

THE LETTERS OF EDMUND GARRETT TO HIS COUSIN 1896-1898

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Edmund Garrett.

PREFACE

Edmund Garrett, the writer of these letters, was editor of the Cape Times from mid-1895 until his health collapsed in 1899. He appeared to his contemporaries to have exerted a significant influence on affairs in the last few years before the South African War. Whether they felt this to be for good or ill depended, usually, on the political allegiance of the observers and their views of the cause of the conflict of 1899-1902.

Lewis Michell, Cecil Rhodes's banker and one of his financial advisers, believed that Garrett probably overestimated his influence on Rhodes, with whom he was closely associated in the critical period between the Jameson Raid and the South African War. But Michell was insistent that Garrett and the Cape Times were a "power in the land" and that "on more than one occasion, he may fairly claim to have altered the course of our history".¹

The author of the entry on Garrett in the Dictionary of National Biography (1901-1911), who signed himself "M" and was in fact Alfred Milner,² said Garrett, through the Cape Times, more than once "exercised a decisive influence on the course of affairs ... His position in South African politics became one of such importance that he was practically compelled to add to his arduous duties as editor of the Cape Times those of a member of Parliament". Milner and Garrett were friends. Milner enjoyed sustained support for his policies from the

1 L. Michell: The life of C.J. Rhodes 2, 133.
2 J.W. Robertson Scott: "We" and me 119.

Cape Times. Although he was predisposed in favour of Garrett, Milner's view is of some importance. James Rose Innes, a level-headed and fairly detached observer of those tempestuous times, who also liked Garrett and admired his journalism, was equally emphatic in his reminiscences: "I know of no newcomer who, without official position, exerted so great an influence on affairs, in so short a time."³

Garrett's political foes and others who disagreed with his policy as editor of the Cape Times did not doubt that he was influential. But they tended to express their assessment of his career at the Cape in rather less flattering terms. Some, such as Olive Schreiner, were inclined to blame Garrett as much as anyone else when war broke out between the Republics and the British Empire in October 1899. Francis Dormer, a major figure in the Argus newspapers until he clashed with Cecil Rhodes, said of Garrett in a tart footnote in his memoirs that it was difficult to determine the precise extent to which this distinguished journalist contributed to the great upheaval: "but he did his best".⁴

Such views expressed by contemporaries would be of themselves sufficient warrant for taking an interest today in Edmund Garrett's career and correspondence. There are yet further considerations. The Cape Times, which was generally acknowledged to be the most significant, influential and widely-circulating English-language newspaper in South Africa in the 1890s, is an important primary source for the historian. As has been remarked of an influential South African journalist

3 James Rose Innes: Autobiography 115.

4 F.J. Dormer: Vengeance as a policy in Afrikanderland 222.

of an earlier era, it is helpful in using such a source to know something of the editor's character, convictions and private life.⁵

There has been a revival of scholarly interest in the origins of the South African War, furthermore, and economic factors are being accorded greater weight than in the traditional diplomatic historiography of the period.

J.A. Hobson's ideas about the causes of the war and his thesis that it was engineered by a small confederacy of international financiers, working through a "kept press", have received renewed attention. Hobson, writing at the start of the war, noted the key position occupied by Cecil Rhodes and the Ecksteins in the ownership and control of the South African press. The Cape Times, "the most influential paper", said Hobson, though outside the (Rhodes-Eckstein-controlled) Argus group, had nevertheless come under the influence of Rhodes through the half-share acquired in it by F. Rutherford Harris, a close associate of Rhodes.⁶ It is of interest, thus, to examine Garrett's editorship of the Cape Times in these critical years in the light of Hobson's thesis. A host of questions arise. Did Rhodes control the Cape Times? If so, was this control reflected in the newspaper's policy? To what extent did the editor determine the policy? What were the pressures and influences brought to bear on the editor? Who were his friends? What were his underlying convictions? How did he see his role as editor?

5 B.A. le Cordeur: "Robert Godlonton as architect of frontier opinion 1850-1857" Archives Year Book 1959, 2.

A.L. Harington: "The Grahamstown Journal and the Great Trek 1834-1843" Archives Year Book 1969, 2.

6 J.A. Hobson: The War in South Africa 206-229.

The Garrett letters to his cousin are an invaluable source in seeking to answer such questions. Although the period in which they are set has been exhaustively investigated by historians, and much familiar ground has inevitably been re-traversed in editing and presenting these letters, the exercise has proved eminently worthwhile. Although not a large collection, the letters are rich in content and enhance our understanding of the political and social history of late-19th century Cape Town and South Africa. What emerges is a profile of a dedicated independent-minded publicist of Empire. The letters give a picture of Garrett's life as editor, as it developed from the time of the Jameson Raid, and of his problems inside and outside the office, his relations with the management, with the proprietors, F.Y. St. Leger and Rutherford Harris, and with the manager F.L. St. Leger. Light is thrown on Garrett's complex relationship with Cecil Rhodes. Then Alfred Milner entered the picture. With Milner, as with Rhodes, Garrett was on terms of friendship and mutual confidence. But the relationship with Milner was rather closer and considerably less stormy. Garrett and Milner were very much of one mind, politically speaking, as the war clouds of 1899-1902 began to gather. Unfortunately this collection stops short of the critical months before the Bloemfontein conference between Milner and President Kruger of the Transvaal, in June of 1899. In these months Garrett and the Cape Times gave Milner's policies sustained support. However, Garrett letters written after 1898 have survived in other collections, such as the Stead papers.

The principal theme of these letters is Garrett's effort

to maintain the independence of his editorship against political and proprietorial pressure which became intense in the aftermath of the Jameson Raid, which was the pivotal event of Garrett's editorship, and forced Rhodes's resignation from the premiership of the Cape. There are also sub-themes of interest to social historians. Garrett's cousin, Agnes, was a member of a family of pioneers in the women's movement, which cause Garrett himself strongly supported, holding views which were unusual among the leading journalists of the Victorian era. Even though we have only Garrett's half of the correspondence, there are many revealing glimpses in these letters of the courageous battle of Victorian women to make headway in the professions, business, and the universities, and to get the vote on a par with men. As a professional interior decorator, furthermore, Agnes Garrett was involved in the Arts and Crafts movement of the late 19th century, which was a reaction against the ugliness spawned by the industrial revolution and was concerned to restore human values, good standards of design and the prestige of the individual craftsman. Agnes Garrett ran a successful business in the Arts and Crafts tradition, working on her own account as an interior decorator and designer of furniture and furnishing fabrics. There are echoes of these social, cultural and business interests in the Garrett letters and also discussion of the popular literature of the time and books which both had read - by authors such as R.L. Stevenson, Henry James and Maeterlinck.

In the chapters that follow the leading themes identified above are examined more closely as are Edmund Garrett's background and his imperial faith.

THE GARRETT PAPERS

The Garrett Papers¹ consist for the most part of letters written by Edmund Garrett to his cousin Agnes Garrett in 1896, 1897 and 1898 and so cover the greater part of his editorship of the Cape Times. There are also a few brief notes from Dr Jane Waterston to Agnes Garrett, which are reproduced here, and a number of letters from Alfred Milner to Edmund Garrett which are not included. The Milner letters all concern the proposed appointment of Edmund Garrett to the post of Imperial Secretary at the Cape and have been quoted where relevant.

The 1896-1898 letters of Edmund Garrett to his cousin which have survived were part of a much larger collection of letters to Agnes starting before 1896 and continuing until Garrett's death. The entire collection was offered to the Keeper of Manuscripts of the British Museum, Dr Idris Bell, in 1944 by Miss Philippa Fawcett, who was Agnes Garrett's niece and her legatee.² The letters had been divided into two parts, presumably by Miss Fawcett herself. The first part, covering the period 1896-1898, was accepted by the British Museum. The second, and very much larger part of the collection, covering the years before 1896 and after 1898, was rejected. It is clear from the records of the British Library that the second group of letters was destroyed. It seems that they were judged to be of insufficient historical interest.

1 In the British Library, Department of Manuscripts: Add. Mss. 45929.

2 Philippa Fawcett to Dr Idris Bell 9.5.1944; 7.6.1944; 23.6.1944; 29.6.1944. British Museum; incoming letters 1944.

In considering the donation of Garrett's letters to the British Museum, Mrs Ellen Garrett, Garrett's widow, expressed misgivings that there might be some "joking" allusion in the letters to the manager of the Cape Times, F.L. St. Leger, which would be better left out. As she wrote to Philippa Fawcett on May 21, 1944: "You may remember that F.E.G. was wont to refer to the younger St. Leger as 'the oaf'. F. St. Leger was at that time apt to interfere unwarrantedly with the editor."³ However, the letters referring to "the oaf" were not destroyed and remain in the collection today.

In editing the Garrett Papers I have attempted to reproduce the letters to Agnes in their entirety. There are some instances where words in the manuscript have not been deciphered or are doubtful. Where such words have been left out this is indicated by the use of square brackets and dots. Doubtful words are indicated by square brackets and a question mark. Where the letters were not dated by Garrett himself and the date is conjectural or has been established from other sources this is indicated by the use of square brackets. Garrett, when writing in a hurry, was inclined to use idiosyncratic abbreviations. Unless such an abbreviation is significant the words concerned have been given in full for the sake of easy reading. With these exceptions, the text of the letters is given as written, even where personal or family references occur which are obscure as this is not a large collection and the need did not arise for selection or abbreviation.

3 Mrs Ellen Marriage Garrett to Philippa Garrett Fawcett 21.5.1944. Cited by Philippa Garrett Fawcett in her letter to Dr Idris Bell 7.6.1944.



Agnes Garrett.

1. THE GARRETTS

Fydell Edmund Garrett was born on July 20, 1865, the son of the Rev. J.F. Garrett, rector of Elton, Derbyshire. He died at Wiverton Acre, near Plymouth in Devonshire on May 7, 1907, at the age of 42 years. He was the third son of his father's second marriage. His mother died when Garrett was six. His father, who is said to have been broken in spirit by his wife's death, was never again much of a companion for his young children and himself died when Garrett was 13 years old. Garrett's memories of both parents were hazy. He was brought up by his half-sister Rhoda, a daughter of their father's first marriage, and by his cousins Millicent and Agnes Garrett. After Millicent's marriage, Edmund Garrett was Agnes's special charge. He was "her boy" and she to him, throughout his life, "mother, sister, friend".¹

It was to a scholarship earned at a prep school and to Rhoda and Agnes that Garrett owed his education at Rossall, and at Cambridge, where he was awarded a third class in the Classical tripos in 1887. At university Garrett shone in debate, becoming president of the Cambridge Union Debating Society. After leaving university with an indifferent degree he was employed by W.T. Stead, who was already celebrated as the campaigning editor of the Pall Mall Gazette. Stead, a dedicated social reformer, admirer of Cecil Rhodes and an enthusiast for Empire, was to exert a profound influence on Garrett's career.

1 E.T. Cook: Edmund Garrett, a memoir 6, 7.

In 1889 Garrett was struck down by tuberculosis, the affliction which was to plague him, on and off, until it finally killed him less than 20 years later. Stead agreed to send him to South Africa to recuperate and at the same time commissioned him to do a series of articles. Published in the Pall Mall Gazette, they made Garrett's name as a journalist. Written in Cape Town, Kimberley, Pretoria and Johannesburg, where the infant gold-mining industry was beginning to display its immense potential, the articles proved popular among an Empire-minded public. They were re-printed immediately in a book which went into a second edition.² On his return from South Africa Garrett was appointed assistant editor of the Pall Mall Gazette. His tenure was to be brief. He again fell seriously ill. On this occasion Garrett recuperated in Egypt, again writing articles for the paper. Eventually he had to resign his assistant editorship on grounds of ill-health and he devoted himself to freelance journalism, mainly for the Westminster Gazette, until April, 1895, when he was appointed editor of the Cape Times. Garrett did not marry until late in his life - until after he had left Cape Town and the Cape Times, having been obliged by recurrent bouts of tuberculosis to abandon his career as a journalist and content himself with occasional contributions to the periodical press. The woman he married, Ellen Marriage, had been a fellow-patient at a sanatorium and later recovered her health completely. The couple married in 1903 and went to live in Devonshire, where Edmund died four years later. He is

2 In Afrikanderland and the land of Ophir.

buried in the churchyard at Brixton, Devon.

Garrett's cousins, Agnes and Millicent, were daughters of Newsome Garrett, an Aldeburgh merchant and ship-owner who carried on a maltings business at Snape, Norfolk. The Garretts were of old East Anglian stock, liberal in politics and progressive in thought and social attitudes. The women of the family were outstanding in various fields, breaking new ground for women in business and academic life and in the medical profession. An elder sister, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, was a pioneer woman doctor at a time when this choice of a career by a woman constituted defiance of propriety and convention. After a tremendous struggle, her name was inscribed on the British Medical Register in the year Edmund Garrett was born. Millicent Garrett Fawcett, who is the "Millie" frequently mentioned in these letters, was another outstanding figure in the public life of the period. Millicent Garrett Fawcett became the leader of the constitutional wing of the women's suffrage movement and played a major role in the fight for the franchise, holding office as President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. She headed a committee of British women who investigated conditions in the concentration camps in South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War.

Millicent married Henry Fawcett, a radical politician who became Postmaster General, and was widowed in 1884. With Rhoda Garrett having died two years earlier, it suited both Millicent and Agnes to set up house together at 2 Gower Street, Bedford Square, London, which Agnes and Rhoda had shared. Millicent and her only child, Philippa Garrett Fawcett, moved in after Henry Fawcett's death. Millicent remained living



Millicent Garrett Fawcett in 1892.

with Agnes at 2 Gower Street until she died in 1929, having lived to see victory for the cause of women's suffrage. The memorial service to Dame Millicent Garrett Fawcett was held in Westminster Abbey on November 16, 1929. Among the many tributes paid was the Manchester Guardian's which said her whole life had been a magnificent example to reformers of all kinds. "Those who knew her best could never decide whether they admired most her determined will, her intellectual grip, or her Christian temper."³

Philippa Garrett Fawcett, Millicent's only child and evidently Agnes's favourite niece, had a brilliant academic career at Newnham College, Cambridge, being placed above the senior wrangler in the mathematics tripos in 1890. In the chauvinistic atmosphere of the time this was considered an astonishing feat for a woman and attracted wide attention. Philippa Fawcett accompanied her mother to South Africa in 1901-1902 and later returned to the country, assisting the British authorities in setting up the educational system in the Transvaal after the war. She returned to Britain in 1904 and joined the education department of the London County Council, where she reached senior executive rank as assistant education officer, a level which was previously the preserve of male officials. She retired in 1934 and died in 1948, four years after giving the Garrett letters into the care of the British Museum.⁴ There is a suggestion that Philippa's relations with her mother were not always tranquil; but Mrs Fawcett's pride in her daughter and her devotion to her

3 Manchester Guardian 9.8.1929.

4 "Woman pioneer's death" Manchester Guardian 12.6.1948.

were never in doubt.⁵ Agnes Garrett was likewise very attached to Philippa. Yet Philippa Garrett Fawcett is not mentioned once under her own name in these letters, in spite of her intimate attachment to the Gower Street household. It seems likely that she is "The Lady" mentioned from time to time by Garrett and whose welfare he inquires after in writing to Agnes. As children Edmund and Philippa had played together on the beach at Rustington, near Worthing, Sussex, where Rhoda and Agnes had a holiday cottage.

Agnes Garrett (1845-1935), the recipient of these letters, was 20 years older than Edmund Garrett. Her obituarist in The Times noted that like her sisters, "Miss Garrett was herself in advance of her times in her conception of female independence." The obituary noted that she had wanted to join the family business but the opposition of her brother (Mr Samuel Garrett, at one time president of the Law Society) had proved to be an impassable barrier. "Miss Garrett then came to London and in conjunction with Miss Rhoda Garrett, a distant relative, started a house-decorating business on original lines which brought her a steady income for many years."⁶

This is an inadequate assessment of Agnes Garrett's career. Recent research by Anthea Callan indicates that the firm of Rhoda and Agnes Garrett was seen "as influential on a par with Morris and Co. in spreading new and artistic ideas

5 See manuscript biographical notes on P.G.F. by Betty Vernon and comments thereon by Philippa Strachey in a letter to Mrs Vernon (20.5.1957). In box of Misc. material on Fawcett family, Fawcett Library, London.

6 "Miss Agnes Garrett" The Times 26.3.1935.

of taste in the home from the 1870s".⁷ Morris and Co. was the celebrated firm started by William Morris, the poet, Utopian socialist and many-sided Victorian genius who urged his followers to "have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful".⁸ Rhoda and Agnes Garrett were among the most important of the early interior designers, it appears. Agnes continued to trade at 2 Gower Street under the name "Rhoda and Agnes Garrett" after Rhoda's death and maintained a warehouse of furniture nearby at 4 Morwell Street, Bedford Square.⁹ Rhoda and Agnes Garrett are described as successful decorators of houses, designers of interior panelling, chimney pieces and patterns of textiles.¹⁰ They had set up business in 1871, after training in an architect's studio and in 1876 they published a book of "Suggestions for House decoration in Painting, Woodwork and Furniture".¹¹ In domestic architecture they recommended the so-called "Queen Anne" style which was also favoured by William Morris and popularised by many of the Arts and Crafts movement architects. Arts and Crafts interior designers like Morris and the Garrett cousins were at the avant-garde end of the scale. Some indication of what they produced can be gained from the catalogue of the first exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society which was held in the New Regent Gallery,

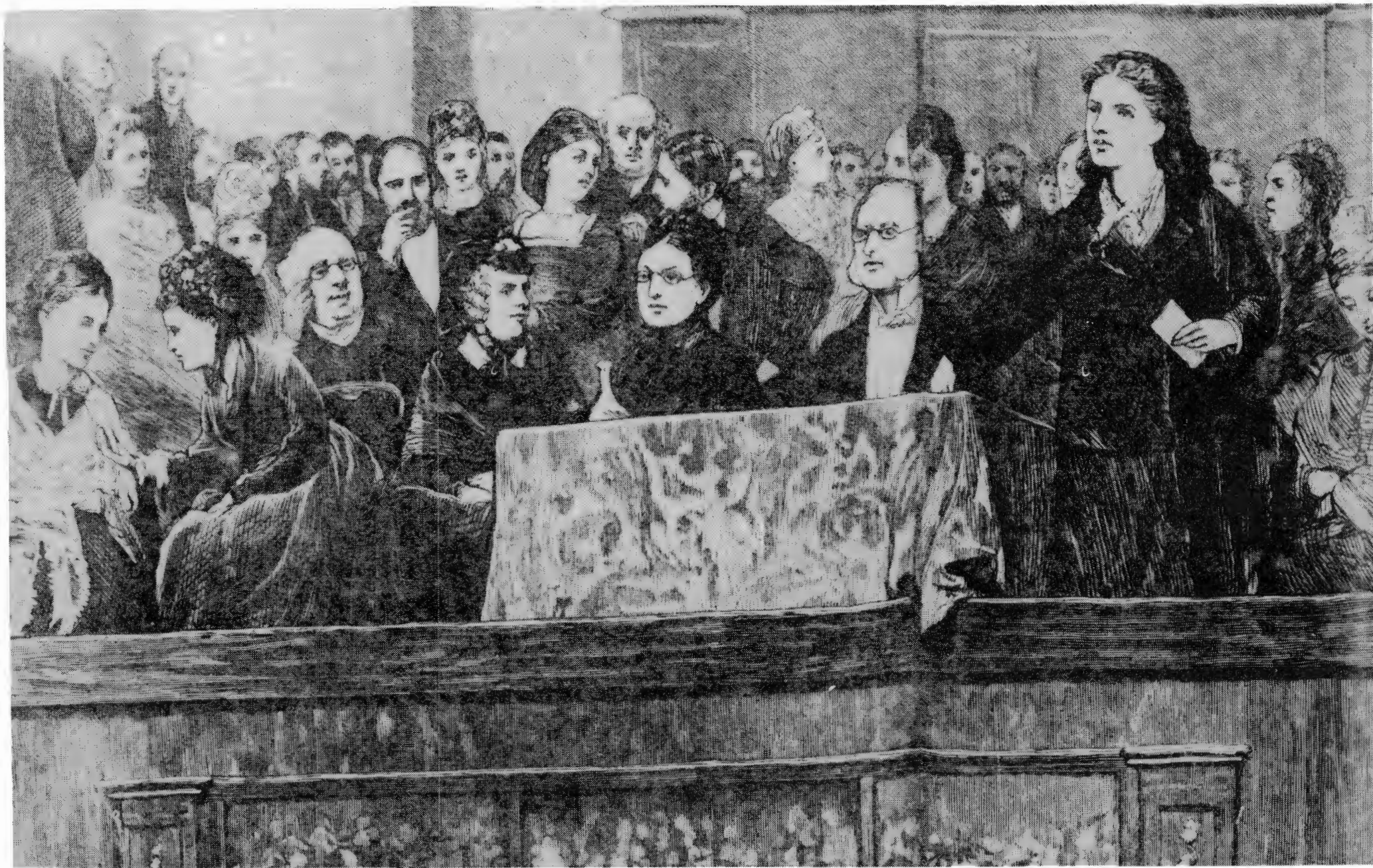
7 A. Callan: Angel in the Studio - Women in the Arts and Crafts Movement 1870-1914. For most of the material in this paragraph I am indebted to Callan at pp. 171, 172.

8 P. Thompson: The Work of William Morris 3.

9 See handbill advertising sale of furniture in Fawcett autograph collection in the Fawcett Library, London.

10 The Architectural Review Vol. 24 (1908) 152. Cited by Callan 171.

11 In the MacMillan "Art at home" series.



Rhoda Garrett addressing a women's rights meeting at the Hanover Square Rooms in 1872. Millicent Garrett is at the extreme left and Agnes Garrett is probably the young woman next to Rhoda. (From the Graphic, May 25, 1872.)

121 Regent Street, in 1888. The exhibition included furniture, pottery, glass, paintings, architecture, sculpture, metal work, and textile design. The catalogue lists wood panelling, a handmade carpet, and a number of pieces of furniture - a long chair, tea table, fireside chair and flower stand - as items on display which were designed by Rhoda and Agnes Garrett.¹²

Coming from this background, it was hardly surprising that Edmund Garrett was progressive in his social attitudes and liked to describe himself as a "British radical". Conflicting impressions have come down to us of his appearance, character and personality. Tall, pale, fair-haired, lean, and rather stooped, he was said to have had great charm and vivacity. J.T. Molteno, a fellow student at Cambridge and later a political opponent at the Cape, spoke of his "girlish beauty".¹³ Percy Fitzpatrick, who met him in Pretoria in April, 1896, remembered him as "intent only on getting at the real truth ... emaciated, sallow, wasted by illness, with his longish, wavy, untidy hair, his lean, long ugly face and sunken grey eyes" - all redeemed by his vitality and courage.¹⁴ His main recreation at the Cape was riding - charging across the Cape Flats on horseback - and he had an intense dislike of organised games. At Rossall, where he was unhappy, he had rebelled against the tyranny of compulsory sport and at Cambridge he preferred the lazy charms of the river to more vigorous physical pursuits. As a journalist he was capable of bursts of sustained exertion when the occasion demanded it,

12 A copy of the catalogue survives at the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow.

13 J.T. Molteno: The Dominion of Afrikanerdom 65.

14 J.P. Fitzpatrick: South African Memories 110.

however, as during the Jameson Raid crisis. There were also times when he became weak and lethargic, being plagued by respiratory problems and bronchitis and the threatening consumption which reared its head at intervals and eventually ended his career.

Among colleagues and subordinates Garrett inspired intense devotion. Yet he was also disliked with equal intensity, usually by political opponents such as J.W. Sauer and John X. Merriman, who were savaged in the editorial columns of the Cape Times in the frenetic atmosphere of the Jameson Raid crisis. Merriman dismissed him as hysterical¹⁵ and Joseph Chamberlain pronounced him conceited.¹⁶ To Garrett's friends, his distinguishing characteristics were bravery and chivalry, as a man battling against debilitating illness. J.W. Robertson Scott, a friend and newspaper associate, and a pro-Boer in 1899-1902, disagreed with him politically but remembered Garrett as "a gallant soul, an original forward-looking, growing intelligence ... a faithful kind friend ..."¹⁷ George Green, a reporter at the Cape Times when Garrett arrived in mid-1895, recalled how Garrett won over a hostile and sceptical staff with his "delightful boyishness, unaffected friendliness and ready appreciation of honest effort".¹⁸

Among those who did not succumb to his charm was Francis Dormer, who had established and built up the Argus Company, with the financial assistance of Cecil Rhodes, and who fell

15 P. Lewsen ed.: Selections from the Correspondence of John X. Merriman 2, 242.

16 C.O. 537/132 Minute 17.8.1897.

17 Robertson Scott 90.

18 G.A.L. Green: An Editor Looks Back 45

out with Rhodes and the Argus Company in 1895 because of their hostility to the Kruger government. Dormer had bought the Cape Argus from Saul Solomon in 1881 using funds supplied by Cecil Rhodes. The source of Dormer's capital remained secret and there was much public speculation about the identity of Dormer's financial backer.¹⁹ The occasion of the quarrel between Rhodes and Dormer, as it happened, was Rhodes's wish to appoint Edmund Garrett to a senior editorial post in the Argus newspapers in early 1895. Dormer was bitterly opposed to such an appointment. He regarded Garrett as a brilliant writer but lacking judgement. He would not have him in the Argus Company at any price and he told Rhodes that "a man with a weak chest and strong convictions, particularly when they do not accord with my own" would not be an ideal editor of an Argus newspaper. He would as soon think of going into a powder keg with a lighted torch, he said, as to install one of Mr Stead's bright young men in a responsible position in Cape Town or Johannesburg. Dormer had a presentiment that no good would come of such an appointment.²⁰ The dislike between Dormer and Garrett was mutual, as appears in an exchange of letters between them at the time that the proposed Argus Company appointment fell through. Garrett closed the correspondence with a suggestion that Dormer's veracity was on a par with his manners.²¹

Although not wildly unconventional, Garrett was less restricted by convention than many Victorians. In view of his

19 E. Rosenthal: Today's News Today 20

20 Dormer 221, 222.

21 Dormer to Garrett 15.2.1895; Garrett to Dormer 16.2.1895; Acc. 540 No. 40; 1-6 Michell Papers; Cape Archives.

illness and uncertain life expectancy, it is not surprising that he did not marry until the last years of his life. He wrote to Stead from Cape Town in July, 1896, saying that he was a "bit lonely at times" and "wondering if I shall ever be able to marry with a good conscience".²² Like his friend Alfred Milner, who also married late in life, Garrett had an almost religious dedication to the cause of Empire, and he served the British Imperial ideal with a celibate dedication which was not unusual in that era. Milner, it now seems, kept an actress at Brixton.²³ This was not Garrett's style at all. He reacted with anger and chivalrous indignation in Cape Town when an incautious paragraph in a Dutch newspaper implied that he was involved in an illicit liaison with Dr Jane Waterston. Dr Waterston was his closest friend and political confidante during his editorship of the Cape Times. One of the most remarkable women of her generation, Dr Waterston had worked in the mission field at Lovedale before qualifying as a doctor and settling at the Cape where she became a leading figure in the community. At this stage she was already active in the public life of the city and was known as a champion of the interests of Africans. Edmund Garrett wrote of her years later that "she kept me alive, I think, and I am sure she made my life incalculably brighter and happier".²⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that there was anything more to the relationship than a political and intellectual friendship of a kind that does not seem to have been all that uncommon between men and women in Victorian times. Dr Waterston

22 Garrett to Stead 22.7.1896. Stead Papers fo. 314.

23 T. O'Brien: Milner 115.

24 Cook 129.



Dr Jane Waterston in academic dress.

and Edmund Garrett had much in common, sharing a high-minded, idealistic imperial faith. Garrett was also friendly with Olive Schreiner, whom he regarded as a genius, until they fell out over Rhodes and Milner and policy towards the Transvaal. It is notable, in fact, that Garrett tended to cultivate friendships with outstanding women which were invariably platonic. J.T. Molteno, the Cambridge contemporary cited earlier, spoke in his memoirs of Garrett's "ardent soul" and "pure private life". Although Garrett could be ruthless and wounding in public political invective, as in his venomous editorial broadsides against J.W. Sauer and J.B. Robinson in the wake of the Jameson Raid, he adhered to exacting standards in his personal life.

There are few references to religion in Garrett's letters. He was an admirer and constant supporter of the Salvation Army and of General Booth, its founder. As editor of the Cape Times he also gave eloquent editorial support to the St George's Cathedral building fund.²⁵ Some clues to Garrett's religious attitudes may be found in an obituary leading article written on the death of T.H. Huxley and published in the Cape Times in July, 1895. Speaking of Huxley's sufferings as a boy who was driven to go to church, Garrett wrote: "Many of us have had the religion of the churches spoilt for us for long by such associations - the empty formalism, void and uninterpreted ... the droning sermonizer ... " The leading article said the time had not yet come when the proponents of orthodox religion in the Colony would be liberal Christians enough to admit the great good of lives such as Matthew Arnold's,

25 Cape Times 10.11.1898.

Huxley's, Darwin's, Renan's, George Eliot's and Bradlaugh's. Yet it was of such stuff that men who vitalised the religious sense were often made.²⁶ This leading article, which praised the agnostic Huxley as a religious man and in his way, a prophet, caused something of a stir in Cape Town. As Garrett wrote to W.T. Stead, "Cape Town church folk were a bit scandalized - such dear old dryasdusts."²⁷ We may conclude that Garrett was himself a liberal in religious matters, rather than an impeccably establishment Christian according to the theological climate of his day. But there is no denying his ardent imperial faith. In a sense, perhaps, the British Empire was his religion.

26 "The Gospel according to Huxley" Cape Times 2.7.1895.

27 Garrett to Stead. Stead Papers fo. 315.

2. GARRETT'S IMPERIALISM

Edmund Garrett was much exposed to imperial enthusiasm in his years as an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge. When he began his studies in 1884 the idea of imperialism as service to mankind was part of the intellectual climate of the day. There was a conviction that Britain had a "civilising mission" in the world, a duty to spread British peace and order and British justice across the face of the earth.

Garrett could hardly have escaped the influence of J.R. Seeley, then at the height of his fame and authority in the chair of modern history. Seeley's celebrated lectures on The Expansion of England had been published in 1883. The book was immediately popular and became hugely successful. Seeley's theme was the importance of the colonies of settlement as an extension of British democracy. He stressed the importance of such colonies both as a remedy for poverty at home - and as an aid to imperial defence.

Both these leading themes are readily discernible in Garrett's imperial thought. Visiting South Africa in 1889-1890, he became a convinced advocate of Rhodes's ideas of northern expansion and he wrote in enthusiastic strain of the trainloads of immigrants going North to the Rand to play their part in "Englishing the Transvaal".¹ He did not doubt that the British had legitimate business in Africa. If civilisation did not march in as the pioneer and the policeman, he wrote in 1890, it would swarm in as the buccaneer and the brandy-runner.² In Imperial defence, Garrett advocated a Cape contribution to

1 In Afrikanderland 11.

2 In Afrikanderland 81.

the Royal Navy, which he believed would lend momentum to the movement towards imperial federation. The Imperial Federation League had been established in 1884. Garrett hoped that the movement would in time lead to Colonial representation in Westminster although he acknowledged to Agnes, in a letter in June, 1897, that this was "too far ahead for us to see".³

Various doctrines of Social Darwinism were current at this time, seeking to explain progress as the result of a struggle between tribes, nations and races of men, with the fittest group predominating in the ceaseless war which constituted the evolutionary process.⁴ In its crudest form, as in the overtly racist ideas enunciated by Benjamin Kidd, the English and the Germans - the Anglo-Saxon race - were seen as a racially superior breed of men. Although not as crudely expressed, perhaps, such ideas are certainly discernible in Garrett's journalism. In 1890 he expressed the view that the black races were below the white races of Europe on the evolutionary ladder. European civilisation could not allow so large an expanse of the earth's service as Africa to go to waste. But it was up to the European, in exploiting Africa, to civilise the African. And among the European races, Garrett believed, it was the British who were best suited to the civilising task - by interest, capacity and responsibility alike. Would the British do their imperial duty, he wondered in 1891: "We are equal to the exploiting: are we equal to the civilizing?"⁵

3 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 9.6.1897.

4 B. Semmel: Imperialism and Social Reform 19.

5 In Afrikanderland 81.

Whether given explicit expression in this fashion, or left unspoken, such assumptions of British superiority - and of the concomitant duties and responsibilities - were general in the Empire when Edmund Garrett became editor of the Cape Times. Sharing the imperial assumptions of the day, he was apt on occasion to employ a lofty and condescending tone in speaking of "races" such as the Dutch and the Irish, observing that a merciful Providence had spared the Imperial power the task of reconciling any "race" which combined "both the Dutch and Irish gifts of recalcitrance".⁶ Garrett certainly saw Englishmen as a special breed of men having a duty and an obligation to spread the benefits of their civilisation. Yet he was revolted by gross manifestations of colour prejudice⁷ and brutality towards subject peoples.

Before coming to South Africa for the first time in 1889 Garrett had doubtless absorbed something of the stereotyped view of the Dutch Boers of South Africa which was then current in the British Isles. It has been said that the view of the Afrikaner which prevailed in Britain throughout the 19th century was the highly unfavourable account given by Barrow⁸ which blamed the Afrikaner for the friction with the native races and for the undeveloped state of the country. It seems likely, however, that Garrett was more directly influenced by the considerably more favourable image created by Anthony Trollope whose "South Africa", written in 1878, became the standard reference work about South Africa in the 1880s. If

6 F.E. Garrett and others: The Empire and the Century 497.

7 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 28.7.1897.

8 M. Streak: The Afrikaner as viewed by the English 1795-1854 5-7.

anything, Garrett was predisposed to think well of Afrikaners, and he wrote about them on his first visit in glowing terms which were almost an echo of Trollope, saying of the Cape Dutch farmers that he never wanted to see a better gentleman in "rougher coat or homelier fashion".⁹

When he came to South Africa on that occasion Garrett was inclined to idealise the wine and wheat-growing farmers of the Western Province. He was almost rhapsodic about their kindness, warm hospitality to strangers and other sterling qualities. He was all for assimilating the Cape Dutch as good citizens of Empire. This was at the time of the Rhodes-Hofmeyr alliance when Rhodes, supporting agrarian interests, was in power with the backing of the Afrikaner Bond, which, under Hofmeyr, was becoming steadily more reconciled to the Imperial connection. Garrett believed that the Cape colonists of the future would be bilingual "Afrikanders". The "Afrikander", the man who was to build the united South Africa of the future, was no longer the Dutch-speaking, Dutch-thinking Republican but the South African colonist of either strain who saw in South Africa his country and in all South Africans his fellow-subjects.¹⁰

Garrett drew a distinction between the Cape Dutch and their cousins "the Boers" who had trekked northward and now followed President Kruger in the Transvaal. If there was no longer a "Dutch question" at the Cape, where signs of the fusion of the Dutch and of the English were very much in evidence, there was certainly still a "Dutch question" across the Vaal. When he reached the Transvaal, visiting Johannesburg

9 In Afrikanderland 14.

10 In Afrikanderland 23

and Pretoria, Garrett set down his thoughts on the Boers of the Republic, whom he saw as a case of arrested development - "an anachronism". If they or their ancestors had stayed in the Cape Colony they would have been just like the Cape Dutch. As it was, their political attitudes, their lack of education and their manners and customs were just what they had been at the start of the Great Trek. The Boer of the Transvaal, as Garrett saw him, was lazy and was unlikely to till the soil or supply the rich markets that were springing up as long as he could still live on his cattle. Like the Cape Dutch, however, the Transvaal Boer was warmly hospitable to strangers. The Boer of the Transvaal, in Garrett's 1890 view of him, had in theory a huge intolerance of the black man, coupled in practice with "very decent commonsense treatment of him". While viewing the Boers in rather stereotyped terms as sons of the soil, shrewd, simple, suspicious and untruthful, Garrett is at pains to be fair. He also points to peace-loving, sober, domestic, faithful, patriotic and brave traits in the Boer character. Cowards, some people still persisted in calling them. After Majuba and the War of Independence, said Garrett, the taunt was now less unjust than merely silly.

Garrett's feelings towards Afrikaners changed after his return to the Cape in 1895. After he had lived in the country and, as editor of the Cape Times, had become involved in its public life, his attitude to Afrikaners appears to have lost something of its earlier warmth and admiration. This is not so much evident in the editorial tone of the paper as in his private correspondence, although "Krugerism" became a consistent editorial target in the 1898 elections and thereafter.

As the Cape Times was in this period trying to foster what was left of Rhodes's Afrikaner support at the Cape, it was impolitic to adopt an overtly anti-Afrikaner tone. This would in any event have been in conflict with the paper's traditional attitudes. In writing to Agnes in July, 1897, however, Garrett is sharply critical of Afrikaners and the "caste feeling of the Dutch here about colour. They can't rise above it at all."¹¹ In late December, 1899, after the South African War had begun, Garrett expressed himself in forthright terms in a letter to W.T. Stead: "As for me, if South Africa is to be united only on a 'Dutch basis' it shall never, as far as I can help, be united at all. It means keeping a Johannesburg in thrall to a Pretoria on a large scale. A squalid anti-industrial militarism, conscientious Anglophobia and negrophobia - these must not have the plant of government again."¹²

On his 1889-1890 visit to South Africa Edmund Garrett also reflected upon the presence in the Colonies and Republics of a vast population of tribal blacks, living a pastoral and agricultural existence, numbers of whom were beginning to be drawn into the urban industrial economy created by the mineral revolution. The blacks made up the majority population group, he noted, but they were usually left out of consideration in discussions of the future of South Africa. Garrett felt that the "Native question" was a "deep and complex problem". The more he asked people about it the less he seemed to advance towards any clarity. With a quality of insight which seems

11 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 28.7.1897.

