

SELECTION FROM THE SMUTS PAPERS

VOLUME III

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JUNE 1910–NOVEMBER 1918

EDITED BY

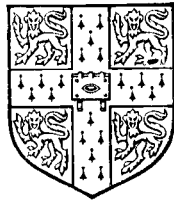
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PART IX
THE UNION UNDER STRAIN

9 JUNE 1910-24 DECEMBER 1914

THE UNION UNDER STRAIN

As in Part VIII the papers of this period are at times illuminating but historically disjointed. Again Smuts's own letters are sparsely scattered and he and his doings must be seen for the most part in the mirror of his friends' letters. He wrote often to his wife and sometimes to the older children when he was attending the parliamentary Sessions in the legislative capital, Cape Town, while they were at the home farm near Pretoria, the administrative capital. These letters are domestic—playful and affectionate; though sometimes they do contain comments on public affairs. Botha's absence in the early months of 1911, when he attended the Imperial Conference in London, produced a short series of his rare and charming letters to Smuts in which the quality of their friendship and the nature of their political partnership are apparent (498, 500-502, 539, 546).

The first two years of Botha's Government passed without overt crisis. Smuts at first held three portfolios—the Interior, Mines and Defence. In June 1912 he was relieved of the first two and became responsible for Finance as well as Defence (531, 534). When his colleagues fell ill or were on leave 'the willing horse', as he described himself, carried the extra load (536, 552). Scattered references to this life of 'penal servitude' reveal little except that it was arduous; the full record of it is locked up in official files. His first major task as Union Minister was the Defence Act, which took eighteen months to complete, and which he submitted in draft to Steyn (492, 512, 515-516, 529). But he found time to climb the Cape mountains and also to write and revise a book called *An Inquiry into the Whole*, which he sent to Wolstenholme for criticism in March 1912 (505, 519, 520). After June 1912 he became involved in a series of political crises and conflicts which went on, with hardly a peaceful interval, for the next seven years.

On all the main developments of South African politics between June 1912 and June 1914 the Smuts Papers contain valuable occasional material. The first Cabinet crisis of June 1912; the second Cabinet crisis of December 1912 when Hertzog was excluded and the tide of Afrikaner nationalism began to rise; the two strikes on the Witwatersrand; the Indian resistance movement under Gandhi's leadership—all these were topics of discussion and comment in the letters Smuts wrote to and received from his friends—shrewd and astringent comment from Merriman, comment that was often critical of his policy from his English friends.

The supreme crisis—the outbreak of the First World War—and the Government's decision to take part in it, put upon Smuts, as Minister of Defence, the task of organizing forces for the invasion of German South-West Africa (584, 585, 589). It was interrupted by a superimposed crisis of rebellion and civil war—a brief and regional struggle, but decisive in its effects on the conflict between the English and Afrikaner sections of the South African people. There are a number of references to the rebellion in the Smuts Papers (593–597, 600–607, 609, 612–616) but little new evidence on this thinly-documented event.

478 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 8, no. 108

Colonial Secretary's Office
Pretoria, Transvaal
9 June 1910

My dear Mr Merriman, May I drop you a line to tell you how often you have been in my thoughts in these days of trial and bereavement?¹ There are many things one feels but would not put on paper. I can only say in all sincerity that my heart has gone out to you in these days in a way I should not like to express bluntly. To you I shall always cherish feelings of the deepest attachment for what you have done for South Africa and even more for what you are. However, you will understand.

Our task is proving one of great difficulty. The new administrative machine moves with great difficulty, and some of the appointments are causing us much trouble. The Railway Board² is after weeks of negotiation not even yet constituted. But I hope we shall succeed. With kind regards both to you and Mrs Merriman, Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

479 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 8, no. 125

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge
10 June 1910

My dear Smuts, Today I have sent off: (1) Nicholson: *A Project of Empire*. This has been generally hailed as a conver-

¹ Refers to the death of his mother, Julia Merriman.

² By Section 128 of the South Africa Act a Board for railway and harbour administration throughout the Union was to be established.

sion to protection of a free trader, but in regard to protection the author is on such a view a veritable Balaam. (2) Archer: *Through Afro-America*. The author is one of our best dramatic and literary critics, and was the author of that brilliant book which you will remember, *Let Youth But Know*. But his not very arduous study might very well have been brought out at half the price. (3) Stillman: *Father Crispi*, a very cheap 'new remainder'; the writer's name promises a book worth much more than its cost. (4) Low: *The Governance of England*. Though you have Lowell's larger work,¹ I believe this is quite worth having; it is now issued in a cheaper edition than the first. (5) *Sociological Review*, May, has been unduly delayed. I lent it to Professor Sorley to read Urwick's rather striking article,² and he did not return it promptly. But the quarterly reviews sometimes come out much later than the beginning of the month. (6) Jenssen: *Klaus Heinrich Baas*. I have not read this, I can't abide small German print, and myself find Jenssen rather stodgy, but a review praised it as free from the faults of Jenssen in former books, and worthy of the popularity of these.

The death of the King seems to be having the result I expected, of first postponing the constitutional issue,³ and then leading to conference and compromise between the two parties. The financial veto will have to go; beyond that I do not think it would be safe to prophesy.

It is hardly necessary for me to express my congratulations on your place in the new South African Ministry; I so took it for granted, even to the particular portfolio. It seems regrettable that a fresh start could not have been made at the very beginning, in the formation of two parties on the natural lines indicated by real interests and opinions, without regard to the old party divisions, which seem in the main obsolescent and better left behind.

I read the other day a remark in *The Times* that one first principle in the new South African policy would be: rapid development of material resources, 'expansion', as they love to call it. No doubt energy and enterprise are wanted, to set the country on a satisfactory material basis, but it seems to me that

¹ *The Government of England* by A. L. Lowell.

² *Sociology and Social Progress* by E. J. Urwick.

³ The reform of the House of Lords.

experience in the U.S.A., which is being too much repeated in Canada, is showing more the deep-lying disastrous consequences than the benefits to human life or to civilization of the headlong, reckless, wasteful, politically and socially ruinous policy of 'rapid exploitation'. Not without need have the Americans just given precedence over other questions for legislation to the policy of 'conservation'. They may shut the stable door now, but a fearful lot of the horses have been already stolen, and it will be a long, weary business before the people ever get them back. Ever yours,

H. J. Wolstenholme

480 From A. B. Gillett

Vol. 8, no. 27

Millfield

Street

Somerset

10 June 1910

Dear Oom Jannie, I did not think of writing to congratulate you on your (new) official position, until some kind friend suggested it and as it made an excuse for writing to you I eagerly availed myself of the reason. I can't help feeling that all official positions are rather responsibilities than honours and of course that does allow of real congratulation that you are in a big place and can do things and are able to do them as all we your friends know. I think of you walking up and down our little garden saying 'What a world it is'. Yes it is. I am getting to love the sin and evil in it and to hate those wild dreamers who sigh for the millennium. All things in their time and now it is the world. What a time you are living in in South Africa, with all that great organized mass of capital so new and so much in touch with everything and then the huge question of races (not horses but men) it will increasingly become one of the leading world problems and one that our little Empire could break up upon.

'Our' little Empire; I really don't care a fig for it except in so far as it helps and supports a growing love of freedom and makes towards a raising up of all mankind. If it goes contrary towards man's good here's one who will not mourn its decease

but only mourn the lost opportunities which our great position could have given us.

I am so glad that General Botha became Prime Minister, partly on your account of course and partly because all that you and Margaret told me about him makes me desire to see him in a great position of responsibility.

You see our constitutional trouble hangs. It is a comfort that the past years of waiting have made the problem so clear and simple; we can't go back; we must have our way or go under hopelessly and I think permanently. Some can be fierce and firm and yet wait—the other side are a disorganized rabble of self-seeking tariff reformers and silly, titled, landed gentry and a mob who can be won. Land is really the biggest problem of every State. Is it too late with you to get possession of the land or big parts of it for the public good ?

Women's suffrage slowly makes way and the logic of their position is unanswerable and all the frivolities and frailties of woman combined are not able to destroy it.

Good-bye; won't you and Mrs Smuts be coming once next year—representatives at a coronation ? Our love to you,

Arthur B. Gillett

I am staying a week-end here; we go to Scotland for a holiday next month.

481 From J. X. Merriman

Private

Vol. 8, no. 66

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

14 June 1910

My dear Smuts, Thank you for your letter. It was good of you to write mid all the thrutch of business.

Yes I have had many troubles public and private but *Aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem*¹ is very good advice.

My dear mother retained her intellect and her keen interest in public affairs to the very last. It is a satisfaction to me to

¹ Remember in times of adversity to preserve equanimity. Horace, *Odes*, II. iii.

know that she died without learning my discomfiture.¹ The task is as you say a great one. I am sure you will pardon me for saying that in the Administrators² and in the Railway Board you seem to have departed from the ideals of the Convention; to fit noisy and troublesome politicians into well-paid billets will not make for efficiency. But *Ne sutor* etc.³

I am glad to see that there is a growing feeling in Canada and I think in Australia also against the 'tin pot navy' policy. I hope that wisdom in this respect will be justified of her children and that you and I at the Convention will prove to have been on sounder lines. Read if you can get it *The Valour of Ignorance* by Homer Lea, it is very striking and instructive. With kind regards, Believe me, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

482 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 8, no. 41

c/o Sebasti e Reali, Bankers
20 Piazza di Spagna
Roma—Italy
29 June 1910

My dear Oom Jannie, It was good to have your nice long letter of 6 June and a chatty cheerful one also from Mrs Smuts. Many thanks. Since writing to you about Miss Colenso⁴ I have made enquiries about what actually was done in England, and have had sent me Lady Schwann's⁵ letter which I enclose. If this £300 a year from Natal is true then, added to the annuity she speaks of, she and her sister⁶ will be nearly as well off as you have made Dinizulu (minus the farm).⁷ But there remains the debt to be paid off and Mr Schreiner's fee,⁸ and I suppose that mean Asquith won't do anything (what an improper way of writing!). He has had it in hand already many months. So

¹ His failure to become first Prime Minister of the Union.

² The Executive Heads of the Provinces.

³ *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. Let the cobbler stick to his last.

⁴ Harriette E. Colenso.

⁵ Lady Schwann, born Elizabeth Duncan; in 1876 married Charles Ernest Schwann, Liberal member of the House of Commons from 1886, created baronet, 1906.

⁶ Agnes M. Colenso.

⁷ In June 1910 the Union Government released Dinizulu (q.v.) from prison and allocated for his use a farm in the district of Middelburg, Transvaal.

⁸ W. P. Schreiner defended Dinizulu in his trial for treason.

it is to be hoped you people will help her. Do you know her? I have never met her, Miss Colenso I mean.

And so you are pleased with your Cabinet—at any rate it can't be a worse one than ours and perhaps it may be the best you could make, barring Mr Hull. He is a mistake. I think you should have got round Mr Merriman to take the Finance, and you tail off rather weak in Gubbins and Company. *One* from Natal would surely have been enough.¹

I do trust you are not going to help the many who are trying to pick a quarrel with Germany just in order to show how good your defences are! I suppose most of your time will be spent riding up and down that border² in the Kalahari pretending to study locusts' nests but in reality thinking how to guard against German invasion. Let me tell you—urge England to give up building warships and that will be the best way of all, then you need spend no money on defence and save it for industries and arts.

You mention the weavers³ for the first time since I left. I know nothing of it because Miss Knobel, the only person who could give me an accurate account of it was told it would be as much as her place was worth if she wrote to me!!! But I know the work could not really prosper under Miss Herd because she was placed in a post for which she was totally unfit. I am glad you like the man you have got, but I dare say his methods and his aims are quite different to those of his predecessors.

The closing of Ermelo and Belfast schools is a great grief to me. The Board made the huge mistake of starting far too many schools instead of building up and making permanent the work in a few chosen places. Their one idea was to be able to shew a long list of schools in a tabulated report. I knew many if not most were foredoomed, but they would not listen to me. To my mind it was a waste of public money—and it broke my heart to see my only child slowly murdered by ignorant officialism combined with officious ignorance. But let the dead past bury its dead.

Why on earth did you all let Sir Henry de Villiers take a

¹ C. O'Grady Gubbins was Minister without portfolio. The other member from Natal was F. R. Moor, Minister of Commerce and Industries.

