wrote to Smuts: "The World seems to me to be drifting into the hands of the Asiatic races. Japan is determined to be the world power, and will only make use of the White nations for that end .. There is no leader here (in Britain); if there was a great man, England could lead the World back to safety." (16) By 1937, Bailey also saw Germany as a threat to Britain, her colonies and the Dominions. In a letter to Patrick Duncan in that year, he noted with alarm that German propaganda followed the line that England had taken over Germany's colonies and gold. He feared that Germany might try to regain her lost possessions, and more than this, she might attempt to dismantle the whole Empire simply out of revenge. (17)

There can be little doubt that Rhodes had instilled in Bailey a deep concern for, and interest in, the affairs of the Empire. Even if he put South Africa first in all issues, at no stage did he ever abandon his deep respect and admiration for the achievements of Britain and her Empire. In many respects, the interview on the eve of his departure for England on May 9, 1930, sums up his attitude to the Empire.

15. Empire Economic Unity, a speech by Sir Abe Bailey, p. 11

16. Smuts Private Papers, U.C.T. Archives (on microfilm), 1934, v. 51, no. 16, Bailey to Smuts, August 14.

17. Duncan Papers: Private Correspondence, U.C.T. Archives, 1937, Ms. BC 294 D 1.5.21., Bailey to Duncan, February 10.

Bailey said: "All I can say is, if the Empire is to break up, I hope I shall depart before the world catastrophe occurs." (18)

18. Empire Economic Unity, a speech by Sir Abe Bailey,
p. 42.

CHAPTER XTHE LAST TEN YEARS.

During the 1930's, Bailey spent much time in England. In spite of frequent illness, he was still able to continue his tradition of arriving in time for the Derby and leaving for South Africa at the end of the pheasant shooting season. In fact, by 1936, Bailey had crossed the Equator a hundred times.(1)

Bailey's interest in sport never lagged, and he made every effort to attend important race meetings or cricket matches. Horse-racing in particular remained his favourite sport right up until his death, and in this field too, he had enjoyed popular acclaim. He had become one of the largest breeders and owners of race horses not only in South Africa, but also in England. A Bailey horse won the Oaks in 1936 and another came second in the Derby of 1935. (2) Horse-racing had two important values for Bailey. Firstly, he loved gambling, and horse-racing provided all the thrill and excitement so close to the gambler's heart. Secondly, it gave him publicity, and this helped promote his image to prospective investors both in South Africa and overseas. (3) It could also be argued that his regular attendance of the main horse-racing fixtures in Great Britain provided him with an entree into some of the highest circles in English society. Bailey was, indeed, very highly regarded. By his second marriage in 1911, he had married into one of the leading and most respected families in English society. Recognition of his influence and standing in England is clearly illustrated by the honorary titles that were conferred upon him such as Justice of the Peace in Sussex, Deputy-Lieutenant of the City of London and Captain of the Sussex Imperial Yeomanry. (4)

Each year, he entertained both in his official and private capacity many well-known British personalities, either

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1. Duncan Papers: Private Correspondence, U.C.T. Archives, 1936, Ms. Bc 294 cl.5.21., Bailey to Duncan, December 20.
 2. D.N.B. op. cit., p. 28.
 3. Personal Interview with Mr James Bailey, April 21, 1974, Cape Town.
 4. Anglo-African Who's Who, Walter H. Wills (ed.), p. 12

at his elegantly furnished London residence, or at one of his country homes in Sussex and Yorkshire. Most of his entertaining took the form of dinner parties, at which he took great pride in serving only the very best food and wine. Winston Churchill, whom Bailey had met briefly during the Anglo-Boer War, was a frequent guest, and so were members of the royal family and leading British politicians. (5) Smuts often visited Bailey. In a letter written on August 6, 1929 from 38 Bryanston Square, Bailey, on hearing of Smuts's invitation to lecture at Oxford, offered to make all the necessary arrangements for Smuts to meet his friends and admirers in England. (6) The arrangements took the form of a dinner held at Bailey's London residence on November 7, and among those present were the British Prime Minister and Winston Churchill.