12 Garrett to Stead 20.12.1899. Stead Papers fo. 391.

to have been rare among the Empire-builders of his day, Garrett at the same time wondered what quaint impression was produced in the minds of educated blacks when they heard whites talking about the native "question". If the roles were reversed, Garrett believed, the Englishman would find such talk rather exasperating. The real problem in Africa, he felt, was not the "African" but the "European" question and "if we decide that we have not wit enough or patience enough to solve it ... we have no business here and ought to get out as soon as possible".¹³

Garrett asked himself what Englishmen really meant when they professed to hold attitudes different from those of Afrikaners and said they believed in equality. As far as he was concerned, said Garrett, all people were equal by right of their common humanity - "that is they have an equal right to all the opportunities which can be given them". The black man should be made equal before the law, certainly. But the black man was in fact not equal in attainments, aptitudes and in the inherited amenities of the European. It was the imperial duty to help Africans to catch up; but the leeway could not be made up in a generation. Garrett was opposed to marriage between the races and noted that most white colonists, English or Afrikaner, thought likewise. He did not question the wisdom of legislation barring the free use of liquor by blacks nor did he in these 1890 dispatches question other frankly discriminatory measures such as the curfew or the compound system.

13 In Afrikanderland 81.

On the recruitment of black labour for the mines of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand Garrett does not seem to have doubted that the drawing of tribal Africans into the urban economy was a good thing for all concerned. He felt that the already established division of labour into white skilled labour and unskilled black labour could hardly be a permanent one. More and more Africans would be drawn into skilled labour as their needs and their "intelligence" increased. But whenever an area of work was entered by blacks in this fashion it was immediately declared by white labour to be "nigger's work". Because of these things, Garrett noted, the pessimists predicted that the South Africa of the future would be "a white aristocracy buttressed upon the universal labour of a subject race".¹⁴

The non-racial franchise of the Cape Colony was regarded by Garrett at this time as a "great and generous experiment". Yet he had mixed feelings about it, noting that it was perhaps as much a matter of gerrymandering as of generosity. Garrett defended the cautious and reserved views held by South African whites on the black franchise. It was not for the rulers of (unenfranchised) British India to cavil at the Boer Republics for not hastening to copy the franchise policies of the Cape Colony. Nor should they cavil at the Cape Colonists for looking carefully at the franchise qualifications.

Yet there was one aspect of life in the Colonies and Republics of South Africa that outraged Garrett's instincts - the incidence of gratuitous violence against blacks. The sight of a shop assistant beating a black man with a sjambok

14 In Afrikanderland 85.

made his blood boil. As he wrote in high indignation, there could be no truck with cruelty or injustice in a British colony. Garrett spoke of the Aborigines Protection Society in favourable terms, declaring that the principles which it upheld and the sentiment to which it appealed were of the essence of "the British character at its best". In Garrett's view, it was here that the essential strength of British imperial rule was to be found, wherever it was strong - in the hold which such sentiments and principles had upon the English mind. This, it appears, was the core of Garrett's imperial faith. "Right round the world men look to us to do justice and to love mercy. When the British Empire has served its turn and gone to pieces, it will be remembered that in its day it made some of the dark places of the earth less dark, that ... it made the strong more orderly and the weak less afraid."¹⁵

Garrett's attitudes towards the indigenous black peoples of South Africa remained consistent over the next decade. His abhorrence of gratuitous violence and brutality against a subject people remained as intense as ever. When he took over as editor of the Cape Times in mid-1895 Edmund Garrett gave immediate attention to the "native question". He announced what appears to have been an unusual initiative for that period - the commencement of an occasional column to keep readers informed on the black man's point of view. This would be written as a plain statement of the black viewpoint by one who knew it well, someone "who was in constant touch with

15 In Afrikanderland 91.

several kinds of native". Garrett indicated that the policy of the Cape Times would be broader, more temperate and less one-sided than the black viewpoint column - but it could only be so if it took the black view into account.¹⁶ On the same day, the first column appeared under a headline "The black side of things" by a "confessed negrophilist" and told of a deputation from the Transkei to the Cape government protesting against provisions of the "obnoxious" Glen Grey Act and its labour tax. The column also noted that Africans disliked working for farmers in the Western Province because of the low wages paid.¹⁷ The writer was very possibly Dr Jane Waterston, who had close links with Lovedale and missionary circles.¹⁸

Under Garrett's editorship the Cape Times consistently took strong exception to physical brutality against blacks. The De Beers company was attacked in a leading article¹⁹ on the strength of disquieting accounts in the Colonial Native Affairs annual report of assaults on African labourers in the Kimberley compounds.²⁰ On leaving Kimberley, the labourers carried away with them "the sting in the heart", and the effect was soon seen in a diminished labour supply. Compound managers were now complaining of a scarcity of labour. Garrett's abhorrence of gratuitous violence was likewise expressed in an angry editorial in July, 1895, criticising

16 "In black and white" Cape Times 6.7.1895.

17 Cape Times 6.7.1895.

18 Jane Waterston held strong views about the Glen Grey Act. See Jane Waterston to James Stewart 8.8.1894 and 10.10.1894. Waterston Papers.

19 "Black through pink glasses" 13.4.1896.

20 "Native Affairs: Notes from the Blue book" Cape Times 14.4.1896.

a sentence passed by Sir Thomas Upington. The case concerned a farmer who had tied up and beaten his "boy", said the Cape Times, " ... to gratify his brutish temper". The farmer had several previous convictions for similar offences. As the editorial pointed out, this "ruffian" had in the latest case received a fine no bigger than that imposed for one of his earlier escapades.²¹

Also characteristic was Garrett's concern for the education of the poor. In a leading article published a few weeks after he became editor, Garrett declared that Cecil Rhodes, the prime minister, had never manifested any particular concern for the social improvement of the coloured people. The editorial criticised Rhodes's "indifference" to the pressing question of the education of coloured children. Citing the crime rate and the "swarms" of apparently untaught and uncared-for children in the streets of Cape Town, the editorial said the exclusion of coloured children from compulsory education was "a blot upon the record of the Cape Parliament".²²

Edmund Garrett's imperial faith, following his mentor W.T. Stead, implied a high-minded commitment to imperial service - to the so-called "civilising mission". It was an imperialism of responsibility, as opposed to jingoism.²³ The Victorian values of Duty and Service claimed his entire allegiance. As James Rose Innes recalled many years later, Edmund Garrett's imperialism was always tempered by a vein of exalted sentiment.²⁴

21 "Sigcau's exeat" 31.7.1895.

22 "Sowing the wind" 19.7.1895.

23 W.T. Stead: The last will and testament of Cecil John Rhodes 100-102.

24 Innes 291.



Frederick York St. Leger.

3. GARRETT AND HIS PROPRIETORS

It was probably no accident that both Cecil Rhodes and the De Beers corporation came in for pointed criticism in the early weeks of Edmund Garrett's editorship of the Cape Times. The criticism of Rhodes, coming right after the change of editors, was in all likelihood by design - to help quash the damaging rumours then in circulation that Rhodes had gained control of the Cape Times and had put Garrett, his own nominee, as editor.

Under the trusted and manifestly independent St. Leger, who was both editor and proprietor, Cecil Rhodes had not been spared in the columns of the Cape Times. Although St. Leger supported Rhodes's policies of Northern expansion, the paper had frequently opposed the domestic policies he pursued in his alliance with the Afrikaner Bond. But it had been put about in Cape Town just before Garrett's arrival that Rhodes, having failed to get him a post in the Argus Company, had been rather more successful in manipulating the Cape Times and that F.Y. St. Leger, the founder of the paper, had been ousted from the editorial chair to make way for Garrett.

The first part of this was true. Rhodes did try to get Garrett into the Argus Company but was thwarted by Francis Dormer, as already noted. The second part was untrue. Garrett's appointment was entirely St. Leger's own idea, not suggested to him by Rhodes or anyone else.¹ But the appointment clearly suited Rhodes. Rutherford Harris, as part

1 Garrett to Stead 8.5.1895. Stead Papers, folder 312, via Editorial "Personal and valedictory" Cape Times 24.6.1895.

proprietor, was happy to go along with it. Harris, who had secretly acquired a 44 per cent share in the paper (not a half-share, as Hobson believed)² was expressly excluded by the terms of his arrangement with St. Leger from any say in the editorial management or policy of the paper. It was the founder's son, Fred St. Leger, the manager, who had persuaded old St. Leger to allow Harris to invest in the Cape Times. Being short of capital F.Y. St. Leger "very reluctantly" accepted his son's suggestion that Harris, who was Fred's brother-in-law, be allowed to buy a share in the Cape Times.³ F.Y. St. Leger insisted on a formal legal agreement with Harris, excluding him from any voice in policy or management. Harris's investment was almost certainly made with Rhodes's money. Harris had no capital of his own when he joined Rhodes's service. But Rhodes had no direct interest in the paper.

Garrett's position as editor was secured by a contract with Harris and St. Leger which gave him unfettered control of editorial policy and the content of the newspaper. He had to be given 12 months' notice of dismissal but himself could give his employers three months' notice.⁴ A.N. Porter has pointed out that proprietors at this time were quite happy to give editors contracts of this sort, guaranteeing their independence. Having appointed men whose views accorded with their own, they felt no need to interfere in the day to day running of the paper.⁵

2 The Memorandum of Association of the Cape Times Limited, 1898, reflects a division of profits between St. Leger and Harris in the proportion of 66 per cent to 44 per cent.

3 Green 45.

4 Cook 85.

5 "Sir Alfred Milner and the Press, 1897-1899" The Historical Journal XVI 2 (1973) 303-339.

Once St. Leger had stepped down from the editorial chair, it became plain that Harris regarded his investment in the Cape Times as rather more than a business proposition. St. Leger was ageing and ailing and Harris no doubt looked forward to acquiring a controlling interest in the course of time. But the Raid crisis brought matters to a head. Garrett's letters to Agnes indicate that Harris, a co-conspirator in the Raid, soon demonstrated that he had no intention of abiding by the contractual limitations on his position as co-proprietor. Soon after the Raid, Harris sought to dictate to Garrett in matters of editorial policy but Garrett successfully defied him and persisted in his own policy, calling on Rhodes in editorials to come clean and "face the music" and strongly opposing Joseph Chamberlain's aggressive diplomacy against the Transvaal Republic in the first half of 1896. Harris had objected to Garrett's line and brought pressure on him to change it. As Garrett told Agnes, however, he had "routed" Harris who had "knuckled under" and his position was "all right".⁶ Other sources suggest that there was a row in Garrett's office which ended in the ejection of Harris.⁷

It was the proud, somewhat prickly, and fiercely independent F.Y. St. Leger whom Garrett had to please rather than Harris or Rhodes. There was one very uneasy patch in Garrett's relations with St. Leger, but the founder adhered strictly to the terms of Garrett's agreement and left him a completely free hand in deciding editorial policy. The facts about this

6 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 15.4.1896.

7 Robertson Scott 101; Cook 87.

one awkward passage between them are instructive in the whole delicate question of editor-proprietor relations and are worth recounting. Even in this specific instance, St. Leger did not interfere with Garrett. But the latter of his own volition abandoned a policy line in municipal affairs that the paper had been taking when St. Leger, who had become a town councillor after retiring as editor, let it be known that he felt compromised by the Cape Times policy and threatened to resign from the council. In the 1895 municipal election Garrett, after running an exposé of slum conditions in the city, had begun campaigning editorially in favour of "municipal socialism" and urged the council to expropriate the slums and erect municipal housing schemes in their place.⁸ This editorial and others in the same strain were written by the Assistant Editor, E.J. Edwards, in fact, but they were fully supported by Garrett who accepted responsibility for them. St. Leger's own view, expressed in public, was that it was up to private enterprise to tackle the housing situation, although he agreed that the Council could assist by making land available on favourable terms. The Cape Times's "municipal socialism" was not well received by the leading citizens of Cape Town. Garrett felt it expedient to back away from the original proposals and modify the paper's line. It was not until a year later, however, when the municipal elections were again in the offing and the Cape Times resumed a fiercely critical line against the Council, that Garrett became aware that his position might be much less secure than he realised - owing to a conflict of interests which St. Leger

8 "Slumtown" Cape Times 25.7.1895. See also "The municipal year" 28.8.1895; "A point for candidates" 2.9.1895; "The awakening of Cape Town" 5.9.1895.



F.L. St Leger.



F. Rutherford Harris.

felt between his proprietorship of the Cape Times and his membership of the Council. Garrett told St. Leger that he found it intolerable that the proprietor should treat his (Garrett's) editorship as inconsistent with his public position. He was ready to leave the Cape Times, though "with a pang", if St. Leger really felt like that about other sides of his editorship. The result was a kind of "happy settlement", as Garrett told Agnes.⁹

The letters to Agnes show that Garrett also had to fight a long battle to win over the manager of the paper, the proprietor's son, Fred St. Leger, who disliked him and, as business manager, was in a position to harass and undermine him, having control of the purse-strings. Garrett, who refers to St. Leger, jnr, in these letters as the "oaf" or the "bumpkin", was reduced to waiting for "beery intervals of fatuous, complacent good humour" to secure approval of items of expenditure and, on one occasion, found it necessary to refer the manager to the terms of his agreement. It was not until August, 1897, that Garrett was able to tell Agnes that he believed that St. Leger's attitude to him had at last changed, judging by remarks in a speech at a staff dinner to the effect that Garrett had conducted the paper with great success and he (St. Leger jnr) hoped Garrett would remain editor for many years. Moreover, the "oaf" had confided to him in a mellow moment that "he believed his father thought he had played him false about Harris's part in the paper", adding that he now "quite agreed with me that in the proposed conversion of the

9 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 9.9.1896.

paper into a limited liability company we must be careful to keep the control in his father's hands, not let it slide into Harris's by share jugglery".¹⁰

The founder, it appears, had become aware that Harris's real purpose in investing in the Cape Times went rather beyond the hope of securing a good return financially. The founder now realised, we may take it, that Harris was preparing the ground for seizing control of the paper's policy, presumably on behalf of Cecil Rhodes. It also seems likely that Harris had been manipulating the weak and pliable Fred St. Leger behind the scenes as part of his efforts to bring the editor to heel. In any event, as Garrett told Agnes, once the conversion to a company had been properly fixed up "I shall feel that I have really won this long struggle, avoided all the pitfalls and come out right at the end, by not giving myself quite away at any point to any of 'em".¹¹

The Cape Times became a limited company in January, 1898, and F.Y. St. Leger became first chairman of the company, retaining, it appears, his majority shareholding. And St. Leger now took special steps, in drawing up the Memorandum of Association of the company, to place the question of editorial control beyond any doubt. Schedule B of the Memorandum of Association of the Cape Times is an agreement between F.Y. St. Leger and the Cape Times which says that "F.Y. St. Leger shall during his lifetime have sole control of the Editorial management of the 'Cape Times' newspaper, it being understood that it shall be in his power to appoint any person whom he

10 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 4.8.1897.

11 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 4.8.1897.

may choose as editor or acting editor provided that the persons appointed shall be instructed and be bound to conduct the paper on lines similar in all respects to the lines upon which the paper has been conducted in the past by the said F.Y. St. Leger."¹² From this point Harris and the "oaf" drop out of the letters, apart from the odd mention of Harris in passing, until August 1898, when Garrett tells Agnes that Harris has fairly "disgusted" the "Old Man" into his (Garrett's) arms and that old St. Leger had gone nearer to guaranteeing his position "against all possible assaults" than ever before.¹³ The occasion of the renewed problem with Harris was Garrett's dual position as editor of the Cape Times and, since his successful contest in Victoria East in the 1898 elections, member of the Cape Legislative Assembly. Again Harris did not prevail.

12 Filed with the minutes of directors and shareholders meetings of the Cape Times Limited, 1898, in the Cape Times records.

13 Garrett to Agnes Garrett August 1898.

4. THE JAMESON RAID

The central event of Edmund Garrett's editorship was the Jameson Raid, which burst upon the South African scene within six months of his taking over the editorial chair from St. Leger. In circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, Garrett's handling of the crisis was deft and skilful, after a somewhat shaky start. One of his proprietors, Rutherford Harris, was deeply implicated in the plot and Rhodes himself, as it soon became clear, was its very fount and origin.

There are few episodes in South African history which have enjoyed such sustained attention from historians as the Jameson Raid. For decades the main concern of scholars was to establish to what extent the Colonial Secretary of the time, Joseph Chamberlain, connived at the Rhodes-Jameson-Rand conspiracy to overthrow the government of the Transvaal. Using the papers of Sir Graham Bower, which became available in January, 1946, 50 years after the Raid, Jean van der Poel left her readers in little doubt of Chamberlain's discreditable complicity in the plot, a conclusion shared by Prof. J.S. Marais. Andrew Porter, in a rather more subtle and nuanced analysis, has argued that Chamberlain realised that the only possibility of containing Rhodes lay in some Imperial contact and control, "strong enough to give a hold over him if the revolution proved successful, yet sufficiently fragile to avoid any embarrassment if it failed". Porter says that Chamberlain had no reason to suppose that Imperial aloofness would either deter Rhodes or end the unrest on the Rand.¹

¹ A.N. Porter: "British Imperial Policy and South Africa 1895-1899"; in P. Warwick ed.: The South African War 42.

Latterly the discussion has swung away from questions of Imperial complicity. Historians have been exploring the economic background, examining the state of Rhodes's financial and mining interests at this time and noting that he was by now aware that Rhodesia was not going to be a "Second Rand". Most recently, it has been argued that the Rhodes-Wernher-Beit mining interests, which were committed to long-range gold mining programmes on the Rand, stood to gain a great deal by the replacement of a "self-willed and frequently obstructive Boer government by one more easily manipulated by the mining industry".² The view that Rhodes's motives were "sordid" and "money-grubbing" was forcefully expressed at the time by John X. Merriman. This is vehemently and almost obsessively denied in these letters, as it was at the time in the editorial columns of the Cape Times.

By 1895, on the eve of the Jameson Raid, the Transvaal's gold was rapidly transforming a pastoral Boer Republic into a major sub-continental power, attracting the friendly interest of European nations such as Germany, which was on the alert in the late 19th century for an opportunity to score a point or two against Britain. The successful exploitation of the gold of the Witwatersrand had moved the centre of political and economic gravity away from the Cape and northwards to the

2 R. Mendelsohn: "Blainey and the Jameson Raid; the debate renewed", Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 6. No. 2 (1980) 170. For earlier contributions to the debate see G. Blainey: "Lost causes of the Jameson Raid", Economic History Review XVIII (1965) 350-366. I.R. Phimister: "Rhodes, Rhodesia and the Rand", Journal of Southern African Studies Vol. 1 (1974) 74-90.

Transvaal. In President Paul Kruger, British Imperial interests in the sub-continent were facing an increasingly formidable foe.

In December, 1895, an atmosphere of unrest was building up among the British Uitlanders of the Rand. Rumours were rife that a rising against the Kruger government would take place at the end of the year. Edmund Garrett, who sympathised heart and soul with the Rand reform movement, was campaigning in his editorial columns for the Uitlanders to be given proper rights in the Transvaal.³ Against this background, the news that Dr Jameson had crossed the border into the Transvaal at the head of an armed force caused shock and intense excitement in Cape Town. Why had Jameson ridden in? Was this the start of a bloody upheaval between Boer and Briton? Was the Imperial Government involved? Or Rhodes and the Cape Government? Had a revolution begun in Johannesburg?

Jameson had ridden into the Transvaal on Sunday night, December 29. The news reached Cape Town on Monday night, December 30, but it was not until Thursday, January 2, that news of Jameson's defeat and capture at Doornkop became public knowledge in Cape Town. It was not immediately clear what had happened to the much-vaunted Rand revolution. It was some time before the truth became plain beyond doubt - that there had been a revolutionary conspiracy between Rhodes, Jameson and the Rand rebels in which Jameson was to invade the Transvaal, by arrangement with the Rand leaders, in support of an anti-Kruger rising. Neither was it immediately clear that Jameson

3 See editorials "The Thanes fly from me" 22.11.1895; "Divide and Govern" 4.12.1895.

had jumped the gun - and had gone into the Transvaal to try to force the hand of the Uitlanders when he realised they were getting cold feet and were resolved to postpone the rising, perhaps indefinitely.

The outcome was fiasco. The Uitlanders did not rise, Jameson and his men were easily intercepted and captured by the Boer forces near Krügersdorp. Garrett's reaction in editorials, though condemning Jameson roundly, was at the same time sufficiently ambivalent in the crisis week not to repulse the paper's wildly pro-Rhodes and pro-Jameson readership.⁴ Once the frenzy of jingo excitement had subsided, however, Garrett began piecing together the facts of the conspiracy and of the subsequent fiasco.⁵ He put to his readers an increasingly well-informed reconstruction of events. His counsels to Rhodes to own up, "face the music" and start afresh were wise, as the whole story was to come out, but this advice was rejected and resented by Rhodes.⁶

The extent of Rhodes's responsibility was convincingly demonstrated in late April and early May with the publication of the Transvaal Government's collection of telegrams and other documentary evidence implicating Rhodes, De Beers and the Chartered Company and leaving little doubt in anyone's mind about the main elements of the conspiracy.⁷ Cape Times readers had been well-prepared by Garrett's leaders for such disclosures and their effect was cushioned in advance.

4 "One man's madness" 1.1.1896.

5 "Breathing space" 6.1.1896; "Axioms of the situation" 7.1.1896.

6 Green 50.

7 Transvaal Green Book No 2 1896.

Garrett's editorship of the paper was effective and increasingly influential in the early part of 1896 although his grasp of affairs in the crisis week itself had not been uniformly firm. The Cape liberal politicians who opposed Rhodes, John X. Merriman, J.W. Sauer and J.T. Molteno, whose views were reflected in the South African Telegraph, were inclined to doubt Garrett's good faith, regarding him as a compliant tool of Rhodes and the Chartered Company and a dangerous meddler.⁸

The Merriman-Sauer group believed that the Chartered Company was somehow involved in rigging the so-called "letter of invitation".⁹ This "letter of invitation" was central to the whole conspiracy and what Rose Innes called its "slimy trail" needs to be clearly traced.¹⁰ The letter had been drawn up in November at Jameson's request and was signed by Lionel Phillips, John Hays Hammond, George Farrar, Colonel Frank Rhodes and Charles Leonard, who drafted it. It recited the Uitlander grievances and appealed to Jameson to come to the aid of the "unarmed men, women and children of our race" should a disturbance arise on the Rand. It was not intended as a public document, according to the reformers who gave it to Jameson, but was to be used by Jameson after the Rand revolt had come and gone. Jameson had asked for the letter for the sole purpose of excusing his actions afterwards to the shareholders and directors of the Chartered Company, as he was

8 Lewsen ed. 213, 243; South African Telegraph 2.1.1896.

9 "Occasional Notes" South African Telegraph 25.1.1896.

10 Innes 126.

going to mobilise their men and resources in an invasion of a neighbouring state. But Jameson (and Rhodes) made public use of the letter to explain and defend Jameson's actions, grievously prejudicing the signatories.

As the end of 1895 approached the Reform leaders sent two emissaries, Frederick Hamilton and Charles Leonard, to Cape Town to tell Rhodes that the rising was postponed. Jameson was informed and told to sit tight. But he decided to go in anyway, publicly invoking the letter of invitation and sending a note to an inquiring Boer commandant en route that he had been invited by the leading citizens of Johannesburg to assist them in getting their rights. After Jameson's capture the letter of invitation was found by the Boers in the veld at Doornkop - on January 2. It was not long before the signatories were in custody and on trial for their lives.

The South African Telegraph noted a curious circumstance when The Times and the other London papers arrived in Cape Town by sea towards the end of January. The Telegraph spotted that The Times had published a text of the letter of invitation in full on January 1, as sent from Cape Town. How could the Cape Town correspondent of The Times have telegraphed a copy of the letter from Cape Town to London the day before it had been found? The Telegraph went on to note that this curious circumstance could be explained "if the letter or a copy of it had been lying in a certain office in St George's Street, Cape Town, for weeks before it was intended to be used to meet an 'emergency' that had suddenly arisen".¹¹ This comment must have

11 "Occasional Notes" South African Telegraph 25.1.1896.

seemed rather enigmatic to readers at the time. But it was in fact pretty close to the mark, as would later transpire. There was a copy of the letter in Cape Town - at the Chartered Company's offices. It had been sent down by Jameson at Rhodes's request on December 19. This copy was dated December 20 and appears in the appendix of the report of the Cape Select Committee on the Jameson Raid.¹² In time it would also become clear that it was Rhodes himself who had given instructions for the letter to be cabled to The Times. This was not done by any professional newspaper correspondent but by Rutherford Harris who filled in the date as December 28.

But for the moment, in late January, 1896, it remained to be explained how the London Times could have published a document which had not yet been found. The source on which the Telegraph based its apparently clairvoyant explanation seems to have been Edmund Garrett himself. Many years after the Raid, J.T. Molteno, who was an editorial contributor to the Telegraph in 1896, recalled in his memoirs that he met Garrett coming from Government House on Friday morning, January 3. "He was the first to tell me about the famous letter of invitation which the Boers had picked up the day before on the veld at Doornkop. Naively he told me how he himself had seen the identical letter at the Chartered Company's office next door to the offices of the Cape Times in St George's Street, Cape Town and that some time before it fell into the unsympathetic hands of the Boers."¹³

There is no reason to question the accuracy of Molteno's

12 A6 of 1896 Appendix A No 61.

13 Molteno 64, 65.

recollection. Even though it was published 27 years after the event it has a ring of truth about it. It does not convict Garrett of bad faith or a role in the conspiracy, but it does raise questions of how much Garrett knew at this stage about the origins of the letter. It may be argued that Garrett's unguarded candour in volunteering information of this sensitive nature to a political opponent and newspaper rival acquits him decisively of a conspiratorial role. We do not know precisely how much Garrett knew of the plot on January 2. But how did the Cape Times deal with the letter in its editorial columns?

Cecil Rhodes himself took steps to influence the Cape Town papers' coverage of Transvaal affairs at a critical point - on Monday, December 30, 1895 - at the stage when Rhodes knew that Jameson had jumped the gun but when this news was not yet known to others in Cape Town, not even in the newspaper offices. It is plain that Rhodes decided at this point to use the "letter of invitation" as a propaganda ploy. He gave instructions for a copy to be telegraphed to The Times, London, where its publication created the impression of Jameson as a chivalrous hero riding to the rescue of a beleaguered British community. Rhodes's next move was to brief Frederick Hamilton and Charles Leonard: "We are 24 hours in front of public opinion. And you must go round to all the papers and get them to prepare the mind of the public."¹⁴

Hamilton and Leonard did as they were bid. The two men also visited Ons Land, which was edited by F.S. Malan,¹⁵ and,

¹⁴ I.D. Colvin: The Life of Jameson 2, 121.

¹⁵ F.S. Malan: "The eve of the Jameson Raid" Huisgenoot 4.6.1937.

presumably, they also saw Edmund Powell, editor of the Cape Argus. The influence of Rhodes's emissaries is clearly discernible in the editorial comment of both the Times and the Argus in the next few days, particularly when their coverage is compared with that of the Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley, which was not exposed to the Hamilton-Leonard briefings.¹⁶

The Cape Times report on December 31, announcing Jameson's incursion, presents it as an impulsive dash to the rescue in response to reports that the "practically unarmed crowd ... were going to be fired upon". The headlines contain an enigmatic line stating that Jameson had been "misled by rumours", but the body of the report does not refer to rumours, neither does it suggest that the report about the "crowd" being in danger was misleading or inauthentic. It was obviously written in great haste. The Cape Argus on January 1 contained an even more direct echo of the "letter of invitation" declaring that "innocent men, women and children" were to be massacred and offering this as an excuse or explanation of Jameson's extraordinary conduct. The Cape Argus, in which Rhodes was a leading shareholder, was generally sympathetic to him in politics. By way of contrast, the South African Telegraph, anti-Rhodes and owned by J.B. Robinson, contained no attempt to explain or excuse Jameson's action which was condemned without qualification.

During the day on December 31, after the news of Jameson's ride had broken in that morning's newspapers, Garrett took a

16 "Jameson's Folly" Diamond Fields Advertiser 3.1.1896.

hand in affairs at Government House in a way that aroused suspicion of his good faith on the part of the anti-Rhodes politicians. J.H. Hofmeyr had persuaded the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, to issue a proclamation condemning Jameson in the name of the Imperial power. Rhodes and his associates, hoping that Jameson might yet get through, tried to stop the proclamation.¹⁷ Garrett took it upon himself to send a telegram to the Star, Johannesburg, warning the Rand to expect a proclamation "formally" repudiating Jameson as the Imperial authorities had no other choice.¹⁸ Garrett also involved himself in the controversy over the proclamation, suggesting a small amendment and this led to a delay in its issue.¹⁹ His actions were to have embarrassing repercussions.

On January 1, a Cape Times editorial "One man's madness", while denouncing Jameson's action as a "blunder", was still speaking of "women and children and non-combatants huddled like sheep in a pen". The editorial speculated that Jameson received "probably" an appeal or a report or something that was too much for his "hot head temper". On January 2, the Cape Times leader misread the situation, reflecting the hope in the Rhodes camp that Jameson might yet get through. And there are still echoes of the "letter of invitation" in a reference to the possibility of "indiscriminate shooting among the streets" being terrible to contemplate.

17 F.E. Garrett and E.J. Edwards: The Story of an African Crisis 191.

18 Garrett and Edwards 187; Garrett to Agnes Garrett 1.1.1896.

19 J. van der Poel: The Jameson Raid 100.

The first public knowledge in Cape Town of the existence of an invitation to Jameson in any form came in a news report from a special correspondent of the South African Telegraph in the Transvaal on January 2. This told of Jameson's scribbled note to the commandant of Marico who had sent him a message asking him to withdraw. In response Jameson had written that he and the column were in the Transvaal in reply to an "invitation from the principal residents of the Rand to assist them in their demand for justice". The text of the letter of invitation was not published in Cape Town until January 6 - and again it was the Telegraph which broke the news. Throughout the crisis week, it may be observed, the Telegraph's news coverage of events in the Transvaal was superior to that of the Cape Times. The Diamond Fields Advertiser, which at this stage was still independent of Rhodes's influence and control, said on January 3 that Jameson, whatever his motives, had much to answer for. "His explanation of his conduct, in so far as he has been pleased to explain it, has been singularly weak and unsatisfactory." There is no echo of the "women and children" theme.²⁰

By January 3, public opinion was confused - but was becoming furiously partisan in favour of Jameson. Once news of his capture had been published in Cape Town and it was clear that the Rand leaders had not risen and had not lifted a finger to help him, pro-Jameson sentiments ran wild. This was reflected on January 4 in a furious Cape Times editorial denouncing the Rand, noting that all the Rand had done was to

20 "Jameson's Folly" 3.1.1896.

make speeches - "that was all the support Dr Jim got from those 'principal residents' who as he wrote in his characteristic little scrawl to the commandant of Marico had invited him to assist them in their demand for justice".²¹

During the week-end between Saturday, January 4, and Monday, January 6, Garrett appears to have sat back and tried to piece together what had happened in more detached fashion. His conclusions were recorded in an editorial "Breathing space" on January 6 - which assumed as pretty obvious that Cecil Rhodes was involved in the affair, had helped the Rand rebels with his cheque book and in other ways and had stationed Jameson on the border pending developments. There was also greater clarity about Johannesburg. The editorial noted: "We now know that Johannesburg was not in earnest in its challenge and not being in earnest was scarcely for the time in danger. But how far Dr Jameson realised this - that is another question. The situation would have been rather different if the appeal to Jameson of which his note to the commandant of Marico speaks had called him to a genuine scene of carnage."²²

At least part of the truth about the "letter of invitation" was also becoming more apparent. In a sub-leader on January 7 noting the finding of the letter near Doornkop, the Cape Times expressed the view that the letter was "perfectly genuine" but that the invitation had been subsequently revoked by the Reform leaders "which was one explanation of the otherwise incredible perfidy of throwing Jameson over".²³

21 "Revolution by Proxy" 4.1.1896.

22 Cape Times 6.1.1896.

23 Cape Times 7.1.1896.

By January 8, as his letter to Agnes of that date shows, Edmund Garrett was aware of the pre-arranged nature of the letter of invitation.²⁴ But he did not spell this out in so many words in the Cape Times. Public disclosure of the fact that Jameson had himself asked for the letter, no doubt, could have prejudiced his already precarious position as a prisoner of the Boers. In general, however, Garrett's editorial comment was remarkably frank, given all the circumstances, and he did not spare Rhodes and the Chartered Company or attempt to white-wash their apparent actions, and continually probed for more information and the fullest disclosure of the facts by Rhodes. A picture in the leaders emerges of Garrett steadily improving his grasp of what had happened and sharing these new insights with his readers. A similar picture emerges in the letters to Agnes. The first two in this collection written on January 1 and January 8 are remarkable historical documents, written with all the vividness and immediacy which a journalist of Garrett's skill could muster.

On January 8 Garrett told Agnes that he never would have approved the plot, as it stood, if he had been asked beforehand, because he knew that a coup of this kind which ignored Boer sentiment in the Transvaal could never last. If asked, he would have warned Rhodes that the plan underrated the power of the "intense conviction of right" of the Transvaal Boers. As leading articles in the Cape Times kept pushing Rhodes to come clean, Garrett found his frankness was not always appreciated by his political friends - or foes. The latter sought

24 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 8.1.1896.

to dismiss him as a Chartered mouthpiece guiltily admitting the minimum of truth, "which is just what I'm not doing", as Garrett complained to Agnes. He was, he insisted, going to the "farthest limits of frankness", trying to make Rhodes "stand up and own up frankly to much which could not exactly be proven, perhaps, but which one could see is so".²⁵

One observer of the events of 1896 who did not doubt Garrett's good faith was James Rose Innes who recalled in his memoirs that Garrett was firmly convinced of the genuineness of the letter of invitation but when the facts came out "he faced the position with characteristic candour" and had later written in an editorial that "of the theory of chivalrous audacity not a rag remains".²⁶ A reader of Garrett's editorials and the letters to Agnes today does not get the impression that Garrett was a party to the plot or a compliant instrument of Rhodes, the Chartered Company, De Beers or similar interests. He sympathised with the Rand cause and was anxious to advance it by any means possible. But there is no reason to doubt his statement that at the Cape Times office on Monday night, December 30, 1895, the news of Jameson's invasion of the Transvaal and "the much later discovery" of Mr Rhodes's full relation to it "was as much a surprise that evening as it was to Ministers and to Cape Town generally when it appeared in print next morning".²⁷

But there are also Garrett's actions outside the office on Tuesday, December 31, to consider. Much suspicion was aroused

25 Garrett to Agnes Garrett March 1897.

26 Innes 127.

27 Garrett and Edwards 187.

by his telegram to the Star on December 31, 1895, discounting the High Commissioner's condemnation of Jameson as a formality and urging the Rand rebels not to let the proclamation weaken or divide them. The telegram was published by the Transvaal Government in their Green Book No 2 in May and was brought to the attention of the Cape House of Assembly by a member of the anti-Rhodes group, J.T. Molteno, who denounced Garrett in the House as "a traitor to South Africa".²⁸ Garrett was summoned before the Select Committee of the Cape House investigating the Jameson Raid and was asked to explain. He said the telegram was entirely his own idea, not authorised by anyone else. It arose from his fears that an Imperial proclamation outlawing Jameson would cause indignation on the Rand and would embitter the Uitlanders against the Imperial Government. Garrett conceded that it was present to his mind at the time that his telegram "would perhaps slightly detract from the effect of the proclamation".²⁹ This was something of an understatement. The telegram appears to have been a deliberate attempt to minimise the effect of the proclamation on the revolutionary ardour of the Rand, which Garrett, a passionate advocate of the Uitlander cause, feared would be seriously dampened by the proclamation. His action went beyond the customary role of an independent newspaper editor. The Select Committee, which suspected that Sir Graham Bower had inspired the telegram, was on the wrong track. It was Garrett's own idea. But as he admitted later to Agnes, however, he had shown the telegram to

28 Cape Times 19.5.1896.

29 A6 of 1896. Minutes of Evidence 113.

Rhodes in passing and Rhodes had nodded and, he thought, said "Yes you might do that ... "³⁰

Sir Graham Bower was also suspected by the Hofmeyr political camp of having deliberately delayed the proclamation after Garrett, concerned that the Imperial condemnation of the Raid should not include the Rand revolt - that the two should be kept distinct - had suggested a slight amendment to its terms. Sir Hercules Robinson eventually agreed to omit a paragraph which called upon British subjects "to abstain from demonstrations or any action calculated to disturb public order".³¹ But it was then necessary to obtain Mr J.H. Hofmeyr's approval for the change, Bower felt, and so the issue of the proclamation was delayed while Hofmeyr was sought. This delayed the proclamation for two hours or so. Hofmeyr, when he was eventually found, was angry and approved the amendment immediately. He believed, it appears, that Bower had deliberately delayed its dispatch.³² In correspondence with Reitz and J.H. Hofmeyr (jnr) many years later, Bower defended himself against this charge.³³ Reitz, having re-read Garrett's Story of an African Crisis and Cook's biography, wrote to Bower that if anyone's role in the matter of the proclamation had been suspect, then it was surely Garrett's.³⁴ Reitz noted that Garrett had urged upon Sir Hercules the need to condemn the Raid while standing aloof from the Rand revolt, which was an internal affair of the Transvaal Republic. Reitz found this

30 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 29.7.1896.

31 Van der Poel 99.

32 J.H. Hofmeyr and F.W. Reitz: The Life of J.H. Hofmeyr (Onze Jan) 490, 491.

33 See items 137-144 (1914-1915) in the Bower Papers.

34 Reitz to Bower 5.2.1915. Bower Papers item 140.

specious, arguing that Garrett's amendment had been of the hair-splitting variety. He was unimpressed by Garrett's purported concern about breaches of international etiquette in the proclamation and interference in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. Reitz believed it was not improbable that Garrett, at this point, was hoping the Raid would succeed. In this Reitz was at least partly correct. Garrett's editorial of January 1, although it condemned Jameson, was a study in what he called "riding two horses" and its terms certainly suggested that his sympathies were, in the words of the editorial, "painfully divided". Garrett's strong sympathies with the Rand revolt seem to have overridden his judgement and discretion. But there is no evidence that he acted on any inspiration other than his own or as an agent of the Chartered group. And he was neither repentant nor conscience-stricken. In fact he was "rather proud of my telegram", he told Agnes, "but prouder still of the alteration I got made in the Proclamation which nobody knows was mine except the Government House people".³⁵

In the heat of the crisis week, we may conclude, Garrett's sympathies with the Rand revolution were all too evident and his involvement in affairs outside the office was calculated to arouse suspicion. His telegram to the Rand was imprudent in the extreme. Once the crisis week was over, however, Garrett began to get the measure of events and his conduct of the Cape Times in 1896 enhanced its standing. By May of that year Garrett was able to report to Agnes that he had received a

35 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 29.7.1896.

glowing testimonial to the credibility of the Cape Times from James Rose Innes, the most upright and honest of Cape politicians, who had told him that "people here undoubtedly take their opinions about Rhodes and all that from you".³⁶

36 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 27.5.1896.