² The border of German South West Africa.

³ The schools of weaving established in the Transvaal by Emily Hobhouse.

peerage? Surely the first Colonial who has ever done so. It is unworthy of him. As far as I can make out it *was* Sir Henry but it may have been Mr Jacob de Villiers of whom you say he has been placed at the top of the legal tree in the Transvaal. I expect anyhow he will end in a title; years ago I told him he would! But what then has become of Sir J. Rose Innes? Your changes are too many for me to follow.

I envy you having Olive Schreiner. There is so much I want to discuss with her. I hope you and she will go to the bottom of things.

Our Government! Even patient Lord Courtney writes to me this week with scorn of it—and I begin to feel more and more life is too short to worry with politicians, and I am glad to forget it all and read Italian. If Olive reads Italian I think she would be struck by the poems of Ada Negri¹ and so would Mrs Smuts.

Rome is very hot now, but I have no strength to move away, even if I had the means to travel, so I stay on and bear the Pope company in this dead season, as he also may never leave his Vatican.

The last six weeks I have been much weaker in myself, but the doctor says my heart is somewhat stronger; two months ago it hardly beat. I suppose on the other hand the long inactivity and seclusion begin to tell on health and spirits.

Your letters yesterday cheered me up very much. Tell Mrs Smuts I will write to her in a few days. This one will probably be lost on you as too long for a busy man to read!

Thanks for all the care and trouble and sympathy you bestow on me. It is nice to think of in lonely hours. What is your business in the 'Interior'? Ever yours sincerely,

E. Hobhouse

483 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 8, no. 126

5 Oxford Road

Cambridge

15 July 1910

My dear Smuts, I have today sent off the books catalogued in the last section of the half-year's account which I enclose.

¹ Italian poetess (1870–1945).

The Psychology of Thinking is an excellent little book, an exposition, within its own self-limited scope, of the true 'pragmatism', which sets on one side equally all 'absolute' idealism, and materialism. The knowledge it treats of is that which is possible to the psycho-physical being, man, and what can he know or guess of any other? Sorley's address is I think one of the best things he has written, though like almost all else that he has written, it is almost purely negative in its scope. Sorley is one of those (of whom there are rather many in this generation, whose minds—in the broad sense—were formed under creeds and beliefs now crumbling) whose intellect is too clear to allow him to assert many things that he still clings to, though he is unable to contribute to their proof. In his public work he is cautious and reticent; in private his bias is clear enough. *The Old Order Changeth* is a curious but interesting book. The author has all the singular optimism of most Americans as regards the present course both theoretical and practical of government in their country. Evidently a good deal is going on, but is it all solid, real progress? The author's idea of democracy seems to be the application, to the complicated problems of a great modern empire, of the methods of the old Greek city-states, with their aristocratic 'democracy' of leisured and educated citizens. All legislation and administration are to be worked by the personal action and control of each individual 'average man in the street'. Much more far-sighted seems the view of the writer of an article in a recent number of the *North American Review*, that boss-rule with all its evils is a natural and inevitable result when every citizen and voter is (nominally) called upon to form a judgment and take political action by voting on all the separate issues, measures, appointments, etc. in his State and in the national Federation. The author puts an amusing climax upon all his strange lucubrations when he invites us to join with him in giving a blessing to the Supreme Courts as the highest representatives of democracy, sweeping away scornfully or merrily all legislation and administration that proves 'inconvenient' by the magic wisdom of 'interpretation'. Surely reform and progress lie on other lines than these. One hopes that the zeal and good will that the Americans have lately been showing in the much needed political reform may prove

enduring, but may choose wiser forms, forms that are more likely to stand the test of time and a subsidal of enthusiasm.

I see a notice in today's *Times* of a speech of yours on the need for more stringent legislation for the exclusion of Asiatics. I hope that whatever exclusion laws are found necessary by various peoples everywhere in these times of easy migration and movement, the right of all educated and cultured men to move freely all over the world and reside where they will, will be respected and made effectual. Defence of the economic interests of one's own people, and its cultural interests, is quite compatible with liberality in this matter.

I wish South Africa were well through with its educational difficulty¹. It seems to threaten to prove almost as hindering to education as ours, though of a different kind. Yours sincerely,

H. J. Wolstenholme

484 From L. Botha

Vol. 8, no. 9

[September 1910 ?]

Mijn Lieve Jannie, Ik voel ernstig ongesteld, vanavond roep Hennie Smit mij op van Joburg en die informeerde mij dat hij confidentieel van zijn broeder heb dat de Unionisten reeds 270 man bijelkander hebben, kan geen plan gemaakt worden om hun te trappen, door een klompie man oud of liever afwezig stemmers te krijgen om dan die agent te doen trap, of om afnemers te stuur naar Waterval Boven om snaps te neem, iets moet gedaan worden, ik heb Tommy Theron laatste Vrydag gevraagd om daarin te handel, zie wat jij kan doen, ik moet jou zeg ik is onrustig, en boven op voel ik erg ongelukkig in de Regeering en de indruk die ik heb gaan wij met open oogen naar een slegte val, en ons vrienden wil niet luister, dientengevolge zal jij en ik ons positie moet bespreek. Nu beste groete,
Uw

L.B.

¹ A reference to differences about the place of English and Dutch in the schools which had arisen within the Union Cabinet and had become an issue in the first general election for the Union Parliament.

TRANSLATION

[September 1910 ?]

My dear Jannie, I feel seriously disturbed. This evening Hennie Smit rang me up from Johannesburg and informed me that he has it confidentially from his brother that the Unionists already have 270 men together. Cannot a plan be made to crush them by getting a group of men, ex- or rather absent voters to boot the agent out, or to send photographers to Waterval-Boven to take snapshots. Something must be done. I asked Tommy Theron last Friday to take action. See what you can do. I must tell you I am uneasy and, what is more, I feel very unhappy in the Government and the impression I have is that we are riding with open eyes for a bad fall, and our friends will not listen; consequently you and I must discuss our position. Best wishes, Yours,

L.B.

485 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 8, no. 113

Department of the Interior
Pretoria

6 September 1910

My dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your kind congratulations on my recovery.¹ As a matter of fact the mishap was a blessing in disguise as it has given me a small, much needed rest.

I have declined to give up libraries and museums as they seem to fall properly within the functions of the Department of the Interior and their removal to a department of Higher Education has no justification either in reason or policy. I am afraid our friend² is finding small scope for his activities in a skeleton department like Higher Education³ and wishes to attract other work. It would be better to give him the Interior or any other suitable department rather than build up an unnecessary and possibly temporary one.

¹ Merriman had written on 1 September 1910 'to condole with you on your plight with that very unromantic disease, measles', and to advise against transferring libraries to the Department of Education.

² F. S. Malan.

³ Under the South Africa Act primary and secondary education fell under the Provincial Councils.

I am frightfully annoyed over a canard which our friend Fitzpatrick has been circulating to the effect that when the Transvaal Prime Minister went down to meet Lord Gladstone he had in his pocket the refusal of all Transvaal Ministers to serve under you. Fitzpatrick seems to mention this with approval. The fact is that when Sauer was here at Pretoria in March or April I told him that I would be perfectly willing to serve under you and I told General Botha the same. Fitzpatrick's statement is intended to create mischief. At our last big meeting in Pretoria I denied his statement and said I was perfectly willing to serve under you, but I am afraid this has not been reported.

I am leaving just now for Natal where I hope to inspect my provincial Department and also to help old Moor and some other friends. So far the current seems to be in our favour, but one cannot really say till 15 September.¹ 'Call no one happy till his last day'² is after all not only Greek but also South African wisdom. With best wishes to you and Mrs Merriman, Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

486 From R. H. Brand

Vol. 8, no. 11

Private

Arthur's
St James's Street, S.W.
18 September [1910]

Dear General Smuts, May I congratulate you on your election ?³ I dare say you do not think the elections as a whole very satisfactory, but personally I think they have gone very well. I am extremely sorry that General Botha stood against Fitz.⁴ I can hardly imagine there is anyone who will not now admit it was a mistake.

It seems to me on the whole a good thing that your side, so long as the reactionaries are 'under dog', is in power at present, because your people will then be contented, while what the British want is good and decent government, whereas if the

¹ The date of the general election for the Union Parliament.

² See Vol. 1, p. 124, note 3.

³ To the first Union House of Assembly as Member for Pretoria West.

⁴ Botha was defeated by Fitzpatrick at Pretoria East.

Unionists were in power, your people would certainly be discontented. However I hope that there may be more of a split up of parties before long. I am glad too that there is a strong Opposition, because it is a good thing that a Government subjected as yours must be to very great pressure from often not very enlightened quarters should be kept straight. And I think too that it will be a very good thing for some of the 'elder statesmen' to be forced to recognize what the true position is. You can go on living in an imaginary South Africa in the Free State and Stellenbosch, but that is only half the real South Africa.

I think both parties in the Transvaal have realized what the future must be more fully than some more narrow politicians in the other Colonies. Natal of course is as bad on one side as the Free State on the other. You and General Botha will have your work cut out to pull them into line. But I always back the people who are moving with the tide against those who are struggling against it. Most of my friends were successful. I am sorry Feetham was beaten as he is a man of strong and tenacious character, useful to give backbone to any party. I hope Hull doesn't retire¹. He is wanted to back up the best side of your Cabinet.

I wonder why South Africa has the power of being perennially interesting. Something dramatic is always going on there and, as I sit in the City, I often wish for the veld and the sun again. This is only half a life. I hope soon to get out to Canada for some time.

My business is interesting, and I am kept pretty hard at it. I can hardly suppose with your multifarious duties you can find time to let me know how you are getting on. But perhaps you could sign a photo and send me one. I never saw a good one of you but I expect you have one.

I wonder how the Constitution will be shewn to work. I hope there are no great flaws in it. I feel I was right from my own point of view in giving up my post. I wish I could have seen my way to do something else out with you.

Please remember me to Mrs Smuts and the children. I suppose the daughters are growing quite big. Yours sincerely,
R. H. Brand

¹ Hull, Minister of Finance, was defeated by Farrar at Georgetown.

487 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 8, no. 118

Pretoria
19 September 1910

Just a short line in answer to your and Margeret's last. I have been very busy with our general election and literally did not know sleep. We have come fairly well out of the struggle and will have a minimum majority of 20 in a house of 121.¹ But the defeat of Botha, Hull and Moor² has come as a nasty knock, and in other cases too we have expected better results. However even this reverse may be a blessing in disguise as most misfortunes are. We shall continue our liberal South African policy undeterred by this apparent windfall to the extremists. Tell Margaret the thing that knocked us badly was General Hertzog's education policy in the Free State, which the English people resented as directed against their racial ideals.³ It is very hard that Botha and Hull should be punished for a policy which they have always stoutly resisted; but such is the logic of the crowd.

I was very glad to see all the news in Margaret's last letter and only regret that at present I have no time to write further. I shall do so soon. I want Margaret also to keep in touch with Miss Hobhouse in Rome and to cheer her up. She wants it.

488 J. X. Merriman to J. W. Sauer

Vol. 8, no. 69

No clue has been found to the presence among Smuts's papers of this letter. This carefully worded recapitulation of a conversation between old friends seems to have been intended to come to the notice of Smuts and Botha.

¹ The result of the election was as follows:

Nationalists (i.e., the S.A. National Party, South African Party, Orangia-Unie combination)	67
Unionists	39
Labour	4
Independents	11

² Moor, Minister of Commerce and Industries, was defeated at Weenen by H. M. Meyler.

³ Hertzog's Education Act of 1908 enforced bilingualism by requiring both languages to be used equally as media of instruction as well as to be taught as subjects. Because English parents resented compulsory Dutch and many teachers and inspectors did not know Dutch, the Act encountered opposition in the Orange River Colony. After Hertzog entered Botha's Union Ministry the opposition spread throughout the Union and 'Hertzogism' became an issue in the general election.

Schoongezicht
Stellenbosch
28 October 1910

My dear Sauer, In our brief conversation yesterday on the choice of a Speaker, I may not have made my meaning quite clear, and I therefore put my ideas on the subject in writing *quantum valeant*. The choice I take it lies between Beyers [C.F.] and Molteno [J. T.]. You must please understand that I have no personal feeling in regard to the former. I know him slightly and liked what I saw of him. He is a brave man and an honest one. I should be the last to blame him for speaking out his mind even though I may think that at times he goes too far. His training and experience are not very extensive. His recent utterances are sure to be used as a means of casting discredit on himself and on the party, and I have an uneasy feeling that it is precisely because he is an extreme man that the Progressives would like to see him put forward in order that they may tar us with his brush.