Within a few months after his defeat in the General Elections of 1924, Bailey became seriously ill and was forced into temporary retirement. During his remaining years, he was often plagued by illness. In 1929, Bailey was confined to bed for several months after a severe attack of thrombosis, and from this time onwards, he set about disposing some of his lesser interests, including his estates at Colesberg. After a brief recovery in 1930, his health once more deteriorated and as a result of this, he decided to approach John Martin, Chairman of the Central Mining and Rand Mines Group and also a director of Bailey's Central Mining and Investment Corporation Limited, about the disposal of his mining concerns. He proposed that Martin should take over all his interests. However, according to Cartwright, Bailey was never a man who undervalued his assets, and Rand Mines, having undertaken a valuation of the holdings of his principle companies, informed London that they did not consider that, at the price Bailey wanted, these were worth taking over. (7) Cartwright writes: "Bailey was extra-ordinarily proud of his companies, which represented his life work, and was not prepared to hawk these about in search of a purchaser." (8) Nevertheless, by

5. Personal Interview with Mr James Bailey, April 21, 1974, Cape Town.

6. Smuts Private Papers, U.C.T. Archives (on microfilm), 1929, v.41, no. 15, Bailey to Smuts, August 6.

7. A.P. Cartwright, Golden Age, p. 249

8. Ibid.

late 1936, Bailey was in an advanced stage of 'Burger's Disease' (more probably Atherosclerosis), and realising that the end of his life was near, he let Martin know that, if at any time Rand Mines Limited should be interested in taking over the administration of his companies, he would be happy to come to terms. At the same time, in making his will, he named Martin as one of the executives of his estate. No further negotiations were pursued.

As a direct result of atherosclerosis, Bailey was forced to have one leg amputated in July 1937, and in April the following year, the other leg was removed. In both cases, Bailey amazed his doctors by the rapidity of his recovery. Within a few weeks of the second operation, he insisted that he return to England to attend the Derby. In defiance of his doctor's orders, he sailed from Cape Town on 6 May and was present on 1 June at Epsom to watch the race from a private box in the members' stand. (9) A month later it was announced that Lord Baden-Powell had conferred the Cornwall Scout Decoration on Bailey "for exceptional courage in facing intense suffering over a long period of time." (10) This decoration, commonly referred to as the 'Scouts V.C.' was a fitting tribute to Bailey, who had been Vice-President of the Boy Scouts' Association during the foregoing twenty years. The press made many references to Bailey's courage during his long and painful illness. One example should suffice to illustrate his indomitable spirit: Bailey had suggested in 1937 that Rhodes's birthplace be turned into a national museum and had subsequently sponsored the scheme, but ill health prevented his attending the official opening the following year. In his message to those present at the ceremony, he apologised for his absence by saying: "I am sorry I cannot rise to the occasion and be with you, as my legs have not yet grown again". (11)

Bailey died at the age of seventy-five on Saturday evening, August 10, 1940. The memorial service, at which people from all walks of life were present, was held in St George's Cathedral, Cape Town, the following Thursday; The Archbishop was the officiant. (12) At the burial service,

9. African World Annual, 1938/39, no. 35, p. 13

10. Ibid.

11. African World Annual, 1938/39, no. 35, p. 120

12. Times, London, August 16, 1940, p. 3

which took place on the slopes of the mountain behind Bailey's house at Muizenberg, there were many top ranking officials and prominent South African personalities. The Government was officially represented by Colonel D. Reitz. Among the fourteen pall-bearers, were the Cape Administrator, Captain F. Joubert, and Colonel F.H.P. Creswell, with whom Bailey had served in the Union Parliament. (13) All the major mining and finance companies on the Rand were represented. Brigadier le Roux of the Salvation Army, gave a short address at the graveside as a mark of respect for Bailey's friendship with General Booth. Wreaths and messages of condolences were sent from all over South Africa as well as from overseas.

Obituaries were carried in all the leading English language newspapers and journals in South Africa and the Times also paid tribute to the life and achievements of Sir Abe Bailey. The South African Mining and Engineering Journal wrote: "By the death a week ago of Sir Abe Bailey, Bart., not only South Africa, but also the British Empire has suffered a great loss". (14) Lord Elibank, in a letter paying tribute to Sir Abe Bailey, wrote: "Abe's role can never again be filled. He was unique." (15) General Smuts paid tribute to Sir Abe Bailey by saying that South Africa had lost one who had "made a conspicuous contribution, not only to the development of the country, but to the education of public opinion." Smuts's tribute also included the following words: "His counsel was always wise, patriotic and unselfish, and was always directed towards advancing the interests of South Africa and its future." (16)

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13. Cape Times, August 16, 1940, p. 12.
 14. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, August 17, 1940, v.21, part I, p. 739.
 15. Times, London, August, 21, 1940, p. 7.
 16. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, August 17, 1940, v.21, part I, p. 739.

CHAPTER XIBAILEY'S LEGACY

Throughout his life, Bailey had been generous, and was always ready to bestow financial gifts on those he felt were in need.