This cartoon sketch by Edmund Garrett which he titled "A study in pressure", is in the Garrett Papers.

5. GARRETT, RHODES AND MILNER

Edmund Garrett had made the acquaintance of Cecil Rhodes some years before the trauma of the Jameson Raid. Their first meeting was in 1889-1890 during Garrett's first South African visit. He ran Rhodes to earth in a railway carriage and held the great man in conversation for hours.¹ The profile of Rhodes which he wrote at this time was published in the Pall Mall Gazette and re-printed in his 1891 book of South African travel sketches.² It was the first of Garrett's journalistic studies of Rhodes, which appear to have been influential in establishing the conventional view that he was a man to whom money was less important than Empire, an assessment which Rhodes's biographers have perpetuated.

Although he got to know Rhodes intimately later, and had no illusions about his shortcomings, Garrett retained to the end his first impression of Rhodes as a man interested in money only to the extent that it brought power. In 1890 he had written that power was Rhodes's idol, "control over men and things in the mass". Rhodes, as Garrett saw him, believed that the British Empire was the most perfect machine for exercising such control and so the British Empire was his religion.³ Twelve years later, reviewing Rhodes's career when it was over, Garrett still insisted that even the most cursory study of Rhodes's life made it plain that for him finance was merely the creature of politics.⁴

1. The incident is mentioned in a brief history of the Cape Times, published in the special jubilee edition of the paper on November 1, 1926.

2. "The necessary man" In Afrikanderland 77.

3. In Afrikanderland 79.

4. "The Character of Cecil Rhodes" Contemporary Review (June 1902) 769, 776, 777.

Garrett's regard for Rhodes was always clear-sighted, as his letters to Stead indicate. Reflecting on his South African experience in December 1899, he told Stead in a letter from the sanatorium at Nordrach, Germany, that those close to Rhodes found it very hard to discern an aura of moral grandeur about him. He was always surrounded by contemptibles who pandered to him and he insisted on taking all men on their lower side.⁵ Garrett found Rhodes's methods distasteful, particularly the way he used people of (in Garrett's view) dubious character as tools in his schemes and enterprises. In January 1898, hurt and angry, he had written to Stead declaring that Rhodes's Achilles heel was Rutherford Harris and what "petty and wretched tools" such as Harris represented and typified. Garrett had received a message from Rhodes that "he would rather have an open foe than a friend giving backhanders". Garrett commented to Stead: "Was there ever such blind fatuity? He sickened me for a bit in my human feelings but I didn't turn a hair as to my journalistic course."⁶

For his part, Rhodes appears to have been genuinely fond of Garrett although frequently angry with him and even dismayed at times at the line which the Cape Times was pursuing in its editorial columns.⁷ But they continued to meet regularly and Rhodes said of Garrett that it was "good to see him", although he was too much in a hurry to work political changes. Once the trauma of the Raid had spent itself and the Cape and Westminster committees of inquiry were over, Garrett made it

5 Garrett to Stead 20.12.1899. Stead Papers fo. 386.

6 Garrett to Stead January 1898. Stead Papers fo. 378.

7 G. Le Sueur: Cecil Rhodes 201, 202.

his task to persuade Rhodes to return to politics. Emotions were running high and political groupings were taking shape more than ever on ethnic lines. As the Cape Times saw it, Rhodes's dominating presence could not be ignored. "We hold that Mr Rhodes cannot lurk unsuspected and he had much better not lurk at all. The first duty of the moment is to unite the Progressive Colonial party before the Council elections."⁸

In Garrett's view, Rhodes was the only man who could unite the opposition groups against the Afrikaner Bond. A purely Rhodes party would not do. Neither would Rose Innes's South African Political Association, on its own, suffice to beat the Bond. If Garrett's scheme was to work, Rhodes's politics would have to undergo drastic change. He would have to abandon the protectionist views which he had advocated in his alliance with the rural-based, agrarian Afrikaner Bond and become a champion of the urban, English-speaking, consuming classes, who deeply resented the high food prices which such protectionist policies entailed. The Cape Times had always opposed taxation of the "necessities of life" such as bread and meat. The "cheap food" theme was a central plank of the moderate South African Political Association which, together with the jingoistic South African League, was to make up the so-called Progressive Party which eventually came into being to contest the 1898 elections - with Rhodes at the helm. But first Rhodes had to re-emerge politically as an exponent of "cheap food" policies and an opponent of the Afrikaner Bond and "Krugerism".

8 "Rhodes and Rose Innes: What we want from both of them" Cape Times 18.1.1898.

If Rhodes was to lead a party which opposed the Afrikaner Bond in its pro-Kruger external policies it seemed plain to Garrett that he should also break with the Bond's internal policies. In the autumn of 1896 Garrett, as a convinced Free Trader, had begun a "cheap food" campaign in the columns of the Cape Times, starting a "Shilling Fund" to finance the campaign and convening a Cheap Food Conference.⁹ When Rhodes returned from attending the Select Committee hearings in London Garrett kept at him publicly and privately to come out as a "Progressive" but he continued to lie low. It was not until March, 1898, that Garrett finally completed what he called his "education of Mr Rhodes".¹⁰ As he wrote and told Agnes on March 9, 1898, Rhodes had at last come out on "my ticket".¹¹ In the Cape Times on that day there appeared an extended interview with Rhodes on political topics, embodying the substance of several conversations between Garrett and Rhodes at Groote Schuur, marking his return to the fray and announcing some modification of his protectionist pro-agricultural views. On the Raid and the question of owning up to a "mistake" he said he had done so at Westminster but he was "not going to go on saying it and crawling in the dust to please you or anybody".¹²

For Cecil Rhodes, his new political role meant turning his back on the conciliatory policies he had practised for a decade and more. It was to be a bitter and frenetic political campaign, with Boer-Brit emotions at fever pitch. The elections

9 Cook 139.

10 Cook 137, 138.

11 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 9.3.1898.

12 "Mr Rhodes speaks" Cape Times 9.3.1898.

for the Legislative Council or upper house in March were followed in the second half of the year by a general election for the Legislative Assembly. James Rose Innes remembered no period when "racial feeling" ran higher than during 1896-1899, apart from the actual war.¹³ Garrett himself successfully contested Victoria East but the Progressive Party lost the wider battle by a narrow margin and Rhodes, who had no taste for the role of Leader of the Opposition, faded out of Cape politics.

It may be, as Lewis Michell observed, that Garrett overestimated his influence on Rhodes. But it was by no means negligible. There were not many people around Rhodes who stood up to him. Thomas Fuller told of an incident he observed at Groote Schuur one Sunday at breakfast time. Rhodes was in a rather overbearing temper and angry at an article of Garrett's which had appeared in the Cape Times the day before. Rhodes, according to Fuller, said something to the effect that he had a right to look for fair play from a paper in which he took so large an interest. Garrett rose from his seat and, looking straight at Rhodes, he replied: "I think it is good for you, Mr Rhodes, that your paper has an editor who does not care a damn if he pleases or displeases you." As Fuller tells it, there was a perfect and painful silence for a minute until Rhodes said quietly: "Yes it is best so, and I'm sorry if I seemed to question it. I have never inspired an article in your paper or requested that a given line be taken. But you might at least be careful about the facts."¹⁴ During Rhodes's

13 Innes 166.

14 T.E. Fuller: The Rt. Hon. Cecil John Rhodes 148, 149.

attempted come-back in 1898, particularly, the political friendship between the two men was at times very close.¹⁵ But the letters to Agnes leave us in no doubt that Garrett was determined to back Rhodes in his own way and on his own terms, preserving the independent character of the Cape Times, and that he succeeded in holding his own.

By now Milner had emerged as the dominant figure in South African politics, working from his vantage point at Cape Town as Governor of the Cape and Her Majesty's High Commissioner in the sub-continent. The friendship between Garrett and Milner was closer and rather more stable than Garrett's up-and-down association with Rhodes. They kept in close contact but discreetly so, for political reasons, and their relationship in public was very much more formal than their private contacts.¹⁶ The two men had both worked for Stead on the Pall Mall Gazette and they had met for the first time in Egypt after Milner had deserted journalism for public administration. Garrett had come to Egypt in search of health and copy and the two men quickly became friends. They had a great deal in common. They were both high-minded bachelors, dedicated servants of Empire, talking the same imperial language, and wholly devoted to the advancement of Britain's imperial interests. Milner was lonely at the Cape and found the social life "detestable" and his social duties as Governor irksome.¹⁷ Garrett told Agnes that Milner felt rather isolated and seemed glad of his company. People would be surprised if they realised the closeness of their relations.¹⁸

15 Garrett to Agnes Garrett August 1898.

16 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 20.5.1898.

17 C. Headlam ed.: The Milner Papers 1, 45.

18 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 18.8.1897.

As his correspondence reveals, Milner felt Garrett's illness and his departure from the Cape in 1899 very keenly, both personally and politically. He wrote and told Garrett in July, 1900 that "no blow was harder or has left more permanent ill-effects than the break-down of your health. I wish I could count even now upon having you back soon".¹⁹ Milner became so convinced of Garrett's abilities that he even attempted to have him appointed to replace Sir Graham Bower as Imperial Secretary at the Cape. Hardly surprisingly, Chamberlain would not hear of it, regarding Garrett as indiscreet and up to his ears in politics. Garrett wrote to Agnes that he thought Chamberlain was right to refuse to appoint him, "on the facts as he sees them". He told Agnes of an interview with Chamberlain in Whitehall after his book on the Raid had been published. The book had dealt with the Colonial Secretary's position in regard to the Raid, he told Agnes, "in the best possible English spirit and quite counter to the Rhodes-Hawksley-Harris crowd, who were furious", but it had done so "with candour and independence - how people do hate that - " - and he could see during the interview that Chamberlain had marked him down as "Dangerous".²⁰

The question of Milner, Chamberlain and the Imperial secretaryship at the Cape throws an interesting light on the relationship between these two key figures in the late Victorian Empire. Each seems to have misread the other's intentions. Milner's letters to Garrett at this time and the Colonial Office records give a full account of this extraordinary episode.²¹

19 Headlam 2, 113.

20 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 8.9.1897.

21 Add. Mss. 45929 and CO 537/132.

Milner had originally asked for G.V. Fiddes as Bower's replacement. Fiddes was the best man available in the Colonial Office.²² But it seems that Chamberlain was reluctant to let him go - and proposed Captain C.T. Dawkins, who was Sir Hercules Robinson's son-in-law. Two Colonial Office officials were also mentioned as possibles, Messrs Escott and Ashmore. But Milner, apparently on impulse, proposed Edmund Garrett, a choice which astonished Chamberlain and his officials, who immediately demurred on the grounds of Garrett's indiscretion, which Chamberlain had experienced at first hand, as he was quick to point out.²³ Yet Chamberlain was reluctant to refuse Milner's choice outright. A proconsul of Milner's status was clearly entitled to have a say in the choice of his own right-hand man in a critical area of Imperial policy. Chamberlain was in a dilemma. He was determined not to have Garrett at any price. But he contented himself by expressing grave doubt to Milner about the wisdom of such an appointment and indicating that Milner would have to take the "complete responsibility" for such a "risky" appointment, apparently confident that Milner would acquiesce.²⁴

Milner declined to do so. He cabled Chamberlain accordingly and Chamberlain noted in some exasperation that he could not understand how "Sir A. Milner has been captured by a conceited self-confident partizan (sic) chatterer like Garrett. However, I will not appoint him at any price."²⁵ Rather than

22 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 8.9.1897.

23 Milner to Graham 10.8.1897; Minutes 10.8.1897, 11.8.1897 CO 537/132.

24 Chamberlain to Milner 13.8.1897; Minute 17.8.1897 CO 537/132; Garrett to Agnes Garrett 8.9.1897.

25 Minute 17.8.1897 CO 537/132.

accept Garrett, Chamberlain decided to give Milner the man he had asked for in the first place - and whom Milner could not very well now refuse.²⁶ However, Treasury approval was required for the Fiddes appointment and some time elapsed before Milner learnt the outcome. It was not until September 2 that he wrote to give Garrett the news.²⁷ While waiting to hear from London, Milner seems to have been confident that he would ultimately prevail. He told Garrett that the Colonial Office was resisting but had not refused Garrett's appointment.²⁸ Then Garrett heard that a "profound silence" had fallen on the Colonial Office. He believed, wrote Milner, that the Colonial Office wished to frighten him into withdrawing his proposal and when he had instead repeated it the result was "irritated puzzlement of the Downing Street mind".²⁹ Towards the end of August Milner told Garrett that the issue was still unresolved. "I still think they will reluctantly follow my advice. In any case I have not the least fear of weakening my influence with them by showing that when I recommend a thing I mean it."³⁰ Milner was about to leave on a journey through the Colony. Before leaving, he had a talk with Garrett in which the two of them "arranged everything on the assumption that Chamberlain could not now well refuse".³¹ The assumption was misplaced.

The letters to Agnes stop well short of the Bloemfontein conference and the outbreak of the South African War and so are

26 Minute 17.8.1897 CO 537/132.

27 Milner to Garrett 2.9.1897 Add. Mss. 45929.

28 Milner to Garrett 15.8.1897 Add. Mss. 45929.

29 Milner to Garrett 20.8.1897 Add. Mss. 45929.

30 Milner to Garrett 25.8.1897 Add. Mss. 45929.

31 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 8.9.1897.

not helpful in examining this final, decisive phase of Garrett's editorship. Throughout this period, until his health broke down, Garrett gave Milner's policies solid and consistent support.³² An English historian, A.N. Porter, has dealt with the Milner-Garrett collaboration to some extent in the course of a study of rather wider scope dealing with Milner's relationships with the press between 1897-1899. Milner's friendship with Garrett was only one facet of a whole complex of contacts with newspaper editors and proprietors in both Britain and South Africa which was a vital part of Milner's aggressive diplomatic strategy in the run-up to the South African War. As Porter concludes, Milner's involvement with the press was a deliberate and clearly thought-out attempt to unite British opinion in South Africa and at home in the pursuit of his ultimate aims, the preservation of British supremacy in Southern Africa and Imperial consolidation.³³

Whatever may have been the case with other newspapers, Milner was assured of the support of the Cape Times because of his personal understanding and long-standing friendship with the editor rather than in consequence of a financier's conspiracy to incite a war. It is notable that Garrett's policy hardened steadily after Milner's arrival at the Cape - until

32 See for example Cape Times editorials "Mr Kruger's joke" 19.5.1899; "If you were Milner ... " 26.5.1899 and 27.5.1899; "A fair franchise" 29.5.1899 and 30.5.1899; "A safe criterion" 7.6.1899; "Pitching the lists" 8.6.1899; "Don't speak to the man at the wheel" 9.6.1899; "Playing out the farce" 10.6.1899; "The Uitlander's manhood" 12.6.1899; "A last attempt" 13.6.1899; "There is a tide ..." 14.6.1899; "Frankenstein: beginning" 15.6.1899; "The monster under tuition" 16.6.1899; "Fumbling" 20.6.1899; "The unloaded gun" 22.6.1899.

33 Porter: "Sir Alfred Milner and the Press 1897-1899" 323-339.

Garrett found himself backing an aggressive policy against the Transvaal (as advocated by Milner) which he had rejected out of hand two years earlier (when the same policy was ventured by Chamberlain). Garrett's old mentor, W.T. Stead, challenged him on this point as the war was beginning. Why had he abandoned his moderation and restraint of 1896? The two men argued out the issue in a correspondence in the Daily News, London, in late 1899. Stead quoted a letter which Garrett had written to him in 1896 in terms of great seriousness and urgency, saying that the war which Chamberlain seemed to be driving towards would be a crime and a blunder. Garrett's defence was to argue that the position had changed between 1896 and 1899. In 1896, England had not been morally in a position to apply force or pressure to secure reforms in the Transvaal. The Raid inquiry was still pending, the Raiders had yet to be tried and it would have been wrong for Britain to force matters to a war. Since then, however, the Transvaal had been given a fair interval and had used its opportunity not to undertake reforms but to introduce a crop of new evils. Imperial intervention, which would have been backed by extremists only in 1896, said Garrett, now had "the unanimous support of the whole of British South Africa".³⁴

It wasn't a matter of reform in the Transvaal, obviously enough. It was a matter of securing British supremacy. The Transvaal, with its gold, would be the key to control of the entire sub-continent. Under Milner's influence, it appears, Garrett's abhorrence at the prospect of a war between Boer and

34 Daily News 21.11.1899; 22.11.1899.

Briton in 1896 had receded somewhat. In 1899 he was not pressing for war. But he was prepared to contemplate the risk of war, if there was no other way. Garrett had come to believe that South Africa, if it was to be united on "a Dutch basis", should not be united at all.³⁵

Olive Schreiner believed that Garrett had led Milner to take the wrong path. The converse is as likely a thesis. In any event, it was a fateful friendship. Garrett himself argued, however, that the situation as it developed in 1899 was not the fault of individuals such as Chamberlain or Milner but the result of forces which were "wider and deeper and longer-lived than any human personality, however vivid".³⁶

Questions concerning the control of and the influence exerted by daily newspapers cannot be resolved by considering the position and personality of the editor in isolation from the ownership of the newspaper or, indeed, the market forces to which the newspaper is subject. In some circumstances newspaper readers, with their prejudices, passions and narrow perceptions, may exercise as much control of a paper's policy as either the editor or the proprietors. The Hobson thesis of a "kept" press playing a role in the run-up to the Boer War, while reflecting something of the truth, no doubt, seems somewhat simplistic. As far as Garrett's editorship is concerned, the Cape Times reflected its readers' views pretty accurately during the Raid crisis, judging by its rising circulation in this period. If the paper had not been in tune with its

35 Garrett to Stead 12.12.1899. Stead Papers fo. 391.

36 "The Inevitable in South Africa" Contemporary Review October 1899.

readers it is unlikely that Garrett would have survived as editor. Nevertheless, some editors contribute significantly more to their times than do others and may be accounted worthy of a footnote in the historical record. Garrett, it is submitted, was one of them.

THE LETTERS OF EDMUND GARRETT TO HIS COUSIN 1896-1898



Edmund Garrett in 1895.

At the Physician's.¹

New Year's Day 1896.

My Deare

It is not easy to write and quietly wish my dear ones in England (which God bless!) while the future of England in South Africa and indeed the future of this South African half-continent itself are hanging in the balance. We are living through a terrible strain, those of us who know all; and lately I have been one of the dozen men who do know nearly all there is to know about this crisis. But you will look to have a letter so I have sat down to try and write myself quiet over one.

By the time you get this all will be settled, perhaps, and much may look different.

Today I say as I have said ever since Monday last (it seems weeks): Jameson² has spoiled all - given us all away -

- 1 81 Plein Street, the home of Dr Jane Waterston (1843-1932) the first woman doctor to practise at Cape Town, who tended Garrett in his recurrent illness. Garrett often spent the night at this address when he missed the last train home to Rondebosch, which gave rise to a quarrel with F.S. Malan, editor of Ons Land, when that paper hinted at a liaison between the editor of the Cape Times and Dr Waterston. Notebook of F.S. Malan, 1898, Malan papers, Cape Archives; Ons Land November 12, 1898, "Snap Shots" by Omnus.
- 2 Leander Starr Jameson (1853-1917) who had practised medicine at Kimberley and joined the service of the British South Africa Company in 1891. After the Raid fiasco he went on trial in London and served a brief period of imprisonment. Jameson made a remarkable political comeback and was prime minister of the Cape, 1904-1908.

damned Rhodes and himself and the future of South Africa.

You will have understood at home this much that a revolution on the Rand has been planned very carefully: not to re-annex to England, but to establish a Government which would take the right South African view towards England. The way the gold is working out, the Transvaal is the key to South Africa for 50 years to come, unless such bonanzas turn up in Rhodesia as are not going to turn up.³ With Hollander and German influences supreme over Boer tools in the Transvaal,⁴ and the Transvaal dominating all the rest of South Africa as so many poor relations, how can we get a South African Union except on anti-English terms, with the gradual loss of these colonies to the Empire? which would be the signal for the loss of the rest. The men on the Rand were getting strong enough to make the Republic such a factor as we wish, but they are such money grabbers and some of 'em don't want a

3 As early as November, 1894, Rhodes had been told by his mining expert John Hays Hammond that Rhodesia was not going to be "a Second Rand". Recent historiography of the Raid has sought an economic motive for the conspiracy. I.R. Phimister: "Rhodes, Rhodesia and the Rand", Journal of Southern African Studies 1, 1, (October 1974) 74-90.

4 Hollander officials were in a minority in the Transvaal but they occupied key positions and were thought to be anti-British. German commercial penetration of the Transvaal at this time was seen in Whitehall as a threat to Britain's economic supremacy South of the Limpopo. The Netherlands-South Africa railway company (NZASM) was for the most part German-financed. A speech by President Kruger in January, 1895, was seen as evidence of his willingness to co-operate with German schemes of penetration in the region. J.J. van Helten: "German capital, the Netherlands railway company and the Political Economy of the Transvaal 1896-1900", Journal of African History 19, 3 1978.

Republic friendly to England. Well, late weeks have added to the Rand at rate of 4000 to 5000 men a week and many of them dour Cornish miners, and the time seemed come.⁵ Kruger and Co. saw it coming and have been making some holes in Secret Service money and sending Leyds to Berlin.⁶ To give the Franchise would be to give without a blow the means of getting all that they would rather fight to refuse: so the only hope was Armed Bluff, and that must mean the chance of Armed Rebellion, and that rebellion must succeed at once and so Dutch South Africa find itself quietly taking the fait accompli (which was not to be the Union Jack, always remember. You will recall my entreating them up at the Rand - Hamilton⁷

5 Garrett's estimates of the rate of immigration to the Rand were overdrawn. About 4 000 or 5 000 a month would have been nearer the mark. John X. Merriman noted in his diary on January 8, 1896, that the weekly arrivals in Cape ports "have for some months past averaged between 500 and 1 000 souls, for the most part of English descent and all bound for the goldfields". Lewsen ed. 2, 191. Cape Times 31.7.1896.

6 W.J. Leyds, State Secretary of the Transvaal, was in Europe for health reasons and consulted a throat specialist in Berlin. After the Raid he held discussions at the German foreign ministry and in March he visited the Colonial Office in London. Percy Fitzpatrick, writing a few years later, said that Leyds "went on a political mission to Lisbon and Berlin and it was stated that large sums had been withdrawn from the Treasury and charged to the secret service fund, the handling of which was entrusted to this gentleman". J.P. Fitzpatrick: The Transvaal from Within 106.

7 Frederick Howard Hamilton (1865-1956) was editor of the Star, Johannesburg, and came to Cape Town with Charles Leonard in late December, 1895, to tell Rhodes of the postponement of the rising. Returning to Johannesburg, he was arrested and tried with the reform leaders and was released on signing an undertaking not to take part in politics for three years.

and Leonard⁸ - to keep sound on that, for I understand the Dutch character).⁹ Well, the arms had been got in and all was ready except the temper of the men. When that was all right the Rand was to rise and establish itself at Pretoria, and of course as you now see the Chartered Company's forces, the best fighters in South Africa, were [...] at various points for the border and put the thing through, not as charter of course - but as English colonists taking sides in a civil war.¹⁰ If done properly there would and could be no bloodshed worth speaking of, and then the *fait accompli*, - England goes in as umpire, carefully snubs any few Union Jack wavers, and the true Republic of the Transvaal begins by summoning a Conference to get first steps in a Federation of the Colonies and Republics under own flags. At least that's my view of the programme. The great thing was to keep both

- 8 Charles Henry Leonard (1865-1921) was an attorney in practice on the Witwatersrand and President of the Transvaal National Union. He was the author of the Union's reform manifesto of December, 1895.
- 9 When Garrett visited the Rand in mid-1895 he found that there was a feeling among a section of the leaders of the Transvaal National Union that a rising, if it was to take place, should be under the Union Jack rather than the Vierkleur, the flag of the Transvaal Republic. Garrett's assessment later was that the actual conspiracy assumed the status quo as far as the flag was concerned. The "flag question" flared up among the Rand conspirators in late December and was made a pretext for postponing the rising. Garrett and Edwards 54, 78-83.
- 10 Jameson's force comprised 510 mounted men, eight Maxims and three field guns. Of the men 356 were members of the Mashonaland Mounted Police, most of whom had done no previous campaigning and many were little more than recruits. M. Hole: The Jameson Raid 163. Van der Poel 106.

English Government, High Commissioner¹¹ and Chartered Company as such, and Rhodes out of it till all was over:¹² Rhodes quite ready to face the Cape Dutchmen and carry them with him for uitlander versus Boer if his part was only letting his troops intervene to prevent bloodshed or to see the Revolution home.

All ready but men, on Rand. They not quite. So day put off. That is, the Revolution part found it would take them a week longer to be able to put the rest into the corner where they must take up arms. So they tell Jameson 'Not yet ready'. (It's no use denying that concerted action now and will be still less so by you get this.) He, ambitious unscrupulous hothead, jumps to conclusion 'They're funking - it will all simmer down - will force their hand' - and marches in, in spite. Rhodes on Sunday evening, Xmas week, gets wire calmly apprising that Chartered Company forces have begun war on the Transvaal (for that is what it is) in order not to help but to create a revolution!! - Jameson cut wires and by now is either entering Johannesburg or fighting the Boers on the velt both sides armed with such Maxims etc as never get used on

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- 11 Sir Hercules Robinson, later Lord Rosmead (1824-1897) was Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner. He was 70 years of age when appointed in May, 1895, upon the insistence of Rhodes. The appointment was highly controversial. Robinson had been a director of De Beers and a shareholder in the Chartered company. He escaped suspicion of complicity in the Jameson fiasco but in fact knew about the conspiracy.
- 12 At the time of the Raid Cecil Rhodes was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony and chairman of De Beers and of the Gold Fields of South Africa Limited and managing director of the British South Africa Company.

both sides in South Africa,¹³ both absolutely determined, and splendid fighting stuff - the beginning perhaps of a race war in South Africa, perhaps Europe too, such as none can see end of.

Well, it was inevitable. Cat's out of bag. Rhodes may say and do what he likes, but on Jameson's luck in the next 4 and 20 hours hangs his career, and perhaps his career in this Colony is past hanging already.

All his years of work, some of it not quite quite clean, thrown away. All our carefully conquered Afrikander sympathy flung into Paul Kruger's arms.¹⁴ Let me tell you the history of one night of my life: Monday 30th Dec 1895. News of Revolution begun hourly expected. I send for Hofmeyr, and after an hour's hard work, squeeze out of him a word of almost

13 "An automatic machine gun capable of firing as many as 620 rounds per minute and of accurate shooting up to 3 000 yards." (Chambers's English Dictionary, 1898.) Jameson attributed almost magical powers to the Maxim gun. In an address to the Raiders before they set out, he is said to have assured them they would draw a "zone of lead" for a mile on each side of the column and that "no Boer will be able to live in it". But he neglected to take along enough water for cooling the guns. They jammed almost immediately when brought into action. The Jameson Raid was "a rare example of the over-estimation of the machine gun's capabilities". John Ellis: The social history of the machine gun 91.

14 Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (1825-1904) was President of the South African Republic from 1882 until 1900. He handled the Raid crisis with shrewdness and moderation and on June 12, 1896, a Cape Times editorial complimented the President on his "good sense, his good nature and his statesmanship".

sympathy with uitlander for publication.¹⁵ I know, meanwhile, not from Rhodes, that "something" has begun in Transvaal.

Wires blocked: exact news coming in morning.

In consultation with Hamilton and Leonard, who have come down to Cape Town, I concoct a most careful article to secure Afrikaner sympathy; the Physician, sent by me, drags by the beard a Dutch master from Normal College to do same into Dutch, ready to print in Dutch and English.

Long wires from Edwards¹⁶ at Johannesburg on tension of feeling there, but ignorance of Jameson movement so far: I also ignorant of exact facts.

Scarcely has Hofmeyr gone, when in comes Sir Graham Bower, Imperial Secretary, looking corpse-like.¹⁷ Tells me of Jameson move. I say "Then he's just given us away." GB nods; looks like to cry. We agree only thing is to make most of High

15 Jan Hendrik "Onze Jan" Hofmeyr (1845-1909) was leader of the Afrikaner Bond. His political alliance with Cecil Rhodes was shattered by the Raid. The interview with Garrett was published on December 31, 1895, simultaneously with the news of Jameson's crossing the border. Hofmeyr confessed to being "pulled both ways". Although he regretted that a statesmanlike compromise had not been arrived at, the Transvaal still kept his strong sympathies and affection. "Blood is thicker than water". The text was read over to Hofmeyr and he approved it for publication. Cape Times 31.12.1895.

16 E.J. Edwards was assistant editor of the Cape Times throughout Garrett's editorship. He went to the Rand in late December, 1895, as a special correspondent and he collaborated with Garrett in writing The Story of an African Crisis.

17 Sir Graham Bower (1848-1933) was Imperial Secretary at the Cape from 1884 until 1897. Bower knew about Rhodes's plan and was aware that the border force would be used to support a rising. Bower accepted the role of scapegoat in the aftermath of the Raid, believing that disclosure of the complicity of the High Commissioner would wreck the peace of South Africa.

Commissioner's repudiation and (idle) recall.¹⁸ He authorises me from High Commissioner to announce it, but only if I get news of Jameson's move from other sources than the official wire, so that it can't be kept longer unknown in Colony.

I have to write such a leader as covers this and puts best face on it while not appearing to know the facts!

Telegrams filtering in all night: News of Jameson comes 4 a.m. only! At same time I find Stuart knows from his telegrams.¹⁹ Paper going to press. I write up new matter adding news and High Commissioner's message thereon: Meanwhile, Hamilton comes in; reveals much that he had kept back so far; and goes quite hysterical when I say that Rhodes and Government must and will repudiate blunder, and tell him my news from High Commissioner. He talks like Rand rebel anti-English and says if Imperial Government don't back Jameson now he and the rest will turn Dutch. I argue with him, then send for shorthand man and dictate very slowly in his presence the part of leader expressing impossibility of backing Jameson.²⁰

18 Robinson wired instructions to Mafeking on Monday, December 30, for a messenger to be sent after Jameson informing him of the High Commissioner's repudiation and instructing him to return.

19 John Stuart was editor of the South African Telegraph, a Cape Town morning newspaper which had been started by J.B. Robinson in direct competition with the Cape Times and with the primary purpose of opposing Cecil Rhodes. C.D. Don: And having writ ... 94.

20 "We have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if the troops in question did cross the border in this airy way, they would be promptly repudiated by the Imperial authority ... through all such events it is the High Commissioner's duty to stand high above the quarrels - even the just quarrels of the Uitlanders." Editorial "To All Afrikaners" Cape Times 31.12.1895.

4 to 5.30. Doss on office sofa. 5.30. Walk up slopes of Table Mountain via Roeland Street; find I'm tired; watch sun rising over Cape Town; come back to Physician's 6 a.m.; she is up already; we confer; she feeds me; I doss again on her sofa; bath and breakfast, and the Cape Times going like wildfire; it has partly saved situation with Afrikaner for one day.

During day: see everybody. Hofmeyr, who tells me all is up, and Rhodes done for: Hamilton and Leonard who begin to see that no use bluffing right through, J. has put us in wrong: Rhodes, who says 'I like Jameson. I don't like this Proclamation. I shall perhaps resign.' I beg him not to be such a damned fool, but note that he is showing chivalry and readiness to face Dutch when time comes. Under certain people's open approval I send wire to Rand discounting Proclamation as formal.²¹ G. Bower shows me rough draft of proclamation, which Hofmeyr and Co. are pressing High Commissioner to make as hot as hell. Seeing it I first waver in [...] line of policy. "This is too much a snub for the Rand revolutionists. Keep them out of it." Debate on this. Go in and see High Commissioner, who is as usual very sensible but firm. Hears me out; at last agrees to omit one sentence which I think would have had fatal effect on Rand.

We have all been taking pains with Stuart, to rouse a spark of Englishman in him, to get him to make 'Telegraph'

21 "You must expect and not misunderstand a proclamation putting Jameson formally in the wrong. Imperial authorities have no other course. Don't let this weaken or divide you." A6 of 1896. Appendix A No 92.

as little J.B. Robinson²² and Krugerite as possible. He resists Sauer, who, bidding for Dutch vote, issues afternoon edition of paper with new leading article of his own, forced into paper (Stuart swears) by producing power of attorney from Robinson under which Stuart (I have long known) has to submit to Sauer's policy always.²³ Stuart inclined to resign if Rhodes will see him through - the old squaring overtures and situation now not squeamish: I believe matter is in hand through Beit.²⁴ (My guess this. I know nothing.) Sauer arm in arm with Hofmeyr. Afrikander indignation rising. My two horses getting harder to ride than ever. I write leader, egg-dancing, Dutch and English again, to make (1) English feel fired by Jameson (2) Dutch feel that uitlander situation desperate enough to partly excuse his madness.²⁵ No news of

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- 22 Joseph Benjamin Robinson (1840-1929) was a pioneer mining magnate and the first South African-born millionaire. He was well-disposed towards President Kruger and hostile towards Cecil Rhodes. He owned The Press in Pretoria and the Johannesburg Times and he started the Telegraph in Cape Town in August, 1895, pursuing a policy of conciliation and moderation towards the Boer Republics.
- 23 Jacobus Wilhelmus Sauer (1850-1913) was a politician of liberal views who had been opposed to Rhodes in the Cape parliament since 1893. The leading article "Treason!" placed the primary responsibility for the Raid on Rhodes's shoulders. John Stuart resigned soon afterwards and went into journalism in Rhodesia. South African Telegraph 31.12.1895 (special edition) and 1.1.1896.
- 24 Alfred Beit (1853-1906), mining magnate and financier, was a leading conspirator in the plot to overthrow the government of the Transvaal.
- 25 The editorial "One Man's Madness" denounced the Raid as a "colossal blunder" but sought to excuse Jameson's action as a dare-devil impulse. "Never surely was such a gamester's throw, with the peace of half a continent trembling in the balance. All we can do is wait for news and hope for the best, most of us with sympathies painfully divided." Cape Times 1.1.1896.

Jameson not even now (2 o' clock Wed) - Physician sleeping at Muizenberg; I living at 81 Plein Street; have just seen that Rhodes repudiates a new move of Chartered Company's troops, reported from Bulawayo, and that Argus gets that repudiation out along with news.²⁶

No time for more. I like Hamilton and Leonard, am not in Johannesburg because Jameson's rush has found us all outside and thrown out our plans; shall never get there now till actual fighting is over, if any. And they do want voices and pens and cool heads and English hearts up there: every fool useful who boasts any two of these.

My dear love to you all; you may show this to (1) Moberly Bell who has got his man up there all right so I'm not troubling²⁷ (2) E.T. Cook,²⁸ and (3) W.T.S.²⁹ all to use

26 Rhodes telegraphed Bulawayo on January 1, 1896, prohibiting any movement of forces.

27 Charles Frederick Moberly Bell (1847-1911) was manager of The Times newspaper, London and an ardent imperialist. He had knowledge of the Rhodes-Jameson conspiracy through The Times Colonial Affairs correspondent, Flora Shaw, who was kept in the picture by F. Rutherford Harris. Bell sent Francis Younghusband to the Transvaal as a special correspondent in November, 1895, and urged him to impress upon Rhodes that the enterprise should not be begun on a Saturday as this would favour the Sunday papers at the expense of The Times. Bell escaped suspicion of complicity and was not called upon to testify before the British parliamentary committee which investigated the Raid.

28 Edward Tyas Cook (1857-1919) was a colleague of Edmund Garrett on the staff of the Pall Mall Gazette and later became editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, the Westminster Gazette and, in 1895, of the Daily News, which under his editorship adopted a Liberal-imperialist stance until 1901 when it changed policy and editor on being acquired by a pro-Boer syndicate. Cook was the author of an admiring biography of Garrett which was published in London in 1909.

29 William Thomas Stead (1849-1912). Campaigning journalist and social reformer who inaugurated the so-called "new journalism" as editor of the Pall Mall Gazette and the Review of Reviews. The "new journalism" attracted accusations of muck-raking and sensationalism but was "done with great courage and great rectitude". Stead was a friend and early admirer of Cecil Rhodes but by the time of the South African War he had become a convinced "pro-Boer" and supporter of the peace party. The History of the Times 3, 92-94.

their best discretion and not name any authority for anything they use in any form. God save South Africa.

Edmund.