James Molteno I have, as you have yourself, known since boyhood. He possesses experience and legal training and I question whether any Speaker in the Cape has ever filled the chair with more zeal or efficiency. His name as the son of one of the fathers of parliamentary government in South Africa¹ should be an additional recommendation. He is, I understand, hotly opposed by the Progressives and I make bold to say that, whatever may be put forward, the true reason is that Molteno was one of the band of Englishmen who amid odium of every kind and in the face of intense public obloquy expressed their opinion as to the injustice of the Boer War and the conduct of those who brought that dire calamity about. To pass him by will be to endorse this judgement and it will hereafter be used as an argument, which you have no doubt seen in the Press, that the Dutch people of South Africa do not and will not trust those Englishmen who had the courage to differ from the popular cry raised by their fellow countrymen in 1899–1902, and that they have been used and flung aside.

Even if the qualifications of the two men were equal I should not hesitate to view with the gravest suspicion a choice dictated

¹ Sir John Molteno, first Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

by our bitter opponents for reasons which they are afraid or ashamed to avow. It used to be said, and it seems to me sound advice, 'Find out what your enemy wants to do and do the opposite'. If we act on the contrary in this matter we shall I submit make a fatal mistake. It is one which, if adopted, I shall feel most bitterly. Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

489 M. Muir to E. F. C. Lane

Vol. 8, no. 77

Department of Agriculture
Cape Town
16 November 1910

The Private Secretary to the Minister of the Interior
Cape Town

Memorandum by Mr [I. B.] Pole-Evans on South African Cereal Rusts

My dear Lane, I am enclosing a paper¹ by Mr Pole-Evans, which General Smuts might be interested to look through, if he could find time to do so. Yours faithfully,

M. Muir

490 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 9, no. 76

Department of the Interior
Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope
10 January 1911

My dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your good wishes, and I hope you will not think me belated in wishing you and Mrs Merriman whatever there is of good in store for us in this year 1911.

You have raised a very important point in your letter² which is deserving of the closest consideration. No doubt it will be properly discussed and debated before any action is finally taken. This will entail some delay, but we still know each other so little in various parts of the Union and are still so inclined to suspicion that a little time spent in getting to know

¹ Read at the Second International Congress of Tropical Agriculture and Colonial Development at Brussels, 20-23 May 1910. Omitted by the editors.

² Not in the Smuts Collection.

each other will be well spent. At first blush it appears to me doubtful whether *one* commission would be competent to deal with such varied topics as you mention. Libraries seem more a matter for local committees, and co-ordination there would not do much good. Museums *do* require co-ordination, and I propose calling together the various Directors to make suggestions as to how such co-ordination could best be effected; finally I dare say a strong controlling commission could be got together. The same is true of meteorology and perhaps also of geological survey (although I am not quite certain of this last case). My point just now to you is that there is still so much local jealousy about local institutions like these that I think we ought to move slowly in substituting Union machinery which will be considered with grave suspicion. But I welcome your suggestion and I hope by public validation we shall educate our masters to the Union point of view in all these matters. With kindest regards, Ever yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

491 To M. T. Steyn

Vol. 99, no. 60

Department of the Interior
Pretoria

20 January 1911

Hooggeachte President, Het spijt mij dat er geen kans bestaat om Ds. de Bruyn voor het Archief aan te stellen; vooralsnog is er geen bedoeling zoodanige aanstelling te maken, en eventueel zal een deskundige persoon zeker de voorkeur hebben boven iemand die met het werk onbekend is. Ik heb Mrs de Bruyn reeds in dezen zin gewaarschuid.

Ik was zo begeerig U weer met Nieuwjaar te bezoeken, vooral om de verdedigingskwestie te bespreken maar werd schielijk naar Kaapstad teruggeroepen. Ik hoop U en Mevr. Steyn zal een beetje zeewaarts komen en dat ik dan de gelegenheid zal hebben U te raadplegen. Wat U te Vrede zeide, beaam ik ten volle, en ik geloof met mijne voorstellen zal U samenstemmen, maar een bespreking is gewenscht. Verder gaat het op politiek gebied buiten verwachting goed. Onze party begint elkaar meer en meer te verstaan, en een breeder nationale geest wordt allengs opgebouwd. Natuurlijk zijn er moeilijkheden genoeg.

Het speet mij van Hertzog te horen dat uw gezondheid niet van de beste was. Ik ben zeker een kleine verandering zal U beide goed doen.

Mijne vrouw houdt niet erg veel van Kaapstad en is te Irene gebleven. Met hartelijke groeten aan U beide, Steeds getrouw de uwe

J. C. Smuts

TRANSLATION

Department of the Interior
Pretoria

20 January 1911

Dear President, I am sorry that there is no chance of appointing Rev. [J. G. C.] de Bruyn to the Archives; as yet there is no intention of making such an appointment and eventually an expert will probably have preference over someone who is unacquainted with the work. I have already warned Mrs de Bruyn in this sense.

I wished so much to visit you again at the New Year, especially to discuss the defence question, but was suddenly called back to Cape Town. I hope you and Mrs Steyn will come to the sea for a while and that I shall have an opportunity of consulting you. What you said at Vrede I fully confirm, and I think you will agree with my proposals, but a discussion is desirable. For the rest, as regards politics, things are going well—beyond expectation. Our party is beginning to understand one another more and more and a broader national spirit is being gradually built up. Of course, there are difficulties enough.

I was sorry to hear from Hertzog that your health was not of the best. I am sure a little change will do you both good.

My wife does not like Cape Town very much and has remained at Irene. With hearty greetings to you both, Ever yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

492 From M. T. Steyn

Vol. 9, no. 74

Privaat

Onzerust

27 January 1911

Zeer geachte Generaal en Vriend, Hoewel ik zeer gaarne ook al de oude vrienden wil ontmoeten vrees ik toch dat 'n reis

naar Kaapstad tans bijna onmogelijk zal zijn. Sedert ik in Julie II. 'n zwaar attakt van influenza had ben ik nog niet tot herhaal gekomen. Eerst leed ik aan ontsteking van de ogen die nog niet geheel voorbij is. Nu heb ik boven op 'n lichte aanval van jicht, waarschijnlijk ten gevolge van de wet van compensatie volgens Hertzog, want mijne vrienden Thom Brain en John Brebner hebben whisky gedronken en ik krijg de gout. Ik onderga nu 'n behandeling van massage en electrise baden. Zij schijnen mij goed te doen.

Het deed mij goed te horen dat U met wat ik te Vrede zeide instemt. Natuurlik was er geen gedachte om 'n defence schema voor te leggen. Mijne bedoeling was alleen om ons volk voor te bereiden, zodat het min of meer kan weten wat te verwachten. Zorg voor een ding Generaal, dat U de burgers niet onder bevel van Engelse officieren plaatst. Alle wrijving moet in de krijgsmacht vermeden worden. Laat toch al de burgers zo spoedig mogelijk gewapend worden. Dit is veel beter dan 'n vlootcontributie. De toestand in Europa beval mij niet. Wij moeten sterk genoeg zijn om ons land tegen wie ook te verdedigen en om te verhinderen dat Z.A. de oorlogs terrein van Europa wordt. Wij hebben geen belang in hunne twisten.

Ook zou ik gaarne zien dat ieder die bij ons op de stem lijst is ook op de kommando lijst zal moeten staan, nietweerbare uitgezonderd. Ik wil niet 'n herhaling zien dat mannen die jaren volle burgerrecht hadden genoten over de grensen sluipen als oorlog nadert. Wij kunnen ze nu bij de havens keren. Misschien zal dit ook als gevolg hebben dat vele broeders van Jerusalem en Cornwall van de stem lijsten zullen afblijven. Als U 'n aanneembare plan kan uitdenken om de jonge Boer onder discipline te brengen, en hem in zijn eigen organisatie te houden dan kan U veel met hem uitvoeren. Maak in geen geval van hem een voetganger. Persoonlik ben ik liever 'n aanvoerder van 'n klomp hoenders dan van 'n klomp Boeren te voet. Al is hij ook hoe slecht te voet, geef hem 'n paard en hij is dadelik pure man.

Sla toch het zinnebeeld van ultra jingo imperialisme nl. 'n contributie tot de vloot aan stukken. Wij moeten eerst ons huis in order brengen. Het is gekheid om op één worp alles te riskeren. De grote vloten van het verleden zijn meest allen door de elementen vernield; als dit nu weer gebeurt, hoe zal

het dan met ons gaan zo onvoorbereid als wij zijn. Ik ben ook niet zo overtuigd dat Englands vloot onoverwinlik is. Zij heeft de schepen maar heeft zij de mannen? Ik denk niet aan de quantiteit maar aan de qualiteit. Voor Z.A. reken ik meer op de Boer en zijn ponie dan op de Dreadnoughts. Onze politiek moet zijn om ons land in alle opzichten 'self-contained' te maken.

Uw tijd weet ik is kostbaar en zal U dus niet langer ophouden ik wil alleen de hoop uitspreken dat de reis van U allen naar Europazeeraangenaam voor U en zeer heilzaam voor ons oulandje moge zijn, intussen geloof mij te zijn zoals altijd, Uw vriend
M. T. Steyn

TRANSLATION

Private

Onzerust

27 January 1911

Dear General and Friend, Although I also should very much like to meet all the old friends, I fear that a journey to Cape Town will be almost impossible at the present time. I have not yet recovered since I had a heavy attack of influenza in July last. First I suffered from inflammation of the eyes which is not yet quite over. Now, on top of it, I have a light attack of rheumatism, apparently, according to Hertzog, as a result of the law of compensation, for my friends Thom Brain and John Brebner have drunk whisky and I have the gout. I am now undergoing a treatment of massage and electric baths. They seem to do me good.

It did me good to hear that you agree with what I said at Vrede. Of course there was no thought of submitting a defence scheme. My intention was merely to prepare our people, so that they know more or less what to expect. See to one thing, General—that you do not put the burghers under the command of English officers. In the army all friction must be avoided. Do let all the burghers be armed as soon as possible. This is much better than a contribution to the fleet.¹ I do not like the situation in Europe. We must be strong enough to defend our country against anyone whatever, and to prevent South Africa from becoming the battle-ground of Europe. We have no interest in their quarrels.

¹ It had been proposed that the Union Government should make a contribution to the upkeep of the British fleet.

I should also like to see that everyone who is on our voters' roll must also be on the commando list—the disabled excepted. I do not want to see a repetition of men who had for years enjoyed full citizen rights slinking over the borders when war approaches. We can now stop them at the ports. Perhaps it will also have the effect that many brethren from Jerusalem and Cornwall will stay off the voters' rolls.¹ If you can think out an acceptable plan to bring the young Boer under discipline and to keep him in his own organization, then you can do much with him. Do not in any circumstances make an infantryman of him. Personally I would rather be the commander of a lot of fowls than of a lot of Boers on foot. However bad he is on foot, give him a horse and he is at once a true man.

Do knock on the head that symbol of extreme jingo imperialism, namely, a contribution to the fleet. We must first put our house in order. It is madness to risk everything on one throw. The great fleets of the past have almost all been destroyed by the elements. If that should happen again, how will it then go with us, unprepared as we are? I am not so convinced that England's fleet is invincible. She has the ships but has she the men? I do not think of quantity but of quality. For South Africa I rely more on the Boer and his pony than on the Dreadnoughts. Our policy must be to make our country 'self-contained' in all respects.

Your time I know is precious and so I shall not detain you longer. I only want to express the hope that the journey of all of you to Europe² may be very pleasant for you and very beneficial for our little country. In the meantime believe me to be, as always, Your friend,

M. T. Steyn

493 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 9, no. 87

Cape Town

13 February 1911

Many many thanks for your dear letter—all the dearer to me for the good news that, if all goes well, there will be an increase

¹ A reference to the demand for the franchise in the South African Republic by Jewish immigrants and Cornish miners on the Witwatersrand.