In 1917, when Smuts was in London, attending the Imperial Conference, he received a letter from Bailey questioning him on his financial position in that city: "I have been wondering for some time how you get paid and whether you are losing money by staying in England. If this is the case, I hope you will forgive me suggesting that I shall bear the extra expense and would you accept a cheque of £500 towards incidental expenses? ... I enclose the cheque and I do trust you will accept it in the spirit meant." (1) Mr G. Seymour Fort, by way of tribute to Bailey, wrote in the Times: "I first met Abe Bailey, when I was staying with the late Colonel Frank Rhodes in Johannesburg, during the Raid period in 1895 .. on his return to England, he (Bailey) invited me to see him, treated me as a friend, and very materially helped me by giving me directorships in some of his companies. There was no reason whatsoever for his doing this ... and I can only attribute his lasting and disinterested friendship to his natural kindness of heart." (2)

Nor were such magnanimous gestures limited to individuals. In 1920, Bailey donated £100,000 to the Royal Institute of International Affairs to endow Chatham House as its headquarters. (3) The aim of this organisation was to further an impartial, non-party study of international affairs and as such was one of the earliest attempts to provide the public with a better knowledge of contemporary events. (4) In 1925, Bailey bought the Fairbridge Collection consisting of 15,000 Africana for £5,000 and donated it to the South African Public Library (now the South African Library). In order to house

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1. Smuts Private Papers, U.C.T. Archives (on microfilm), 1917, v.15, no.47, Bailey to Smuts, January 1.
 2. Times, London, August 13, 1940, p. 7
 3. Lantern, January 1954, viii, no. 3, p. 296.
 4. L. Woodward, 'The study of Contemporary History' in the Journal of Contemporary History, vi, no.1, 1966, p. 3.

this collection, he sponsored the building of the new wing costing some £7,000. (5) Bailey also took an abiding interest in the British Empire Service League and in 1927, he offered the league twenty-nine plots of 500 acres as a gift in order to assist land settlement. On the Jubilee of King George V's accession to the Throne, Bailey generously sponsored luncheons throughout South Africa, enlisting the willing support of the Salvation Army in the organisation of the event. (6) When it came to the representation of South Africa at the Coronation of King George VI in 1938, he undertook to send fifty disabled soldiers overseas at his own expense. In December 1938, Bailey paid his own personal tribute to the memory of the Voortrekkers during the commemoration of the centenary of the Great Trek. He announced that he would found a scholarship of £300 a year, the disposal of which was left in the hands of five trustees. Two of the trustees were J.B.M. Hertzog and General Smuts.

The South African Mining and Engineering Journal notes that Bailey "was not a seeker of publicity, and although many of his acts of benevolence and charity are known, it is said that these are mostly outnumbered by the good deeds he did in secret." (7) Lewsen maintains that the cultural gifts Bailey made to art galleries and to the South African Public Library were simply a part of what he considered the duty of a man of wealth. However, the endowment and direction of the Abe Bailey Trust were more than anything else, the true expression of Bailey's 'South Africanism', that is 'South Africanism' within the wider scope of the Commonwealth. (8) Bailey attempted to define this in the preamble to that portion of the will which created the Abe Bailey Trust:

"I, being a South African, am desirous that the South African people shall in increasing measure progress in numbers, in capacity and in a spirit of national unity in membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations so as to take a place among

5. Cape Times, August 12, 1940, p. 13.

6. Ibid.

7. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, August 17, 1940, v.LI, part I, p. 739.

8. P. Lewsen, 'A Complete South African' in Lantern, 1954, viii, no. 3, p. 295.

the peoples of the World ... It is my firm belief that the attainment of this end will depend upon the two parent stocks, British and South African Dutch of the European population, on their ability to maintain and reinforce the stocks from which they have sprung to hold and strengthen their position in agriculture, in industry and in business enterprise and to work together wholeheartedly in devotion to the interests of their common country." (9).

Lewsen remarks that the main emphasis in the Preamble, as understood by the Trustees, is on the last few words: "... to work together wholeheartedly in devotion to the interests of their common country". To this end, Bailey endowed the nation with a trust of £250,000. (10) For the guidance of his Trustees, Bailey suggested that, in administering the funds contained in the Trust, certain objects be taken into consideration. Among the objects Bailey enumerated, were the following: Firstly, that 80% of the income on these funds be spent in Africa; no money was to be spent in any African territory in which Europeans were precluded from holding land. Secondly, part of the funds should be used to foster proficiency of the Afrikaans language among English-speakers. Thirdly, that the funds be spent on institutions, which cannot reasonably be expected to be adequately provided for or maintained by the state. And finally, he made it quite clear that it was not his wish that Africans and Coloureds should be completely excluded from any benefit under the trust. (11)

Between 1951 and 1954, the Abe Bailey Trustees financed several important schemes, including the following: The Holiday Exchange Scheme, whereby English-speaking children