[January 8 1896]

I. Public

Ask Millie¹ to convey crux to same persons as named in my last and add Massingham of D. Chronicle,² and [... ...]. Aspect quite reversed by behaviour of Johannesburg. Before, we said Jameson's spoilt all by not leaving them to make their revolution by themselves - we now see that they never would have done, and he knew it. Feeling of all English and many anglicised Afrikanders represented by my Petition for Dr Jameson's release which has gone through Colony like wild-fire (see Papers, I sent double set).³ Nobody cares a d--- whether Johannesburg gets its rights now. My estimate 6 yrs back, renewed on recent visits, was right. They are not the stuff of which revolutionaries are made.⁴ But the trouble is our race for 1st time has failed among 10 000 or 20 000 to

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- 1 Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847-1929) Garrett's cousin, younger sister of Agnes Garrett, and a leader of the women's suffrage movement.
 - 2 H.W. Massingham, editor of the Daily Chronicle, was a strong supporter of the South African Republic, particularly in the period after the Jameson Raid. He was forced to resign his editorship in 1899 on account of his views.
 - 3 The petition urged the High Commissioner to regard the release of Jameson and his comrades, "as of more importance than the other conditions which the government of the South African Republic is asked to grant". The petition forms were published in the Cape Times and 10 000 signatures were obtained by January 6. Cape Times 6.1.1896.
 - 4 When Garrett visited the Rand in 1889-1890 he concluded that the British inhabitants of the Rand were not revolutionary material. He was convinced that the problems of the Transvaal would be peacefully resolved. He again visited the Rand in mid-July 1895. In Afrikanderland 53; Cook 22-3; Garrett and Edwards 79.

turn up a Leader when wanted.⁵ Colonel Rhodes⁶ told Thatcher (see interview in today's Cape Times)⁷ that he had not 100 men under him he could count on. But of course as Cecil J. admits to me the Colonel has himself shown difference between a brave soldier and a man for a crisis. Fact is, plot included complete coup d'état by Johannesburg force, when Dr Jim was to march in and relieve and hold against commandos till Imperial troops had to intervene, say to both 'Lay down arms' and settle terms. If asked beforehand I should have warned CJR that as I said to Moberly Bell weeks back he was underrating power carried by compact minorities with intense conviction of right.⁸

Dr Jim's going in would in any case under Potchefstroom

- 5 In July, 1896, the Johannesburg census showed that there were 50 000 Uitlanders living within a three-mile radius of central Johannesburg, the majority of them adult males. Garrett, it appears, was referring to the British component of the Uitlander population. Cape Times 31.7.1896.
- 6 Colonel F.W. Rhodes (1851-1905). An older brother of Cecil Rhodes, he served in the British Army in India and Egypt and joined the service of the British South Africa Company in 1893. In October, 1895, he went to Johannesburg ostensibly as manager of the Gold Fields of South Africa but actually to organise the military aspect of the Rand rising.
- 7 "The dash for the Rand - told by one who went through it" was splashed over three columns in the Cape Times of 8.1.1896. Thatcher was later exposed as a fraud who had played no part at all in the Krugersdorp fighting. Thatcher in fact joined Jameson's column 50 miles after the start, was suspected of being a spy and disappeared before any fighting took place. South African Telegraph 26.2.1896.
- 8 There was a belief in English-speaking South Africa before the Anglo-Boer War that the Uitlanders in the Transvaal outnumbered the burghers. Hobson, who investigated the question in 1899, rejected the "popular notion" that the Uitlanders were three-quarters of the population. He estimated a Boer population of 125 000 with about 120 000 British and many thousands of Hollanders, Germans and others. Hobson 245.

Convention (Orange Free State and Transvaal) have forced Orange Free State to join in and help Transvaal,⁹ and so you would have had civil war only stopped by Imperial Government in any case. But CJR it seems had reason to fear that a revolution without Jim would be (1) abortive fizzle - we see how right! (2) successful but on wrong lines - Dr Jim's help enabled terms to be made between him and conspirators, not for annexation to England - at least I trust that, tho' God knows what Jim may have gone in for! - but for new South African Republic on lines of bringing South Africa into Federation on basis of Common Tariffs, (South African Free Trade) Rails, Justice, Glen Grey Act for natives,¹⁰ etc. etc. in fact getting Federation on our lines, which may now come (and CJR thinks was coming) on Republic and anti-English lines. I should never have approved this coup just as it stood beforehand because (1) I knew a coup d'état which ignores Boer sentiment as to means by which, would never last in South Africa (2) Risk of failure too great in proportion to risk of anti-English development as things stood. After all Dr Jim and the men might have been drafted into Johannesburg gradually

9 A political alliance between the Free State and the Transvaal was signed on March 17, 1897, in which the South African Republic and the Orange Free State bound themselves to support one another with all available forces and means if the independence of either state was threatened or attacked.

10 The Glen Grey Act (1894) was a Cape measure introduced by Cecil Rhodes, providing inter alia for a form of individual land title for Africans, initially in the Glen Grey district of the Transkei, which could be extended elsewhere. There were also provisions instituting local government bodies for such areas and a labour tax.

and done it all from inside. Now people say what was Chartered Company going to get out of it? Forcible amalgamation of Rand à la Kimberley, Transvaal added to Chartered territory - such like foolery. - But though I would not soberly have approved beforehand, the world would have cheered coup to echo if successful, and Chartered Company too when bidden to Federal Conference by new Government and getting South African Free Trade etc. It will be found that Jameson had prearranged letter from a section of the leaders at Johannesburg calling him to come in, revoked by subsequent message when they, being split and funking, put off their row: I was going up for 6th:¹¹ Jameson put us all 'in the cart' by plunging in. But he saw they were funking and rather than lose chance of forcing settlement on right lines in he went and tried to force their hands. The Jameson section of leaders, 2 were down here - put in cart like me only more so (Hamilton and Leonard. You remember my talks with them at Johannesburg) - and the rest fully believed that he would come through in triumph and they could show their hand when he did and need not go out and so provoke attack all round on Johannesburg till his force was there to organise town for siege.

Now, what next? In a whole week I have bluffed this through, desperately riding my old two horses but the Afrikaner horse is gone and any fool can see I'm only pretending

11 When the Rand leaders decided to postpone the rising it was publicly announced that the meeting of the National Union, to be held on December 26, had been adjourned to January 6. Garrett and Edwards 77.

with that leg. I have had letters articles and God knows what written in Dutch and in Cape taal but the real feeling there was against Paul Kruger has been turned now and it's the old rut Dutch v English. The great thing is to keep apart (1) Imperial Government and Rhodes (2) what Jim did and what CJR would have sanctioned. (He will admit massing troops and contemplating help when Revolution began: "to stop Cape Afrikanders on Rand being shot down" etc. - I gather; - he must and will face music.)¹² I have seen him at Groote Schuur and he is quite grey but taking big view and putting back to the wall. We are going to fight losing game and so far Cape Town has been bluffed right through but from country I hear no go at all. In my petition Dutch would sign on Saturday since forgathering at kirk with ministers on Sunday they all say Jim should be hanged! - and many add, Rhodes too; and some add, Hercules Robinson too; and a few add, Imperial Government altogether.

Well, any fool can play a winning game.

On Monday night, with first news, Stuart of the South African Telegraph sang Rule Britannia! While coup seemed likely to succeed he hummed Rule Britannia in the club, let Sauer put in disgraceful party appeal to Dutch prejudice in his paper,¹³ gave out that he was resigning when crowd threatened to wreck

12 Cecil Rhodes sailed for England on January 15 after briefly visiting Kimberley. Answering a question put to him by Garrett as he embarked he said: "Yes I will face the music. There is much to be said on many sides of this business and some of it will be very bitter: but I am no coward." Cape Times 16.1.1896.

13 The leading article "Treason!". See Garrett to Agnes Garrett 1.1.1896 note 23.

office, asked me to let him take my arm once in public, offered Beit to go out for money down or promise in writing, put in imputation that I was paid by Rhodes (as often before)¹⁴ (I replied this time as you will see)¹⁵ and he and Sauer for days were nearly egg pelted in streets; and when coup utter failure let 'self be whipped to heel on promise of better terms from J.B. Robinson (so I gather from his own cynical hints) and yesterday printed letter from himself to manager in his own paper saying as to rumours of resignation he had at first disagreed policy paper being fool and new comer but now heartily convinced crime against Empire committed and was fully at one.¹⁶ I wish his old colleagues and mine on Pall Mall Gazette to know these facts, through Harry [...]. They can then challenge him for his version and act accordingly.

Hofmeyr with whom my relations are still cordial though he accuses me of making 2000 people start to wreck his house and turn back only because of his old mother (they booed him at

14 In an editorial "One man's Crime" 1.1.1896.

15 A Cape Times leading article "The dead set at Mr Rhodes" (3.1.1896) accused Mr J.B. Robinson of fostering the most conspicuously "kept" newspapers on the sub-continent.

16 "Throughout I have been personally responsible for and in cordial accord with whatever has appeared in the South African Telegraph" (South African Telegraph 7.1.1896.) The letter was addressed to Mr Fred Centlivres, manager of the paper.

the Club)¹⁷ says CJR has fooled and compromised him and he will go for him hard. But he funks office and the two horses! Sauer is now so scorned that he is as utterly ruined as CJR! Isn't it strange and excellent? Charter¹⁸ must go if necessary to clear Imperial Government of complicity but they must hang on to Convention and Delagoa pre-emption and Suzerainty for dear life: only check on Orange Free State merging with South African Republic.¹⁹

- 17 Garrett and Hofmeyr were members of the City Club and lunched there regularly in the company of other leading citizens, including John X. Merriman. On January 4 they met in the Club and Garrett told Hofmeyr how Sir Graham Bower had brought the news of Jameson's invasion of the Transvaal to the Cape Times office on Monday night, December 30, and had authorised him to release it only after confirmation from non-official sources. Merriman, who was also in the Club on January 4, noted in his diary that Garrett was "hysterical and irrational" and Hofmeyr "vastly pleased with himself - amusing in his vanity". Memo dated January 4, 1896, Hofmeyr papers, South African Library. Lewsen ed. 27, 188.
- 18 On October 29, 1889, a Charter was granted by the British Government entrusting the administration and exploitation of the interior of Africa to the British South Africa Company, of which Cecil Rhodes was managing director. Its objects were to extend the railway and telegraph northwards towards the Zambesi, to promote trade and commerce and develop minerals concessions.
- 19 Although the MacMahon award of 1874 had upheld Portugal's claims to Delagoa Bay, the British Government secured a pre-emptive promise from Portugal that Delagoa Bay would not be sold to a third party. The Pretoria convention of August 1881 gave the Transvaal "complete self-government subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty". In the Treaty of London, February, 1884, there was no mention of "suzerainty" but the Transvaal was to conclude no treaty with states other than the Free State nor with tribes to the East or West without the approval of HM government. There was a renewed British assertion of suzerainty in the 1890s but the Transvaal government maintained that the suzerainty had been abolished by the London convention.

Chamberlain must stick to [...] facts about uitlander wrongs (d--n the whole crew!)²⁰ My articles teem with suggestions for useful arguments and line to take. The paper has been a very great weapon especially because I damned Dr Jim so promptly as blunder, almost crime,²¹ till he was in danger and Johannesburg showing that it could do nothing for itself.

True view of Johannesburg was in "In Afrikanderland"²² and my recent Kruger interview.²³ I hoped against hope recently and believed Hamilton and Leonard. But no: you can't make a revolution with money. If only CJR had seen that but he thought "Put 'em in a corner and the Englishman will come out." But as he says the Rand capitalists were not good to their men all along as De Beers is and so J.B. Robinson's and Lippert's morning papers at Johannesburg²⁴ were able to work on workmen and persuade 'em it was all capitalists trick. As for the better class, see short letter "Average Colonist" re drink, women and cheating (written by myself) in same issue

20 Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914) had assumed office as Colonial Secretary in June 1895.

21 Editorial "One man's madness" Cape Times 1.1.1896.

22 See footnote 4 above.

23 "The Johannesburger is only a politician in lean times; and these are fat ones" A Plain talk with Oom Paul Cape Times 22.7.1895.

24 The Johannesburg Times owned by J.B. Robinson, and the Standard and Diggers News, which was owned by Emmanuel Mendelssohn, but subsidised by E. Lippert (who had held the dynamite monopoly from Kruger) were both well-disposed towards the Kruger government.

Cape Times daily as "Revolution by Proxy".²⁵

Would God I had gone up to Johannesburg, as I nearly did, a few days before the 1st instead of planning to be there for the 6th! One journalist could have made that crowd impossible to hold, let the Committee say what it will. But it is easy to talk. I was putting the right head on the thing down here and thought this the most important till the row actually should begin.

It has been work! Such nights! and daily talks with Rhodes, Hofmeyr, Innes²⁶ even Merriman;²⁷ anyone but Sauer. One must draw the line somewhere (Sauer is going about gnashing his teeth and turning white when he names me).

25 "A fling at the Randites" Cape Times 4.1.1896 To The Editor of the Cape Times: Your contemporary the South African Telegraph the other day compared the "uitlanders" to Lobengula: Jameson succouring them, it was said, was as if the Boers had gone in to succour Lo Ben against the Chartered Company. At the time, in my fond enthusiasm for the "uitlander" and his cause, I deemed the comparison offensive. As a question of fighting material, I now see that it was offensive - to Lobengula. Sodom might have been saved by ten just men. Twenty brave ones might have taken away the reproach from Johannesburg. But drink and women and cheating each other has taken the manhood out of them and the score was not forthcoming. I am etc. AN AVERAGE COLONIST.

26 James Rose Innes (1855-1942), Cape barrister and politician of liberal views and member of the Rhodes Cabinet 1890-1893 who was in the parliamentary opposition at the time of the Jameson Raid. He was ultimately to become Chief Justice of the Union.

27 John X. Merriman (1841-1926), Cape Parliamentarian, member of the Rhodes Cabinet 1890-1893 and the last prime minister of the Cape Colony before Union 1908-1910. After 1893, he was an outspoken opponent of Cecil Rhodes, and he came to believe that the money power was a source of great evil in South African politics. He disliked Garrett and regarded him as a tool of Rhodes. He described Garrett in his correspondence as "a beastly fellow ... an hysterical jackass, brimful of venom and conceit". Lewsen ed. 2, pp. 242-243.

They must hold on to Rhodesia for grim life not give it to this Colony. If it pans out properly we may be saved yet. There cannot be two "Judasbergs". Unofficial England must recognise CJR's motives and wrong service of England or all is up.

If and when Jim's out of danger CJR must speak and I'll probably cable interview to 'Times' or Reuter.

II. Private

I am living at 81 Plein Street, bed 2 to 4 a.m.; sleep all over the day and night; milk galore, and meals sporadically in plenty; am holding through wonderfully and will while need. Have taken two or three office troubles in my stride - nobody can stand before my determination just now; have no fear, I will come out the other side. Have to ride Harris on the curb,²⁸ but CJR is all right and immensely cheered by me. St. Leger I haven't seen but once, he's all right I think and he's the only one I have to think of.²⁹ But nobody dare touch the reins now. I am in the saddle and the whole town is coming to look at the paper in the strangest way. I get almost touching signs. The old suspicions and

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- 28 Frederick Rutherford Harris (1856-1920), physician, Member of the Cape Legislative Assembly for Kimberley, Cape secretary of the Chartered company and confidential agent of Cecil Rhodes. He was a co-conspirator with Rhodes in 1895-1896 and, from 1893, a part-proprietor of the Cape Times.
- 29 Frederick York St. Leger (1833-1901). In 1876 he established the Cape Times with R.W. Murray jnr and was its editor until 1895. He became first chairman of the board when the Cape Times became a limited company in 1898. According to James Rose Innes, St. Leger was the C.P. Scott of South African journalism, "founder and proprietor of the newspaper, which under his influence, had become the leading English organ in South Africa". Innes 115.

pettiness are fixed for the moment. Would you were with me! Saturday at Muizenberg: speechless hours of recuperation in coma on stoep of tin box overlooking waves and spray. Physician beyond all speech. We fight this together, and Stuart's rag talks of "new women journalism". He is d----d for ever, so it doesn't matter a bit. Love to Millie and She.³⁰ Love to the Lady.³¹ To Bedales³² and Elsie.³³ To the Boy!³⁴ To England, which God bless. And to you.

Beit looking like frightened mouse at Groote Schuur. In this plot up to his neck. Hence apathy re house etc.³⁵ Of your private affairs more anon. All will be well. I have taken thought for that too.

- 30 A name in the Garrett family for Dr Jane Walker, a pioneer woman doctor and a close friend of Millicent Garrett Fawcett. She lived in Gower Street not far from the Garretts. Dr Walker established the East Anglian Sanatorium at Naylands in Suffolk and treated Edmund Garrett for tuberculosis on various occasions.
- 31 Not positively identified but possibly Philippa Garrett Fawcett, only child of Millicent Garrett Fawcett. See page 11.
- 32 Garrett's older sister Amy was married to John Badley (1865-1967), a Cambridge contemporary of Garrett's who was the founder of Bedales, the progressive co-educational school, in which Garrett took a keen interest, and which applied a modified version of the public school system. Badley held that the devotion to games at British public schools was overdone. J.H. Badley: Bedales, a pioneer school.
- 33 Mrs Elsie Garrett Rice, who became a noted painter of Cape wild flowers and died in Cape Town in 1959 in her ninetieth year. She was Edmund Garrett's younger sister and was active in the militant suffragette movement. In 1898 she married Charles E. Rice, who had been a teacher on the staff at Bedales. She came to the Cape in 1933 and settled in Rondebosch. Obituary Cape Times 28.4.1959. See also Cape Times 23.11.1951, 29.11.1951.
- 34 Jock Badley, infant son of John and Amy Badley, and Garrett's nephew to whom he was much attached.
- 35 Alfred Beit was building a house in Park Lane and Garrett hoped that Agnes would be commissioned to do the interior decorating. The house was described as a "handsome villa of white stone". South African Telegraph 10.1.1896.

[† March 1, 1896]

My Deare

Last week through a chapter of accidents both Physician and I didn't get our letters posted. Mine however I don't think worth enclosing this week, as it was mainly a grumble at your having been so discreet as to make my long yarns specially laboured in the thick of the crisis practically useless. You haven't sent on M. Bell's letter; but of course I can suppose it may have seemed reasonable enough. And couldn't you at least have given some of the sense of my letter to Stead, if not Cook, they must have thought it so very nasty of me not to write them my idea at all. You say nothing of the 2nd long letter I wrote as an Epistle General, the first posted on 1st Jan I think, the 2nd on 8th but I hope you got it all right as the first was written largely on guess work. I see the Daily News and other Liberal papers have been using what they call my 'admissions' against Rhodes.¹ Now, during the crisis itself it was impossible to cross examine R on every detail that since has become controverted - his career was in a wreck round him and one had larger consideration for the immediate needs - and then he went up to Kimberley and then

1. The Daily News and the Manchester Guardian had expressed concern at the "admissions" of the Cape Times as to Rhodes's conduct. The Guardian said that if the Cape Times' forecast was accurate and Rhodes would admit placing Jameson on the border and backing the rebels with arms and money, it was a case for criminal process. The Daily News had no hesitation in finding Rhodes guilty on the strength of the Cape Times leaders. ("A Londoner's Diary" Cape Times 27.2.1896). The comments in the English Liberal press were apparently based on Cape Times editorials such as "Breathing space" (6.1.1896) and "Axioms of the situation" (7.1.1896) which concluded on the available evidence that Rhodes had planned and backed the Rand revolt and presently would stand up and say so.

straight Home;² so I had only half a dozen historic little talks with him at a comparatively early stage of Jameson's surprise. Some things I know; others I deduce, as all may. I am trying to make R stand up and own up frankly to much which cannot perhaps be exactly proved but which one can see is so - and then start fresh. But it's disgusting when I go to the farthest limit of frankness and to the Chartered folks' horror admit that they are evidently 'in it', must have Charter revised, must pay indemnity, and that R obviously helped with arms, etc.³ - it is disgusting to have these things caught at and treated as 'Rhodes mouthpiece' guiltily admitting the minimum of truth - which is just what I'm not doing. I get sick of journalism sometimes, the utter smug infallible stupidity and lowness of mind that one has to break one's tides against impotently.⁴

2 Rhodes left Cape Town for Kimberley on January 10. On arrival there he said his career was not at an end but was "only just beginning". He returned to Cape Town on January 15 and went aboard ship bound for England. The Cape Times reported that Rhodes had received a cable from the directors of the Chartered company urging him to come to London to attend a meeting of shareholders. Cape Times 16.1.1896.

3 The editorial "Breathing space" (Cape Times 6.1.1896) said that the Charter undoubtedly should come up for revision and speculated that the company might be stripped of its military arm. The editorial reflected a better grasp of what had happened than "Revolution by Proxy" published two days earlier (4.1.1896) which was a furious tirade against the Rand for inviting Jameson in and then leaving him to his fate.

4 "You cannot hope to bribe or twist thank God, the British journalist But seeing what the man will do unbribed, there's no occasion to."
Humbert Wolfe: The Uncelestial City.

All goes well with the paper. The Telegraph and Sauer relapse into talking about "the self advertising titular editor of the Chartered organ" at odd times Sauer dictating the words with Robinson's power of attorney to back him,⁵ and Stuart's late underling gladly printing them.⁶ But they do little good, and are utterly ruining Robinson's paper.⁷ In one day a week back I had to deal with several applications for a place on my staff from men yearning to clear out of Robinson papers here or in the Transvaal. And they might have been so in the right over this - leaving me only the 'Buts'.⁸ As it is, the two men utterly discredited in Cape Colony today are (1) Cecil J R (2) Sauer - simply by his own meanness in fishing the troubled waters. The new Ministry is a poor show; but just now it may be saving us from a worse thing.⁹

5 Garrett's assertion that Sauer controlled the Telegraph by dint of a power-of-attorney from J.B. Robinson is corroborated in the South African Review of January 10, 1896, which gives a similar account of the manner in which the "Treason!" editorial was forced into the paper. The question is discussed in G. Shaw: "South African Telegraph versus Cape Times" Communications No 3/1980, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, 22-25.

6 Francis McDermott (b. 1860 Wolverhampton, England), was Assistant Editor under Stuart, and succeeded him when the latter relinquished the editorship towards the end of January. McDermott was a journalist of wide experience, having held editorial positions on newspapers in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. SAWW 1908.

7 The weekly South African Review described the paper on March 27, 1896, as the "fast-expiring" South African Telegraph.

8 J.T. Molteno said of Garrett at this period that he was caught "in the quicksands of false ideals, and the unequal struggle of making the worse appear the better." Molteno 65.

9 Rhodes's resignation as prime minister was accepted on January 7. The new ministry, with Sir Gordon Sprigg as prime minister and including some members of the Afrikaner Bond, was regarded by Innes as a "stop-gap" administration and by Merriman as "a pack of rascals". Garrett appears to have felt that it was better than a fully-fledged ministry of the Afrikaner Bond. Innes 138; Lewsen ed. 2, 206.

Always loving

Edmund.

Memo:

(1) I was the first paper in South Africa to repudiate Jameson's act on behalf of the English.¹⁰ (2) But I will always defend it against the Rand action,¹¹ and (3) Rhodes and him against this low talk of "financial adventure".¹²

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- 10 In the editorial "One man's madness" (1.1.1896) condemning the raid as a "colossal blunder".
- 11 "These people, whose representatives invited Jameson in, can they not see that while it was inevitable for us to disavow him, it was grotesque for them?" "Revolution by Proxy" Cape Times 4.1.1896.
- 12 In the Volksraad of the Orange Free State President Abraham Fischer had described the Raid as a "bloody complot" which was to "fill the pockets of greedy adventurers" (South African Telegraph 15.1.1896). There was a similar line of comment in some liberal newspapers in England and in the Robinson press in South Africa. The Cape Times consistently rejected the conception of Rhodes as a "sordid financier" whose career was "a mere struggle to secure the pocket-lining process from interference". Editorial "Rhodes" Cape Times 7.3.1896.

March 11th 1896

My Deare

The horrid truth dawned on me that you duly got both those long letters on the Situation and communicated neither! But conscience is evidently pricking you, so I say no more. Only I wish you would make my peace with Stead and Cook who must have thought me a perfect brute to leave them without a word.

However, all this is ancient history. A lot of people here have thought me very indiscreet in what I have said in the Cape Times. I have said nearly everything there that I have in those letters.¹ Except as to plot for concerted move on Pretoria, which was probably part of Jameson's idea but which if so refers to so utterly different a set of circumstances that it's no use bringing it up - if the Pretoria Government does not lay hold of proof of it on their own accord.²

1 The Cape Argus said that the "vagaries" of the Cape Times "at this time of trouble and confusion" could be compared to the "gyrations of a naughty boy with a torch in a powder magazine ... " The Argus at this time was edited by Edmund Powell, whose nickname among the younger members of his staff was "carpet slippers" on account of his supposed reluctance to allow anything to appear in the paper which might give offence. "Learning wisdom" The Cape Argus 24.1.1896; Rosenthal 114.

2 A surprise attack on the State arsenal at Pretoria was to have been the first move in the revolution but Jameson's precipitate invasion caught the Rand leaders on the wrong foot. The attack on the arsenal was abandoned, according to Garrett, when the rebel leaders discovered that, as it was Nachtmaal, Pretoria was full of farmers from the countryside who constituted a ready-made garrison. This aspect of the plot does not appear to have been public knowledge when this letter was written. But the Boers had already found evidence suggesting an intention to attack Pretoria - in Major Robert White's diary, which was picked up at Doornkop. The results of an advance scouting expedition to Pretoria had been carefully noted in the diary. Extracts were published in May in the Transvaal Green Book 2 of 1896. Garrett and Edwards 38, 142-146.

But it is becoming increasingly clear here that it will be well for CJR to make a clean breast of his part in the affair; say he had planned to keep Jameson's troops on the border as a moral force which the Boers if attacking Johannesburg would have to consider; say he had even vaguely discussed with Jameson what he might do if this precipitated what was practically a civil war: Sketch the finger he meant to have in the pie of a South African settlement afterwards, and show Cape Colony how he was going to look after its interests in that settlement. I am going to try hard to make him take this bold course, own he blundered and start fresh.³ Hence my indiscretions. It ain't "easy going" - for people look to me in the most queer way here to present a credible and connected view of the phases which keep being found out.⁴

This obvious gun running will not, I expect, implicate R direct, but I should like to see him take responsibility for

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- 3 "We believe that the bold course, the course which is bravest and most honest, even if it makes worse the political ruin of the immediate present, will be the best way to serve the recovery and retrieval of the future. Has Mr Rhodes enough moral courage to take that course? We believe he has." Editorial "The bold course" Cape Times 24.3.1896.
- 4 The conspirators left a trail of incriminating documents behind them which, on being discovered and published, threw steadily increasing light on the conspiracy and the personalities involved. First of all, there was the copy of the "letter of invitation" which was picked up in the veld by the Boers after the capture of Jameson. The authorities also found Lionel Phillips's letter book in his private residence which contained letters to Alfred Beit. It then came to light that arms and ammunition had been loaded at De Beers and railed to the Simmer and Jack mine on the Witwatersrand, a mine owned by Rhodes's Gold Fields of South Africa company. Copies of telegrams and other documents were found after the battle at Doornkop. A selection of such documents published by the Transvaal Government in Green Book No 2 of 1896 caused a "sensation" when published in London in May. Cape Times 2.5.1896.

active aid to the insurrection.⁵ What humbug people talk. Of course one would help one's friends to rifles in such a case. Why should they be like sheep in a pen? I am going to write a Review Article soon to send home but the time is not yet.⁶ It is most dangerous to speak with so much happening and the trials on.⁷ I learn that there was a disposition in the first débacle when each blamed others, for the Johannesburg leaders to suspect R of having been privy to Jameson rushing them - in face of promises to keep him on the border "5 years if necessary". But after weighing all evidence they have decided that R is innocent of this.⁸ They however are in a thoroughly cynical pessimistic and low frame of mind, and

- 5 The Cape Times had reported that Gardner F. Williams, General Manager of De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines, Kimberley, had been arrested on a charge of moving arms without a permit from Kimberley to the Simmer and Jack mine on the Witwatersrand. Cape Times 6.3.1896; Cape Times Weekly 25.3.1896.
- 6 Garrett was an occasional contributor to the Contemporary Review, London, but nothing appeared in its columns in 1896 under his name.
- 7 The preparatory examination of the reform prisoners began in the Market Hall, Pretoria, on February 3 and was adjourned on February 12 until March 11. The trial of Dr Jameson began in Bow Street on March 18.
- 8 J.P. Fitzpatrick, in custody in Pretoria, wrote to his wife on January 10 that Jameson - "and no doubt Rhodes prompting him" - feared the reformers were going to get all they wanted by peaceful means. "This would have ruined their scheme, of course, and so they forced our hands." (A.H. Duminy and W.R. Guest: Fitzpatrick Selected Papers 1888-1906 30. Fitzpatrick to his wife 10.1.1896.) In his memoir of the period Fitzpatrick notes that soon, however, a calmer view was taken. Fitzpatrick (1899) 139.

Hamilton, who has got leave to go home for a visit to a sick mother,⁹ and who I hope will bring back Leonard by scruff of neck,¹⁰ was an amusing contrast here the other day to the Hamilton who went into hysterics in my office on Monday evening 30th December and try to get me not to condemn Jameson's crossing of which we had then first news, he and I and about six others in Cape Town.¹¹ Then they all thought - what did they think? God knows. What a chaos! But we've got to pull out of it - R's best friend has been the Kaiser.¹² This is odd about Cronjé and Willoughby. Cronjé was a fool if it's true. They had the troop utterly at mercy.¹³ - As for your

- 9 Hamilton, a co-accused in the reformers' trial, was released on bail of £2 000. South African Telegraph 25.1.1896.
- 10 Charles Leonard was in Cape Town with Hamilton seeing Rhodes when news of Jameson's dash became known. He remained in Cape Town while Hamilton returned to the Rand. The Transvaal government expected Leonard to return voluntarily and so did not attempt to extradite him. However he slipped away secretly by ship to England, explaining that "as the only free man who knew the facts" he had gone to London to defend the position of the Rand reformers. "But his friends regarded his flight as cowardly and he never returned to his lucrative Rand practice." Van der Poel 169.
- 11 The others, it seems, were Rhodes, Rutherford Harris and the assistant secretary of the Chartered Company, Stevens, Sir Graham Bower, Sir Hercules Robinson, and also John Stuart, editor of the Telegraph.
- 12 Kaiser Wilhelm II sent a telegram to President Kruger after the battle of Doornkop congratulating him on having successfully maintained the independence of the Republic against external attack "without appealing to friendly powers". The telegram affronted the British public and appears to have turned the tide of opinion in favour of Rhodes and Jameson.
- 13 On March 2 The Times published correspondence between Sir John Willoughby, who commanded the Jameson column, and General Piet Cronjé, who commanded the Boers, which appeared to indicate that Jameson had surrendered at Doornkop on condition that the lives of his men would be spared. (Cape Times 4.3.1896.) However, the Doornkop surrender had in fact been unconditional. Cronjé's fellow-commanders had pointed out that he had no authority to make terms, which was the Government's prerogative, and both Cronjé and Jameson had accepted the situation. Van der Poel 130. Cape Times 4.3.1896.

point about armistice etc. etc. we have put it, but fact is it is so obvious that the Reformers caught at Armistice in a funk and that later the "disarm to save Jameson" pretext was got up by the British officials to let Johannesburg down easy and cover the disarmament and collapse with a good grace,¹⁴

O these people! - But as to CJR tell Millie it's a little hard, when his career is wrecked simply because Hofmeyr believes he was plotting a Union Jack coup, for the Union Jackites to dismiss him with taunts as plotting only to line his company's pockets - which is at once base and baseless.¹⁵

Love

Edmund.

14 Sir Hercules Robinson, on the way to the Rand by train, telegraphed to the British Agent, Sir Jacobus De Wet, that he should inform the Johannesburg people that if they did not lay down their arms they would forfeit all claim to sympathy from Her Majesty's government, as the lives of Jameson and the prisoners were now practically in their hands. The Johannesburg leaders thereupon agreed to disarm.

15 Garrett consistently took the view that for Rhodes finance was merely the creature of politics, not politics of finance. "Rhodes was not a rich man who took up the Empire as a hobby when he was tired of making money. He formed the ideal first, the fortune afterwards." Garrett: "The Character of Cecil Rhodes" 769, 776, 777.

April 15th 1896

My Deare

Yours about keeping back those letters. Don't trouble any more about it. I was never exactly furious. Only since you treat me as a child as regards the amount of information or inductions that I have a right to impart to chosen people for specific purposes, I of course have to use another medium; and I have just written so long a statement to Stead, for benefit of him and Cook - (M. Bell and the Times are now quite hopeless, Flora S. is gone clean mad¹ and the Times is useless for South African purposes here and I should say nearly so in England)² - that I have no time left for home letters. I

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- 1 Flora Shaw (1852-1929), was a pioneer woman journalist and the Colonial Correspondent of The Times. She visited South Africa in 1892, meeting President Kruger, Lionel Phillips and other prominent personalities. She shared Rhodes's convictions about British expansion in Africa and became friendly with him on his visits to London. Through Rutherford Harris she became privy to the Jameson plot in 1895 and involved Moberly Bell and The Times in the conspiracy.
 - 2 The Saturday Review noted on May 30 that the Times's position in regard to the Jameson Raid had caused intense ill-feeling in South Africa. The Review accused The Times of "vilifying and traducing, not only the Government of the South African Republic, but the Boers themselves with a virulence of language and a disregard for truth, or even of probability, which astounded everyone". (The History of The Times Vol. 3, 216.) In contrast with the Cape Times view that Rhodes should own up and "face the music" The Times at this point sought to minimise and excuse his role in the Jameson fiasco and defended him as a great Imperialist. The tone of The Times leaders in March and April was aggressive and patronising in references to the Transvaal and pointed to the grievances of the Uitlanders as the root cause of all the troubles of the Republic. (The Times 25.3.1896; 27.3.1896; 21.4.1896; 2.5.1896.) It was not until June that the tone of The Times moderated somewhat and President Kruger's amnesty extended to the reform leaders was welcomed (The Times 1.6.1896; 12.6.1896).

have just routed Dr Harris, between ourselves, in an attempt to stop my recent line of protest against war by impudent threat or order cabled out to me.³ He has quite knuckled under and my position is all right. Cecil J is going wrong, and leading Joseph C and the rest all into a bog along with him. I am going to stop him, I hope. He was all right in motives but he doesn't know how to take a beating and start fresh.⁴

If you can't understand my line from the letters and articles, I give up! - I thought I had been frank enough. But it needs a lot of frankness, I can tell you, to carry off

- 3 See leading article "A Word to Mr Chamberlain" (1.4.1896) and others in similar strain which deplored the war talk in the British Press. "We are afraid Mr Chamberlain's despatches are beginning to play at ultimatum ... but if he once tries to force the Transvaal Government about internal reforms by the threat of war, we tell him plainly that he will have to fulfil the threat - which is a wicked folly which we do not contemplate - or else take a humiliating rebuff, which will be less wicked but scarcely less foolish or mischievous." See also page 33.
- 4 Rhodes was at this time showing little disposition to follow the course of public confession commended to him in the leading columns of the Cape Times. He left London quietly for Rhodesia in mid-February, apparently satisfied that the British South Africa Company's Charter would not be revoked and that an official British inquiry into the Raid would not be pressed too far. Van der Poel 155-159.

the amount of the t'other thing that is now going.⁵ M. Bell is in it himself. I trust Stead for certain purposes quite fully. I am so very glad about the work coming in my Deare. And do you know I'm rather glad now that you aren't doing Beit's house.⁶ I am going to stick to my guns against forcing a way and I am going to make Rhodes see that he has no right to reverse his own blunders at expense of England and South Africa even with the best intentions after his lights.

With my dear love

F.E.G.

P.S. Rather skip me than the Physician. She does so enjoy your letters (I do too).

5 Garrett appears to have realised that attempts had begun in London to orchestrate a cover-up of the involvement or complicity of various parties in the conspiracy. As far as Rhodes and his associates were concerned, however, such attempts were soon rendered fruitless when, two weeks later, the telegrams and other documentary evidence of the conspiracy found by the Transvaal authorities after Doornkop were published in the reformers' trial and in the Green Book No 2. The documents left little doubt that Rhodes had played a central role in organising and inspiring the conspiracy. In an editorial "Bolt from the Blue" (4.5.1896) the Cape Times said: "It is now more than ever necessary that Mr Rhodes should make a candid statement of the whole case. Upon some points of personal conduct judgement should be reserved until his explanation is heard ... Nothing can put him in the right; but there may be some revelation in reserve which will at least reduce the magnitude of the wrong."

6 As noted, Garrett had hoped that Agnes would do the interior decorating for Alfred Beit's newly-built house in Mayfair.

May 27th 1896

Amy's Birthday

My Deare

You will forgive me for skipping one mail and scanting another if you dutifully follow your Cape Times¹ (spoiling your eyes and d---ing mine, I fear - but the quality of paper makes it overweight already).²

Did you see last week that I had attained the honour of being denounced by name as a Traitor to South Africa in the Cape Parliament? Also the Transvaal Government has just issued a Green Book in which this precious Telegram (of which I told you at the time of sending it) appears in all the scheming of official print.³ This is because they believe I am all sorts of sinister Agents - for Rhodes, for Chamberlain, for the Imperial Government etc. It's great fun. Molteno,

- 1 Garrett had been away in Pretoria covering the last stages of the Reformers' trial.
- 2 Judging by the copies which survive in the South African Library, the Cape Times Weekly edition of March, 1896, was printed in part on better quality paper than the daily. Heavier quality art paper was needed for the reproduction of the line drawings, cartoons and photographs which were a feature of the Weekly.
- 3 Garrett's telegram sent on December 31, advising the Star to expect and not misunderstand a proclamation from the High Commissioner putting Jameson "formally" in the wrong, was read in the House by J.T. Molteno on May 18, 1896. Molteno said that the telegram was an insult to Her Majesty's representative and that Garrett was a traitor to South Africa. (Cape Times 19.5.1896.) The telegram appeared in Transvaal Green Book 2 of 1896 (Item No 92) and was subsequently reprinted as an appendix to the report of the Cape inquiry A6 of 1896, lxx-lxxi.

who is the biggest ass in the House, has lately been taken on to write articles for the 'Telegraph' and they (Sauer) got this Telegram of mine down from the Transvaal Government and gave it to him to read in the House so as to have a cut in at me and the Cape Times, which is just now running this country, having helped to depose Sauer and Merriman for the Opposition leadership.⁴ I was talking to Innes the other day - our only Honest Politician⁵ - and he said about something when I agreed with him 'I wish you would say that in your paper, Mr Garrett. It would do a lot of good as the people here undoubtedly take their opinions about Rhodes and all that from you.' I felt honoured. All sorts of people have come round. Molteno's 'disclosure' was laughed down by the whole House while Sauer sat glowering. Now, I have just succeeded in getting Innes to go at the head of my Amnesty Movement, which is going to be the biggest thing yet done in South Africa of its kind. Every town is wiring to me for a form of Resolution! There's a little hitch as Innes wants it to take the form of Petition by public meeting and I prefer Resolution; possibly I may have

4 Sauer resigned as Leader of the Opposition on March 26. The Jameson Raid had thrown party politics into turmoil, splitting not only the Rhodes-Hofmeyr governing alliance but also the parliamentary opposition. It was the Raid itself as much as the Cape Times which brought about Sauer's resignation.