² To attend the Imperial Conference of 1911 in London. Smuts did not go.

in the little family at 102 Banbury Road. You are preparing for a grand experience and I wish you joy. Somewhere George Eliot says that children are the symbols of the eternal union between Love and Duty. It all depends now on that little woman I suppose. Tell her that if all comes right she will if possible be even dearer to me than ever before.

I shall not come to England this time. And I am very sorry—the more so, as I was so anxious to see you in your new happiness and to kiss my little friend after her ordeal. But there is much and big work out here—construction work, building up the institutions round which the future life of this young nation will gather. And it is imperatively necessary for me to remain at my post here.

Parliament here has been sitting since last October and will sit on till April. My wife and children I left on the farm near Pretoria—so you can see what a dog's life I am living. It is very hard on us all, but the two eldest little daughters go to school there, and my wife will not leave them—even for me. So this life of penal servitude—unrelieved by God's blessing of my wife's companionship—continues. I am sometimes secretly longing for the time when I shall be old enough to be beyond these noises and spend life's afternoon in peace and leisure. Even the good Lord had a seventh day on which he rested; so why should an ordinary Christian be excepted?

I was so glad to hear that Miss Alice was doing nicely. My thoughts have often been with her these months of suffering on her part.¹ Please remember me to the dear circle at Millfield and accept best wishes for the future.

494 From W. T. Stead

Vol. 9, no. 73

The Review of Reviews

Bank Buildings

Kingsway

London, W.C.

7 April 1911

My dear General Smuts, Many thanks for your very kind letter which I was very glad indeed to have. You are one of the great twin brethren who have saved South Africa both for

¹ Alice Clark suffered from tuberculosis.

the Dutch and for the Empire, for which we owe you an everlasting debt of gratitude. I am, Yours sincerely,

W. T. Stead

495 From Lord Gladstone

Vol. 9, no. 17

Confidential

Government House

Cape Town

13 April 1911

My dear General Smuts, Replying to my telegram of yesterday the Secretary of State desires, as I expected, to consult the Indian Government.

I think however he would like to be assured on one or two points, supposing that you decide to drop the Immigration Bill and introduce another Bill next year.

1. Do you feel reasonably satisfied that you can prevent by arrangement or otherwise a renewal of Gandhi's agitation ?
2. Do you think that the course proposed will not enhance Gandhi's prestige, and by leading him to believe that he can dictate his terms, lead to greater trouble in the future ?
3. Is there not some danger of Gandhi's thinking that with the creation of new centres of agitation in the Cape and Natal he will be stronger than ever through postponement?
4. Are you confident that you can devise a Bill for next year which will be more acceptable to Gandhi as regards the main points of difficulty ?

I assume that time presses, so will you also let me know how soon an answer is required. Truly yours,

Gladstone

496 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 9, no. 79

Department of the Interior

Pretoria

29 May 1911

My dear Mr Merriman, I was very glad to see your handwriting again; many thanks for writing.¹ Mrs de Bruyn has been moving heaven and earth to secure for her husband the

¹ The letter referred to is not in the Smuts Collection.

appointment of Archives-keeper at Cape Town. Such an appointment would be a scandal as he has no qualification whatever for the post. I have been thinking that Dr Godée-Molsbergen should be appointed to the post. Since he left Stellenbosch he has been working very hard at the South African archives at the Hague. I have made no move as yet because of the unsatisfactory accommodation. It is hoped that when the new Law Courts are finished we shall have more space and could collect archives which are now scattered not only over Cape Town but even over the older magistrates' courts of the Cape.

Thanks for the cutting about the Nastin treatment. We tried it for some time at the Pretoria Leper Asylum and found it useless. The same experience has been gathered at other places where it has been tried. This British Guiana business looks like a puff.

I am sorry you did not see your way to go on the Public Debt Commission. Your appointment would have given great satisfaction. It has now been offered to Walton.

I noted your playful remarks about my bureaucratic tendencies. God forbid that I should go in that direction! But seriously this question of the magnitude of our public services is becoming a very burning one. It is a difficult matter to deal with. Such unmerited suffering is inflicted by any considerable policy of retrenchment that one hesitates to embark on it. And yet it will have to come soon.

Yes, our friend the Minister of Education is, I notice, consulting with the big guns of Oxford and Cambridge over his plans for the future. That great South African University will now soon arise and put to shame the doubters!¹

You will soon be leaving for your travels, and I don't know whether I shall write again before you leave. I therefore take this opportunity to wish both you and Mrs Merriman a good time and a safe return to South Africa. With kind regards to you both, Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

¹ F. S. Malan had drawn up a bill to provide for the establishment of a post-graduate university on the Grootte Schuur estate from a fund made available by the Wernher-Beit Trust. The project was opposed on all sides and soon lapsed.

497 From A. B. Gillett

Vol. 9, no. 14

102 Banbury Road

Oxford

30 May 1911

Dear Oom Jannie, You will read Margaret's dictated letter *first* please but I must just write and tell you of this young son of ours whom we have started into the world—'what a world it is'—bearing your name of Jan.¹ It is rich to Margaret of memories, memories connected with memories and all that South Africa and you dear people mean to her. Thanks partly to those two tiny visits of yours and to an imagination which has led me across your veld revelling in its greatness and lonesomeness and up your mountain escarpments and to your farms I can share in a way these memories. Anyway I am well content to think he starts off with your name to give him a lead in this puzzle of life. You see we shall often think of you.

Margaret went through it as you would expect. But she had rather a bad time. She is going on well and the baby too, who has dark hair, eyes like the puppy and works hard to earn his living. I have not yet got used to his presence, perhaps never quite shall do so. It is a delight to see him and to remember him. All is so strange whither or whence. He lay gazing at me on that night. Just looking and looking—poor dear, well he might.

I cannot write of other things though the little stage here is crowded with happenings and the Parliament Bill, the most important thing of the moment has gone one further step towards—what?

Good-bye and thanks for the loan of the name; I hope you won't mind. Affectionately,

Arthur B. Gillett

498 From L. Botha

Vol. 9, no. 3

Hotel Cecil

Strand

London, W.C.

3 Junie 1911

Mijn Lieve Jannie, Zoo een korte overzeg over ons werk. De Imperial Council of State het ons maklijk de kop ingedruk.

¹ Jan Bevington Gillett, eldest son of A. B. and M. C. Gillett (qq.v.). Born 1911.

Ward de voorsteller het een 3 uursche speech afgeleest maar heb nooit bij de Council of State gekom, in die document werd dit genoem een Imperial Parlement boven alle parlementen met 297 leden waarvan de dominions gezamentlijk 77 en waarvan S.A. slechts 7 vertegenwoordigers hebben zal, een grooter idiosche voorstel heb ik nooit van gehoord, en hij het ook een lamlendige figuur geslaan, zijn zaak nooit bestudeer en zoo ver het voor mij lijken is Lionel Curtus feitlijk de voorsteller toen hij in New Zealand waren. De Regeering hier heb ons geheel in hun vertrouwen genomen, met betrekking tot hulle Europeesche en andere politiek en heeft ons confidentieel alles mee gedeeld, en voor mij onder strik geheim de tractaat getoont die wij verwacht heb jij zal verstaan welke ik bedoel, en zij zijn erg gebonden en jij zal geen stap kan neem, dus doe niets tot ik daar komt.

Dan heb ons de Decleratie van London goedgekeur na wij verzekering had van zekere conditien die zij de Regeering hier gaan voorstellen, Australia bleef buiten stem, Asquith verklaarde beslist dat het onmogelijk voor hem is om de Koloniale werk over te nemen en om bij de Conferentie te presideerde en met al de gevecht hier stem ik zaam. Op de dubbel income tax en Death Duty heb ons een banja zwak zaak. Leask help maar zelf hij erken ons zaak is erg mager.

Defence en Navy heb ons ook met toe deuren bespreek—en ik moet zeg jij is de man die moest mee kwam, want mijn maters is uitplaats. Wij kwam overeen dat adviseerende Militaire Comite hier zal bij gestaan worden door Minister van Defence voor elk Dominion, zoodat jij zal zoo elke paar jaar moet over komen en ik dink dit is uitstekend. De Coloniale Kantoor heb ons wat de Sektariaat aanbetref nog niet veranderd, en ik lijken geen der voorstellen en komt ook meer tot de overtuigen dat wij niet een punt hiervan moet maak zoo lang wij een Kabinet Minister daarvoor kan verantwoordelijk houden. De andere werk is alles streepies—ons grootste werk is, Mail Kontrakt, en ons David leg stil en kalm met slinger in de hand klaar voor de dag. Ons zal echter moeilijkheid krijg en de Regeering hier is bitjie sterk anderkant, maar ons heb hulle een freeslijk schrik op de lijf gejaagd, door de vraag te stel aan de Navy of wij hen van dienst zijn kan als wij een lijn steamers laat bouw om te zeil tusschen hier en de Kaap, zoo

gebouwd dat in tijd van oorlog kanonnen daarop geplaatst worden—dan een deel van de Navy uit maak om die see te beschermen, net die vraag stellen het hulle haren op doen staan, en de navy schijnt erg opgenomen te zijn met die plan, anderweek begint de onderhandeling.

Ik was dankbaar om jou kabel over de reorganisatie te krijgen. Palmer zijn sectie heb dadelijk een kabel van protest gezonden, maar dit is nonsens. De Liberalen is tamelijk zeker van hulle zaak, de Lords heb de tweede leezing van de veto Bill gepasseerd maar nu gaan zij radicale veranderingen maak en dan terug stuur, dan zal de Regeering stappen neem, mogelijk ook een electie maar die zal de laatste stap wees; in elk geval hulle voel sterk wat ook gebeur.

De sosiale leven steek deze maand ten top ongelukkig voor ons. Dinner, lunch, dienst in kerk, Coronatie dag alles Com-mands in uniform, en men voel zoo ongelukkig in de uniform, die niet alleen ongemaklik is maar ook duur en stijf en ik zeg jou dit gaan net klip hard. Mijn gezondheid is banja mooi zoover, en ik zal vroeg weg gaan naar Kissengen en waarschi-jlijk veel vroeger in Africa terugkeer dan ik verwacht had. Mrs Hull en Renie is gezond en zien er goed uit, zij waren prachtig gekleed bij voorstellen bij de Koning. Hull kan hoogmoedig op zijn dochter wees een knap mooi dame en ik is blij dat hij haar hier laat tot na de coronatie, ons zien veel van haar. Met bespreking van finantieele zaken pas op voor income tax ons men-schen zal het bepaald verkeerd opneem, maar jij is voorzichtig, ik hoop dat jij Mrs Smuts en de kinderen wel is. Geef hen s.v.p. mijn beste groeten. Is Ivy noch daar zeg haar ik pas Bokkie goed op en zal hom spoedig huis toe bring. Nu Jannie beste groete, Uw
Louis

TRANSLATION

Hotel Cecil
Strand
London, W.C.

3 June 1911

My dear Jannie, Just a short survey of our work. We easily quashed the Imperial Council of State.¹ Ward, the proposer,

¹ At the Imperial Conference (1911) Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, proposed the establishment of an Imperial Parliament to legislate for the Empire and have power to levy a Defence tax on the Dominions. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Botha opposed it as diminishing the status of the Dominions.

read a three-hour speech but never got to the Council of State. In the document it was called an Imperial Parliament, above all parliaments, with 297 members of which the Dominions together will have 77 and South Africa only 7 representatives. I have never heard of a more idiotic proposal and he also cut a poor figure, never studied his case and as far as I can see Lionel Curtis is really the proposer—when he was in New Zealand. The Government here have taken us entirely into their confidence with regard to their European and other policies and have informed us confidentially of everything and have, under strict secrecy, shown me the treaty which we expected—you will understand which one I mean, and they are very much tied and you will be unable to take any steps, so do nothing until I get there.

Then we have approved the Declaration of London¹ after we were assured of certain conditions which they, the Government here, are going to propose. Australia abstained from voting.² Asquith declared definitely that it is impossible for him to take over the Colonial work and to preside at the Conference and, with all the conflict here, I agree. On double income-tax and death duty we have a very weak case. Leisk [J. R.] helps but even he admits that our case is very thin.