9. Ibid.

10. P. Lewsen, op. cit., p. 295.

11. Cape Times, August 16, 1940, p. 9.

spent holidays on farms where Afrikaans was spoken; travelling bursaries for University students to spend six to eight weeks in Britain; the granting of money to school libraries for the purchase of books. (12)

Besides establishing a trust, Bailey bequeathed the collection of pictures, prints and engravings in his London residence to be held in trust for the South African people. Much of this valuable collection, which includes the World's greatest collection of English sporting pictures, is currently housed in the South African National Gallery. (13) In his will, Bailey also stated that he wished the following annual payments to be made: £300 to the University of Stellenbosch; £1,000 to the Round Table; £1,000 to the South African Boy Scouts' Association; £100 to the Keighley Trade and Grammar School. (14) After having made suitable provision for his family, Bailey left legacies and annuities to all his servants.

In the years preceding Bailey's death, speculation in market circles had been rife on the subject of the effect on the market, which the disposal of his holdings would produce. (15) It seems clear that even under normal market conditions, the disposal of such large interests would have been difficult without producing disastrous falls in the prices of the shares concerned, but in 1940, the existing financial situation in both England and South Africa would have made their absorption totally impossible. Bailey realised that under the existing conditions, the disposal of the shares would cause great difficulty and so expressed the wish that his shareholdings should not be sold before ten years after his death. (16) An indication of the extent of Bailey's business interests can be seen in the fact that at the time of his death, Bailey was either the Chairman of, or sat on the boards of some forty-eight different companies. (17) It fell to John Martin, as one of the executors of the estate, to find a purchaser, who was prepared to take over Bailey's companies.

According to Lewsen, Bailey's bequest to the nation can

12. Lewsen, op. cit., p. 295.

13. See M. Ball, 'Patrons of the Gallery' in the South African National Gallery: 1871 - 1971, p. 15

14. Times, London, August 16, 1940, p. 4

15. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, August 17, 1940, v.LI, part I, p. 737.

16. Ibid.,

17. South African Mining and Engineering Journal, August 17, 1940, v.LI, part I, p. 737.

only be compared with that of Rhodes. (18) The establishment of the Abe Bailey Trust together with the fund from which annual payments were to be made to several charitable organizations is, in many respects, simply a continuation of that generous spirit exhibited by Bailey on so many occasions during his life. The trust is still administered today, and as such, Bailey's legacy continues to benefit both directly and indirectly many sections of the South African population. Lewsen writes: "Abe Bailey was one of those whose lives make it possible to say that South Africa has not been unlucky in its millionaires." (19)

X 18. Lewsen, op. cit., p. 295.

19. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

Bailey's life spans the period in which South Africa was transformed from a mere conglomeration of seemingly insignificant colonies and states into a single political entity, enjoying independent status and international recognition within the British Commonwealth of Nations. From the economic point of view, South Africa had changed from a basically agricultural and largely undeveloped area into a country in which industry and technology rapidly expanded. To a large degree, Bailey's ambitions and achievements serve to mirror some of these major developments and trends in both the political and economic field.

Bailey started with little in life. With a moderate education and a small sum of money, he left the Eastern Cape for the Transvaal. During the ensuing half century, his life was inseparably linked to all the changes which occurred in South Africa. He contributed much to the development and expansion of the mining industry on the Rand. He worked for and sponsored the movement for the Union of South Africa. And besides sitting in three parliaments, Bailey consistently advocated and promoted co-operation between the English and Afrikaans-speaking sections of the White population.

Bailey also actively participated in at least three events in the period 1890 - 1918, events which stand as landmarks in the history of South Africa. He was intimately associated with the Reform Movement in the Transvaal, and then later served in the South African War and the First World War with distinction.

Yet, this is only one side of Bailey. His personal life was equally varied. Not only was he a Currie Cup Bowler, and amateur boxer and a race-horse owner, but also a highly successful farmer, a socialite and a benefactor of the arts. He was friendly with prominent personalities in both South Africa and Britain, the latter becoming very much his second home.

And above all, Bailey was an imperialist. From Rhodes, he inherited a firm belief in the virtues and destiny of the British Empire, a belief that he never relinquished. He wished to see the standards and norms of 'White civilisation'

preserved and maintained at all costs, and it was for precisely this that he strove, often at the expense of others.

For the historian, Bailey is, in some respects, merely another example of that universal phenomenon - the sudden acquisition of wealth and status by an individual in a country, which is in the process of undergoing rapid political, social and economic change. But, more important, is the fact that in other respects, Bailey proves to be somewhat of an exception. For there can be few men, who achieved so much in so many vastly differing fields within the space of a mere lifetime.

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