5 As the editor of the published Rose Innes letters has noted: "His aims and ambitions had to operate within the constraints of an extremely high, almost inflexible, code of personal behaviour. He was reluctant to compromise on political issues even when he perceived that such a compromise might actually further the pursuit of his high-minded goals."
H.M. Wright: Sir James Rose Innes Selected Correspondence 1884-1902 1, 2.

to carry it through without him.⁶ The joke is that we are forcing even old Hofmeyr's hand with whom I have got some weight by going against Joe's late war policy⁷ - on which by the way W.T. Stead wrote to me in some anguish and I wrote him back at huge length last mail:⁸ hence not you.

Now avaunt politics. I am delighted Clotilda has a Bub' as well as the little girl.⁹ Can imagine her glee.

R.L. Stevenson wrote some very jolly lines about a mother imagining over her crooning boy babe all the big warrior and

- 6 The Amnesty Movement, sponsored by the Cape Times and the South African Political Association, organised a deputation of mayors of towns throughout South Africa, duly delegated by meetings of citizens, which went to Pretoria to petition President Kruger for the release of the Rand reform prisoners. As a result of earlier discussions with Kruger, James Rose Innes was aware that a respectfully-worded petition had the best chance of success and he persuaded Garrett to accept his view. President Kruger duly announced the release of the prisoners on various terms and conditions. The leaders of the movement had been sentenced to death and the rank and file to terms of imprisonment. Innes 134, 135.
- 7 Hofmeyr had written to Garrett on April 1 to thank him for his paper's recent editorial comment which he hoped would "tend to thwart the wicked designs of those agitators who currently do not abhor the prospect of seeing the whole of South Africa steeped in blood". In the following month the Afrikaner Bond in Cape Town, with Hofmeyr in the chair, resolved to submit its own petition for amnesty to President Kruger. (Cape Times 29.5.1896.) A copy of Hofmeyr's letter is filed in Cape Times Press clipping volume "Biographies 1894-1902 Garrett, E., Hofmeyr, J.H." in the Cape Times library.
- 8 Garrett wrote to Stead that it would be wrong for England to force matters to a war on a question of internal reforms in the Transvaal, to cover up recent events. Europe and most of South Africa would see that England was in the wrong. It would cost £10 000 000 to crush the Boers and it would leave South Africa in an irreconcilable condition and worse than Ireland. War in South Africa, embarked upon without provocation, would be both a crime and a blunder "of the most colossal kind". Cited by Stead in a letter to the editor of the Daily News, London, 21.11.1899.
- 9 Mrs Clotilda Marson who, as Clotilda Bayne, had been a student at Newnham College, Cambridge, with Philippa Fawcett. She was active in the women's movement.

lady killer he's going to be.¹⁰ Fancy Charles and Patty.¹¹

"I told you so." Don't you remember I always said Nurse said so and Nurse must know? I'm awfully glad for Patty for I believe she's been getting to feel sad and that Charles preferred creature comforts at 2 to the task of knocking a home together. Hope he won't keep a Putney pub. Please stick me for £5 in any presents that are going, lumping me in. I'll send the money and a proper letter to Patty and Charles.

Physician is all right and the new "Crises" have made me often sleep there. I just let myself in, with a key and the room is kept ready. I get spoilt. The only thing I do for the Physician in return is such paltry things as keeping on her Cottage an extra month¹² out of which she was too busy to get much good and a drive or so now and again but I think it does her good having a Friend. I tell her she is now far more pro Rhodes than I. I wonder if CJR thinks me a beast for 'giving him away' so much. Other people who know think I'm the best friend he has had this time. I think to myself but

10 "Soldier, lover, explorer, I see you nuzzle the breast,
You that grope in my bosom shall load the ladies with rings ..."
R.L. Stevenson "Mater Triumphans"; in Songs of Travel,
published 1895.

11 Patty Griffin appears to have been the daughter of Susannah Griffin of 2 Gower Street (apparently an old family retainer of the Garretts') and was probably also a servant at 2 Gower Street. In terms of Agnes Garrett's will, Susannah Griffin was to receive an annuity of £100 while Patty, described in the will as Mrs Essam, "formerly Miss Griffin and commonly known as Patty", was to receive a legacy of £100. The will is at Somerset House, London.

12 Jane Waterston kept a seaside cottage at Muizenberg called "Tin Pot".

whether he will see it - ? Olive,¹³ too, is estranged just now. That oaf of a husband ...¹⁴ However I am worrying along with no time to think of health and a bit worn occasionally and thinking always very fondly of the dear Home Land. - What about those Degrees?¹⁵ Tell Milly I wish I was home to help fight that and also that she was here to help me with the Cape women.¹⁶

F.E.G.

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- 13 Olive Schreiner (1855-1920). The author of "The Story of an African Farm", and a pioneer feminist, she became friendly with Garrett, through W.T. Stead. When Garrett's health collapsed in 1892 she wrote to Stead to say she would welcome him if he came to South Africa to recuperate. She became increasingly hostile to Rhodes and, after the Jameson Raid, felt that Garrett had "woefully misused" his opportunities for influencing him. On the outbreak of the South African War she wrote to her brother, who was then Prime Minister of Cape Colony: "After Rhodes, and in a sense more than Rhodes, I blame Garrett." Olive Schreiner to W.T. Stead 19.6.1892 Stead Papers; Garrett interview January, 1897, Cape Times clipping book "Biographies 1894-1902 Garrett, E., Hofmeyr, J.H."; Olive Schreiner to W.P. Schreiner October 6, 1899. Schreiner Papers, Jagger Library.
- 14 Samuel Cron Cronwright (Cronwright-Schreiner) (1863-1936). Farmer, public figure and biographer of his wife, Olive Schreiner. With Olive Schreiner he earned considerable enmity in loyalist quarters by championing the cause of the Boers in 1899-1902.
- 15 At this stage neither Oxford nor Cambridge gave degrees to women. In 1896 the question was raised at Cambridge and Millicent Garrett Fawcett was active in securing 2 000 signatures of members of the Senate for a memorial to be submitted to the Council. She was deeply disappointed when the vote was overwhelmingly adverse. Strachey 166, 167.
- 16 Edmund Garrett sympathised strongly with the women's movement. When elected to the Cape House of Assembly in 1898, he was instrumental in the adoption of a Police Offences Amendment Act which penalised pimping and procuration on lines suggested by his cousin Millicent. E.B. van Heyningen: "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902". Unpublished paper prepared for the July 1983 UCT History Workshop 26. Cook 147, 148.

June 17th, 1896.

My Deare

The Physician has got her 2nd bad turn since I have been out here. A cold turning to malarial sickness headache and debility. She, of course, sees urgent cases and even goes out, being fitly anxious not to lose chance of securing big practice, one of the senior doctors here leaving for England and dividing his between her and 2 more. She getting most. She will be all right soon, being made sufficiently of gutta percha. Some women can work as precious few men can. But it is sad to see her dead beat, too sick to eat anything, and having to lie down. I wonder how she did on these occasions before she had even a friend intimate enough to look her up and enquire after her. There's absolutely nothing one (at least, I) can do for her. Today she's better.

The way the folk rallied round when a plan was got up to turn her off Library Committee,¹ and when she spoke (and since)

1 There were a number of nominations for two vacancies on the committee of the South African Public Library. The members up for re-election were Dr Waterston and Archdeacon Lightfoot, a leading Anglican priest of Cape Town who was known for his good works among the poor. At the annual general meeting of subscribers held on March 13, Dr Waterston gained 116 votes and Archdeacon Lightfoot 122. This was well ahead of their nearest rival, Professor J.I. Marais, an author and theologian of Stellenbosch, who attracted 69 votes. Dr Waterston served on the library committee until 1918 when she resigned in a dispute over the Library's decision to stock a work by Arnold Bennett The Pretty Lady which she felt displayed "pernicious tendencies". Minute Book of meetings of the committee and subscribers of the South African Library, March 13, 1896, and information supplied by W. Tyrrell-Glynn, South African Library.

re Amnesty in public,² shows that all this tremendous flying about has made her known and cleaved to by a very widespread big section of all classes in Capetown.

I hope no woman doctor will come and try to halve the practice with her, with her home folk crying 'Give, give' and giving her never a thought. Some have threatened. I query there's room for 2, but the poor Physician ought now to be entering into her harvest after so many years of fag. She has had quite new appraisals of what will fall on her when her father dies, since you were here, and it weighs rather upon her. She seems to be the only one in her own family who is any good at all. The others think she is "doing well and can afford" etc. etc., the old old story familiar to you and Rhoda and every woman who ever worked for her living.³ She seems to labour under an illusion that all you want to hear about is me. Do what you can to correct this. She talks about herself to me and would to you if you were here and perhaps you could make her write about herself too a little. It does her good. She has all sorts of odd kinks and corners from this long long solitude - partly her own fault, mind you, and the good it does her to have the changed method applied is my only return

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- 2 Dr Waterston seconded a resolution, moved by Rose Innes, authorising the Mayor, Mr J.W. Attwell, to proceed to Pretoria to petition President Kruger for amnesty for the Reform prisoners. The meeting, held on May 29 in the Good Hope Hall, was "packed to overflowing" and its mood was described as "firmly and quietly earnest". Cape Times 30.5.1896.
- 3 Jane Waterston assisted her family in Scotland financially after the failure of the Caledonian Bank, Inverness, had depleted the family fortunes. Her father was employed by the bank and was a large shareholder. He retired on a reduced pension. Dr Waterston's sisters were unable to fend for themselves and their affairs caused her considerable worry. Jane Waterston to James Stewart 26.12.1878; 27.4.1888 Waterston Papers; Jagger Library, Cape Town.

really for all the impossible things she does for me of which I am ashamed to tell you lest you say it's all too much.

That's all rot about the Secretary's [brother-in-law?] being ruined by the Crisis - as I suppose you justly suspect. You know how people seize on any public calamity. I am afraid he is a most dreary fellow. I'm sorry for her, though she's no Secretary.⁴

It was odd finding I could sit in this office and turn a crank and work South Africa as is the case of this Amnesty Movement. Innes and all were against it. I forced their hands, mapped out the whole thing in advance, and everything went just as I had planned.⁵ It's amusing to see the Home papers talking about me and about B. Barnato's services.⁶ He and his nephew Solly Joel⁷ gave Kruger's son 2000 to 'use his influence' on which that young man proceeded to marry and

4 Not traced.

5 This would seem to do scant justice to Rose Innes's major role in initiating and organising the amnesty movement. Fitzpatrick said that Rose Innes suggested and organised the movement, being "most ably seconded by Mr Edmund Garrett, the editor of the Cape Times and other prominent men." Fitzpatrick (1899) 271.

6 Barney Barnato (Barnett Isaacs) (1852-1897), financier and mining magnate. He threatened to close his mines and also intervened personally with President Kruger on behalf of the Reform prisoners. On a visit to Kimberley on June 17 he was presented with an address of thanks by the townspeople. Cape Times 25.5.1896; 9.6.1896; 18.6.1896.

7 Solomon Barnato Joel (1865-1931). Rand mining magnate and a director of De Beers Consolidated Mines from 1901 to 1931.

have a good time down in Capetown.⁸ I want to get a real exposé of the corruption as the next step: then Imperial Government must represent about economic grievances (not franchise) - and meanwhile I think time is ripe now for a big new Political League to fight the Bond; the trouble is to avoid race lines with it;⁹ I have nothing to do but to wait a wee till people have forgotten how I rigged the Amnesty Movement. Then I think of calling a meeting of Members of Parliament and fixing something up. I'm afraid Rhodes won't come down and speak as he is amazingly casual in reply to

8 The Cape Times reported in May that Mr T. Kruger, son of the President, and his lately married bride were on their way to Cape Town. Tjaart Andries Petrus Kruger (born 9.12.1875) was Kruger's youngest son. The suggestion that he received money from Barnato and Solly Joel seems to have been loose gossip. Garrett repeated the story in a letter to Agnes a few months later but in the latter reference it was President Kruger's "grandson" who was supposed to have been "bribed". The gossip might in fact have referred to President Kruger's son-in-law, Frederick Christoffel (Frikkie) Eloff (1850-1924), who acted as Kruger's private secretary, and was believed by Percy Fitzpatrick to have an interest "in every swindle which is worth being in in the Transvaal". Cape Times 23.5.1896. Garrett to Agnes Garrett 2.9.1896. Fitzpatrick (1899) 322.

9 A meeting attended by 80 people in the Mutual Hall, Cape Town, on July 24, resolved to form a Cape Town branch of the South African League, which had originated in the Eastern Cape after the Jameson Raid and spread rapidly. Its primary aim was the maintenance of British supremacy in South Africa. (Cape Times 25.7.1896.) Garrett hoped to unite the League with James Rose Innes's South African Political Association, which had been founded in March 1895. In September, 1896, the Cape Times said the Association and the League played complimentary roles: "The one seems all head, the other all heart; the former revels in works, the latter walks by faith. The Association is the political machine, undoubtedly, but the League has the recipe for generating the steam." Cape Times 25.7.1896; 5.9.1896.

urgent wires: he is afraid of this Select Committee¹⁰ sitting here, the great thing is to get that over before session ends and then get CJR down to face Parliament. We have utterly d-----d Sauer and Merriman¹¹ and he is faring better here than he deserves but I shall round on him if he shirks. He is pursued by that phrase about 'facing the music' which was forced upon him by me in an interview. I was called before Select Committee last week and so missed a mail to you - I had fun; a duel between me and Merriman and I scored. I objected to most questions as irrelevant and was eventually upheld. All this will therefore not appear, but my answers on question of that wire I sent to the 'Star' about the Proclamation will appear. The blue book will be out in some few weeks probably. I much enjoyed examination and was very sorry when they found

10 The Select Committee on the Jameson Raid, appointed by the House of Assembly on May 29, began its sittings on June 1, 1896. Rhodes, in Rhodesia, did not respond to a telegraphed invitation to appear before the committee.

11 Public opinion in Cape Town, reflected in the columns of the Cape Times, was strongly pro-Rhodes and pro-Jameson throughout 1896. The anti-Rhodes views of Sauer and Merriman were highly unpopular and Sauer, as noted, resigned as Leader of the Opposition. Merriman failed to carry his resolution in the Cape Assembly in May calling for the abrogation of the Charter. A Cape Times editorial described Merriman's speech as "another brilliantly distinguished failure ... Not satisfied with calling Jameson a liar, our generous critic must dub him coward too." On May 30 Merriman wrote to Mrs C. Barry: "Because these malefactors, high or low, are English, therefore their deeds are to be covered up and anyone who accuses them is a criminal." Cape Times 13.5.1896; Lewsen ed. 2, 230-231.

they had had enough of me.¹²

James Smith was here and about town and looked and was extraordinarily better though of course under the shade of morphine.¹³

Isn't Weir of Hermiston good? What a lamentable pity!¹⁴ Whom else have we in England now? Meredith finicks intolerably¹⁵ and Jude the Obscure¹⁶ was really too steeped in gloom with all its power.

Tell Millie shall take up Women's Movement here some day in earnest and ask her help.

Edmund.

Huge elation about the new Baby at Bedales. A pity one can't run a school on the boys of the staff.¹⁷ Very glad to get news of Elsie. Of her, more anon.

12 Garrett appeared before the committee on June 9, 1896. His evidence, as printed, appears on pages 111 to 114 of the report (A6 of 1896). The papers and annexures of the Select Committee, as preserved in the Cape Archives, do not include a transcript of the deleted material. However, a letter to the committee from Garrett, written after he had completed his evidence, does survive in the bound annexures and indicates that Garrett made an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the committee to place on record the legal contracts relating to his appointment as editor of the Cape Times, so as to indicate that he was not responsible to Dr F. Rutherford Harris. House of Assembly Annexures No 412, 1896: Ref HA 402.

13 James Smith was the widower of the eldest of the Garrett sisters, Louisa, who had died in 1867.

14 This was Robert Louis Stevenson's last, unfinished novel, published in 1896, which some have thought his greatest work.

15 George Meredith, English novelist and poet (12.2.1828-18.5.1909).

16 By Thomas Hardy (2.6.1840-11.1.1928).

17 By 1895, Bedales School had managed to attract only 33 pupils. By 1898, when the school became co-educational, the numbers had risen to 60. Badley (1923) 69.

[July 8 1896.]

My Deare

You will see that we have gone in for the Disclosure business and got a little bitten though obviously on the right track.¹ When the latest development turned up I felt rather like Stead when Lipski confessed.² Though of course everyone sees that both Leonards were tools and were currying favour with Government, and they did wink at his escape and he did go home to smash Rhodes, only his heart failed him on the voyage.

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- 1 Charles Leonard left Cape Town secretly aboard the Guelph on January 19, 1896. On July 4 there appeared the first of a series of "revelations" on the leader page of the Cape Times written by "Lobbyist" which suggested collusion between Leonard, the Transvaal Government and D.P. de Villiers Graaff, a Cape Town member of the Afrikaner Bond, in arranging for the escape of Leonard to England so that he could promote the Transvaal cause in London. Cablegrams purporting to substantiate these claims were also published. Graaff issued a categorical denial (Cape Times 7.7.1896). But the Cape Times continued to press for a select committee to investigate Leonard's escape. On July 8 the Cape Times published a letter from Mr J.W. Leonard (Charles Leonard's brother) saying that he had sent the cablegram which "Lobbyist" asserted had come from a "high Transvaal official". The Cape Times at once accepted Mr Leonard's statement and said it withdrew the assertion. But it remained undeniable, the paper asserted, that the Transvaal Government had refrained from issuing a warrant for Leonard until it was too late. Charles Leonard himself was quoted on July 9 as saying in London that it was "absolutely untrue" that his escape was connected with a supposed Transvaal ploy. He said it was a legal difficulty and friendly police which had prevented his arrest in Cape Town. Cape Times 3.7.1896 - 10.7.1896.
- 2 A reference to an episode in the closing stages of Stead's campaigning editorship of the Pall Mall Gazette. "Finally Stead over-reached himself by 'proving' the innocence of one Lipski, who was indicted for murder, a few hours before his confession was circulated by the agencies." The History of the Times 2, 94.

I am strong enough in the saddle to stand this little bump, only I'm sorry for the paper to lose a card to the Transvaal Government. I had a literal fall from saddle t'other day. Pony put forefoot in a molehole on Flats at long trot and went down as if shot. Neither he nor I were at all hurt. Saturday afternoons now I go a cross-country gallop of two hours with a company of 12: which is great fun and does me no end of good.³

Love

F.E.G.

3 The "Suicide Riding Brigade", an informal riding and dining club of Cape Town business and professional men which included Richard Stuttaford, John Garlick, G.H. van Zyl, W.J. Thorne, Dr Matthew Hewat, Dr Bennie Hewat, and E.J. Edwards and George Wilson of the Cape Times under the leadership of Mr C.M. Gibbs, who was known as the "Colonel". The Rondebosch Common and environs, in spite of mole holes, was a favourite venue. They rejoiced in scattering the golfers on the Common with helter-skelter charges. They also rode on occasion to Groote Schuur where they were joined by Cecil Rhodes. On public holidays they would ride as far afield as Strandfontein or Muizenberg. A plaque mounted on a clock at the City and Civil Service Club, Cape Town, commemorates the S.R.B. "The Suicide Riding Brigade" by E.B. Hewat Cape Times week-end magazine 16.4.1938.

July 29th 1896

My Deare

Last Saturday I gave a dinner at the Grand¹ to my Editorial Staff, and (old) St. Leger. About 10. To celebrate the completion of the most remarkable year in the Cape Times history, containing (1) old St. Leger's retirement (2) Competition started (3) The Crisis in South Africa, and our part therein. We have survived the loss of old St. Leger and his prestige, like the G.O.M.'s² leaving the Liberal Party, so unique was his reputation in South African press;³ survived the conspiratorial fame of Harris,⁴ (the 'Telegraph' of course worked his connection with us for all it was worth, but nobody cares because they see I never turn a hair for Harris and I had boldly publicised H's connection and the limitation of it before the crisis came and when I dreamed not of the plot - For

- 1 The Grand Hotel, which stood at the corners of Adderley, Strand and St George's Streets, was opened by the Union Steamship Company in 1893, was repeatedly rebuilt and was finally demolished in 1973.
- 2 The "Grand Old Man" - William Ewart Gladstone, British statesman.
- 3 "The most enlightened and advanced paper in South Africa and one which takes up at the same time a judicial and impartial point of view is the Cape Times. St. Leger, the editor, has one of the most independent as he has one of the most impartial minds in South Africa." (Olive Schreiner to W.T. Stead, September, 1891; Stead Papers fo. 249.) Rose Innes expressed a similar view in his reminiscences, saying that any interference with St. Leger's editorial independence would have been "unthinkable". Innes 115.
- 4 Dr F. Rutherford Harris, part proprietor of the Cape Times, was named in the report of the Cape Select Committee on the Jameson Raid as having been active throughout with Rhodes, Beit and Jameson as a promoter and moving spirit in the conspiracy. A6 of 1896 xxiii.

which publication, tho' it gave old St. Leger a skrik, I am now devoutly thankful.)⁵ We have also survived the millionaire attempt to 'smash the Cape Times', and are now, instead of dividing the circulation, 33 per cent better than a year ago, both on Daily and Weekly, and still steadily rising. We have put on more extra circulation than the whole circulation of the South African Telegraph, at present stationary at 3,300. As for prestige, I get grand letters occasionally from all over South Africa. We have made ourselves felt, that is certain, and the South African Telegraph may talk till it's blue but nobody now regards the Cape Times for an instant as Rhodes or Harris or anybody but your humble servant.

At the Dinner I said something about my Idea of a Paper and a Staff, and thanked old St. Leger for the loyal backing he had given me, even when I felt he must have huge disquiet about methods, substitution of bludgeon for rapier and new for old in every way; and thanked Staff for the loyal way it had served and followed me. (One of my "Wasters"⁶ took Appolinaris⁷ at the dinner. Every staff here has Wasters.) I

5 At the start of his editorship Garrett had to counter persistent rumours that Rhodes had gained control of the Cape Times and that he was Rhodes's nominee. In an attempt to spike these rumours, he disclosed in his first leading article that a "close family connection" of St. Leger's was a partner in the enterprise but was excluded from any say in editorial policy. (Cape Times 24.6.1895.) After the Raid this connection was more explicitly identified as Rutherford Harris. "Mr Hofmeyr and the Cape Times" 15.1.1896.

6 A prodigal or squanderer. E. Partridge: A dictionary of slang and unconventional English.

7 A mineral water introduced into England ca. 1870 which came from springs near Remagen in the province of the Rhine, Germany. E. Partridge: Name into word, a discursive dictionary.

tried to show them, too, how much the tradition of the old man's 20 years of work meant for us, and how it often restrained me, and how there was a deep continuity from his work to my work, in spite of superficial differences,⁸ and generally I talked at the old man a good deal, and was unusually modest and deferential, and owned up various mistakes. The old man was drawn, and the joke is I loosed his lips, and he said things about the staff etc. which he never had breathed during his own time - saying he had forgotten to add these things in his parting speech a year ago - (He never used to communicate with the staff except by note! and never praised anybody.) - The men took all the points and drank old St. Leger's health with musical honours and when they were going to do ditto for me I stopped them and said 'At this dinner musical honours are reserved for Mr St. Leger alone.'⁹ The assistant editor spoke for the Staff and old St. Leger and they said very nice things about me, which you can supply. Old St. Leger said I had steered the paper with etc. etc. through the most difficult period he remembered. Afterwards, going home, the old boy said he wished he had thought of this method of bringing the staff together; and altogether we have put a stone in the wall of the Cape Times, I think, well and truly laid. I said something

8 "St. Leger belonged to the old school, a believer in editorial anonymity, he was content that his opinions, his scholarship and his delicate fancy should impersonally permeate the paper he controlled. Garrett had sat at the feet of W.T. Stead, one of the founders of the new school. To him an editor was at once a leader and an ambassador, with a personal responsibility for guiding and expressing public opinion. The editorial chair was a rostrum from which he addressed the people." Innes 115.

9 For he's a jolly good fellow.

about W.T. Stead at the dinner, and all I had learnt from him, and I think any of my men would stand up for me as we used to stand up for WTS.

You will see in this week's Weekly my examination by the Select Committee.¹⁰ They wanted to make out that I sent my telegram to the 'Star' under orders - not Rhodes as I expected but - the Imperial Secretary Sir Graham Bower whom they all suspect of many things. It was, of course, absolutely my own idea, and my personal reading of the situation, and quite a right one at the time - "Don't turn and rend the Imperial Government, but go ahead with your revolution since you've started, and then we'll see." - But it just so happens that being in and out at Government House, I did mention my intention, to send a message breaking the news of the coming Proclamation to Johannesburg, to Rhodes, who was then, I think, coming out of Graham Bower's room. He had been arguing against the Proclamation and G. Bower, poor old boy, in a mortal funk and very anxious to put himself right as an Imperial servant, had been stolidly putting the Proclamation through, making copies of it etc. etc. and turning me over to the High Commissioner while he played Rhodes and others. What I said to R as far as I remember, for it was all a whirl, was something to the effect 'Don't waste time trying to stop a Proclamation - The great thing is that Johannesburg should not run to either extreme about their reception of it. As for me I shall send a message to some of the fellows telling them to go ahead with their own

10 The report of the Select Committee was tabled in the House of Assembly on July 17. The Cape Times pronounced it to be quite fair, on the whole, and ably presented, but containing little that was new. The editorial said the Select Committee had laboured and given birth to a mouse. The report established against Mr Rhodes nothing more than the Cape Times had publicly assumed as axiomatic in January. Cape Times 18.7.1896.

plans and look sharp' - and R nodded his head and said 'Yes, you might do that' - scarcely a word passed: and then I left. But it was long after before I sent one of my men off with the 'Star' telegram,¹¹ and I rather think I saw the Editor of the 'Star', who was down here, either just before or just after: and instead of sending a message from anybody in the plot here to the Reform Committee there I simply sent a 'tip' to the 'Star' (which they acted on in their leading article that day)¹² from myself, knowing that they would attach some sort of weight to my name and not much caring what precise kind of weight. If they had asked me whether R knew I should have said I had mentioned to him casually that I intended to send some message of the kind to Johannesburg, though not that precise message to the 'Star', and this was what I was expecting; but they never asked this, knowing more than enough of CJR's attitude at the time to make this evidence quite superfluous, and instead they pressed me about old G. Bower. Now, poor old GB, if they only knew it, was in no state that day to commission messages to Johannesburg - but it is quite possible he overheard my remark to CJR or that CJR told him, and equally

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- 11 George Green, a reporter on the Cape Times, later editor of the Cape Argus, dispatched the telegram for Garrett and was "much interested later to find it printed in a Transvaal Green Book as a great find and made the subject of many searching questions at the subsequent Raid inquiry at the Cape". Green 49, 50.
- 12 Noting that the British Government, "as in duty bound" might formally repudiate Jameson's ride, the Star declared, nevertheless, that it was a magnificent achievement. The Star believed that Jameson's presence would end the campaign and that the Boer government would go down to be replaced by "one of our own creation under the same flag". The Star 1.1.1896, cited by Marais, 103 and Garrett and Edwards, 179.

possible that he would not have objected to this or anything else being done so long as he was not made responsible. In correcting my evidence proof, I asked leave to alter the answer that "I thought he did not know about it at all", saying I thought it quite possible he was apprised of the fact that I intended to wire my view of the case to Johannesburg, but that I had no conversation with him on the subject and no authority to send the message save as my own; which of course is absolutely true and is the point.

They however have not altered this answer, evidently thinking it would not be fair to Bower to do so in view of my clearness that the wire was my own and not his suggestion - and I am very glad. At the end of my evidence there came some more questions on which Merriman and I fought, I maintaining that they were irrelevant to the scope of the enquiry, and this objection was eventually, after the Committee had deliberated on the point, upheld. They have expunged all reference to this little affair, which was a score for me.

Do you remember, re my wire to the 'Star', whether I gave you any further particulars when writing to you at the time?¹³ I have an idea that I loosely spoke of it as the result of a sort of conference at Government House, which of course in a sense it was, but absolutely not in the sense that Schreiner¹⁴

13 In writing to Agnes on January 1, 1896, recounting the events of the previous 48 hours Garrett described the incident as follows: "Under certain people's open approval I send wire to Rand discounting Proclamation as formal."

14 William Philip Schreiner (1857-1919) was a member of the Select Committee investigating the Jameson Raid. He had joined Rhodes's ministry as Attorney General in 1893 and worked closely with Rhodes, resigning at the time of the Raid and breaking with Rhodes entirely after the Select Committee's findings were published. In Garrett's view, Schreiner was "an honest politician and a high-minded, generously-meaning man". Editorial "Parted Ways" Cape Times 26.7.1897.

and Merriman wanted to read into it. I can't remember any single word that passed about it, and doubt if anything did pass more than CJR's nod of the head. But it's very hard to get the exact truth as to details. I was told by the Secretary I was the best witness the Committee had had so far; yet on thinking over my evidence in proof I wanted to make a correction so as to tell the strict truth. What lies the average witness with no such scruples must tell! I am rather proud of my telegram, but prouder still of that alteration I got made in the Proclamation, which nobody knows was mine, except the Government House people.

See Coope's letter on 'Cheap Bread' and Chairman's speech at Rhodes mass meeting on Saturday for 2 references to Physician as 'a noble woman'.¹⁵

Love

F.E.G.

15 Writing to the Cape Times (25.7.1896) on the subject of a recent public meeting to discuss the taxation of breadstuffs, W.J. Coope said that he "much regretted not seeing Jane Waterston on the platform ... And I entreat her not to desist from her noble efforts to infuse into the women of this country something of her own noble spirit." At a public meeting held in the Good Hope Hall on July 25 to express confidence in C.J. Rhodes, the chairman, Mr T.J. Anderson, referred in passing to Dr Waterston as "a noble woman of Cape Town".

August 19th 1896

My Deare

I have seen little Steel at last.¹ A really nice out o' way little chap, awfully fond of his wife and speaking in a highly proper and satisfactory manner of some Other Persons.² You seem to have been extremely yourself with Mr Steel. I gave him my old watch and bought a nickel one, which lost and stopped, which I changed for another, which also loses, so you see there is a higher hand presiding over my unpunctuality. A ship's chronometer would lose if I was on board.

I couldn't write last mail and of course the poor Physician didn't either. Since then she has had one of those non descript illnesses of hers, which make her actually lie down for 2 days, eat nothing for 3, be sick in the meanwhile, and go flying round again on the fourth as usual. She really does like a little attention on these occasions, though it is provoking to be a man and unable to do anything for anybody.

What will you buy with the £50?³ Something really jolly: a trip or a treat.

It has just struck me that if She and Millie go off to Egypt for 3 months, or whatever it is, they won't be able to take the promised trip out here for no end of time after.⁴ Yet I don't like to press them to come here this spring because I am so full up with my Xmas number, which is to be a true history of the Raid and Revolution. We shall print 15,000 or

1 Untraced.

2 Apparently Garrett's cousins at 2 Gower Street, Agnes and Millie.

3 Untraced.

4 Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Dr Jane Walker visited Egypt in 1896 and Constantinople and Athens in the spring of 1897.

20,000 copies, and I cannot get to begin it.⁵ It will be a rush at the end. We have to begin printing early in November. Stead wanted to do something of the same sort but I tell him he should do the Raid as it Might Have Been, make it succeed and the Settlement of South Africa come off.⁶ Colonel Rhodes is here and I am having great parleys with him on the whole matter, and find I have hit the truth on most points by induction from such part of things as was known to me. You in England are apt to forget that we here have had next to no opportunities all this while of talking with the chief actors in these events. CJR means to face the Home Enquiry. The business might have been worse. My opinion of Johannesburg does not improve. The stockjobbing theory of the Raid is simply sordid nonsense.

5 The 1896 Christmas Number of the Cape Times "The Story of a Crisis" was entirely devoted to an account of the conspiracy, the raid, and the Rand revolt. It was sold out on the day of publication. The Christmas Number was republished by Constable as "The Story of an African Crisis: being the truth about the Jameson Raid and Johannesburg revolt of 1896 told with the assistance of the leading actors in the drama". The co-author with Garrett was E.J. Edwards, assistant editor of the Cape Times.

6 Stead's 1896 Christmas Annual "The History of the Mystery, or the Skeleton in Blastus's cupboard", (Blastus being King Herod's chamberlain), was a history of the Raid thinly-disguised as fiction. The principal characters were "Dr Cactus" (Rutherford Harris) "Mr Cecil" (Cecil Rhodes) and "Blastus" (Joseph Chamberlain). The "History" embarrassed the Colonial Secretary although intended to assist him.

Oh dear. I haven't written to Patty and Chas. yet:
and I've no time this mail. I've bought a dear little pony
of whom more anon.

With my love

F.E.G.

Can't they take their big jaunt, to the Cape, and make it
next autumn?

September 2nd 1896 .

My Deare

Carry your mind back to August 13th and what a lovely letter you wrote me then. I haven't 'space and 'quiet breathing' enough for answering it as you deserve. But I do believe I've missed 2 weeks running, so some lines I must send. I missed because I had heavy mails in connection with preparations for my Xmas Number which is to be a history of the Raid and Revolution; the real truth: any help from people in England has to be got now or never allowing for return posts which makes everything so long ahead.¹

See in Cape Times the disgust with which I see Johannesburgers going around at Home calmly lumping the disgrace of

1 Garrett wrote to Dr Jameson on August 19, 1896, asking him to answer a probing questionnaire covering many aspects of the Raid and offering to send a shorthand writer to take down Jameson's answers. It is not clear whether Jameson responded but the sub-title of "The Story of an African Crisis" claimed that the story was "told with the assistance of the leading actors in the drama". Stead Papers fos. 317-320.

their failure on to the Imperial Government.² The skugs!³
 I do think the utter rottenness of our own people in gold centres is the really hopeless thing about the S.A. situation. It's consoling in a sense that the Boers aren't by a long chalk as different as the Radicals in England fancy them. Kruger's grandson took a big bribe from Solly Joel to 'use his influence' about Reform prisoners,⁴ and the Eloff crowd (close relatives) are in this Bewaarplaatzen confiscation.

- 2 An editorial "Rand versus Regina" (Cape Times 27.8.1896) cited the African Critic, which was published in London, as alleging that the Uitlanders were being betrayed by Chamberlain and the Imperial government. "Are Englishmen who found colonies and extend British trade not only to lack efficient protection but be forever betrayed into the hands of their enemies?" The Cape Times retorted in the leader that it was "certain Colonists in a hurry, meaning Mr Rhodes and Dr Jameson" and the Uitlander leaders on the Rand who had got South Africa into a "terrible mess" both in the Transvaal and Rhodesia, not the Imperial government. For Rhodes or Jameson or Johannesburg to turn on the Queen's representative for not making a "grand success out of their colossal fiasco is at once the height of ingratitude and impudence".
- 3 Scug or skug (Eton). A term of contempt for any boy wanting in self-respect. It should properly denote a boy who had no colours (hence scug-cap worn by boys who were not entitled to any other kind of cap) but it became a general term of abuse, denoting the sort of person who under no circumstances would have a colour; hence adj. "scuggish"; "beastly scuggish thing to do". J.S. Farmer: The Public School Word Book London 1900; M. Marples: Public School Slang London 1941.
- 4 See Garrett to Agnes Garrett 17.6.1896 note 8.

business (see Cape Times).⁵

There is a steady Rhodes reaction among Cape Afrikanders but it's not among the best nor altogether loveable in its spirit. Odd, however, the charm his personality has for a lot of these decent old farmer folk.

I am lying low and getting on to Xmas Number which is a fag. - Have got a dear little sturdy Basuto pony grey, which goes for ever, and never tumbles down: more about him anon. - Physician buried in work: I will tell you what arrangements I made. I did make some.

I had such a jolly budget from Bedales, photos and all - what a bonny little chap the Boy is getting. I wonder if the School List will ever get long enough to cover the School Bills and leave a margin! I feel it is such a big work and good work, and so fully practical too, that it would be ten thousand pities if it didn't come to pay, which is after all the security for permanence. Fancy you really missing FEG!

5 The "bewaarplaatzen" were sections of mining land in dispute between the Rand mining companies and the Transvaal Government. The government resolved to sell the mining rights of such land to the highest bidder, with half the proceeds going to the registered owners of the property and half going to the government. The decision, amounting to confiscation, was a stunning blow to gold mining companies whose future life depended on mining the bewaarplaatzen sections of their properties. The Cape Times commented: "It is hard to see in the decision anything but another indication of the avowed hostility of the governing body of the Republic towards the mining industry and the determination to stick at nothing in the spoliation of the 'uitlander' ... Somebody will, of course, reap the advantage ... Ah, those simple, pastoral Boers who do not care for gold!" "Spoiling the Stranger" Cape Times 1.9.1896.

It's awfully dear of you, my Dear. Come along and marry me!
and we'll live on a Desert Isle with electric fittings⁶ and
run the Business and the Cape Times by Cable.

My dear Love

Your

F.E.G.

Clothes from Cape tailor. Am getting boots from Home.

6 Electricity was introduced in Cape Town on the evening of April 13, 1895, when the Mayoress, Mrs George Smart, officially switched the lights on at the Town House in the presence of thousands of people. Mayoral minute for 1895, as reported in the Cape Times 27.8.1895.

September 9th 1896

My Deare

You may have seen by Cable, but have not perhaps realised that the Rival Rag has shut down this week. JBR has had enough of it, and even Sauer going home to plead hasn't got him to keep on losing £1500 a month for the pleasure of being more and more beaten by the 'Cape Times' every day.¹ Altogether they say the little enterprise of "smashing the Cape Times" and "smashing Rhodes" combined has cost him over £50,000 in Capetown; and JB for all his millions is a frugal man. Having deposed Sauer as Leader [of the] Opposition, thoroughly discredited poor old Merriman, made JBR's name stink to all Englishmen, knocked the South African Telegraph out of tune, and increased the Cape Times Daily 33 and the Cape Times Weekly 50 per cent² - is not a bad year's work, most of all this the enemy has done for us, but I think I've helped. I fancy JBR would have stopped some time ago but for the way I went for him at the crisis time, which has led to his being accepted as a type of renegade all over the world, the world being interested

1 On September 3 the Telegraph announced in a leading article "Vale!" that the paper was closing immediately by order of the proprietor. J.W. Sauer had gone to England in July aboard the Dunottar Castle.