We have also discussed Defence and the Navy behind closed doors—and I must say you are the man who should have come with us because my colleagues³ are out of place. We agreed that the advisory Military Committee here will be assisted by the Minister of Defence of each Dominion, so that you will have to come over every few years, and I think this is excellent. We have not yet changed the Colonial Office as regards the Secretariat, and I do not like any of the proposals and also come more and more to the conclusion that we must not make a point of this as long as we can hold a cabinet minister responsible for it. The other work is all trivial. Our biggest work is the Mail Contract,⁴ and our David⁵ is lying quiet and calm, sling

¹ An international document on war contraband and compensation for the sinking of neutral ships.

² The Australian representative had earlier moved to express regret that the Dominions had not been consulted beforehand. Botha supported the motion, which was accepted by the Conference.

³ F. S. Malan and D. P. de V. Graaff.

⁴ The contract for carrying mail between South Africa and Great Britain.

⁵ First name of Graaff, Minister of Public Works.

in hand, ready for the day. But we shall have trouble and the Government here is rather strong on the other side. But we have given them a terrible fright by putting the question to the Navy whether we can be of service if we have a line of steamers built to sail between here and the Cape, so constructed that in time of war guns can be placed on them and they then form a part of the Navy to protect these seas. Merely putting the question made their hair stand on end, and the Navy seem very much taken with the plan. Next week negotiations begin.

I was thankful to get your cable about reorganization. Palmer's [N. P.] section at once sent a cable of protest, but that is nonsense. The Liberals are fairly sure of themselves. The Lords have passed the second reading of the Veto Bill but now they are going to make radical changes and then send it back; then the Government will take steps, perhaps also an election but this will be the last step. In any case they feel strong whatever happens.

Social life reaches its peak this month—unfortunately for us. Dinner, lunch, church service, coronation day—all commands in uniform and one feels so unhappy in the uniform, which is not only uncomfortable but also dear and stiff and I can tell you it is all very difficult.

My health is very good so far and I shall go away early to Kissingen and probably return to Africa much earlier than I had expected. Mrs Hull and Renie are well and look well; they were beautifully dressed at their presentation to the King. Hull can be proud of his daughter—a capable, pretty lady and I am glad that he is leaving her here until after the coronation; we see much of her. Take care of income-tax when discussing financial matters. Our people will certainly misunderstand it. But you are cautious. I hope that you, Mrs Smuts and the children are well. Please give them my best wishes. Is Ivy still there? Tell her I am taking good care of Bokkie¹ and shall bring him home soon. Well Jannie, best wishes.
Yours,

Louis

¹ Nickname of W. E. Bok.

499 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 9, no. 29

c/o Sebastie Reali
20 Piazza di Spagna
Roma, Italy
7 June 1911

Dear Oom Jannie, Your kind and cheering letter of 15 May has just come and I am very grateful for it. It is good to think of you again a 'family man' and more or less of a farmer. I wish you would give up that motor¹ and take to the healthier exercise of the saddle. You should ride daily at least one way to Pretoria and you would regain something of the health and vigour you gained during the war. And then all Sunday you should ride about your farm, and have a pony for the children in turn to ride with you. Motors are so modern and I think on the whole degenerating physically and mentally. In our crowded Europe motorists become quite inhuman, and to the poor of all classes they are a pest of noise, dirt, danger and smell. Don't be spoilt, mind and body, by a mere motor, a horrid monster of tubes and oil.

Yes, I think you are very wrong to be so impatient with Parliament, which is after all, however talkative, the voice of the rank and file of the people through their representatives, and peoples have to be brought on little by little, and reasoned with and persuaded, till it comes to be in reality 'government by the people'. Now you want to be an autocrat, a Czar. Having thought out a matter and decided it is best, you just want to rush it through without criticism. You must go and live in Russia. *We* the *people*, we democrats, want to have our say in matters concerning ourselves and if you say we don't understand, then we say we want to be made to understand. I begin, in fact, to wish that not merely Kings but likewise Ministers could be done away with, for it seems to me Cabinets are hotbeds of mischief, manured by ambition. Now don't be offended, I am not talking of *your* Cabinet in particular, but of all generally. For a long time past I have had my reforming eye upon them and felt them responsible for endless evil and little good, and I believe the *secrecy* appertaining to their counsels is the root of the evil. But my pencil, having a good point this

¹ Smuts had acquired his first motor-car in 1911.

morning, is running on and disgusting you, instead of saying what I really lay down to write, viz., how grateful I am to you and Mr Roos for your letters and for having invested the £2,000 for me in what I hope is a permanent investment. You must not think that I doubt your kindness or that I think my *capital* insecure. I know that is safe. What worries me is when my income is seriously curtailed by the money lying idle. Then I get really frightened, because now I am too weak to earn my living in any way, as once I could cheerfully have done.

Soon I hope to send you a photo of the view from my windows, which carries me back nearly 3,000 years. Yes, you must come to Rome and study the classic ruins and learn what is impressed daily and hourly upon me, *what all empires come to*, a Necropolis of past ambitions, creeds and hopes. Some day Pretoria too will be as Zimbabwe, as Palmyra, Nineveh, Thebes and Rome, and perhaps the bombs of aviators will bring it about!! Madness, to make the air a battlefield. Much love,

E. Hobhouse

500 From L. Botha

Vol. 9, no. 4

Hotel Cecil

Strand

London, W.C.

15 Juni 1911

Mijn Lieve Jannie, Dank hartlijk voor jou brief, ik was dankbaar te verneem dat het zoo mooi daar regende dit meent natuurlijk een vroege somer voor ons, en dit is dus iets van beteekenis. Pau schreef mij omtrent de dinner aan Hertzog en ik moet zeg dat ik voel zeer opgewonne en ontevreden, hoe Hertzog zelf zoo iets kan toelaat verstaan ik niet, echter meent dit wij moet ons klaar maak voor moeilijkheid, en dit lijken mij banja of zijn ambitie zijn kop laat opswel—echter Jannie wij moet ons oog op de positie hou, want voor mij lijken het dikwijls of de tijd niet banja ver af is dat jij Hull en ik uit de Regeering zal gaan, ik voel iets komt maar noch niet zeker wat. Ja Jannie Laurier en ik heb ons vriendschap hernieuwd, en laatste week end heb hij en ik stil op de Country Estate bij Harcourt doorgebracht, en daar heb ons natuurlijk veel gesels, hij en ik stem op alles zaam, hij vertelde mij dat hij veel moeilik-

heid gaan krijg met de reciprositeids kwestie met America. Zijn oppositie in Canada waarschijnlijk opgestoken van hier doet nu alles om hem een nederlaag te geven. Wat eigenlijk zijn positie noch moeilijker maak, en wat hij het meest voelde is dat zijn eigen Frans Canadians aan het verdeelen zijn, een jonge advokaat onder hen genaamd Barassa bijzonder brilliant en ambitieus neemt een onverzoenlijke houding aan tegen over de Engelse en verdeeld daarop die partij met noodlottige gevolgen. Hij wil dat Laurier niets met de Engelse, te doen heb, en het lijken of er geen invloed zijn hem tot bekeering te bring, als men Laurier zoo hoor dit alles vertel dan zie men ons positie zoo duidelijk daarin in Z.A. Verloor Laurier komt de Frans Canadians die reeds in de minderheid zijn, nooit weder in de Regeering.

De Conferentie werk gaan heelmaal goed. De voorstel van Imperial Council of State of Parlement heb ons wortel en tak uitgeroei, en ons heb geslaagd om de Conferentie als een rondtavel ding te houden. De Conservetieven is natuurlijk ontevredede, maar dit alles is niets en wij hebben m.i. goed werk gedaan. Wij hebben besloten om een Royal Commissie aan te stel waarop elk Dominion vertegenwoordigd zijn om de handel kwestie te onderzoek en te zien hoe die kan verbeter worden. Vandaag heb ons, ons besluit re schepen combinatie eenparig met klein verandering door gezit, de Regeering hier is taamelijk in moeilijkheid om ons te helpen lijken het mij, want hun ondersteuners in Parlement druk hen op zoo als jij kan verstaan, en wij wou niet met de eigenaars onderhandel tot wij eerst de besluit door had. Nu zal ons begint. Wij heeft de Regeering gezegd dat wij ons eigen lijn steamers gaan bouw, de terme die wij voor de leening op korte Treasury bills gekrijg heb is de gunstigste die kon verkregen worden. Vandaag had ik lunch met de Gouverneur van de Bank van England en hij zeide mij dat het voor hem onmogelijk was om zulke termen te geven en wensde mij geluk, het is een bijzonder slegte tijd nu geld op te nemen. De Gouvernement hier wordt erkend als een der sterkste die voorlang hier was. De Veto kwestie is doodstil achter de Coronatie zal de poppen dance, maar ik geloof niet dat het naar een electie zal loop. Milner is overal uitgebakt de praat is dat hij niet eerst geraadpleegd werd over Landsdown zijn voorstel. Kitchener is hier en ik

heb hem opgewerk en vertelde nu met mij zaam, als England voor hem en voor mij met Middelburg onderhandelingen geluisterd heb dan hebben wij England aan £100,000,000 pond gespaar en duizende aan levens, en overal komt menschen mij vraag en ik confirmeer zoo dat jij kan zien hij is op de afdraan elke klein ding wordt tegen hem gebruik, de praatje doet ook de ronte als de Conservatieven vandaag de meerderheid krijg hij niet in de Ministerie zijn zal. Ons werk is bijna klaar, Income en Death duty tax (Double) heb ik een staan voor gemaak, maar ons zaak is zeer zwak, en wij behoort het niet opgebracht te hebben. Leask die mij helpde erken dat wij geen zaak had. Harcourt dwing aan ik moet niet aandring om Zwazieland nu ingelijf te krijgen, maar noch twee-jaar wachten want Crew en Seely zou beide een belofte destijds gemaak hebben dat geen van de naturellen reserves spoedig zou ingelijf worden. Ik staan echter vast. Annie is mij een groot hulp hier, en van haar wordt veel gemaakt. Mijn gezondheid blijft tamelijk, de Coronatie is een groot ding, maar jij kan niet begrijp hoe duur het alles is hier, onbegrijpelijk. De uniformen is verdomp ongemaklijk, wij moet voor 8 uur oer een boeg in de Abbey zit. Vrouwens evening dress mans uniform. Mijn persoonlijke behandeling hier is zeer vriendelijk van de Koning ondertoe, ik heb jou swager te Cambridge gezien hij ziet er goed uit. Op 29ste dezer vertrek ik naar Kissingen, en 25 Augustus is ik thuis. Nu Jannie mijn beste groete aan jou en de Mrs. Oprecht jou vriend

Louis

Sir George Murray is een zeer geschikt man en ik wil dat jij of Hull moet hem dadelijk zien, hij zal de Commissie stuurten in de richting van ons Regeering's wensch dus zie ik heb hem vandaag lang gesels [*sic*] en heb hem aangeraden om jou en Hull te spreken.

TRANSLATION

Hotel Cecil
Strand
London, W.C.
15 June 1911

My dear Jannie, Hearty thanks for your letter. I was thankful to hear that it is raining so nicely there; that of course means

an early summer for us and so it is important. Pau¹ wrote to me about the dinner to Hertzog and I must say that I feel very excited and dissatisfied. How Hertzog himself can allow such a thing I do not understand. However, it means that we must prepare ourselves for trouble, and it looks to me very much as if his ambition is giving him a swollen head—but, Jannie, we must keep an eye on the situation, for it often seems to me as if the time is not far off when you, Hull and I will go out of the Government. I feel something is coming but not yet certain what.

Yes, Jannie, Laurier and I have renewed our friendship, and he and I spent last week-end quietly on [Rt. Hon. L.] Harcourt's country estate. Of course we talked much there. He and I agree about everything. He told me that he is going to have much trouble with the reciprocity question with America. His Opposition in Canada, probably incited from here, is now doing everything to defeat him. What really makes his position still more difficult, and what he feels most is that his own French Canadians are beginning to divide. Among them a young advocate named Bourassa [H.], particularly brilliant and ambitious, is taking up an irreconcilable attitude towards the English and is dividing the party on it—with fatal results. He wants Laurier to have nothing to do with the English and it seems as if there is no influence that will convert him. When one hears Laurier say all this one sees our position in South Africa so clearly in it. If Laurier loses, the French Canadians, who are already in the minority, will never be in the Government again.