2 The total weekly circulation of the daily edition of the Cape Times, as announced on the front page each day, increased from 57 000 in January 1896 to 68 000 in July 1896. This indicates that by July the Cape Times daily edition was selling in excess of 11 000 copies each day, Monday to Saturday. The circulation of the Telegraph was 3 300 daily. Garrett to Agnes Garrett. 29.7.1896.

in the S.A. crisis.³ Now the field is clear for us to take Rhodes in hand and teach him nicely in our own way, with no Sauer and JBR petty jealousies.

Meanwhile, this week the Physician and I had a nasty suspicion that the Telegraph gone, the Times would be ready to dispense with me. I have, of course, burned my boats long ago as regards Harris, whom I told to go to ---- when he* tried to interfere with me re war policy in April (*and the Jameson-Hawksley-Maguire⁴ set in London). As for the Manager, young St. Leger, the bumpkin, you know how it is with him. He has looked at me with clumsy and stupid jealous hostility ever since old St. Leger first introduced me, when he looked me up and down, stared like a boor and said 'Ump' - no more. Since then I have had to override him with gentle good humour from time to time (once by reference to terms of that admirable, that unique Agreement of mine⁶ - and oftener to ignore him and do

- 3 As in an editorial "The dead set against Mr Rhodes" which accused J.B. Robinson and his "kept" newspapers of splitting the Uitlanders and reviving anti-English prejudice. "And all the time, we suppose, Mr J.B. Robinson of Park Lane poses to his friends as an Englishman and a patriot." Cape Times 3.1.1896.
- 4 Bourchier Hawksley (1851-1915) was London solicitor of the B.S.A. Company and of Cecil Rhodes. James Rochfort Maguire (1855-1925) held Rhodes's proxy on the board of the B.S.A. Company.
- 5 Frederick Luke St. Leger (1857-1935). Son of the founder of the Cape Times, manager and later a director until his death. F.Y. St. Leger "had a high opinion of his son's business acumen". But Fred St. Leger was not an outstanding success as manager of the paper and later relinquished this post. In terms of an agreement with the company, negotiated by E.R. Syfret in 1907, he was given leave of absence for 12 months on full pay, "the intention being that he should reside in England or elsewhere abroad and devote some of his attention to the inspection of modern machinery and newspaper working". He was required to take immediate steps to free himself of his private financial liabilities and "to withdraw from all connection with horseracing". Green 44. Minutes of meetings of the board of directors of the Cape Times 1908.
- 6 The agreement placed Garrett in sole control of the policy and conduct of the Cape Times. See page 32.

without him, or wait for beery intervals of fatuous complacent good humour, to put things through). It follows that if the old man fails me, I have nothing to stand on except the Agreement and the market value of my services to the paper, which the Oaf is too conceited to appreciate (being under the firm impression that it is he who made and is making the 'Times') - though perhaps Harris has more eye for that side of things. I thought I had told you that if old St. Leger were to go it would only be a question of time, probably, before a fight came which would probably end in my finding my work on the Cape Times impossible. Were bad times to come, I have always known that the fight would precede the old man going, as the Manager would at once seize his chance.

Well, the other day, finding that the old man was very sick at my employing a particular contributor distasteful to myself qua man⁷ the Oaf tried on a little game. All this time, I have hardly employed anybody to help me with editorial matter outside the staff. One old boy who used to do leaders I dropped - his fumbings were too utterly out of keeping with the defects and qualities of the kind of leader I have introduced. My assistant,⁸ whose style is incurably woolly, is of great help especially with local subjects; gets hold of town interests etc. But broadly speaking, I have either written, planned, or revised sometimes to the point of re-writing, every Leader, bar some 6, since July, 1895, save when I was at Pretoria (when the Old Man kindly went in and as Cook said the

7 Not identified.

8 E.J. Edwards.

Cape Times became suddenly and strangely colourless). This tho' the Oaf has a great theory that I don't work for my salary, which he flatters himself he hasn't yet expressed.

But I have always meant to have the best men, if any, of all parties here, writing for the Cape Times and I regarded as a scalp at my belt the gradual affiliation of Opposition men to our point of view. About 3 of these have written me about 5 articles between them.⁹ I found out that with one of them the Old Man had a sort of feud on. But then so he has with nearly every politician you can name. "So-and-so? Yes - a law fellow. Used to know him - haven't spoken for 13 years." That sort of thing. So I employed him, and was beginning to use him more during the Xmas number, which I haven't yet actually begun writing - the History of the Raid - a great work and an awful fag to do alongside with the Paper.

Suddenly the Oaf, after once hinting to me in his incoherent way that he didn't like this man, but I of course paid not much attention, accompanied a cheque to him for a couple of articles with the intimation, expressed with characteristic tact and courtesy, that he was to take note this was the last he'd be paid for unless written at request of Manager! (No word to me.)

The politician of course enclosed this to me, asking what it meant. I at once answered him that he might take it as unwritten, and rely on it that as long as I am Editor the contributors will be those of my choice and will be paid for work accepted by me.

9 Untraced.

Then I ignored the Oaf, and wrote to the old man. I was as nice and considerate to him as I could be - said, what is true, that if he had come to me and explained his feelings I would have readily left off using this contributor in deference - but made it clear that after Manager's action I must as Jameson said to the Commandant of Marico, 'proceed with my original plans' for a time at least.¹⁰ He apologised for the Manager at once - tried to soften down the affair all round - and arranged that I should employ whom I please and send the memo: from time to time to him, he saving the Manager's amour propre by writing the cheques himself. I gather he gave the Oaf a flea in his ear privately, though to me he would use none but the most euphemistic language. But this issue brought out the fact that some friction between the old man and me about our line on the Town Council, of which he is now a member (my assistant's line really, but of course having let him take it, I was bound to back him to some extent) - was more serious than I had suspected.¹¹ Without saying a word to me old St. Leger

10. To the Commandant, Marico District: December 30, 1895. Sir, I am in receipt of your protest of the above date and have to inform you, that I intend proceeding with my original plans, which have no hostile intentions against the people of the Transvaal; but we are here in reply to an invitation from the principal residents of the Rand, to assist them in their demand for justice and the ordinary rights of every citizen of a civilised state. I am Sir, Yours faithfully L.S. Jameson. - A6 of 1896 Appendix A No 88.

11. In the 1895 municipal elections the Cape Times ran an exposé of slum conditions in Cape Town and called on candidates to support a vigorous programme of slum clearance and municipal housing of the labouring and artisan classes. Cape Times editorials: "Destroyers of Dirt" 17.8.1895; "Slumtown" 25.8.1895; "The municipal year" 28.8.1895; "A point for candidates" 2.9.1895; "The awakening of Cape Town" 5.9.1895.

actually offered his colleagues to resign because of the persecution of the Council by the paper "bearing my imprint"!! Now we had made the same sort of departure on this Municipal as on other questions. Instead of the old man's purely negative and academic, cultivated, unintelligible criticism of the last 20 years we had run the '95 election - he was then 1st time candidate but luckily was cruising up Natal way - with the best results. I made Capetown hold its 1st Candidates Public Meeting to address Electors!¹² - Now Election comes on and we were beginning to liven it up, never thinking of the old man's considering himself as part of the affair now. In an evil moment (perhaps) I asked him to write us a series of Articles on Municipal Policy generally, taking it side by side. After much coyness, I got him to agree, when on my printing an Article of Edwards's (my assistant, which was, I admit, rather a prod) but on same line we had always been developing¹³ - he suddenly wrote and said he couldn't now write anything, and soon after he did this resignation business (which of course his Colleagues told him he was an old ass and to withdraw it, which he did).

12 Candidates faced electors at a public meeting in the Metropolitan Hall, Burg Street, on September 6, 1895. Mr George Smart, the Mayor, indicated that he opposed a municipal housing scheme but would support the erection of municipal lodging houses or barracks for coloured labourers.

13 An editorial "Disillusion!" (Cape Times 28.8.1896) described Cape Town as "the most evil-smelling of all South African towns" and noted that the improvement scheme adopted a year earlier was still a long way from completion.

Well, I naturally felt this to be serious. As I said to him, it isn't because he's Proprietor but because he's made the Cape Times and I wish him to feel that he is at root at one with my work in following him, - that I find it intolerable he should treat my editorship as inconsistent with his public position. We had a correspondence and a square talk yesterday, in which I demanded to know his view of my work as a whole and said I was ready to go, though with a pang, if I found he really felt like that about other sides of my editorship. The result is a kind of happy settlement, he doing the series of Municipal articles after all,¹⁴ and apparently not having meant what he had appeared to mean; though I have not got quite out of him what he really does feel about my work all round.

I am going to regard this Election as a gone thing, not run it, and put on him the onus of the paper's policy,¹⁵ and I flatter myself the public will somehow feel that the Cape Times is not itself. If I had any real conviction of my own on the details of Capetown Civic policy, I would of course stick to that conviction and leave it to him to sack me if he

14 "Municipal progress" (Cape Times 9.9.1896) is evidently St. Leger's work and was the first main leader on a municipal topic since "Disillusion!" (28.8.1896). It commended the new municipal code which laid down building regulations and standards and placed various obligations on property owners and developers in the interests of public health.

15 After "Municipal progress" (Cape Times 9.9.1896) there were no further main leaders on municipal affairs until after polling day. The Cape Times report of the polling (15.9.1896) noted that there was no election excitement in Cape Town. A leading article lamented the absence in Cape Town of a spirit of municipal reform of the kind which had made the lives of people longer and happier in other countries. The volume of municipal indifference was registered in the death-rate. "The Municipal election" 15.9.1896.

feels his position as a Councillor impossible, and worth saving at that price.¹⁶ As it is, I am doing what I can to show him the greatest amount of consideration possible, in recognition of the absolutely free hand I have had on every single subject right up to now.

So all is peas, for the time. But the Physician, who has seen the letters, fears with me that the morbid touchiness the dear old boy has developed - after sitting sticking pins into other people all his life - and sharp pins too! - is a grave sign, and may ultimately, especially if he goes into Parliament¹⁷ (he says he won't) combine at some luckless moment with the steady sapping efforts of the Manager, towards whom of course he is foolish fond or the M. would not be in his present position. And then - - well, the Agreement gives a year's grace, and in that time much may happen, so don't worry.

Love

Edmund.

P.S. I haven't troubled you with my internal civil wars so far; this long letter will make you realise some of the troubles I have got over. F.E.G.

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- 16 St. Leger himself resigned from the Town Council the following year. He said on a public platform in February, 1898, that he had resigned from the Council because it had refused to carry measures to which he was committed. St. Leger recalled that he had taken part in an investigation of slum conditions and had introduced a measure for the improvement of the housing and accommodation of working people and the erection of labourers' barracks. But nothing had been done. Cape Times 25.2.1898.
- 17 St. Leger became a Member of the Cape Legislative Assembly in September, 1898, after failing to secure a seat in the Legislative Council, the upper house, in March of that year.

28th October 1896

My Deare

Your news by last mail showed No 2 settling down again to normal. I do trust tomorrow will bring the like. What a time you have had!

Here I am very busy, and I must get a line to the little gal by this post. It is a very blessed thing to have her settled in, and you seem to like the sound of the place.

Christmas Number's back is broken now, I hope; if I could once only escape from the Paper for a bit I could finish. The old man is helping Edwards and I am supposed to be at home doing Xmas Number, but this Cheap Food Shilling Fund is my latest bairn and needs attention now and again. There is a great work of political organisation to be done in this country. This Food Tax is a lever, and I do believe we are beginning to stir the apathy of the towns. Of course the Country Party will rule Parliament for many a long day yet. They stick together. Getting rid of Rhodes out of Cape Colony politics pro tem is a help to this particular agitation, and rinderpest a blessing in disguise from same point of view.¹

1 The Shilling Fund was launched by the Cape Times in an editorial on October 14, 1896, as a campaign fund to make propaganda against the protectionist policies of the Sprigg government, which was maintaining the duties on foodstuffs enforced by the Rhodes-Bond alliance. The outbreak of rinderpest was a major spur to the campaign. As cattle died and a meat famine threatened, it seemed that the Colony would be more than ever dependent on high-priced frozen mutton from Australia. As the Cape Times noted on October 10, 1896, drought and rinderpest "are the only teachers of political economy who command instant hearing in South Africa. A month of the pest has done more than a year of pamphlets". Cape Times 10.10.1896, 14.10.1896.

When I started the Shilling I went into the Comps. room and made a little speech; they cheered and every man put down his bob. The example is being followed by every place of business in the country. The men send round the hat. 4000 shilling subscribers for political organisation is a new thing here. I mean to have 10,000 at least.

But I can't start my Special new Guild yet. Time's not ripe. I have loaded a few MLA's with the idea in germ; but I won't make a false start. Can't do everything at once.

Wish I were surer of getting time to finish off things. However, I think prospects are easier. Armistice still lasts, pending completion of present work etc.

Shall be glad when January comes. I shall take a fortnight absolutely off and stable the pony at Muizenberg. I am jealous of taking more because I want to save up for my Home trip (whenever that comes). I can carry on till then. But I am a bit stale just now. No holiday for about 18 months - and such a year as 1896 has been! Not sitting at desk, care, and climate, and suburbs, and the Physician - have done it. She is busy but cheerier of late. Home worries, I think, eased a bit. She is furious with me for mentioning the same to you at all. Silly, nice, unreasonable, absurd, excellent, indispensable Physician!

I am selling my jolly little grey pony (Paul Kruger) for one with more speed; also I am putting in for a raffle for a condemned racer of huge height, which will make a very good hack, and if I get him I shall ride him.

Love to Millie and She. Where is the Lady?

Edmund.

I design all my cartoons which have become a very popular

feature and tell politically - of the artists I speak not - Mrs Penstone² succeeds her husband who died. I am creating her as a cartoonist, and think she will do in time. No more tumbles. My present pony falls 6 steps and still picks up!

2 Constance Penstone, painter and cartoonist, who drew under her own name and under the pseudonym "Scalpel". Her work is also found in the South African Review.

March 10th 1897¹

My Deare

Up to ears in arrears. All seems well here. Physician getting evidently bad news from Home. But quite satisfied with me; testimonial to you; and admits I escaped worst heat wave (last week) that she remembers.

My Deare, this is only a line to thank you for those two lovely letters you arranged so cleverly to have waiting for me at Capetown. They breathe your own sweet and dear fragrance and the whiff was very very pleasant to me and it clings to me all day. Thanks!

You will have seen what jinks they are up to in Transvaal, and things are very lively here.² See my review of Olive in

- 1 Garrett had just returned from a brief visit to England. He had left Cape Town aboard the Dunvegan Castle on January 6. His fellow-passengers included Cecil Rhodes, who was going to "face the music" at Westminster and Olive Schreiner, whose "Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland" was about to be published. Garrett arrived back in Cape Town aboard the same vessel on March 9, having seen Joseph Chamberlain in London and having had two long talks at 2 Gower Street with Alfred Milner, whose appointment as Governor of the Cape to succeed Sir Hercules Robinson had already been decided upon but was not yet publicly announced. Milner diary 3.2.1897; 10.2.1897.
- 2 A constitutional crisis had arisen in the Transvaal between the Executive and the Judiciary which resulted in the summary dismissal of the Chief Justice, Sir John Kotze, by President Kruger. Other issues which were arousing controversy in the Transvaal were a new Press Law, in terms of which The Critic had been suppressed in December, 1896, and aliens expulsion and immigration laws which were the subject of protests to President Kruger by Joseph Chamberlain who sent a dispatch to the South African Republic demanding their repeal. A British squadron was sent to Delagoa Bay and military reinforcements were sent to the Cape. The crisis eased when the immigration law was repealed and the Volksraad passed a resolution in favour of amending the aliens expulsion law. At the Cape, local government was in a state of turmoil with five town councillors having resigned.

today's daily Cape Times (next weekly).³

The Matabelelanders on the boat were ready to pitch it into the sea. But the Salisbury crowd of blackmailers threaten to give evidence versus the Company at the Committee.⁴ It's a mixed up thing, like all else here. Glad to see Rhodes has maintained his turn for the better at the Committee.⁵ Leo Weinthal is coming down here to try again for J.B. Robinson to bust up the Cape Times.⁶ We smile. JBR has quarrelled with

- 3 Olive Schreiner's allegorical novel "Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland" was a powerful attack on Rhodes and the Chartered Company's troopers, accusing the Company of greed and cruelty towards the indigenous inhabitants of the Company's territories north of the Limpopo. Under a headline "Olive Schreiner on Cecil Rhodes: Extraordinary imputations" Garrett's review conceded that the book was most effective as polemic and contained passages of poetic beauty and spiritual elevation. However, the general trend of his review was critical and ironical, pointing out that the book had appeared just at the moment when Rhodes was to go "on trial" at Westminster. "If these atrocious suggestions are based on evidence, they must of course be probed to the bottom for they represent white Rhodesians as a putrid scab on the surface of the tolerant earth. If, however, this is not done, if these things are based on nothing but day dreams ... then it is only possible for those who admire the splendid gifts of our South African novelist to fling by 'P.H.' with a sigh of regret." Cape Times 10.3.1897.
- 4 The British parliamentary committee investigating the Raid in fact heard no evidence on the Chartered Company's administration of its territories although this was clearly part of its terms of reference.
- 5 The committee met for the first time on February 15. Rhodes, who had tried to persuade Chamberlain to drop the inquiry, began his evidence before the Committee the following day and, in all, made six appearances, finishing on March 5. Contemporary observers agreed that he began nervously but steadily gained confidence. As a recent biographer puts it, "gradually, as he sensed the real purpose of the charade, his nervousness was replaced by impudent defiance". John Flint: Cecil Rhodes 208.
- 6 Leo Weinthal (1865-1930) was a friend of President Kruger and editor of the Pretoria Press, under the proprietorship of J.B. Robinson. Weinthal clashed with the Kruger government over the Transvaal Press Law of 1896 and he later fell out with J.B. Robinson and resigned the editorship. After a break in Natal he returned to Pretoria to found the Pretoria News in 1897. He did not come to the Cape to revive the South African Telegraph, as Garrett was apparently expecting him to do.

Kruger just now.⁷ You see I wrote about Statham from Madeira. Reuter says now 'a strong letter' from FEG appears in Times etc. etc.⁸

I will write a more Homey letter anon.

I have decided to wait till my letter from Madeira is answered, if ever, before writing a second to her.⁹ My Deare, I must have this and you must come and live with us!

Edmund.

I will write to She and Millie soon.

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- 7 The failure of the Kruger government to meet the grievances of the gold mining industry in 1897, when there was a mining depression, drew the Rand capitalists together, including J.B. Robinson.
- 8 Francis Reginald Statham (1844-1908) was a journalist who sympathised with the Transvaal and opposed Cecil Rhodes. He was given £1 500 by the Republic in 1895 to go to Europe on the Transvaal's behalf to put its point of view in the press and refute misrepresentations. His book South Africa as it is appeared in 1897 and said that the Cape Times had fallen under the control of Cecil Rhodes and that Edmund Garrett had been brought out by Rhodes from England to edit the paper and "force the pace". Replying in a letter to The Times, Garrett said he had been engaged and appointed by St. Leger and that Rhodes had nothing to do with the appointment. The Times 9.3.1897.
- 9 Untraced.

March 17th 1897

My Deare

The presents are all a great success. Mr R[osenthal]¹ knew Frau Sch.² and was therefore extra pleased with the portrait. Elise was delighted with the dress stuff³ - ditto [...]⁴ Lizzie⁴ - and the Physician was so impatient for her napery that she came out twice in one day to Rondebosch for it, crossing with me en route. She was awfully pleased with it initials and all, but I believe she thinks it extraordinary taste: it's never safe to give the Physician anything that one thinks pretty of a pronounced type. I think the Turkey red frightens her and she says it "kills the plates" (some ugly little cheap crocks of course). Still, she's just as pleased as if she really admired the things, paradox as it sounds. If you hadn't marked them all I should make a swop, taking the napery for the Indian Dressing gown which I find the Physician really does like (isn't she unaccountable?). I think even so

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- 1 Garrett boarded with the Rosenthal family at their house "Linda Vista" in Erin Road, Rondebosch. Albert Rosenthal (1834-1907) was the grandfather of Eric Rosenthal, the South African writer and quiz specialist, and had emigrated to the Cape in 1854. The Rosenthal family were among the original inhabitants of Middelburg, Cape, where they were in business for many years. They later moved to Cape Town where Mr Rosenthal had "something of a struggle" as a manufacturer's agent. Mrs Rosenthal gave music lessons at "Linda Vista" and took in paying guests. Information supplied by Mr Eric Rosenthal from his manuscript "The Rosenthal family story" which was written for his children and privately circulated.
 - 2 Not identified.
 - 3 Elise Wiegmann, the housekeeper at "Linda Vista" who had accompanied the Rosentals from Germany as a servant and remained with the family for many years. Information supplied by Mr Eric Rosenthal.
 - 4 Presumably a servant in the Rosenthal household.

I shall have to do something about the Dressing Gown: you know my agony of mind at having 2. (My new clo' are the admired of all, by the way.) Altogether, my Deare, you can congratulate yourself on another triumph of your extraordinary and enviable gift of gift-making.

There was a sad hitch, by the way, now set right, about the precious watch. It stopped short, never to go no more, without any excuse, halfway across the voyage. However, after much debate I let a Capetown watchman take it to bits, and he found a rough place in the centre wheel which he smoothed out and I have just got it back going again. It kept perfect time while it did go and will doubtless do so again. I wouldn't tell you till it was all right. It is a great joy.

I took an early opportunity of missing the train and staying at Plein Street a night where I have your wallpaper on the wall and your [...] towels by turns over the Washstand, like a calendar. I have ordered a man to come about putting up the Rose in my room at Rondebosch: it looks lovely, but it does seem extravagant with the ugly paper there quite new and a chance of the Rosenthals moving.⁵ I think this has blown over, however. She never let my rooms while I was away so she netted £26 clear on that which I hope has eased finances. I got out of Muizenberg for £6. Altogether if I hadn't sponged on you in England those would have been a pair of expensive months.

5 "(The) Rose" was a wallpaper designed by William Morris in 1877. An illustration appears in F. Clark: William Morris Wallpapers and Chintzes (St Martin's Press New York and Academy Editions London).

I shall get $\frac{1}{2}$ the £57 passage money.

I begin to be covetous and penurious, and I fear my pony is to involve a boy now as the livery stables just behind have been bought for a private house and I must use soon the Linda Vista stable. The dear little pony stretched his legs manfully yesterday, my first ride since back - he seems funnily small after English horses, but these are the ones for the moley flats. They never go down. - I hope to get out of the Pony keep during absence for £5 as the man rode him in the interval. Note new economic spirit:

26	Rondebosch
6	Muizenberg
5	Pony
29	= $\frac{1}{2}$ £58 voyage
10	tips and sundries
—	
£76	for 2 months
==	

FEG's expenses.

Luckily, salary also runs during holiday!

My Deare, I have been thinking, I must have cost you a sad amount staying at No 2. When are you coming out to be my guest a little? I could easily fix up to have you at Linda Vista any time, with a little notice. At present, the 3 jew girls being gone, there is plenty of room. The Blessed Damozel⁶ looks down on me and the Blessed A.G. looks down close by her. I am going to get a whole lot of pictures framed along with the burst of painting and papering, and generally make my room fit for guests.

6 By the Pre-Raphaelite painter, D.G. Rossetti (1828-1882), who was the author of a poem of the same title.

Up to now it's hardly furnished. See what expenses a wallpaper of chaste design brings in its train! My clothes too! Oh dear oh dear! All spent on FEG! Well, no more Cape Times leakage. That I'm resolved on.⁷

Did I pay you for those[... ...]photos? Let me do any expenses like that, please Deare; I will take the wallpaper, and if you very much wish it, the watch, too, as presents for last Xmas and next Birthday: but not everything! There's no stopping some people when they start giving.

Everyone here is very nice and welcoming back. It's amusing that they get a bit bored with the old man. He was seedy, poor old chap; one can imagine him starting with a spurt after the long absence and then tailing off.⁸ He is coming to England for May - July probably - taking back the medical student son much better in lungs from Karoo air, to go back to his studies.⁹ You must see him and be nice to him - you know how - while he is in London. Make him feel we appreciate his efforts to be nice to me, poor dear old boy. He is

7 The question of responsibility for Garrett's passage money and expenses on his trip to England was in dispute with the manager of the Cape Times. See letter to Agnes 4.8.1897 and letter to Agnes 9.9.1896, in which Garrett refers to the "steady sapping efforts of the Manager".

8 F.Y. St. Leger was in failing health and went to England in June to seek medical advice. There were conflicting diagnoses and though his throat trouble became progressively worse he remained active in public life. When elected as a member of the Cape Assembly in 1898 he spoke rarely and eventually lost his voice entirely. His condition was finally diagnosed as cancer of the throat, and St. Leger died on March 29, 1901.

9 Robert Arthur St. Leger (1865-1953) was the third of five sons of F.Y. St. Leger. He was educated at Tonbridge Grammar School, Kent, and Edinburgh University and practised medicine at George, Cape Province, for many years.

a rather sad old man. He has lately resigned his Town Council in a huff. They didn't run the late Capetown election properly and let the bounders get the upper hand at meetings and now they sulk.¹⁰ They have played the fool with my Fund too, while I was away.¹¹

The dear Physician is very fit. I couldn't resist telling her about Broadbent¹² - and the corollaries of Broadbent; and I was so overflowing with your sweet letter about the Physician and Milner and all that that I showed her it and she put out her chin and asked 'What have I to do with Government House?'¹³

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- 10 F.Y. St. Leger announced his resignation from the Town Council on February 11, 1897, after a meeting of ratepayers had vetoed proposed public works which the Cape Times said were "universally acknowledged to be absolutely essential to the existence of the city as a place of civilised habitation". "Town and suburbs" Cape Times 10.3.1897; "After the poll" Cape Times 11.2.1897.
- 11 In Garrett's absence the proceeds of the Shilling Fund had been divided equally between the South African Political Association and the South African League at a meeting in Port Elizabeth. The South African League, equivocal in its attitude to free trade, thereupon put through a resolution calling for the remission of one-fourth of the current duties upon meat and wheat. A Cape Times sub-leader noted that so trifling a remission would not benefit the consumer. The shillings handed over to the South African League "might as profitably have been cast into Table Bay". Cape Times 24.2.1897.
- 12 Sir William Broadbent (1835-1907) was physician to Queen Victoria and a leader of the Victorian medical profession. An old friend of Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, he sympathised with the struggle of women to make headway in medicine. See M.E. Broadbent: The Life of Sir William Broadbent KCVO FRS London 1909.
- 13 Milner came to have a high regard for Jane Waterston. In writing to the Colonial Office about a proposed honours list in 1901, he asked, in reference to Dr Waterston, what could be done "for a woman who is worth a dozen men?" In a footnote Headlam said that Jane Waterston's work for refugees at the outbreak of the war and after was beyond praise. Headlam 1, 231.

I adhere to my resolve not to write again till Madeira is answered. What is most wanted here now is self-restraint.

No more philosophy just yet because the Recipient will laugh at it.

My Deare, I won't grill a bit, because there are you, silently radiating. What can refuse to grow in that sunshine?

Edmund.

April 7th 1897

My Deare

I was on the Pony again for quite a turn on Monday and hope soon to be able to report that all is well. Happily I have had no time to bother about myself, as we have been putting through a lively controversial time. I have been tackling Dormer, who has returned to journalism in Johannesburg with a great flourish, and is playing a double game of some kind, nobody quite knows what. He writes of me personally as a 'young jackanapes' etc. etc., but I think I have got him on toast and spoilt his latest little trick for him.¹ The Britishers in South Africa are closing up, and I want an ultimatum to old K. after the jubilee, if he will only go on as he is doing and give a fair hold for it. Everyone here is coming round to this view: Sauer and Merriman are beating the air, and the Dutch members don't quite know where they are and old Hoffs is groping. We on the Cape Times are making the politics for the parliament men: Merriman's abuse of me personally in the House yesterday is an oblique tribute.² I had the warmest

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- 1 Francis Joseph Dormer (1854-1928) established the Argus newspaper company and held office in the company as editor at various times of the Cape Argus and The Star and as managing director. Dormer clashed with the Cape Times when he made disapproving editorial comments in The Star about a mass meeting in Cape Town on March 29 at which a resolution was passed calling on the British authorities to demand that the Transvaal observe the provisions of the Transvaal Convention. The Cape Times declared on March 31 that it was understandable that such Johannesburgers as Mr Dormer spoke for did not care about Britain's obligations - when they happened to be thinking of the more absorbing topic of making money. See sub-leader "Forcing an open door" 5.4.1897 and Cape Times 29.3.1897.
- 2 In the Assembly on April 6, 1897, John X. Merriman spoke of Garrett in scornful terms as a protégé of W.T. Stead and an "important personage" in the Colony. Cape Times 7.4.1897.

letter from Johannesburg repudiating Dormer, and I hear all sorts of things showing that friends and foes are shaping round and one is making one's line felt in the country. How things do help Rhodes out of his worst blunders!

I hope, by the way, to get my darling scheme of Colonial Contribution to Navy fairly fought for in Parliament this session;³ am pulling wires no end and trying to plant it on little Sprigg, and make him think it's his own.⁴ If we could but get this, I would feel all my past scores were a trifle and that this alone was worth coming to South Africa for.

My Private Affairs must wait till I can feel I have converted the Physician again, as I soon hope to.

Love to you

Edmund.

P.S. Better news from Johnnie,⁵ the 2nd £25 is invested after all along with the 1st and old F. is giving him yet another chance.

3 This had been launched in the columns of the Cape Times in a series of articles in August, 1895, proposing a Cape contribution to the Royal Navy. The plan was that the Cape should help to add a cruiser to the British fleet by charging itself an annual sum representing the interest on the cost of a cruiser and that the cruiser might be christened "HMS Afrikander". Cape Times 16.8.1895; 17.8.1895; 19.8.1895.

4 Sir John Gordon Sprigg (1830-1913), Cape politician who was known for his readiness to accept office in ministries of diverse character. When the Rhodes ministry fell after the Jameson Raid Sprigg led a stop-gap ministry which lasted until W.P. Schreiner became premier in 1898.

5 This was probably Garrett's younger brother, John, who was the twin of Elsie, and a rolling stone who eventually settled in Australia. Information supplied by Edmund Garrett's great-niece, Mrs Sheila Bettesworth of Cape Town.

May 20th 1897

My Deare

Just a line as I fancy the Physician won't get time; but only just to mark time. Milner has made a very good impression so far on the people in Cape Town,¹ though I think he started a bit handicapped with the Dutch politicians by the jingo auspices that Joe, Goschen and Co. sent him off with.² You will be glad to hear that he and I work very well together; and that I think his coming will mean much of what you and I hoped for from my personal point of view. The joke is that so discreet and 'slim' (as they say here) have I been that nobody supposes the Governor and the Editor of the Cape Times to be friends.

His horse, and carriage, and liveries etc. etc. are in first class style. I hope he won't ruin himself in his determination

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- 1 The new Governor was welcomed by cheering crowds along Adderley Street on May 5, 1897, as he rode by carriage from the docks to Government House. Shops were closed and flags and bunting were everywhere in evidence. A raging southerly delayed Milner's disembarkation from 10.30 a.m. until 3 in the afternoon. The crowds waited patiently. The Cape Times 6.5.1897.
- 2 Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, was the speaker at a banquet given in Milner's honour by the staff of the Inland Revenue on April 2 and he "spoke with all his accustomed vigour but less than his usual discretion" on the subject of British supremacy. At another farewell function on March 27, attended by leading politicians, Chamberlain "astonished us by a very political and rather bellicose speech", as Milner noted in his diary. In Cape Town the newspaper Ons Land, edited by F.S. Malan, gave the new Governor a correct, cautious and conspicuously low-key welcome. The paper said Milner was assured of the hearty co-operation of colonists - if he approached his great responsibilities in an unprejudiced and impartial manner. Headlam 1 34, 35. Sub-leader "Welkom" Ons Land 6.5.1897.

to do the thing properly. Also his receptions and levées are successful and liked; the wife of his Military Secretary, Major Hanbury Williams, who does the honours as hostess, is a very sweet mannered little woman; indeed I like greatly all the people he has brought out with him. Major H.W.³ was once Gen. Sir E. Hamley's⁴ ADC and knows Barbara.⁵

Millie and She will be more sick than most of us over poor Greece's mess: what a mess it is!⁶ - You know the lady old Abercrombie left a posy with when we drove out with him and his sister? That's the Beloved of 20 years that he's going to

- 3 Major John Hanbury-Williams, who became a Major General and head of the British military mission with Russian HQ in the First World War.
- 4 General Sir Edward Hamley KCB KCMG (1824-1893). He was a distinguished military tactician and man of letters and was wounded and mentioned in dispatches in the Crimean War and also served in Egypt where Hanbury-Williams was his aide-de-camp. Hamley was the author of a military manual The Operations of War, a study of Voltaire and many articles and works of fiction published in Blackwoods Magazine. The Army List 1886; DNB 1900 (suppl. Vol. 2); The Times 15.8.1893.
- 5 Barbara Hamley (Mrs Rowland Prothero, later Lady Ernie) was General Hamley's niece and his literary executrix and had been virtually adopted by him after the death of his brother Charles in 1863. She was a miniature portrait painter and exhibited at the Royal Academy and elsewhere between 1881 and 1899. A.I. Shand: The Life of General Sir Edward Hamley; two vols. London 1895. The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940 225.
- 6 On May 20, 1896, the Cape Times published a Reuter's telegram from London reporting a ceasefire in the hostilities between Greece and Turkey. Greece had sent a small force to Crete to support a revolt against Turkish domination of the island. Greece, heavily defeated in engagements with the Turks on the mainland, was obliged to accept a compromise in which the European powers forced Turkey to concede autonomy to Crete. A Cape Times editorial attributed the Greek defeat to their failure to take the hint given by Mr Rhodes to Dr Jameson by telegram before the outbreak of the Matabele War: "Read Luke fourteen, 31." The passage in question reads: "Or what King, going to make war against another King, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with 20,000? Or else, while the other is still a great way off, he sendeth an ambassage and desireth conditions of peace."

wed. She sailed for England with a written proposal, gossip says, and was to cable a word from Madeira and she cabled 'Heather' which for dear old Crombie was 'Heaven'. Isn't it nice?⁷

Love

F.E.G.

P.S. I am going to get weighed and sized up again soon and you shall see whether I am not robustiferous as ever.

7 From the "Marriages" column of the Cape Times 28.7.1897: Abercrombie-Smith - Horne. On the 29th of June at St Luke's Church, Redcliffe Square, London, by the Rev Canon Brook, assisted by the Rev Evan H. Hopkins, Vicar of the Parish, the Hon. Charles Abercrombie-Smith MA, and late fellow of St Peter's College, Cambridge, and Controller-and-Auditor General of the Colony, to Christina Caroline, youngest Daughter of the late Harry Remington Horne Esq, of Springfield Cottage, Wynberg. According to the Colonial Office List for 1896, Abercrombie-Smith was a member of the Executive Council of the Colony in that year.

June 9th 1897

My Deare

Last week's mail, I think, Physician and I both missed. So it makes me feel guilty to get yesterday a letter recording a like miss the week it was written. I hope you will have seen in last week's Cape Times about the Contribution to the Navy coming on, which of course I was on the high jump over.¹ I had put up the whole thing (only don't say so if you see Innes); it is, as I have often told you, one of the main objects I put before myself here; I began Cape Times July 1895 and ran a 'boom' in August about "HMS Afrikander",² so I didn't waste much time; at beginning of session I tried to get Sprigg to make it a Government proposal and put a definite item on estimates in connection with Jubilee; failing that, pressed Innes not to give up his idea of putting down a motion himself; and lo! by a sort of fluke, with the Dutch grumbling covertly, but not liking to do so openly in the middle of the Jubilee, we carry the first step, and little Sprigg goes home cocky as

1 On June 3, 1897, James Rose Innes carried a resolution in the House of Assembly that a contribution be made by the Cape to the Imperial Navy and that the Prime Minister should negotiate with the Imperial Government on the matter and report to the next session. Garrett feared that the Afrikaner Bond might shipwreck the scheme but the time was propitious. The diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign was about to be celebrated and the resolution was adopted without a division. Cape Times 3.6.1897.

2 See Cape Times editorial "HMS Afrikander" 16.7.1895. Public reaction was not at first enthusiastic. Cecil Rhodes indicated that he did not think such a scheme would be practicable before the South African states and colonies had been unified but James Rose Innes indicated his support. Cape Times 16.7.1895.

possible recognising (as I pointed out to him at beginning of session privately) that this will make him a big man at the Jubilee Conference. And all the time it's I who pulled the wires - isn't it fun? - and soaked the idea into the public mind. The joke is, not a single allusion to the Cape Times on it either in the Parliamentary discussion where they faked up my old arguments, or in the Press; but that doesn't matter. Most of my other little 'booms' I have got well tacked on to the Paper; this is too big a thing for one to care about such incidentals. I am trying to secure thro' Stead, Milner, Chamberlain, and perhaps the Times, that all shall go well with the official and public reception of the idea at Home. Much will depend on this. Get an answering thrill thro' the Empire and we can generate enough force to get it through here when it comes to the Estimates next year and the actual money - voting - at least if the Dutch members aren't sore on the Transvaal issue just then and Hofmeyr leaves off intriguing against it; for I regret to say old H. failed me this time; he had always smiled at my HMS Afrikander as a mere dream, and he tried to drag the red herring of his own confounded fad across - the fad of having a Navy Toll raised protection duties all over the Empire.³

Note that while the Australian squadron idea is to get a sort of local fleet semi-detached from Imperial central control, the Cape proposal has been kept on the right lines of simply

3 Hofmeyr had proposed the levying of a preferential tariff against foreign goods throughout the Empire at the 1887 Colonial conference, suggesting that the proceeds go to the Navy. He subsequently suggested that deep-sea cables linking the countries of the Empire could be financed from such a source. Hofmeyr and Reitz: 295-303; Cape Times "A great proposal" 25.5.1897.

subscribing to the Queen's Navy without asking questions or making conditions. I do hope folk will see the significance of this, the only practicable scheme of Imperial unity yet on the tapis, which can begin tomorrow if all the colonies agree, and what an object-lesson for the World! I do hope somebody will raise the objection that if once help with the navy is accepted it will lead sooner or later to pressure for colonial representation at Westminster. Of course it will. Just the beauty of it. But my idea is again quite simple, for the transition period. Triennial Premiers Conferences on Foreign Politics, merely consultative, and therefore requiring no new constitutional machinery, but carrying naturally great advisory weight with Imperial Cabinet in decisions which may require the use of the great weapon subscribed to by the Colonies. The actual responsibility and control of course remaining where it is at present, till actual representation becomes practicable, too far ahead for us to see.⁴

But enough. You are full of Women's Degrees which is at root every bit as important only we are out of the current on this question wholly and must do what we can with what comes in

4 The imperial federation movement sought to promote the unity of the British Empire, to the point of bringing the colonies into a central Imperial Parliament. Apart from helping to initiate regular Colonial conferences, however, the movement attracted little interest or success. The Imperial Federation League, established in 1884, held together only as long as its objectives remained vague. There was little enthusiasm in Britain for admitting the colonials to the seat of power. R. Hyam: Britain's Imperial Century 109-111.

our own line.⁵

The series of articles I wanted Millie to do was done by Clementine Black, a very poor substitute, but not bad in its way and in itself.⁶ What stirring times you are going to have this June! It will be a time of great emotion, and we all realise our national unity, no doubt, better than ever before, phlegmatic as we are mostly.

Poor Flora! What a mess she is in with all these cables!⁷

5 On May 21, 1897, Cambridge graduates cast their votes on the proposals to give women the titles of their degrees. The women lost by 1 713 votes to 662. The under-graduates celebrated the defeat with "a night of riotous bonfires, fireworks and fun ... " The women's leaders were privately shocked by the crude anti-feminism the campaign had revealed. The matter was not raised again until 1919 when the initiative was taken by university men following the admission of women to degrees at Oxford. Full degrees and university membership were finally granted to Cambridge women in 1948. R. MacWilliams-Tulberg: "Women and degrees at Cambridge". In M. Vicinus ed.: A widening sphere: Changing roles of Victorian women 141-143.

6 Untraced.

7 Flora Shaw was questioned on May 25 by members of the British parliamentary committee of inquiry about cables which had passed between herself and Cecil Rhodes in Cape Town in late 1895. She indicated that Rhodes had told her by cable that he expected the Rand rising to take place around the new year. She had cabled to Rhodes towards the end of the year saying there were special reasons for an immediate invasion. The Cape Times London correspondent noted that a "completely self-possessed" Miss Shaw had not been in the least in awe of the committee. Contemporary observers agreed that Flora Shaw ran rings around the committee in fending off awkward questions relating to The Times, Chamberlain, and the Colonial Office and indications in the cables of their foreknowledge and complicity in the plot. Van der Poel describes the committee's performance as "one more feeble capitulation before an untruthful witness". However the committee subsequently unearthed a number of further cables which appeared to contradict Miss Shaw's evidence of May 25 and she was recalled on July 2 and closely re-examined. Again her performance was something of a tour de force. She was not at any point betrayed into an indiscretion touching The Times or the Imperial authorities. Van der Poel 224-227; History of The Times 3, 234; Cape Times 26.5.1897; 17.6.1897.

I can't help smiling when I recall how Harris and to some extent CJR used to play Flora off on me as an example of a really nice and sensible journalist, not a prig like yours truly.

When I gave prominence to that O. Schreiner pamphlet on the Political situation,⁸ Harris was very amusing. (Just back from England and these cables:- 'Wire Flora what to write', 'Get Flora to review book on these niggers', etc. etc.) - he remonstrated with me saying 'Flora Shaw thinks nothing of Olive Schreiner's pamphlet. She wouldn't even touch it in her 'Colonies' article.' And I registered mental curse, that women can't see t'other side's strong positions, as a good general should, without weakening in the least on their own. I daresay it's rot to say this; for Rhodes and Harris and Co. are just as bad - but of course people will fasten on Flora's being a woman. I think M. Bell is still more in it really. You remember my feeling her lack of all round vision when she dined with us. Then that 'See Flora gets her shares', and little Phillips⁹ smirking in the box that he thought he'd done pretty

8 Copious extracts from the Schreiners' manifesto on "The Political situation", which appeared as a pamphlet in the following year, were published in the Cape Times on August 21, 1895. The Schreiners deplored the political alliance between monopoly capital and the most retrogressive farming interests which held sway in the Rhodes-Hofmeyr government of the Colony. These groups, they said, were enriching themselves at the expense of the blacks and the poor urban-dwellers for whom the cost of basic foodstuffs had become prohibitive. In a column-long editorial the Cape Times described the manifesto as "the most tremendous anti-Rhodes broadside which we have yet seen ... it marshalls everything to witness against this one man as a sinister and dangerous influence ..." Cape Times 21.8.1895.

9 Lionel Phillips (1855-1936), mining magnate associated with the Wernher Beit company and later chairman of the Corner House group, was one of the four ringleaders in the Rand revolt who were sentenced to death and later reprieved by President Kruger.

well for her.¹⁰ - how glad I am that I declined to let him do well for me when he made same offer after I got him out of gaol.¹¹ Poor Flora! I have done my bit for her in the Cape Times,¹² but it must be very bitter for her and the Times and what is worse it will spoil their excellent work, for her work has been admirable. She must console herself with the sense that lots of us all the world over do appreciate her gratefully, and she will live down the laughter and gossip over these disclosures. She will be more careful in dealing with men like Harris and all the Rhodes set.

How sure the instinct was that made me (luckily) avoid all through, even before I realised the undercurrents, accepting any money favours or any too familiar relations with either R

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- 10 When Phillips appeared before the parliamentary committee of inquiry on May 7 he was questioned by the Radical MP, Henri Labouchere, about a letter written by him to Messrs Wernher and Beit in which the words appeared: "Take care that Flora has her share". Phillips first answered that he had never seen such a letter but then asserted that it had not been written in relation to the transactions which were the subject of inquiry by the committee but in reference to earlier private transactions. Phillips said that he knew Miss Shaw and her family very well. "I remember that for her as for many other people I took charge of a little money and invested it and, I think, in a manner that was perfectly satisfactory." 311 of 1897; Minutes of Evidence 7 May 1897; Q7302-7307.
- 11 As noted, Garrett and the Cape Times played a prominent role in the Amnesty Movement, which was thought to have been influential in inducing Kruger to follow a policy of clemency towards the Rand leaders.
- 12 The editorial "The Lady journalist" deplored the Cambridge refusal to give women degrees and argued in favour of the advancement of women in journalism and the professions, citing Flora Shaw's appearance before the committee. Sex prejudice, like race and class prejudice, was an ugly thing, the editorial said, "and we are glad to see it discomforted". Cape Times 17.6.1897.

or the others. I must tell you soon of a stormy interview I had with R in which he said I was the only man who held him at arm's length.

I am sending Elsie's money by this mail, so don't trouble about her solvency, whatever her arrangements. She would have had heaps of money if only I had paid up her £50 allowance instead of stopping after the first £10 or £20 in my usual careless style.

I shall want to hear more about little Patty's little babe. How different it is, the effect of being left with a babe, on a young widower and on a young widow. It seems to make it worse for the one and so much better for the other!

Always your loving

Edmund.

The most important thing kept for a lady's PS. By this mail (Dunvegan) come to England for brief visits

- (1) "the old man" - Frederick York St. Leger Esq.
- (2) The Hon. J. Rose Innes, Q.C.

whom you must congratulate on his navy motion and on being generally the only really "holy" man here (C.D. acts¹³ and all) - Innes address Reform Club; old St. Leger, write

13 In 1896 and 1897 and again in 1899 unsuccessful attempts were made in the Cape Parliament to amend the Contagious Diseases Act which empowered the authorities to carry out compulsory registration, medical examination and hospitalisation of women only. It was not until 1919 that the obnoxious provision was repealed by the Union Parliament. See E.B. van Heyningen: "The Social Evil in the Cape Colony 1868-1902". Paper prepared for 1983 UCT History Workshop. C. van Onselen: Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, Pt 1 New Babylon 135.

c/o Cape Times London Office, 61 Cornhill. I should greatly like you and Millie to meet both - have 'em to dinner together, or so. St. Leger is very fond of music, by the way. The oaf and I are on apparently excellent terms since I came back. Be nice to the old man, and speak so as to make him feel we appreciate his kindness to me, and make him see I feel I am carrying on his line after my own way. You know how to fix him up.

Love F.E.G.

P.P.S. Happy thought. You and Millie might perhaps ask Stead or Cook to meet Innes and St. Leger? Mrs Innes is in London but not Mrs St. Leger I think.

23rd June 1897

My Deare

Yesterday was a grand Queen's Day here and lo! today's mail is your birthday mail and I haven't found any birthday present sufficiently distinguished and original for this year in which you have been so very very sweet to me. And being tired a bit after yesterday - I rose early and rode into town, round town to review the decorations and out to Green Point Common to see the troops and the start of the great procession.¹

I am not fresh enough yet to write you a real nice birthday letter even. In London yesterday must have been a wonderful day, and no people would take keener delight in the tributes to our Queen, and our national sense of pride and unity, than my own dear people in Gower Street. I am convinced that on a real look into the matter it will be found that Queens are better for nearly all purposes, under the English type of

1 The sixtieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne was marked in Cape Town by church services and a review of the Imperial and Colonial troops by the Governor at Green Point Common, followed by a procession from Green Point to the Grand Parade. The procession included representatives of Cape cycling clubs, about 140 cyclists in all, including two ladies, and prizes were awarded by Mrs Hanbury-Williams for the best decorated cycles and costumes. Other groups and associations who took part in the procession included the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Irish National Foresters, Ancient Order of Druids, Order of Good Templars, Order of True Templars, the Band of the Boys Brigade, the Malay Gim Cracks, representing the year 1837 (slavery); the Malay Gim Cracks, representing the year 1897 (freedom); St Stephens Friendly Society, the Italian Society, and the Caledonian Society. Three warships in Table Bay joined a land battery in firing the Royal Salute. In the evening the town was illuminated but there was a downpour of rain and a fireworks display and tattoo on the Parade were cancelled. Cape Times 23.6.1897.

monarchy, than kings. Just as Britannia is a woman and all abstractions (except God) are in the feminine gender, so the special sort of sentiment which centres our national feelings in a sovereign centres best in a 'Gloriana' or a Victoria. "Moriatur pro rege nostro Mariâ Theresâ".² Then the 'pure court, serene life' etc.³ which is one of the few big ways our sovereigns can really influence the nation, is sure to be better done by a woman, in our present state. The Prince Consort is about the only king I have yet read of that wasn't rackety till he settled down; half the European emperors and kings have been touched by vice even to the point of physical effects. This superiority of queenship must be a thought for M.G.F. and you to hug in view of the Cambridge defeat.⁴ I was so very sorry to hear of that. It is just a backwash; there are such rhythms in all the great movements, and even sometimes in love and friendship without any real stoppages; but evidently Cambridge has retrograded since my time. There is a very bad spirit on the subject among the clever youth there now. This is transient, like the tone of schools.

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- 2 "We will die for our King, Maria Theresa". See Cape Times editorial "Queens versus Kings" (25.6.1897) which posed the question whether the modern style of sovereignty, with all its constitutional limitations, did not lend itself more to successful interpretation by a woman than by a man. "It calls for the receptive and sympathetic, rather than the creative order of mind."
- 3 "Her court was pure, her life serene." From "To the Queen, 1851" by Alfred Tennyson. The editorial "Queens versus Kings" noted that a pure Court was by no means a matter of course when Queen Victoria came to the throne. A clean-living young king would have been thought a milksop. "No one can deny that a young king would never have been able, nor, perhaps tried to substitute, so rapidly - as the Queen did - that pure and serene court of Tennyson's for the brutal, drinking, swearing court of William IV."
- 4 See Note 5 Garrett to Agnes Garrett 9.6.1897.

Having to prepare some hasty newspaper material about the Queen in a hurry for yesterday's Cape Times, I took home a Life of the Prince Consort in sheets which I have by me and other books, including MGF's.⁵ But I found soon that MGF's little 'Victoria' seemed to have everything worth telling, and so you will see how I used and acknowledged it. This would sell a few hundred copies here if they were on sale, but I know MGF has no further commercial interest in it and had to quarrel with the publishers to get her due for the work. I was very much struck with the clever way in which she has got the essence of the period, politics etc. into the picture as frame for what she says about the Queen herself. I would call it a most brilliant piece of journalism if MGF wouldn't think that a rather infra dig: word to use of a literary book. You will remember that it came out in the interregnum when I was just taking over the Cape Times, and I never properly read it through; having done so, I wish you could tell Millie how highly I think of the workmanship of it. The feeling - va sans dire.

My Deare, you know that every year makes us all more glad and grateful that we have you in this excellent world as one of the very best and dearest possessions in it, because every year we find out something new to add to what we had to love and cherish you for before. But for me, and this particular year, you know how all this has more meaning than ever. So I wish

5 The article "The Queen as Woman; interesting episodes in the life of Her Majesty 1819-1897" cited Millicent Garrett Fawcett's Victoria which was published in 1895 by W.H. Allen and Co. in the "Eminent Women Series" and a life of the Prince Consort prepared under the Queen's own supervision. Cape Times 22.6.1897.

myself many happy returns of your birthday, dear Agnes, and
send you my dear Love and Blessing.

Edmund.

July 28th 1897

My Deare

Many thanks to MGF for her nice little snapshots. I am going to reproduce them in the Cape Times Weekly;¹ we photo-engage on the premises.² The other shots are fun, too, the Kodak must be a family acquisition - if it is a Kodak.³

The Physician has had her fever and her Home crisis (her Father's death - he was practically dead already, and I should say it is almost a relief to have it over if it weren't that one doesn't like to speak so) - and she is now quite herself again.

- 1 Cape Times Weekly August 4, 1897. These were photographs of crowd scenes in Pall Mall and St James's Street on Jubilee Day, June 22nd, 1897.
- 2 A photo-engraving department was opened in 1896 and was the first of its kind in the country, producing half-tone and line reproductions, mainly for the Cape Times Weekly edition. It was some years before the publication of photographs became daily routine in newspapers. Topical photographs, line drawings by Graham Winch and cartoons by Constance Penstone were at this time featured in all issues of the Cape Times Weekly, printed on art paper. Among the events covered in photograph or sketch during 1897 were the Jubilee celebrations in Cape Town and London, the Langeberg campaign, the arrival of the new governor, Sir Alfred Milner, and the opening of the railway to Bulawayo. The cartoons were drawn by Mrs Penstone from ideas suggested by Edmund Garrett. In 1897 there was also a series of portrait sketches of leading Cape personalities such as the Chief Justice, Sir Henry de Villiers (27.1.1897) and James Rose Innes (17.2.1897). See Cape Times Weekly, 1897, and article on development of printing in section 4 of the Cape Times Fiftieth Anniversary supplement 1.11.1926.
- 3 The original Kodak box camera was introduced in 1888 and by the mid-nineties was in widespread use. The word "Kodak" was coined by George Eastman "to be short, pronounceable in any language and easily remembered". B. Newhall: The History of Photography from 1839 to the present day 89. New York 1965.

I am glad that I must have been writing my recent letter suggesting some silver lining about Women's Question just when Millie was writing this of hers about the cloud. The best silver lining visible just now to me is the fun Millie will make of the House of Commons burying itself with Verminous Persons to get out of its obligations to Women's Suffrage.⁴

There seems to be a bad plague of the Superior Woman who borrows cheap masculine airs about her sisters who want a vote, just now.

By the way did I tell you an incident here which illustrates better than anything to the English folk the root caste feeling of the Dutch here about colour. They can't rise above it at all. On Jubilee Day some thousands of local School Children, mostly coloured, sang National Anthem up at Government House. Mrs Hanbury Williams was presented with a posy afterwards by a little white girl: she thanks her and with natural graciousness gives her a kiss. Then it is seen that a little black girl is just behind ready to present a second posy. A quick glance passes between Milner and Mrs H.W. and she kisses the little black girl just as she did the white one. An old Dutch member, one of the great anti-Rhodes men on Sheepwash Law which is one of R's few Progressive defiances to 'encysted'.

4 Women's suffrage bills were introduced in the House of Commons in May 1896 and February 1897. The latter bill got as far as a second reading, securing a majority of 71, only to be talked out on July 7, 1897. When the Third Reading of the Bill was due, Mr Labouchere was put up to talk upon the measure standing just before the franchise bill on the order paper until the available time was spent. The subject happened to be a Verminous Persons Bill, a matter in which Mr Labouchere had no interest or knowledge, "but he managed to produce a flow of wit which lasted three hours and was much appreciated by the House". MacWilliams-Tulberg: "Women and Degrees in Cambridge". In Vicinus ed. 143. Strachey 176, 177.

Dutch prejudice,⁵ at once left the grounds in disgust, and for days there was a hum of disgust in Dutch circles about Government House stooping to kiss a 'swart schepsel' (black creature).⁶ These are Olive's pet Dutch, and this is the sort of thing which she makes English people connect with Rhodes. R by the way assisted last session in a Dutch piece of colour legislation, which was drafted, however, by Olive's brother, who still loves his Rhodes largely because they both accept the Dutch view of natives.⁷ Yet in Rhodes that view goes with an odd personal good-natured de haut en bas which manages natives and makes the Physician oddly romantic about him. All this will interest you and Millie, but I can't write it interestingly for my assistant being away I have written a leading article nearly every day now since I got back to Africa six months ago, and am stale for letters.

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- 5 The Scab Act, 1886, providing for compulsory sheep dipping in certain areas, was later applied universally. It was opposed by some farmers and officials had difficulty enforcing it.
- 6 Milner said in September that this incident had aroused more general interest and controversy than anything else since his arrival in Cape Town but he thought Mrs Hanbury-Williams had done the right thing. "Most white people in South Africa think she was wrong. There you have the great S. African problem posed at once. It is the Native Question. The Anglo-Dutch friction is bad enough. But it is child's play compared with the antagonism of White and Black." Sir A. Milner to Canon Glazebrook 29.9.1897; Headlam 1 50, 180.
- 7 Schreiner, supported by Rhodes, introduced special legislation in the 1897 session of Parliament to nullify an appeal judgement which upheld Chief Sigcau of the newly-annexed Pondoland territory when he took issue with the Cape Government for detaining him without trial in Kokstad jail. The measure was opposed "tooth and nail" by Sauer and Merriman and slightly amended but in due course became law. It empowered the Governor to detain anyone, of whatever race or colour, by special proclamation. E. Walker: W.P. Schreiner: A South African 63-64, 97-98.

Willoughby is threatening action, and I am preparing to fight him; I only wish he would come out here and go for me, instead of scaring Constables in England who of course have no stomach for fighting.⁸ Also a frantic effort to start the Telegraph again. J.B. Robinson offered one man a large sum to "come to Capetown (he was a Krugerite Transvaal journalist) and smash the Cape Times and Garrett" - but his money will never get Cape folk to swallow his views.⁹ I am nearly the least Rhodian Englishman in Capetown. - I don't think Joe was in it as much as some suspect, but anyone can see that he has not been quite frank and that R had excuse for thinking he was looked to to make a coup for England. R thinks me a big Prig. I think them all a set of too-clever-by- $\frac{1}{2}$ fools.

With dear love

Edmund.

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- 8 Sir John Willoughby, it appears, took exception to critical remarks about himself in Garrett's introduction to the British edition of The Story of an African Crisis which was published by Constable. In writing the introduction Garrett disclosed that Willoughby had appealed to the military authorities on behalf of the officers in Jameson's party who had been retired by the War Office after the Raid. Willoughby said he had believed at the time of the Raid that he had imperial warrant for invading the Transvaal and he had told the other officers so. If Willoughby believed he had been engaged upon a secret agent's mission in the Imperial interest, Garrett asked, why had he not played that game according to the rules? Garrett and Edwards, Introduction xix.
- 9 J.B. Robinson did not re-open the South African Telegraph.

August 4th 1897

My Deare

It's a long job but I believe I've done it at last - the conquest of the Oaf. I've been doggedly investing him, like our Volunteers the Langberg¹ for two years, chequered with sorties and repulses, escapades and starving-out, and all the incidents of a long siege; but at last he has capitulated at discretion. I have scarcely dared to brag to you of the blessed change these 5 months, but the time has come. Listen to this! Last Saturday I gave my Second Annual Editorial Staff Dinner. A few weeks before the staff including myself gave Edwards a send-off dinner, at which there was a very jolly demonstration of the staff's feeling towards your humble servant and the Oaf for the first time openly shared, by grunts and other signs, in the said demonstration. But on Saturday, better still. All went well. The dinner was good - I have just got the bill, £14 - My little retrospect of the year's

1 Volunteer troops, including men of the Cape Town Highlanders and the Duke of Edinburgh's Own Volunteer Rifles had been engaged upon a protracted and costly campaign to put down a revolt by Tswana tribesmen in the Langeberg district of Kuruman. The Colony's failure to dislodge the rebels from the Langeberg caused much derision in the Free State and Transvaal Republics. On August 4, 1897, eight months after the start of the campaign, the Cape Times carried a dispatch ("heliographed from Gamasiep at 12.22 pm yesterday") that the Colonial forces were closing in on the rebel Chief Galishwe. Harry Saker and J. Aldridge: "The Origins of the Langeberg Rebellion" Journal of African History XII, 2 (1971) 299-317. R. Edgecombe: "Sir Alfred Milner and the Bechuana (Langeberg) rebellion" S.A. Historical Journal 2 (November 1979). John X. Merriman to J. Bryce 12.8.1897: Lewsen ed. 2, 277-278. Cape Times 4.8.1897.

work was very enthusiastically received, and the oaf hear-heard to a reference I artfully inserted to my trip home with Rhodes as one of the enterprising steps by which the Cape Times had kept on the spot about the political topic of the year.

(Haven't got a penny of the expenses all the same, and can't since he practically prevented me cabling or otherwise [... ...] matter to the papers from England.) Presently came his turn to speak: and after referring in a very friendly spirit to the history of the old man's decision to offer me the editorship, he took up a remark of mine made in reference to the quick change and bouleversements in the editorship of almost every other South African paper of note during these critical two years, that I should soon be the doyen of the S A press from having kept my saddle on one paper for 2 years running.² "Mr Garrett has said" etc. etc. "Well (quoth the oaf) I feel Mr G has conducted the Cape Times so successfully etc etc that I hope to see him remaining with us, not for 3 years only, but for many years; in fact I hope he will see his way to remain with us always". - (Hr, hr, hr from staff) - (and a bland and saintly smile of Virtue Rewarded overspreading the countenance of FEG).

2 The Star, Johannesburg, provides the most striking example of the uncertain tenure of editors at this time, changing them in quick succession. Francis Dormer had resigned after quarrelling with Rhodes in February 1895, and was succeeded by Frederick Hamilton who resigned in turn after his conviction in the Reformers' trial in 1896 and was succeeded by R.J. Pakeman, under whose editorship the paper was temporarily suspended in terms of the Transvaal Press Law (No 26 of 1896). Dormer returned briefly to the editorial chair and then C.E. Finlason was appointed in 1897. He resigned in 1898 to be succeeded by W.F. Monypenny, an assistant editor of The Times, London, who himself resigned in 1903 after a policy disagreement with the proprietors. See Rosenthal 81-109.

Now, what do you say to that?

Moreover, the oaf in a mellow moment the other evening confessed to me that "he believed his father thought he had played him false about Harris's part in the paper", adding that he quite agreed with me that in the proposed turning of the Cape Times into a limited liability company we must be careful to keep the control in his father's hands, not let it slide into Harris's by any share jugglery.³

Now, when I have seen myself well through this flotation as a Company, and get the thing well fixed up, I shall feel that I have really won this long struggle, avoided all the pitfalls and come out right at the end, by not giving myself quite away at any point to any one of 'em. It has cost me, perhaps, £100 of sacrifice in cash, by letting drop the money part of sore disputes which arose in the days of the oaf's hostility.⁴ Though, slowly but surely, I forgot to add, the Oaf is honouring all my bills as to [...]. But even from business point of view that £100 is better invested, if it has bought "security of tenure", than if I had banked it - I should not have it now, probably, in either case! Of course, I can't have absolute security of tenure with the human equation so mixed as it is here. But I begin to hope now (what I never hoped yet) to have a card or two left in my game even in the case of the Old Man going out or dying, which I sincerely hope there is no prospect of. Anyway, here I am in August 1897,

3 When the Cape Times became a limited company in January, 1898, F.Y. St. Leger took legal steps to keep the control of the paper in his own hands. See page 36.

4 A reference to disputes concerning Garrett's expenses.

after 2 years' storm, with all concerned professing to be on best terms with me, if not with one another; and that, Lord knows, is a great deal! - I doubt not to have thrown a new grappling iron into the old man through No 2 G(ower) Street which is always my strong suit.⁵ Show MGF her snaps - excellent in the current Weekly Cape Times.

Dear Love

F.E.G.

P.P.S. Lovely weather, after a cyclone and a deluge.⁶ You must come again soon, to enjoy this sort of weather in Africa. And I must begin to plan my next flying visit. F.E.G.

5 See Garrett's PS in his letter to Agnes Garrett dated June 9, 1897. "Be nice to the old man etc."

6 Heavy rainfall in the week July 19-26 caused floods in many parts of the Western and North West Cape Province. Trains were delayed by washaways of the line. At Paarl the swollen Berg River overflowed its banks and caused serious damage to property and flooded the streets of the town. Correspondents from country towns telegraphed the Cape Times to say that rainfall had been "unprecedented". Cape Times 23.7.1897; 24.7.1897.

August 18th 1897

My Deare

I was expecting a question to be decided in time for last or this mail which may necessitate my coming home again on business for the paper as early as perhaps September - October, but it drags on and is quite a toss-up.¹ Don't mention to anybody till I know for certain. By next mail I may count on being able to send definite arrangements, if my coming is necessitated. It will involve a lot of inconvenience, summoning Edwards back before his time, and so on. However, we shall see.

All well here. The nicest thing to tell you about is the Physician's scarlet fine feathers on Degree Day here.² This is the first time I have seen the ceremony which is more like a school prize-day than Degree Day at Cambridge. I simply went to see the Physician in her cap and gown, but got caught by Dr Muir,³ who was giving the address, and had to go in and sit it out. You have no idea what a swell the Physician looks in mortar-board and long scarlet gown. She puts on a black silk

1 This was the question of Garrett's appointment to succeed Sir Graham Bower as Imperial Secretary at the Cape. If appointed, he would have to go to England to recruit a new editor of the Cape Times.

2 The annual ceremony for conferring the degrees of the University of the Cape of Good Hope took place in the Good Hope Hall on Friday August 14, 1897, in the presence of the Governor, Sir Alfred Milner, and leading citizens of Cape Town. The Cape Times noted that a large number of ladies were present, with many of the successful women candidates wearing academic dress. Cape Times 15.8.1897.

3 Thomas Muir (1844-1934), Superintendent General of Education of the Cape.

dress with a train for the occasion. It is quite becoming, and when she enters and walks up the hall in this fig there are rounds of applause from all the young fellows - for of course the Physician is well known, and popular, especially with 'the young'. This is the one occasion when the good Physician comes out strong in feminine glory of adornment, and as Pepys would say "pretty to see" how she secretly enjoys the little boom. The cap seems to suit her head very well, with the short grey hair, and she looked quite Portia-like; and the ample folds and pleats (?) of the gown drape her thin figure to a reasonable and decent thickness. (I mean the rucks on the shoulders in particular.) None of the mere brute Men were half so grand; they looked as if they'd hired their gowns out by the day but she looked like a Fancy Dress Ball.⁴ Professional pride and the Ewigweibliche combined to give the good Physician quite a fresh young colour.⁵ I thought this scene would amuse and please you.

You speak of the Physician going to see Milner: I took her the other day to tea, and I think she and he will chum up. He feels rather isolated, and seems glad of my company now and again, but I, for several reasons, go like Nicodemus by night

4 Dr Waterston, who was a Doctor of Medicine of the University of Brussels, was attired as the recipient of a degree awarded Ad Eundem Gradem by the University of the Cape of Good Hope (1889). According to her own description, her dress on such occasions was a scarlet cloak "with rich pale blue silk facings" and a black satin dress "with a bit of a train"... See photograph between page 17 and page 18. The scarlet and pale blue appear as black and white. Jane Waterston to James Stewart 7.10.1889. Waterston Papers. Cape Times 14.9.1889.

5 Das Ewig-Weibliche / zieht uns hinan. (The eternal feminine draws us up and on.) The closing lines of Goethe's Faust Pt. II, V.

and we don't ride together publicly. We are on very confidential terms, and I often smile to think how people here would be surprised if they knew how much I was 'inside' the dispatches and things both under the late and the present High Commissioner. The Woodruff was very sweet.⁶ In the matter of 'Brand', all fell out as I expected.⁷ I thought Millie would probably open the cable, and also that it would very likely be a day too late; but if I sent it too early I thought you would never hit the exact meaning of my 'code' message! You were very intelligent! But I would have given a deal to hear your "explanation" of the incident to dear Millie. However, it's too late now, tho' I tremble at your well-known discretion and lack of easy lying. It was my fault. Do your best, and be --

Always my Dear Agnes

With Love

F.E.G.

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- 6 Probably a reference to Paul Vincent Woodroffe (1875-1954), illustrator and stained glass artist whose first illustrated book, Ye Book of Nursery Rhymes, was published in 1895. A second followed in 1896. P.D. Cormack: Paul Woodroffe 1875-1954. Catalogue for exhibition at the William Morris Gallery, Walthamstow, 1982-1983.
- 7 In 1894 a translation by Garrett of Ibsen's dramatic poem, Brand, which he had begun at the sanatorium at Nordrach, was published by T. Fisher Unwin. Garrett's translation was subsequently used in the widely-circulating Everyman's Library (1915). P.H. Wicksteed, who wrote the introduction to that edition, believed that the translation in its vital portions was a "truly inspired piece of work". Garrett dedicated it to Agnes. The Everyman's edition is still in use today. Garrett was also the translator of Letters and Poems from Ibsen, published 1912. See Cook 7n, and Everyman's Library No 716.

September 2nd 1897

My Deare

You must have found it rather irritating to get by one mail my letter about perhaps having to come to England soon again, and the next mail no letter at all. The fact is nothing has been settled any further than before, and I was so irritated that I couldn't write; but it is just the same today. Full explanation later on, but meanwhile, it is becoming too near the Xmas Number for me to be able to get a visit in anyhow, and you may take it you will not see me. The nuisance is that as things shape this September-October-November opportunity would probably be the last I should get for a long while. This reconciled me to it, though it was a quicker return than suited in many ways. It would have been on Cape Times biz and at the Oaf's request - we are still, and seemingly securely, friends, but I paid every 1d of the last trip, and it comes rather expensive; so a real errandly request was not to be sneezed at.¹

As to coming in winter, I did feel last time it was a horrid anxiety for you; but I think it was largely unnecessary and owing to the Physician's wrong-headedness on the subject. I took no harm except from getting no rest, which would have been even worse in London heat like you have had this summer. And that was due to special circumstances of the time, not to the season. The Physician will not grasp that after all I

1 Garrett had expected to get back half the passage money for his previous trip. It appears he did not. See Garrett to Agnes Garrett 4.8.1897.

lived in London in the winter, since Nordrach² and was more tired by a hot summer there than by any winter. But she's got the idea in her head, and is absolutely unreasonable. I rather like the winter in some ways for the Home trip - if one takes care, of course. (1) One misses the hottest time here (2) makes sure of not coming in for worse sort of English heat in a wave like this recent one³ (3) the voyage is all right, all but four or five days, whatever season. Then, April to end of July is barred by the Session here; September and October are so lovely here that it's a shame to lose the pick of the year, and then the Xmas Number begins to loom up during September. We are doing a big Special on Rhodesia this year, and I may perhaps run up to Bulawayo by rail and even do the round trip (a month's minimum travel) across to Salisbury, Beira, and by steamer round the East Coast back to Capetown.⁴ But everything is impossible with Edwards in England for 6 months; I am utterly tied unless something forces another arrangement or justifies recalling poor Edwards, who has earned his holiday. If I can't get home in 1898 you must evidently come out again! You would find it very different now I am settled in and cock of the walk, more or less, and I think would greatly enjoy a September - October spell. But then you can't bring other people along with you just as we might like and the hopelessness of arranging so as to get any forrader is simply

2 A sanatorium in the Black Forest in Southern Germany. Garrett went there in search of a cure in June, 1892, and again in late 1899.

3 The Cape Times London correspondent noted in his monthly diary sent by mail that there had been "sweltering weather" in London on the Bank Holiday, August 2. "Our London Diarist" Cape Times 28.8.1897.

4 The Cape to Bulawayo railway was to be opened in November.

maddening.⁵

The plaster boy⁶ has arrived and the oaf has undertaken to get it up from the docks for me with due care, I being at this day confined to my room. For 6 months I have been perfectly and extraordinarily well, but I have had a series of toothache and neuralgia and a carbuncle between lip and nose - the last the cause of all - duly lanced by Physician and now healed and done. But then on top I got another chill as soon as I went back to work, it being very cold wind, and got a temperature, and am now all right again but completing the 3rd complete day away from office under Physician's orders. Leader every day right through all, however, so I wasn't very bad. For 6 months not so much as a boil even. And no cough or lung business, even now.

I am writing this after sending my leader away and rather late in the room at Linda Vista gorgeous in the new paper and all hung round with Home photos. Soon I'll have the praying boy in one corner, and awfully nice he'll be. Physician is really learning her bike and is getting much wrapt up in it.⁷

5 In 1898 Agnes and Millicent went to Switzerland on a climbing holiday with friends. Strachey 181.

6 This was a cast of a Greek sculpture of a boy with both arms upraised in the ancient attitude of prayer. A similar statue was erected in the library of Bedales school which was built after World War 1 as a memorial to the fallen. According to the founder of Bedales, J.H. Badley, this statue "The praying boy" seemed to him to embody the spirit which they wished to be felt by all who entered the library. J.H. Badley: Memories and Reflections 218.

7 Cycling had become very popular at the Cape. There were more than 3 000 bicycles in the Cape Peninsula in August, 1897, and the owners came from all walks of life and included the Governor himself. According to a writer in the Cape Times, reviewing the advances in design, riders on the 1897 bicycle would meet with no more danger than would a pedestrian. "Cycling at the Cape" Cape Times 14.8.1897.

It's good Elsie is after all right with the Dove. Don't worry about the little girl too much. 'Alles zal recht kom'.

My Deare, I have tried the T. of the Humble with the most intense wish to see what you see in it, and I can't.⁸ The little play I rather like: parts are rather silly, but then so are parts of Ibsen and largely for same reason: indifference to our stage conventions, even literary and necessary ones.⁹ The resolve to keep it all upon an ideal level is rather attractive though the bits of 'human nature' ordinarily so-called at intervals, rather disturb the consistency of the dream, and make one feel the want of humour, and common sense, or worldliness, or something, when they occur. But it's interesting, with most suggestive bits, and the end page or two is most poignant.

But when it comes to those Essays - no, I can't! I suppose he is perfectly sincere in it all - he ought to be kicked if it's a literary trick at all - but can a man be serious in all that intensification of trifles and pauses and so on? -

We said 'goodday; and were silent, and suddenly we realised that our souls were eternally revealed to each other, and we said nothing, but knew everything, and went away and never met again' - That kind of thing. Do you know, it's all

8 The Treasure of the Humble. It was a collection of contemplative essays by Maurice Maeterlinck, Belgian writer and mystic (1862-1949) and was published in English translation from the French in 1897.

9 Maeterlinck had written a number of plays by the mid-1890s, including the poetic drama *Pelléas et Melisande*, which was published in English translation in 1894.

to me a bit like Image's¹⁰ writing about the chocolate-drops which the [Nanny?] used to be giving the girl, in the story 'Loves little Sacraments' - do you remember? But I don't want to spoil Maeterlinck for you, it's probably my beastly stupidity that's at fault. I love lucidity. I don't mind where a thing is unexpressed for a good reason - being often suggested much better so - but I hate a writer using inexpressibility as a sort of perpetual aim and trick; I suspect those dots sometimes veil Nothing! even in Maeterlinck's own mind. Don't you feel anything of all this. I wonder. But I'm prejudiced against mysticism, Plotinus,¹¹ etc. etc. and would sooner fuddle my brains by staring at my own navel, like a fakir than by reading mysticism. If you'd told me the sort of thing you found in the Essays, I might have done better.

With Love

Your

Edmund.

10 Selwyn Image (1849-1930), poet, water colourist and illustrator and later (1910-1916) professor of fine art at Oxford. Author of A little Child's Wreath (1895).

11 Plotinus (AD 205-270). Neo-platonist philosopher and mystic.

September 8th 1897

My Deare

This letter, and the thought of you 'feeling proud' at its news, is a sort of Consolation Stakes. You will see why.

The matter which has been hanging unsettled for a month, and has been settled against me now, 'honours easy', is simply this:- (Very Confidential!) I was under consideration for high office by the Colonial Secretary, and after a long wait the appointment has been given to somebody else, in spite of Milner's strong recommendations, because Joe C. doesn't like me. It is an honour to have been so strongly pressed and deliberated over; and telling you of it is the Consolation Stakes. There is plenty of other consolation, too, as I hope the near future will prove, in the retention of freedom to try for things even more ambitious;¹ but I can't deny the twinge of disappointment.

The office was that of Imperial Secretary here - the High Commissioner's assistant; and the 'coming to England' which I told you was on the cards would have been to help in choosing my successor at the 'Cape Times'. It will probably be a year before I come Home again now.

This is the story. About four mails ago - you know I never remember things by dates, even things like this and so recent, but it was a Friday and I have looked up and find it was Friday August 6th, Milner sent asking me to come up, as he

1 Garrett stood for the Cape House of Assembly in 1898 and was elected member for Victoria East.

often does, for a chat over affairs. We have had a good few, and he has often asked my views with seeming useful results. This time he talked over the question, who should be Imperial Secretary - of course, Sir G. Bower had to go after the disclosures.² - He had asked for the best man in the Colonial office (the one now appointed, it turns out) and Chamberlain couldn't spare him,³ and he, Milner, had declined all the various other men suggested from Home, including Captain Dawkins the present locum tenens, Lord Rosmead's Military Secretary and son-in-law.⁴ I agreed about the merits and defects of the various names suggested, when suddenly Milner looked up quickly and said "Would you take it?"