The Conference work is going quite well. We have destroyed root and branch the proposal for an Imperial Council of State or Parliament, and we have succeeded in keeping the Conference as a round table affair. Of course, the Conservatives are dissatisfied, but all that is nothing and we have, in my opinion, done good work. We have decided to appoint a Royal Commission, on which each Dominion will be represented, to examine the trade question and to see how it can be improved. Today we unanimously put through, with a small alteration, our decision *re* shipping combination. The Government here are in some difficulty about helping us it seems to me, because their supporters in Parliament are pressing them, as you can

¹ Not identified.

understand, and we did not wish to negotiate with the owners until we had got the decision through. Now we shall begin. We have told the Government that we are going to build our own line of steamers. The terms which we have got for the loan on short Treasury bills are the most favourable that could be had. Today I lunched with the Governor of the Bank of England¹ and he told me that it was impossible for him to give such terms and congratulated me. This is a particularly bad time to raise money.

The Government here is admitted to be one of the strongest for a long time. The veto question is dead quiet. After the coronation there will be the devil to pay but I do not think it will come to an election.

Milner is in disfavour everywhere. The talk is that he was not even consulted about Lansdowne's proposal.² Kitchener is here and I have worked on him and he now says with me that if England had listened to him and to me at the Middelburg negotiations, we would have saved England some £100,000,000 and thousands of lives; everywhere people come and ask me and I confirm it, so you can see he³ is on the downgrade. Every little thing is used against him. A rumour is going the rounds that if the Conservatives were to get a majority today he would not be in the Ministry.

Our work is almost done. I have made a stand for income-tax and death duty (double), but our case is very weak, and we should not have brought it up. Leisk, who helped me, admits that we had no case. Harcourt insists that I must not press to have Swaziland incorporated now,⁴ but wait another two years because Crewe and Seely both made a promise at that time⁵ that none of the Native reserves would be speedily incorporated. But I am standing fast.

¹ Reginald Eden Johnston. Born 1847, in London. Governor of the Bank of England, 1910, and Director from 1911. Died 20 November 1922.

² On 29 January 1902 Lord Lansdowne, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, proposed to Lord Kitchener that he and the Boer leaders in South Africa should consult about bringing the war to a close. Kitchener accordingly approached the heads of the Republican Governments who agreed to begin peace negotiations.

³ Milner.

⁴ Section 152 of the South Africa Act makes provision for the transfer of the Protectorates to the Union on conditions laid down in a schedule to the Act.

⁵ When the South Africa Bill was before the British Parliament.

Annie¹ is a great help to me here, and much is made of her. My health remains fair. The coronation is a big thing but you cannot conceive how dear everything is here—incredible. The uniforms are damned uncomfortable. We have to sit for eight hours in a bay in the Abbey—women in evening-dress, men in uniforms. Treatment of me personally here is very friendly—from the King down. I have seen your brother-in-law at Cambridge; he looks well. I leave for Kissingen on 28 June and will be home on 25 August. Well, Jannie, my best wishes to you and the Missus, Sincerely your friend,

Louis

Sir George Murray is a very able man and I want you or Hull to see him at once. He will steer the Commission in the direction of our Government's wishes, so I have had a long talk with him today and have advised him to speak to you and Hull.

501 From L. Botha

Vol. 9, no. 5

Hotel Cecil
Strand

London, W.C.

26 Juni 1911

Waarde Jannie, Sauer schrijf mij dat de Spoorweg en Generale inkomsten sterk aan het vallen zijn. Ik hoop het niet ernstig is. Wil jij op ontvangst dezès een begin maak om een lijst van namen van voorname mannen die wij wil uitnodigen om ons groot organisatie vergadering bij te woon op te trekken, en wil jij s.v.p. voor Burton, Hertzog, Sauer, Fischer, allen krijgen dezelfde te doen, zoo als wij aankomt dat die uitnodigen dan met eens kan uitgaan. Wij, dat is Malan, Graaff, en ik dink, dat de Bond moet uitgenodigd worden op de basis 1 voor elke district bestuur, dit zal de Bond ongeveer 100 vertegenwoordigers geven, te veel feitelijk naar hun getal leden, maar doe wij dat niet dan vrees ik raakt men hun gevoel aan en dat moet ons vermeden zoo veel mogelijk. Want het is altoos de bitjie en niet de banja wat men de moeilijkheid geven, dan moet 2 van elke district bestuur van Het Volk en de Unie uitgenodigd worden, dan verder moet worden uitgenodigd, alle Parlements

¹ Botha's wife.

leden van ons partij, ook een zekere getal leden van de Liberale partij in de Kaap en Volkspartij in Natal. Maar de moeilijkheid die ik zie is om de menschen uit te nodigen die niet tot een partij behoort, en het is die lijst die ik hebben wil jullie moet nu reeds optrek, bespreek dit s.v.p. in Kabinet en stel beetje machinerie in het leven om daarmee te begin. Maar de werkelijke uitnodigingen moet wacht tot dat ik terug is. Wij kan dan ons Nationale Congress van de oud Het Volkers in Pretoria tegen 25 Sep. houden, de groot Congress in Bloemfontein tegen 20 October, zoo dat wij dan noch kan rond gaan om de organisatie beetje op te druk.

Dan hoop ik jullie zal de Kaffer belasting zoo veranderen dat er daarin ook uniformiteit komt. 30/- per hut en waar daar meer dan een gehuwde meid in de hut slaap dan per vrouw, elk monday naturel moet 30/- per jaar betaal, enz. en lichter belasting waar die op plaatsen woont en certificaten toon dat zij zekere maanden op de plaats dienst gedaan hebben.

Dan Jannie ik dink ons Departementen is erg overstuffed en ons zal moet ernstig retrench, roep vlinke Commissies in het leven om elk Dep. door te loop. Burt Davey enz. en een klompie andere kan jij maar dadelijk in mijn Depart. laat trap, want ik voel de argument banja sterk dat ons uitgeven op ambtenaren voor zoo een klein bevolking is veel te groot, en salarissen is ook veel te hoog. Ik reken op jou en Hull, en hoop jullie zal de mijnen ook meer aanpak. Nu een andere punt wij heb besloten om een Royal Commissie door de Britsche Regeering te doen aanstellen, om de handels kwestie te onderzoeken met het oog tot verbetering in Britscherijk, wij zullen recht [*sic*] een man aan te stellen, en de kwestie is wie? hij moet iemand zijn die m.i. tegen preference is, en zoo ver ik hier uitvinden kan zal die Commissie 4 jaar pal moeten werk, al de Dominions bezoek ook Kroon Kolonies en hun rapport kort of liever een jaar voor de volgende Conference indienen. Hier is nu een lekker rondreizende werk voor Mr Merriman en ik dink jij moet met Sauer praat om hem te krijg dit aan te neem, mits dat hij bedank als Parlements lid want het is totaal ongewenst om een parlements lid aan te stel, en ik hoop als jij met mij instem dat jij jou weg schoon zien zal om beetje te voel of Merriman in zoo een geval zal bedank.

De Coronatie is afgelopen, en bijzonder prachtig, dit was in

de hoogste maat brilliant en goed geregeld, ik en mijn vrouw had goede zetels in de Abbey, de seremonie duurde 7 uur, half negen moest elk een in zijn plaats zitten en half 3 kwam wij er uit, boomstijf, jij kan mij gevoel toen verstaan, in een stijve sware uniform al die tijd, maar men moet erken hulle verstaan om die soort dingen prachtig, smaakvol en brilliant te maken, en daarbij zoo orderlijk. De wonderlijkste is dat de Peers en Peeresses neemt een groot deel aan de Kroning, zij zit om de troon zij sweer trouw, en doet feitelijk alles, maar de Commons is geheel uit alles en doet ook niets. Royalties is hier veel van andere landen en ik heb de voornaamste allen ontmoet en lekker gesels. De voornaamste onder hen is de Kroonprins van Duitsland, hij heb een wakkere en goede voorkomst, als een jong man van groot karakter en beslistheid, ik verwacht veel van hem; dan is er de grootprins van Rusland, hij en ik is tamelijk maats, hij is een groot sympatiser van ons. Twee voorname figuren is de Japanners, Togo en Nogi de Generaal, en Admiraal die de Japaneesen zoo brilliant in de Russische oorlog leiden, ik heb veel van hen gezien. Saterdag heb ons naar de Review gegaan, die bijzonder interessant waren en tot Vrijdag is ik gast der Koning en zal danke zeg als ik Saterdag op de trein klim naar Kissingen. Ik ben blij te zeg dat mijn gezondheid goed blijf en is vast besloten niet een ernstige keur te nemen. Nu Jannie ik hoop jij is wel en ook jou lief familie. Nu hartelijke groete, Oprecht uw vriend

Louis

Ik heb aan Hertzog gekabel om Gregoroski aan te stel nu zien ik heb hij de meest onpopulaire man in Transvaal aangestel, waarom zoo ?

TRANSLATION

Hotel Cecil
Strand
London, W.C.
26 June 1911

Dear Jannie, Sauer writes me that the railway and the general revenue are falling fast. I hope it is not serious. Will you, on receipt of this, begin drawing up a list of names of prominent men whom we wish to invite to attend our big organization

meeting,¹ and will you please get Burton, Hertzog, Sauer, Fischer all to do the same so that when we arrive the invitations can go out at once. We, that is, Malan, Graaff and I, think that the Bond should be invited on the basis of one for each district executive. This will give the Bond about a hundred representatives, really too many for their membership, but if we do not do this, I am afraid their feelings will be hurt and that we must as far as possible avoid, for it is always the little and not the much that gives one trouble. Then two from each district executive of Het Volk and the [Orangia-] Unie must be invited. Then there must further be invited all Members of Parliament of our party and also a certain number of members of the Liberal party in the Cape and the Volkspartij in Natal.² But the difficulty I see is to invite people who do not belong to a party and it is this list which I want you to draw up now. Please discuss it in Cabinet and create machinery to begin it. But the actual invitations must wait until I am back. We can then hold our National Congress of the old Het Volk in Pretoria about 25 September, the big Congress in Bloemfontein about 20 October, so that we can still go round and work up the organization a bit.

Then I hope you will alter the Kaffir tax so that it will be uniform—30s. per hut and, where more than one married woman sleeps in the hut, per woman. Each adult Native must pay 30s. a year, etc., and lighter taxation when they live on farms and show certificates that they have worked on the farm for a certain number of months.

Then, Jannie, I think our Departments are badly overstuffed and we shall have to retrench seriously. Form some efficient Commissions to comb each Department. Burt-Davey etc. and a few others in my Department you can sack at once, because I feel strongly the argument that our expenditure on officials is much too high for such a small population. I rely on you and Hull, and hope you will also tackle the mines more strongly.

¹ A meeting to constitute the South African National Party of the Transvaal as a Union-wide party.

² These were not formally constituted political parties. The first was the South African Liberal Association (*See* Vol. II, p. 172, note 4). The second was the Natal Volksvereniging of 1910, originally the Natal Boeren Congres which, after the Anglo-Boer War, was the political organization of the Afrikaners in Natal.

Now, another point. We have decided to have a Royal Commission appointed by the British Government to examine the trade question with a view to its improvement in the British Empire. We shall have the right to appoint a man and the question is: whom? He must be, in my opinion, someone who is against preference and, as far as I can find out here, the Commission will have to work continuously for four years, visit all the Dominions, also Crown Colonies, and present their report shortly, or rather one year, before the next Conference. Now here is a nice itinerant job for Mr Merriman and I think you must talk to Sauer to get him to accept it, on condition that he resigns as Member of Parliament, because it is altogether undesirable to appoint a member of Parliament and I hope, if you agree with me, that you will see your way clear to feel around a bit whether Merriman would, in such a case, resign.

The coronation is over, and was particularly beautiful; it was brilliant in the highest degree and well arranged. I and my wife had good seats in the Abbey. The ceremony lasted seven hours. At half past eight everyone had to be in his seat and at half past two we came out, stiff as boards. You will understand my feelings, in a stiff heavy uniform all that time, but one must admit they understand how to make this sort of thing beautiful, tasteful and brilliant and so orderly, too. The most extraordinary thing is that the Peers and Peersesses play a great part in the coronation. They sit round the throne, they swear fealty and really do everything, but the Commons are quite out of everything and do nothing. There are many Royalties here from other countries and I have met the most important and had nice chats. The most important of them is the Crown Prince of Germany. He has a good and lively appearance, like a young man of much character and decision; I expect much of him. Then there is the Grand Duke of Russia. He and I are rather friendly; he is a great sympathiser with us. Two important figures are the Japanese, Togo and Nogi—the general and admiral who led the Japanese so brilliantly in the Russian war; I have seen much of them. On Saturday we went to the Review which was particularly interesting and until Friday I am the guest of the King and will be thankful when I get on the train to Kissingen on Saturday. I am glad to say that my health remains good and

have definitely decided not to take an extensive cure. Well, Jannie, I hope you are well and also your dear family. With hearty greetings, Sincerely your friend,

Louis

I cabled Hertzog to appoint Gregorowski.¹ Now I see he has appointed the most unpopular man in the Transvaal.² Why ?

502 From L. Botha

Vol. 9, no. 6

Bad Kissingen

4 Juli 1911

Lieve Jannie, Jij is daarom lui om zoo min te schrijf. Hoe is dit mogelijk dat jullie Beyers aangestel hebben, ik hoop toch niet dat jij daarin toestemde, want een grooter vijand heb jij daar zeker niet. Hij is geen *persona grata* bij ons menschen en noch minder bij de Engelsche. De Balie keurt het zeker ook niet goed, en de Rechters zal boos zijn. Ik kan eenig ding sluk maar dit is onmogelijk. Ik ben zoo jammer dat ik aan jou over Pau geschreven heb dit was verkeerd van mij. Ik hoop toch niet dat dit jou laat toestem het. De oppositie vroeg mij of het waar is dat Beyers aangesteld waren en ik zeide neen daar is niets van waar. Ik kabelde aan Hertzog om Gregoroski aan te stel, en ontving toen antwoord dat Beyers reeds 3 weken geleden al aangesteld zijn, dus ik werd niet geraadpleegd, en ik zeg dingen zal tot een punt komen, ik wordt mede geblameerd en wordt heelmaal over het hoofd gezien. Als een vrederechter moet aangesteld worden dan wordt ik geraadpleegd, maar als een Rechter of Dr of Procureur Generaal aangesteld worden dan wordt ik niet gekend en ik moet zeg ik wordt nu moeg daarvoor. Ik heb Hertzog altoos eerlijk en openlijk behandeld en waarom hij mij zoo behandel weet ik niet, of zou Jaap hem opsteek. Jannie jij en ik zal een staan ergens nu maak dit is zeker, want voor mij lijken het duidelijk, dat er een onderhandsche zaamwerkery is tegen ons beginselen en moderaten politiek. Eerlijk gesproken, ik ben gereed en klaar om uit de Regeering ter eeniger tijd te gaan en dan als privaat lid de bul bij de hoorns te vat. De jonge Afrikaners en

¹ To the Transvaal Bench.

² F. W. Beyers.

vooral ons Kerk gaan nu te ver, wij moet hen omkeeren voor het te laat is, want zoo kan het niet voortgaan. Ik ga zeker een paar toespraken houden, en zal zeker die vrijprater predikanten waarvan ik hoor wij weder een heb in Pretoria wat waarheid gaan vertellen.

Nu Jannie de basis van vertegenwoordiging van ons bestaande organisaties op de te houden Congress heb ik reeds aan jou geschreven, en ook aan Jooste, bespreek die saak s.v.p. Ons moet de bond maar een meerderheid geef al is hun ledental minder, want ik vrees daar is ook iets aan het werken om de bond te laat uit slaan, maar de grootste moeilijkheid is de uitnodigingen in de Kaap Kolonie die niet aan partijen behoort. Die moet ons doen in overleg van de plaatselijke Parlements leden, senatoren en ons kollegas en vooral moet daarin ook geken worden de bestaande organisaties. Ik heb aan Fremantle geschreven, op zijn brief hieromtrent, en volgens zijn brief heb hij met Sauer een lange gesprek gehaad. Als jij Sauer en Burton kan krijg om een lijst op te trekken (voorlopige) zal het veel help om zaken te bespoed, na mijn aankomst bij de uitnodiging. Fremantle heb ik ook gevraagd om een voorlopig lijst op te trek. Malan dringt aan om 1 lid van elk Bond bestier te hebben, dit moet ons maar toelaat dit geef hen omtrent 100 leden op de Congress. Dan dink ik moet ons in Transvaal 2 voor elk district bestier ook de Vrijstaat en Natal. Dit geef de andere 3 Kolonies tezamen paar meer dan de Bond. Parlements leden en Senatoren moet ons ook uitnodig, de kwestie van Natal zijn Engelse weet ik niet wat voor te stel. Wij moet dit met Leuchars en Gubbins afsprek, ik kon geen Honour meer door krijgen. Schrijf mij naar Kaap zeker dan moet ik jou gedachte weet. Mijn gezondheid voel veel beter zal hier ongeveer 3 weken blijven. Beste groete, Uw

Louis

Ou Dapper zeg dat mijn bloed heelmaal verbeterd is, en dat mijn gezondheid in het algemeen ook beter is dan toen ik hem laats verliet, hij is nu hoopvol vir algeheele herstelling. Judge Solomon is heden vertrokken en Dapper het 15lb. op zijn lijk [*sic*] gepak. Hij ziet er beter uit maar moet nu zijn na kuur nemen. Poppen begin te dansen en ik verwacht spoedig aanstelling van 500 Peers als zij niet ingeef.

TRANSLATION

Bad Kissingen

4 July 1911

Dear Jannie, You really are lazy to write so little. How is it possible that you have appointed Beyers? I do hope that you did not agree to it, because you certainly have no greater enemy there. He is not *persona grata* with our people and still less so with the English. The Bar, no doubt, also does not approve of it and the Judges will be angry. I can swallow anything but this is impossible. I am so sorry I wrote to you about Pau; it was wrong of me. I do hope that did not make you agree. The Opposition asked me if it was true that Beyers had been appointed and I said no, there is no truth in it. I cabled Hertzog to appoint Gregorowski and received a reply that Beyers had already been appointed three weeks ago.¹ I was therefore not consulted, and I say things will come to a head. I am equally blamed and am entirely overlooked. When a Justice of the Peace has to be appointed then I am consulted, but when a Judge or Doctor or Attorney-General is appointed then I am not acknowledged, and I must say I am now getting tired of this. I have always treated Hertzog honestly and openly and why he treats me like this I do not know—or is Jaap inciting him?² Jannie, you and I will now make a stand somewhere—that is certain, for it seems clear to me that there is underhand collusion against our principles and moderate policy. To tell the truth, I am prepared and ready to go out of the Government at any time and then to take the bull by the horns as a private member. The young Afrikaners and especially our Church are now going too far; we must turn them back before it is too late, for it cannot go on like this. I am definitely going to make a few speeches and shall certainly tell the free-talking parsons, of whom I hear you again have one in Pretoria, some home-truths.

Well, Jannie, I have already written to you about the basis of representation of our existing organizations at the coming Congress and also to Jooste. Please discuss the matter. We

¹ In fact R. Gregorowski was appointed to the Transvaal Bench; not F. W. Beyers.

² J. A. J. de Villiers was said to dislike Botha because he had not been appointed to the Cabinet. See M. Nathan, *Not Heaven Itself*, pp. 219 et seq.

must give the Bond a majority although their membership is less, because I fear there is also something afoot to knock out the Bond. But the biggest difficulty is the invitations in the Cape Colony to those who do not belong to parties. We must do this in consultation with the local Members of Parliament, the Senators and our colleagues, and especially must we acknowledge the existing organizations in this. I have written to Fremantle in answer to his letter about this and, according to his letter, he has had a long talk with Sauer. If you can get Sauer and Burton to draw up a list (provisional) it will help much to expedite matters after my arrival in connection with the invitations. I have also asked Fremantle to draw up a provisional list. Malan urges one member for each Bond executive. We must allow this; this gives them about a hundred members at the Congress. Then I think we must have two for each district executive in the Transvaal—also the Free State and Natal. That gives the other three Colonies together a few more than the Bond. We must also invite Members of Parliament and Senators. I do not know what to propose in the matter of the Natal English. We must arrange this with Leuchars [G.] and Gubbins. I could not get one other Honour through. Write to me at the Cape for certain; I must know your mind by then. My health very much better. Shall remain here about three weeks. Best wishes, Yours,

Louis

Old Dapper says that my blood has improved very much and that my general health is also better than when I last left him. He now hopes for complete recovery. Judge [W. H.] Solomon left this morning and Dapper has put 15lbs. onto him. He looks better but must now take his after-cure. The fur is beginning to fly and I expect a speedy appointment of 500 Peers if they do not give in.

503 From J. W. Sauer

Vol. 9, no. 60

Department of Railways and Harbours
Pretoria

26 July 1911

My dear Smuts, I have your letter of yesterday's date *re* duties of Medical Officer of Health for the Union. The view expressed

by you is exactly what I told Dr [C. F. K.] Murray would be given effect to had I to deal with the matter. But of course I did not compromise you; my respect for the Being who is both a Q.C. and a Boer General—full, as you told Mrs Greene—is truly great. Yours,

J. W. S.

504 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 9, no. 48

The Reform Club
[London]
27 July 1911

My dear Smuts, Thank you for your kind message. [Sir H. R. M.] Bourne showed me the draft of your scheme.¹ I scarcely like to venture on an opinion as it is a matter which requires a vast amount of study and so much depends on detail. On the face of it at first sight I should say that you ought to fix the amount you can afford to pay. Then settle what permanent force you are going to have, and as for the balance, rather have fewer men well trained than a multitude of semi-efficients who will think a lot of themselves and break down hopelessly, at least for the town forces. For the country I think the natural efficiency of the farming population will supply all the elements of the finest guerilla cavalry in the world, provided you have good officers. I think that a re-enactment of the old provision that everyone is liable to personal service without distinction of persons is a *sine qua non* but I also think that to try and carry out universal training except in a crude and imperfect way would be too costly. And if imperfect it would be still more costly in the end. We have the nucleus of a very fine permanent force, enough for any Native rising. We have in our country people the finest irregular cavalry. The weak joint in our armour is the infantry and all our military critics agree that half trained citizens are not of the slightest value in an emergency against trained soldiers.

Get yourself to consider what is the problem you have to face. The Natives in my opinion are negligible. It is a foreign *coup de main* against which we have to guard. And in such an emergency ten thousand or even five thousand properly trained

¹ Smuts's Defence Bill.

and disciplined men would be worth more than three times the number of citizens with rifles in their hands.

To conclude, on a first hurried view I should be more in favour of a smaller number of thoroughly trained and disciplined men who would have to be paid for the sacrifice they make than of a large number of imperfectly organized territorials. We have suffered a great deal in the past from our volunteers who were at once costly and inefficient. The foregoing are merely my own crude notions and I have not had an opportunity of discussing them with anyone.

If you are going to rely on the unpaid enthusiasm of those who will feel and say that they are conferring an obligation instead of doing their duty, our money will be largely wasted, at least I fear so.

We are in the middle of a political crisis¹ but there is an air of unreality about the whole business. With kind regards,
Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

505 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 9, no. 97

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge
28 July 1911

My dear Smuts, I have sent off today the books listed under the last date in the half-year's account which I enclose. Lindsay's book on Bergson I think you will find good, a real help in getting hold of Bergson's philosophy as a whole. James's posthumous fragment too I think you will like—the earlier chapters; he and Bergson are at one—and both of us, I think, with both of them—as to the inadequacy of our conceptual thinking to express fully our perceptual and intuitive experience, and the error of what is called 'science' in thinking that our analysis of the parts—necessarily—as parts, considered as separate, leads to an understanding of the whole. But James seems to recognize, as Bergson does not (seem to recognize), that our conceptual tools, our conceptual forms, are all that we have, and that we must make the best of them, in our efforts to make tangible and objective to ourselves, and

¹ The Parliament Bill crisis in Great Britain.

communicable to others, the expanding contents of our perceptual and inner life. The tools may, and we hope will, prove capable of improvement, so that man may gradually attain to fuller and surer possession of the higher and wider and deeper ranges of his human experience. But Bergson seems not to be content with that rise from perception into conception, and that return from conception to renewed and finer perception, which James advocates; but hopes for the development of another organon of knowledge, called 'instinct', which is to bring in other ways than the conceptual and cognitive, a 'knowledge' which is not knowledge, or something which is higher than knowledge, while fulfilling more perfectly the ends of conceptual knowledge, life and activity as human mental beings.