I at first treated it as chaff, but finding him quite serious, I pointed out convincingly and at length the extreme indiscretion and audacity of any such appointment, which would infuriate the Boers and the pro-Boer section here, and offend the Civil Service, and be a most sensational transfer, from fighting Colonial Editor in St George's Street to Imperial Secretary at Government House. (The I.S. has of course nothing to do with the Colony, or the Governor qua Governor, but only with the Imperial Territories and the Governor qua High

2 Sir Graham Bower, who accepted the role of scapegoat for Lord Rosmead and the Imperial authorities in giving evidence at Westminster, was accused of a "grave dereliction of duty", in the report of the British Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry which was published on July 13, 1897. Van der Poel 227.

3 G. Fiddes.

4 Apart from Captain C.T. Dawkins, the others who were suggested as possibles for the post were E.B. Sweet Escott and Alex Murray Ashmore. Escott was a clerk (first class) in the Colonial Office. Ashmore was Receiver-General of Cyprus and a Colonial Office official of long experience. CO 537/132; Colonial Office List 1898.

Commissioner and the Queen.) It would be quite unprecedented. Milner said he knew there would be a big row and the sensation would be "rather a lark", but he did badly want the right man, and it had just struck him irresistibly that the right man was FEG. We both felt, however, that my present work is important, and my power of doing good work in it a certainty, and the utter change to the Queen's service and the work of administration behind the scenes not to be lightly undertaken; so I said I would consider it and tell him on Sunday. I made up my mind, however, to accept, that evening; did my work; told the Physician; dined out, for a wonder; went to bed calm and philosophical and slept very badly!

On Sunday I told Milner I would accept, but didn't suppose I should care to stay long after he left the Cape (5 years is the governor's term, unless prolonged); but I could then leave the Service and get other work; or as he suggested I might be promoted to something elsewhere. We agreed on some months' delay, necessary for my duty to the 'Cape Times', and he mentioned that to prevent my losing on the exchange in view of Imperial Secretary having to keep up rather more style, he was proposing to get the Imperial Secretary salary slightly raised, to £1000.

He then sent a cable strongly recommending me to Chamberlain as the missing man for the post. This was Sunday. He expected to hear by Tuesday. But meanwhile the usual breakdown of these wretched cables, which always happens when they're most wanted, intervened; and when communication was restored, a cable trickles through from J. Chamb. saying he "proposed to appoint" a certain man, of no great account - usual run of Civil Service

promotion - being evidently sick of the business.⁵ Milner at once replied that this had crossed his recommendation of me and he preferred me; but he told me he thought C would now stick to his own man, whom he had probably spoken to, as M had to me. Meanwhile a week passed from the first interview with me, and I was on tenterhooks. The course after can be traced in the letters from M, partly on other subjects, but pretty intelligible, which I hereby confide to you; of course they must be destroyed unless you think them worth keeping under lock.⁶ I have told nobody but Physician (a tomb of confidences) and now you, about the abortive offer, and it must not get about, as it would in a sense compromise Milner's judgment and position, and be awkward for me and for the new Imperial Secretary.⁷

It seems Chamberlain was knocked flat by the audacity; cabled back that such a departure would be 'very risky', and M must take whole responsibility, (which M emphatically took forthwith); reverted to Rosmead's choice, Dawkins, "R says he is very trustworthy and reliable": "I quite agree about D's trustworthiness," replied M, "but I do badly want an abler man. When the howl is over, have confidence man of FEG's character and abilities will prove great success." This discussion made Milner, and his Secretaries who saw the messages, confident that Joe Ch. would end by giving him me. But I knew, and had frankly told M, that Ch. does not love me, ever since my "Story

5 Milner's cablegram proposing Garrett crossed with one from the Colonial Office proposing the appointment of Escott. CO 537/132.

6 The letters from Milner were kept by Agnes Garrett and were handed to the British Museum with the Garrett letters by Philippa Fawcett in 1944. Add. Mss. 45929.

7 The proposed appointment appears to have been a well-kept secret. In spite of its importance it was not mentioned by Headlam in his two-volume edition of the Milner papers published in 1933. It was noted by J.S. Marais in his study which was published in 1961. Marais 179.

of the Crisis". He received me with effusion when I called at Colonial Office, as well he might, after my backing him against the idol of the Capetown marketplace.⁸ Still, I think Chamberlain was really right to decline me, on the facts as he sees them. But at my 2nd interview, after the book was out, - handling his position certainly in best possible English spirit, and quite counter to the Rhodes-Hawksley-Harris crowd, who were furious, but still handling him with candour and independence - (how people do hate that!) - I could see that he and that sulky red-haired loon, Selbourne,⁹ who was whispering him when I called, had marked me down "Dangerous". And I begged M. not to prejudice his own prestige with them by going too much 'nap' on me (to Joe's eye, a Stead man).¹⁰ You will see his answer to that in the letters.¹¹

Then we heard that Chamberlain had left for the Continent. Silence! I was getting very sick and fagged with the delay and with such big changes of life and career hanging in balance - and the difficulty of arranging resignation here at short notice - etc. - and though I went on with my work quietly, I put down to this cause the chill and general seediness which I got and

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- 8 In the Cape Times and in his book on the Raid Garrett had tended to be protective of Chamberlain's delicate position, believing that the good name and reputation of the Imperial power was at stake. Garrett's own view, as he indicated to Agnes, was that Chamberlain was less involved than many people suspected. See Garrett to Agnes Garrett 28.7.1897.
- 9 William Waldegrave Palmer, second Earl of Selborne (1859-1942), Under-Secretary for Colonies, 1895-1900. High Commissioner for South Africa, 1905-1910.
- 10 Garrett's connection with Stead was noted by Chamberlain in a minute of August 11. CO 537/132.
- 11 See page 64.

which are only just fairly gone away. (My pony No 1 kicked stable wall down, and No 2 got so fresh that he bolted from a train yesterday when I took him out after ten days standing.)

The day before M left for his tour through the Colony, we had a long talk in Government House garden, and arranged everything on assumption that Ch could not now well refuse.¹² I even wrote by last mail taking soundings as to whether Harold Spender (J.A.S.'s brother)¹³ would care for a berth in South Africa, not committing myself however re the 'Cape Times'. M left - and the same day came news that J. Ch, sooner than have the "risky man", had overcome all obstacles and given M the man he had first called impossible, whom of course M was bound to accept. (Fiddes is said to be ablest man in Colonial Office.) You will see his letter, written in the train, about this.¹⁴

12 Milner had misjudged the situation. Chamberlain was resolved not to appoint Garrett and his resolve remained firm.

13 E. Harold Spender (1864-1926). Author and journalist who served on various papers in the 1890s and on the Daily News from 1900 to 1914. He was a brother of J.A. Spender (1862-1942), at this time editor of the Westminster Gazette.

14 Garrett did not hear the outcome until the first week in September after Milner had left on his tour of the Colony, travelling by special train. Milner wrote to Garrett on September 1 from somewhere in the Karoo to give him the news of Chamberlain's decision, complaining that the train was shaking so much that he could hardly write. "Personally it is a great disappointment to me not to have you as my constant co-adjutor but you must make up for that by coming to see us oftener at Government House ... Perhaps some day we shall have you in the House (of Assembly) as that independent English leader whom we want so much." Headlam 1, 85-100; Milner to Garrett 1.9.1897. Add. Mss. 45929.

He and all at Government House are so genuinely disappointed that it sugars the pill - I send you a nice little letter from Mrs Hanbury Williams, among the rest, to show you how nice they are about it.

Well! the first fruits of freedom are that I am now rescuing with my own hands my own "H.M.S. Afrikander", (which was the tip-top thing of the Jubilee, I find) from imminent ruin in a Ministry at 6's and 7's.¹⁵ Whether I can yet do this is doubtful but I am well in train, and have got Schreiner, Innes, and Sprigg, the leaders of all parties, on to my platform, prospectively, so I think all will yet be well.

You will supply out of your own head and heart various thoughts which lent special attractions to the prospect of the Imperial Secretary appointment. In my eyes, my present work is (in my hands, of course) a thing scarcely at all less big, and potentially bigger; it's easier, as M agrees, to get another Imperial Secretary than another Editor of the Cape Times (after my patent!); but there are other people who would certainly consider otherwise; a position which requires no explanations of its honours has certain advantages for many purposes. You would have been pleased, for one thing. So you must be now.

15 Sir Gordon Sprigg exceeded his brief in the excitement of the Jubilee celebrations and made an outright offer to the Admiralty of a battleship of the first class. This delighted public opinion in England but was not universally well received at the Cape where a formidable agitation awaited Sprigg on his return. The Afrikaner Bond was becoming steadily disenchanted with the Sprigg ministry and it was left to the next administration, led by W.P. Schreiner, to put through a measure providing for an annual contribution towards the British Navy and to see that it was carried into effect. Innes 145-147.

My dear love to you, Deare!

F.E.G.

P.S. You must keep the letters in your own possession, and to anyone not very trustworthy must not go beyond mentioning that I was nearly getting an administrative appointment (might have been in Rhodesia, you know) but you can show, with caution, to anyone whose opinion of me you think it likely to lift up a bit and who, you think, matters. (2 and 62,¹⁶ of course - J.H.B.)¹⁷

Another P.S. I have bigger plans in my head for serving England than even this appointment would have been! I am not a bit cast down! I am starting heaps of large new enterprises in politics, and after a bit the memory of this will be only stimulating. Isn't life interesting? Isn't the world made lively for me?

16 Dr Jane Walker lived at 62 Gower Street. Agnes and Millicent were at 2 Gower Street.

17 Garrett's brother-in-law, John Haden Badley.

October 4th 1897

My Deare

Nothing much this mail. Probably I shall go with the crowd up to Bulawayo for the railway opening, but I shall not go round by Beira and back down West coast as it is wrong time of year, and now that the railway is there one can go through Rhodesia any time.¹ It will be a terrible strain, on men who, like Rhodes, stand or fall by the geological chances of the country, the next few months after the Railway is finished. Machinery will rise up, and tons of ore which have been grubbed out and are waiting will be crushed, and we shall soon know. The geology is of such a kind as to make the goldmining there the biggest possible gamble, both for good and ill. Pots of money will be made and lost; I only hope the thing will hold out long enough to get a biggish English population there. They can't get back without money, and they'll have to turn to and do something. If the thing is a 'frost' I believe it will

1 Two special trains left Cape Town for Bulawayo on October 31. The passengers included Members of the Legislative Assembly, civic dignitaries and other prominent Cape Town citizens. The trains were decorated with the Union Jack and the departure was attended by a large crowd. "The Talk of the day" Cape Times 1.11.1897.

kill Rhodes.²

Fiddes, the new Imperial Secretary comes out by one of the next boats: he must know, being Colonial Office, the story of how near I was to getting his berth. Funny it'll be, meeting him. He's a first-class man, I believe, at his work; the best in the Colonial Office.

I like 'The Spoils of Poynton' (H. James): read it. Only stupid ending, as usual nowadays - I mean people won't do the right thing at the right time: so aggravating of them!³

F.E.G.

Can ride a bike quite well now. Am going to get one and sell the 2nd pony as the Dutch keep the price of forage, like all food, double what it need be.

2 It is unlikely that Rhodes still entertained any illusions on this score. As noted he was aware as early as November 1894 that the Rhodesian Gold Fields were not going to be a "second Rand". According to one recent study, the comparative poverty of the region's gold deposits manifested itself in speculative and often fraudulent share dealings and "in a series of military and political adventures", culminating in the Jameson Raid. There was a revival of speculative interest in 1897 which failed to take account of the constraints imposed upon Rhodesian gold mining by the geological realities. There was not a continuous reef, as on the Rand, but scattered outcrops. Economies of scale were not possible. Rhodesian mining did not become profitable until it had been re-structured within the geological limitations and cost structure imposed by Rhodesian conditions. I.R. Phimister: "The Reconstruction of the Southern Rhodesian gold mining industry, 1903-1910" Economic History Review Vol 29 1976. I.R. Phimister: "Rhodes, Rhodesia and the Rand" Journal of Southern African Studies Vol 1 No 1 1974.

3 Henry James's "The Spoils of Poynton" was published in 1897. It is the story of a woman who values property above people. There is a contest between a widow and her son over the antique furniture and art treasures of Poynton Park. On the last page the house is destroyed by fire. "Everything irrationally goes up in smoke." The Bodley Head Henry James Vol 4. Introduction by Leon Edel 17-23.

October 20th 1897

My Deare

Yesterday brought your nice letter, for which I have been on the look-out, about the Imperial Secretary incident. After that little excitement "petered out", my main pleasure was thinking how it would strike you, and that you would be proud and pleased; and I bask in your letter now, which is all sunshine. I am glad you hadn't the noxious wait at the time when it hung in doubt. A compensation for this distance and delay, that generally make correspondence seem to miss the mark. Sometimes they make it hit the bull's eye - as now!

You are right about those nice letters. You will divine whom one would like to fancy reading them, in a cosy confidence in that house with you at 2 Gower Street, and whom not. I gave you a rough list. You will fill the omissions. Sound Barbara¹ very discreetly (I doubt if she knows) if at all simply because she is Mrs H.W.'s² friend, and I shouldn't like a wrong impression of my great discretion, as to cackling over the just-missed honour to filter via that channel to Government House. You will understand.

Many thanks for the enclosure in your letter; which however to my remorseless acuteness of eye stamps you as having been an expert angler for the small catch therein served up to my delighted palate! Physician just thro' her own bout of Influenza; which both her servants had so severely as to close

1 Barbara Hamley. See Garrett to Agnes Garrett 20.5.1897 note 5.

2 Mrs Hanbury-Williams, Milner's hostess at Government House.

Plein Street to me for weeks - relapses, fevers, and even dangers. The good Physician is about again today, after 3 or 4 days off. I am not going to Bulawayo, but Edwards being in England must send my 3rd man³ and yet do Paper and Xmas Number: a big bore. Wait till my next holiday!

Your

Edmund.

I like your bit about Jowett and the best wine last.⁴ 'Grow old along with me The best is yet to be'!!⁵ Bless you.

3. George Green, later editor of the Diamond Fields Advertiser and the Cape Argus, who found the journey "extremely tedious" and was glad when it came to an end. It took four and a half days. Green 57; Cape Times Christmas Number 1897, 7.

4. Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893). Master of Balliol College, Oxford, from 1870. He was initially passed over for the mastership and deprived of his emoluments for 10 years when suspected of holding heretical opinions. The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett by E. Abbott and L. Campbell was published in two volumes in 1897.

5. Grow old with me,
 The best is yet to be,
 The last of life,
 for which the first was made.
 Browning: Rabbi Ben Ezra.

December 1st 1897

My Deare

I have owed the Bedalians a decent scrawl so long that I have written my Christmas letter to them and no time left for more than a Happy Christmas to thee. I have got out our Xmas Number, but it isn't worth looking at, so I don't send it. Only 4 pages by me in it, and they're the only readable bit in the whole though I says it. I couldn't do more, with Edwards away, than just run the Paper, and so the Xmas Number was only thrown together.¹ No point in working myself to death like last year, and getting precious little thanks for it. So I am pretty fit after all, and yesterday Edwards came back so all is well. We expect the old man the week after. Harris, whom nobody has missed, came along with Edwards. Funny the pair together being so shy - I mean Mr and Mrs E., not Harris: he ain't shy! But I'm glad you had 'em to dinner, and feel sure it did good. I have barely seen them yet.

The very latest is an idea of mine that I may be able, if dates of election come out right, to arrange a home flitting August - November next year, 1898. Of this more anon: for if I come I must map out many things beforehand. Let the thought fructify in your great mind, my Deare. Perhaps, with three months at home, there might be a month in Norway even, if it

1 Rhodesia its goldfields and prospects. Being the Christmas Number of the Cape Times (1897). It included a photo-portrait gallery (with biographies) of pioneers and notables of the territory. There were reports by various authorities on goldmining prospects, some in rather optimistic strain. The introductory article, written by Garrett himself, was rather more cautious, recalling that Cecil Rhodes had once admitted to a friend that you could never be quite sure till the reef had actually been worked.

happens to fit in with all our plans. Of all this more presently. I did not write you a November letter this year,² but thought of you when writing those 'November Anniversaries' about Rhodesia.³ - If we could make a new November date for you, a really happy one, in 1898? If the good God chose to make it that way. Who knows? Let's do our bit, anyway. Wishing you all Xmas joy, and Millie, and She, and Secretary - (O, I must scribble a line to her) and your dear good Mother,⁴ I am, my Deare, always your grateful

Edmund.

I will try and write F and Addie⁵ a New Year letter.

2 Rhoda Garrett had died in November, 1882, and Henry Fawcett, Millicent's husband, in November 1884.

3 The Christmas Number drew attention to significant November anniversaries in the history of Rhodesia - The granting of a mineral concession by Lobengula to the Chartered Company (1888); The capture of Lobengula's kraal by Jameson's forces (1893); The opening of the Cape to Bulawayo railway (1897).

4 Mrs Louisa Garrett died in 1903 at the age of 90. A deeply religious woman, she was described as the "centre of gravity" of the Garrett family. J. Manton: Elizabeth Garrett Anderson London (1965) 30-33.

5 Unidentified.

January 5th 1898

My Deare

I hung the picture for the Physician while she was out on Xmas eve. She is delighted with it. Mind and get my share from Jim.¹

Am just getting away to Muizenberg for a bit of up and down; and I want it badly. I have the Pony down there and galloped along the shore today at 7 a.m.

In town for mail and business, and then back.

Haste: Love and all blessings for the New Year for my Deare Agnes.

F.E.G.

1 Possibly James Smith, widower of Louisa (d. 1867), older sister of Agnes, Millicent and Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. He was in Cape Town in 1896. Garrett to Agnes Garrett 17.6.1896.

Tin Pot

Muizenberg

2nd February 1898

Dear Miss Garrett

Your boy is all right and in his glory at present with things going topsy turvy in the Transvaal.¹

I go up on Tuesday but I think Mr Garrett and his friends will stay down for March.² However I have had a fine time and am quite fit.

This is a mere line: you will get more when I go to town.

Your friend

J.E.W.³

-
- 1 Possibly a reference to the presidential election campaign which had begun in the Transvaal in which President Kruger was opposed by Piet Joubert and Schalk Burger and was to be returned to office by an overwhelming majority.
 - 2 Garrett was on holiday at "The Eagle's Nest", the cottage which he now shared with Herbert Baker at Muizenberg. They often rode together and Baker claimed that "we were the first to discover the magic health-giving air of the Muizenberg sandhills". In an essay written in old age Baker said "I was fortunate in enjoying the rare friendship of Edmund Garrett ... His noble character combined imaginative and poetical gifts with humour and personal charm." Cook 128. H. Baker: Architecture and Personalities 45.
 - 3 Dr Jane Waterston.

[February 1898]

My Deare

While I think of it, in answer to yours just received, the name of the good German servant-housekeeper here is Elise - Fräulein Elise Wiegmann. She will [...] appreciate any attention but is a little exacting in her way. Your present which I brought out was deeply appreciated. But don't make another just yet: you will spoil the market if you make it an annual. And there is really no need. Just now I am fairly high in her good graces, excellent woman!¹

Yours received yesterday was the one about Plymouth and my not expecting you.² I never dreamed to see you before London! But we had fine jinks all by our two selves at 2 Gower Street, hadn't we? I did love that scurried bit at Home with you; only next time we must hope for a bit less scurry.

I never write about the Lady now and I rather augur no very happy turn from the few mentions in your letters, though each mention is generally in itself cheery. To talk over such things across 6000 miles on paper is impossible, perhaps. Yet I do sometimes wish I could have a chat with my dear brave Agnes like the one we had in the train to Plymouth with our mouths full of sandwiches and our eyes full of something else.

1 White housekeepers and other specialist servants were not unusual in South African middle-class and upper-class families in Victorian times, usually assisted by one or more black general servants. A recent study shows that there was a demand for white women cooks, housemaids and nurses in the homes of the upper and middle classes in Johannesburg in the 1890s. German women were sought after as cooks. It seems likely that a similar pattern prevailed at the Cape. C. van Onselen: Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand. Pt. 1 New Babylon 18; Pt. 2 New Nineveh 3, 4.

2 A reference to Garrett's trip to England in 1897.

One sees, anyway, the difference between God the Potter and any human artist: the human one would have put aside the jar A.G. long ago saying it would do nicely as it was, both for Use and Ornament. But God the Potter (see Omar and Rabbi ben Ezra)³ - he puts that pot on the wheel again for another turn, and just think what a Pot of Pots it will be by the time he has really perfected it! - For me it was good enough as it stood. But I can't deny that the last turn or two has given it a touch of new loveliness here, a curve of fuller sweetness there.

O my Deare! sorrow always makes beautiful people beautifuler, if it does not shut out all gladness on other sides; and that you have never let it do with you, nor ever will. -

I wrote little Elsie last mail, and this brings a nice little letter from her, looking forward to the 'first house of her own' which we all hope will soon come, and making plans for the equipment of it as "a place of joy and peace and love".

I sometimes think in our impatience about ways and means and past wobblings etc. we don't quite let ourselves respond sympathetically enough to all these hopes and looking forwards. I have no doubt of anybody so tough and sterling and steadfast as Charlie R. finding his niche before long, and very likely, though we can all see that to be a rich man's wife would be more congenial to Elsie, the other thing, when firmly chosen and accepted with a touch of obstinacy and amour propre, may

3 Who is the Potter, pray, and who the Pot?
Edward Fitzgerald: Rubaiyat of Omar Khayam.

All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me,
This I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.
Browning: Rabbi Ben Ezra.

be the better for her inside and future development.⁴ That's my way of it nowadays. I and Baker⁵ are really buying the cart from you at 20 - I have his cheque for 10 and you shall have mine for 20 and the real surplus value shall be present from you.

F.E.G.

-
4. Charles Rice married Elsie Garrett in 1898. He later abandoned teaching and studied medicine, qualifying as a doctor.
5. It appears that Agnes bought a cart when she visited the Cape in 1895 and that Herbert Baker and Garrett had offered to buy it from her.

March 3rd [1898]

Only time for a scrawl but I believe I missed last mail altogether.

Yesterday I had the Kiplings down at "Eagle's Nest", Muizenberg, for the whole day; they were very nice and interesting. He is going on to Bulawayo.¹ I and nearly everybody leaving Muizenberg now. Grapes are late and perhaps some of the worst hot weather still due.

Love

F.E.G.

1. The Kiplings sailed for the Cape aboard the Dunvegan Castle on January 8 1898 and arrived on January 25. Milner entertained the Kiplings and Edmund Garrett to dinner at Government House on February 4. The Kiplings visited Rhodesia and returned to England in April. C.E. Carrington: Rudyard Kipling 328-330; Milner diary 4.3.1898.

March 9th 1898

My Deare

Yesterday came your nice entertaining letter written with 'flu and no work to do, which shows some folks can whistle on an empty stummick and a headache and does great credit to your fortitude, and all because R is coming out on my ticket.

This very day at last he has really come. Everybody trying to stop him and two kinds of sections of supporters both in funk and 'Argus' and a lot of other papers denouncing Cape Times attempt to lead R astray¹ - what larks! - and here he is, see today's Cape Times. On Saturday he will address the Progressive meeting,² but I had to make sure and took him on the hop and interviewed him - made a scoop!³ about the 4th

-
- 1 James Rose Innes and the liberals who supported him believed that Rhodes should stay in the background, fearing that his return to political leadership would embitter relations with the Transvaal. The Cape Argus, on the other hand, felt that the elimination of Rhodes from Cape politics was impracticable, but did not agree that he should return as a Progressive, as advocated by Garrett, arguing that there was no connection between "the British interests which Mr Rhodes's name stands for in this country" and the platform of Innes's South African Political Association. "Speech! Speech!" Cape Times 1.3.1898; "Two ways of it" Cape Times 5.3.1898.
 - 2 In the Good Hope Hall, 12.3.1898. See Cape Times 14.3.1898.
 - 3 The interview, breaking a long political silence, introduced Rhodes to readers in his new guise as an anti-Bond Progressive seeking the support of a mainly English-speaking urban electorate while trying to hold whatever remnant of Afrikaans support he could still muster. As a concession to townsmen Rhodes was prepared to abolish the meat duties but he was equivocal about the duties on other foodstuffs. Cape Times 9.3.1898.

lately - De Villiers - Hofmeyr - Kotze⁴ - etc. etc. and see Milner's speech - which has made profoundest impression.⁵

Altogether things are on the move here, and we'll have a grand fight and very likely be beat but what does that matter? as I told poor Davy de Waal (one of R's wobbly Dutch) when he came in with a scared face and today's Times and said I had lost him his seat and ruined Rhodes.⁶

With dear love

Yours

Edmund in haste.

I do hope flu and work both looking up when you get this My

- 4 The Cape Times published a succession of news reports of political import in February, 1898. There was a telegram from the Cape Times Pretoria correspondent giving the text of the letter from Chief Justice Kotze to President Kruger which re-opened the judicial crisis in the Transvaal. Then on February 12, the paper published a copy of Sir Henry de Villiers's notes of his conversation with President Kruger in March 1897, which set out the terms of the compromise which he had negotiated between Kotze and the President. An interview with J.H. Hofmeyr published on February 17 was regarded by Garrett as a "scoop" because it enabled him to resuscitate the scheme for an annual contribution to the Royal Navy. Cape Times 7.2.1898; 12.2.1898; 17.2.1898.
- 5 Milner visited Graaff-Reinet in March and delivered a speech which attracted widespread attention. The local Afrikaner Bond had expressed indignation that the loyalty of Bondsmen was so often questioned. Milner replied that instead of giving them a testimonial he would rather be allowed to take their loyalty for granted. "Well gentlemen, of course you are loyal. It would be monstrous if you were not." Milner had been waiting for some weeks for an opportunity to say what he said at Graaff-Reinet. E.B. van Heyningen: "The relations between Sir Alfred Milner and W.P. Schreiner's Ministry 1898-1900" Archives Year Book (1976) 208; Cape Times 5.3.1898.
- 6 D.C. de Waal, member of the Legislative Assembly for the farming constituency of Piketberg, was one of a small group of Bond "wobblers", as they were known in the Cape Parliament, who remained admirers of Rhodes after the Jameson Raid.

Deare. Bless you.

I told them pack your Arts and Craft things⁷ and send 'em home and me the bill. F.E.G.

⁷ See page 5.

[March 16 1898]

My Deare

Polling for Upper House in this circle is just over. Result quite unknown.¹ You will have seen (I sent you a Daily with R Interview in) how absolutely I did get R out on "my Ticket" - and he has been making speeches on my phrases and with my points and generally we've been as thick as thieves which is amusing, during this Election. You will see I have done a bit of election work, too, which rather surprised Capetown.² The Salt River meeting marked 'stormy' was simply organised opposition by the Canteen Candidate³ with his 'Lambs', and I had great fun. It looks nasty in the report but really I scored and "ruled the storm". Give me a crowd and I'm all

- 1 Polling took place on March 15, 1898, in the general election for the upper house of the Cape Parliament, the Legislative Council. Rhodes and the Transvaal were the real issue of the poll, as also of the general election for the Legislative Assembly which followed later in the year. Rhodes addressed meetings in Cape Town and Salt River on behalf of the Progressive Party, speaking out strongly against the Afrikaner Bond as allies of "Krugerism". Cape Times 14.3.1898; 16.3.1898. A.J.C. Smith: "General elections in the Cape Colony 1898-1908", M.A. thesis, U.C.T. 1980.
- 2 Garrett addressed an open-air meeting of Salt River railway workmen on March 11, speaking in the interests of Messrs F.Y. St. Leger, T.L. Graham and Faure. The meeting was disorderly and Garrett was constantly interrupted by heckling. Cape Times 12.3.1898.
- 3 A reference to T.J. O'Reilly, Cape Town civic leader who was Mayor of Cape Town during the South African War. His decision to stand split the vote to the disadvantage of St. Leger. O'Reilly, who stood as "a Rhodes man" opposed the restrictive Innes liquor bill which sought to give powers to licencing courts to endorse or take away licences. Cape Times 16.2.1898; 28.2.1898.

right, if it will only hear at all. I had nice letters etc. from the best men and they came crowding and handshaking after: it was very pleasant: the best sort of them rallied to one - Henry Fawcett's sort.⁴ We learnt, after, that the affair turned over 100 votes away from the Canteen Candidate and you will see from the other report enclosed, of last night's meeting, that when I next went they called on me to speak and gave me quite a reception.⁵ To me, and you, the point is that I made that speech in a shouting and shoving crowd of 400 roughs without feeling any 'lung', or paying for it afterwards - and ditto the other speech.

I took the Kiplings to R's Good Hope Hall speech (which I had absolutely arranged - you can trace the fight for it in last and this week's Weekly) and they were hugely impressed by the scene.⁶ No time for more but my dear love and hope that when my Deare gets this the Flu' will have been ancient history and no more relapses. Send on cuttings to Bedales. Physician has so often spoken of the picture. I think some letter must have gone astray.

Dear Love

F.E.G.

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- 4 Henry Fawcett, the husband of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, was a Radical member of the House of Commons. When seeking a party nomination in Southwark at the start of his public career "he speedily won the enthusiastic support of the popular vote by energetic speeches at public meetings". DNB 1889.
- 5 Garrett was on the platform when Cecil Rhodes spoke at the Railway Institute, Salt River, on March 15. He spoke briefly at the end of the meeting, urging support at the polls for F.Y. St. Leger, and he was given a friendly reception. Cape Times 16.3.1898.
- 6 The meeting was held in the Good Hope Hall which was packed to capacity. An estimated 2 500 people were present. Boonzaaier's Spes Bona band played British national airs with the audience joining in and singing. When Rhodes entered the crowd rose to its feet and the band played "See the conquering hero comes" amid great enthusiasm. In his speech Rhodes spoke in favour of a united South Africa. Cape Times 14.3.1898.

[March 26 1898]

My Deare

I have no time to write this week. We are all rather piano, resting after the elections. Taking the country as a whole, we have won and done about as well as we hoped. Here we did well except for old St. Leger dropping out by a fluke.¹ He is very sore, poor old boy, but will go in high for the Assembly.

Yesterday a Salt River man came to propose to me that I should give a lecture at their Institute some time. The Salt River men are the artisans employed in the Government railway works and they are a factor in elections here. They want straight talk, having been spoiled and flattered, and from me they will get it. So far it has gone down pretty well; but we shall see. More I go on, more I see that the 1st condition of successful democracy is leaders who can command popularity while yet talking straight. Like Henry Fawcett. That is the one antiseptic. When will that Portrait be begun?² Of course I should be very pleased to have the miniature in a present, tho' I have no idea how it is likely to turn out - still say

1 A Cape Times editorial attributed St. Leger's defeat to "the exasperating mystery of the cumulative vote". Because of his popularity in Cape Town it had been assumed that he would head the poll. St. Leger himself blamed Rhodes, telling James Rose Innes that his defeat had been accomplished "by order of the Czar". Cape Times Editorial 27.6.1898; St. Leger to Rose Innes 19.3.1898; Rose Innes Papers.

2 The portrait in question has not been traced.

something very nice to Barbara H. It is extremely kind of her to think of giving it to me and a great honour. Hope work and flu' both better.

Love

Edmund.

81 Plein Street

March 27th 1898

Dear Miss Garrett

Mr Garrett is at the other table busy with a leader on Russia and England.¹ We are working in dead silence but will talk at supper time. I think I posted a letter to you last mail telling you how fond I was getting of the bike and how the picture acted as a sort of inspiration. Mr Garrett has gone in for a bike last week and I hope he won't ride it recklessly and give me some work. He is very well at present. Never had such a long spell of wellness before.

One set of elections is over but another is coming and Parliament meets in May. Mr Garrett loves elections and [...] generally.

I have been very bothered with Home matters for some time now and have to work very steadily to keep things going so blame for letters not being more frequent than they are. I never can write when I am bothered and often seem forgetful and ungrateful when I am far from it.

With love

Your warm friend

J.E. Waterston

1 Published March 28, 1898 under the heading "Storm signals: The new strain in the Far East". The editorial argued the case for an annual Cape contribution to the Royal Navy, using Russian threats to Imperial interests in the Far East as a text.

March 30th 1898

I was going to Basutoland with the Governor (starting next Saturday) but it is deemed that my prominence as a politician of late makes this undesirable especially as he goes via Bloemfontein, and the Free State is wobbling between us and the Transvaal, at a critical turn just now, and he is to make a big try to pull them round.¹ It is deemed that my being there would upset 'em. It's no use (says M) my going "as a reporter" or a mere newspaper man. It won't wash. "They would see in you one of my advisers. So you are; but we needn't rub it into them." Thus M. It's a great bore as we should both have enjoyed the rides together over the passes of the South African Switzerland and studying the real raw Native Question together. - This is a penalty of my coming to count in the fray here, but it's no use grumbling. Since the Imperial Secretary Episode there had to be a coming out and a taking of paths and a decisive trend of career and a Civil Service transmigration is no longer possible with our crystallising politics for anyone in the thick of the fray. With one last sigh "I embrace the purpose of G. and the doom assigned".²

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- 1 Milner left for the Orange Free State and Basutoland by special train on April 2. In Bloemfontein he had discussions with President M.T. Steyn and Abraham Fischer, a member of the Executive, and he was entertained by the President at a public banquet. The Orange Free State and the Transvaal had just concluded a treaty for closer union and mutual defence. Headlam 1, 160, 161.
- 2 It is better to fight for the good, than to rail at the ill
 I have felt with my native land, I am one with my kind
 I embrace the purpose of God and the doom assigned
 Tennyson: Maud (1851)

I do hope the Flu hasn't left you all wrecks in England.
My latest idea is for you to come out again before I come
home again. But more anon.

Dear Love

F.E.G.

81 Plein Street

Cape Town

July 20th 1898

6 a.m.

Dear Miss Garrett

I enclose telegram from Mr Garrett and send paper with his and Innes' speeches.¹ They are both of the best. I gave him a letter when he went up specially meant for the natives and the wretch has been reading it out at his meetings along with one from Rhodes. Your boy is staying with my people at Lovedale and they are taking care of him. Dr Stewart reports excellently of him. Of course I am anxious as the strain is great but I know he will be taken care of where he is and it happens to be the one place where being my friend helps him with black and white.

I am head over ears in work more than ever. Bad cases night work get to only write a line.

With much love

Your friend

J.E. Waterston

Must mount my bike and away soon after 7. J.E.W.

1 Garrett was campaigning in the Victoria East constituency which included the town of Alice and the missionary and educational centre of Lovedale where he was the guest of Dr James Stewart (1831-1905), medical doctor and missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. Garrett's association with Lovedale through Dr Waterston, who had worked there, was very useful to his candidature. She had written to Dr Stewart on June 27 commending Garrett to his care. "He rides well and is a good speaker and a fair and honest Englishman. He will represent the natives and stand up for them honestly ... Be sure of one thing. Garrett can hold his own with Rhodes." Jane Waterston to James Stewart 27.6.1898. Waterston Papers.

T E L E G R A M

JULY.18.98

FROM GARRETT, LOVEDALE TO WATERSTON, CAPE TOWN

YOU AND STEWART IMMENSE HELP CONTEST STIFF HEALTH GOOD
TELL AGNES

[late August 1898]

My Deare

Just a line to say that Harris will not bring the veto on my Dual Position into Court and that he has fairly disgusted the Old Man into my arms and that I have reduced Harris to plaintive impotence - that the Old Man has gone nearer to guaranteeing my position here against all possible assaults than ever before.¹ I did not appeal to Rhodes. He is very tricky just now, [...] I have been backing Milner in a battle they had over how long Parliament could be delayed.² Last night or early this morning CJR and I had a prolonged fix-up of Cape politics ending in his bedroom to which he insisted on my coming for privacy from the others; if the scene was really worth a long description, with me walking up and down

1. At a meeting of the Board of Directors on July 5, 1898, E.R. Syfret asked that it be recorded that he had raised an objection to Mr Garrett's parliamentary candidature on behalf of Dr (Rutherford) Harris. Seeing, however, that Mr Garrett had already left Cape Town in furtherance of his intention he agreed that the matter might stand over until Dr Harris's return. There is no further reference to the matter in the minutes. Minutes of meetings of Board of Directors, the Cape Times Ltd. Vol 1. July 5, 1898.
2. The general election of members of the Cape House of Assembly was narrowly won by the Afrikaner Bond with 40 seats against the Progressives' 39. Rhodes had been returned for two seats and had to resign one of them, so a by-election was in the offing. If the Governor summoned Parliament to meet on the due date the Afrikaner Bond would be in the majority when it assembled. Rhodes tried to persuade Milner to delay, hoping that the Progressives would win the by-election and that election petitions which were pending would unseat Bondsmen and give the Progressives the majority. But Milner regarded any such delay as irregular and "unscrupulous" and proceeded to summon Parliament for October 5. An Afrikaner Bond ministry was formed by W.P. Schreiner, and took office on October 19. Headlam 1, 274-280.

the room jawing my bit and him jawing his and appealing disputing or agreeing as he removed his clothes till he stopped in his shirt with his trousers in one hand waving the other and saying solemnly "You see our minds have been travelling to the same point - so it must be right"!!

May this happy unanimity last a few weeks to the glory of the Lord and the benefit of South Africa and the promotion of my peace of mind!

You must come out one time, again, because it is utterly impossible to catch up with the interesting developments by writing letters. In a week an exciting or amusing stratum gets buried under 50 fresh ones and one can't write. I shall get out of my Election at £180. - Rhodes said to a party at his house (not to me - I heard after) "You say it was the best fight. Some say [...]. Well, I think I should say Garrett was the best of all" and proceeded to give reasons. This will please you.

I couldn't write last mail tho' I did biz mail till 3.30 without lunch - Xmas Number³ and so on. I hope your holiday has extended over this awful London heat we hear of. Here it is rather wet and very cold, with lovely spring green. - oaks

3 The 1898 Christmas Number of the Cape Times, a pioneering undertaking of its kind, drew attention to the distinctive character of Cape Dutch architecture and described 80 Cape homesteads and their builders with sketches by Mrs A. Trotter. In his preface Garrett warned that the architectural heritage of the old Cape was endangered. "At least while the charm is yet with us, it may do some good to put it on record; it may even help a little to retard the process of its vanishing." Cape Times 25.11.1898.

at Rondebosch etc. Session October 5th for say 6 weeks.

Yours always with Love

Edmund.

The Lord knows how and when those letters to Bedales and Elsie and all and to thank the Secretary for those enchanting photos but they're coming.

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