Heath's book on Pragmatism is one of the best I have read, though he seems to me to be rather too much of a metaphysician himself, I mean a system-constructing, not only a critical metaphysician, to succeed in putting pragmatism on an unassailable practical basis.

The Philosophy of Brahmaism (ordered on the recommendation of a *Times* reviewer) I lent to Ward, who pronounced it 'very interesting'. I think it should be so if only as an example of how Oriental and Western philosophy are each concerning themselves with the other.

I shall be glad to see your lucubrations when they have reached connectedness and form.¹ But if my eyes are to decipher them I am afraid they will either have to be type-written—as indeed would be advisable if they are intended to be printed—or written in a hand easier to make out than your ordinary one, which sometimes needs 'studying' to make it all out.

I have sent in your name along with my own for 'passive membership' in the Universal Races Congress now sitting in London, in order to obtain the full printed report of the papers etc. It will I expect be sent to you direct by post.

Hobson had a long talk with Botha when he was down here a few weeks ago, and seems to have received a very good impression of him. Botha expressed himself in the highest

¹ Smuts was writing *An Inquiry into the Whole*.

terms of the value of your services to South Africa, and to himself as a colleague. I am afraid you will find it very difficult for a long while to come to withdraw yourself from the needs of the community to which you have made yourself so indispensable, in order to take up a rural and studious life in place of that of the statesman, politician and social reformer.

We are nearing the end of our 'crisis' here, and it has become rather violent; what the end will be—the yielding of the Lords, or the creation of new peers—does not even now appear to be at all certain. Prophesying is the last work I would take up; but I confess that I have never been able to think that, however wild and violent the peers may be in the grip of the nemesis that has come upon them, they will really bring upon themselves the swamping waves of a wholesale creation of new peers from the ranks of the *nouveaux riches* and the leaders of the democracy.

You write of cold weather; we have had, and are still in the midst of, the longest and the most violent spell of hot and dry weather that we have had for years. The thermometer in the shade in my garden has stood today at 86°, and a week ago it was in the town at 92°. Kind regards to Mrs Smuts, and love to the chickabiddies. Ever yours,

H. J. Wolstenholme

506 From M. C. Gillett

Vol. 9, no. 16

Street

18 August 1911

Dear Oom Jannie, Baby and I are still here, as you see, and are very glad to be in the country in this hot weather instead of in Oxford. Arthur has done his holiday and is again at work, so that we must not stay here for much longer, for the poor dear is lonely without us, but it has been very wholesome to be here in this airy open garden, with space of sky and fields around us, rather than in the four walls of the little garden at 102.

Baby is very fine and strong and happy, and by now (12 weeks) is getting very near 14 lbs. in weight. It is very delightful

to have his smiles now, but I do miss the little thing who came originally and feel that this is his big brother!

I am sending you, and hope it will reach you by this mail, the *Life* of Josephine Butler, not only because it is a story of a woman of great spiritual and active power, who was very much beloved by my dear ones, but because as I have heard you are considering how to deal with the particular evils which she strove with,¹ I think you may be rather particularly interested in meeting her in this book. It is a subject which some of my people have had to do with; and Arthur's father (now dead) also.

The great strikes² are of the utmost interest. It rejoices my soul to see mankind (including men as well as women!) stand up for themselves. The owners of capital talk rather in the way we heard when young 'Those that don't ask don't want and beggars get nothing'. Anyway, seeing what horrible abominations the poorer quarters of big towns especially Liverpool have become, I don't wonder that poor people become exasperated and desperate, and the owners of capital have been greedy. I hear from Arthur much inveighing against the way capital is managed. It is good for us well-to-do to realize how helpless we are without labour.

Somehow all this seems a more real issue than that with the Lords. In the Lords conflict, it seemed sometimes too much a matter that Liberals as one side in a game were jealous of the Tories' advantage in the House of Lords, and I used to wonder how the Liberals would have acted supposing that the Lords had happened to support the *Liberals*! Would they have felt then this great fervour of self-government? My dear Oom Jannie will reprove me as a cynic!

Father and Mother are shortly going to Scotland for a few weeks. Alice has not made much progress in this hot weather, but she also goes north and that I hope will do her good.

Please thank my Tante Isie for her kind and dear letter. She also may find Mrs Butler's *Life* interesting, I think. She was a lovely woman. I saw her once or twice. Good-bye, Ever your loving friend,

Margaret C. Gillett

¹ Prostitution.

² The dockers' and railwaymen's strikes began in August 1911.

507 To Sir E. H. Walton

Vol. 9, no. 82

Department of the Interior

Pretoria

19 August 1911

My dear Walton, I regret the delay in answering yours of the 9th instant, but I could not find an opportunity earlier to discuss the question with Sauer.

We would gladly agree to your proposal, but find some difficulties in the way. The resolution taken towards the end of the Convention to keep the minutes secret has been cancelled by the action of Parliament, but on 12 October (the second day of the Convention) a resolution was passed forbidding the keeping of all records of speeches—and that remains. Without the consent of all the members of the Convention it is therefore difficult to see how the story of the proceedings and an account of speeches could be made public. I know you have done your best to be impartial and have written in the Convention spirit,¹ but there is this difficulty. I sympathize with you all the more because I fear there may be other members of the Convention not so nice and scrupulous as you who are going to publish in any case. I feel prepared to assist you in the following manner. I would (with your permission) get Hofmeyr [G. R.] to write to old members and say an application has been made by one member (not mentioning your name unless you authorize it) to publish a fair and impartial account of the proceedings with summaries of speeches, and to ask whether they have any objection to such publication if Hofmeyr, after perusing the MS., considers it fair and impartial. This would be a bar on garbled accounts, which I am afraid will yet appear and do mischief. Some members prefer absolute silence for a generation, but perhaps we could deal with the matter according to my proposal. Let me know what you think. Yours sincerely,

J. C. S.

The only vacancy in the Medical Council that I know of has been filled by the appointment of [Dr A. H.] Watkins, M.L.A., at Jameson's personal request to me.

¹ Sir Edgar H. Walton's *The Inner History of the National Convention* was published in 1912.

508 From C. P. Crewe

Vol. 9, no. 9

Personal

Norfolk Hotel
Church Street
Pietermaritzburg
17 August 1911

Dear Smuts, I have not heard that you received my unworthy remarks on your defence proposals. Did you get them? I hope your silence does not indicate that my perhaps somewhat blunt way of stating views is resented, because I know I often am brusque but nothing more than kindly criticism and appreciation of your kindness in sending me your outline was meant. I have been doing a journey through the Native territories just lately and the progress made by the Native gives one food for reflection. It is amazing to see the changed conditions since 1903, just eight years only. It all shows that we have to face the fact that in another twenty-five years or less the Native will have acquired so much knowledge that he will concentrate his efforts on an endeavour to secure the franchise, and we must prepare for that. I have thought that we must meet that by extending the Council system¹ and giving them in their own defined areas as much local control as possible, defining also European areas in which no Native may acquire land and perhaps later allowing a conference of delegates of Native councils to elect a limited number of European members to Parliament to represent Native interests, keeping the white franchise thus separate. It is a very important question.

Pardon the friendly comment on your Government's administrative actions. I think you are centralizing too quickly, the complaints all over are loud and numerous. I would say, go slow, leaving the former officials in each centre like this as much power to prevent friction resulting from centralization as possible. Your colleague of Smithfield² puzzles one immensely, his speeches are so different in the places he goes to! One gets fogged a little! And I see his love for the pressman who unfortunately has to report him is not very apparent or extravagant. Natal is not in love with the members from these parts who joined you, they have fallen between two stools,

¹ The reference is to the system of local government which originated in the Glen Grey District under Act No. 25 of 1894.

² J. B. M. Hertzog.

namely, the Natal Independent separate lot and the Unionists; both dislike them. Kind regards, Yours sincerely,

C. P. Crewe

509 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 9, no. 34

c/o Sebastie Reali, Bankers
20 Piazza di Spagna
Roma

8 September 1911

My dear Oom Jannie, Women, it is said, always change their minds. I do not think the accusation particularly true and when it *is* true it would usually be found that what has changed is the *circumstances* and not the woman. Anyhow whether you agree or not with my view, custom formed upon that untrue saying has made it allowable for woman to change her mind.

This preamble is to prevent you thinking that since writing to you some two weeks ago I have changed my mind, but to inform you that circumstances or my apprehension of them have changed and so I feel, dear Oom Jannie, that it would be best if I accepted in modified form the friendly and thoughtful offer of help you made me.

I have found that in spite of every care the expenses of this illness and having to live in Florence will run me very near, too near, the edge of my income, and if I had a little more background in my Bank, even if not touched it would help *very* much and make me feel more secure. If you would then lend me £50 at 6 per cent. (which I believe is your Transvaal percentage) and place the same to my account at the Standard Bank, Pretoria, it would enable me to draw out at need, soon, all I have there which I cannot otherwise do.

I would send you a written paper promising to repay before the end of 1912 with the £3 interest which would have accrued and then *I* should not feel I had done you and yours any harm and *you* could feel you had done me a great service. I will also write a note to that effect and put with my will in case of death. So I think you would be safe. With some measure of health next year, I have plans to make money, *in my way*, which is by saving it. I could probably let my Roman flat for a good sum and go myself to live in a place I hear of which is very cheap,

provided I am strong enough. Also next year if my brain works again I can earn something by writing. Thus you see I am full of plans and there is every prospect that your money would safely come back to you.

It is indeed a most brotherly offer on your part and one that I do not feel able to ask of my own brother just now, as he has unusual expenses this year also with a son going to Oxford. I also have special family calls upon me this year. But it will all come right when I am stronger. Best love and thanks from

E. H.

510 Lord de Villiers to G. R. Hofmeyr **Vol. 9, no. 12**

This is a copy sent by G. R. Hofmeyr to Smuts.

Wynberg House
Wynberg
[Cape Town]
17 September 1911

My dear Hofmeyr, I quite agree with you that it would not be advisable for any member of the Convention to publish a summary of speeches made at the different meetings without some certificate that the account is fair and impartial. The only question is by whom should such a certificate be given. The proper person would obviously be the President of the Convention but I must confess that I have neither the time nor the inclination to enter into a careful scrutiny of such a work. Still I would like to have the opportunity of looking over it before it goes forth to the world. If you are prepared to do the work of minute scrutiny there would be two courses open. Either the publication should be subject to your formal certificate, it being understood that before your formal certificate is given my approval should be obtained, or the publication should be subject to my formal certificate it being understood that before my certificate is given you should scrutinize the work and report to me favourably thereon.

The latter course would, as I have said, be the more correct one but I would be quite prepared to consider the advisability of the first. Believe me, Yours sincerely,

de Villiers

511 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 9, no. 36

Florence
9 October 1911

Dear dear Oom Jannie, What am I to say ? What am I to do ? Your generosity is so overwhelming and so startling and in spite of what I have written I do not like to send this cheque back to you because I can't bear to vex you, and you say it is a 'joy' to send it. But remember you have three very costly things to prey upon your resources (far ampler than mine though they be as you say) and these three things are Family, Farm, Fame. Hence I cannot feel otherwise than that you have done this generous thing at personal sacrifice and if that makes it the harder to accept it also makes it more precious, when I recollect the feeling that prompted it.

It will make me feel quite easy about continuing my cure as long as the doctor thinks I shall profit by it, and it will enable me to get some air, for which I crave, but did not feel able to afford myself.

But why do you call him a 'Quack' and an 'American Quack'? He is neither. He is an Italian educated at the best Medical School (Bologna) in the country where he did so brilliantly that he was appointed Chief Medical Officer in the Navy. It was a brilliant position but he threw it up because he fell in love, and they are not allowed to marry. The girl was American but he won her and now they live in Florence and have three little children. He established an Institute here to work out his medical ideas which are quite original, hence the old-fashioned doctors are jealous, but people are coming to him from all over the world and the jealous doctors are beginning to copy his methods and his medicines. He has extraordinary skill in applying modern mechanical and electrical instruments to bodily needs. His inhaling machines are simple but wonderful in their effects. Electricity pumps air into a large cylinder, the compressed air passes through the iodine or other liquid necessary in a bottle and boils it and the fumes from this pass into a tube the end of which, terminating in a glass mask, the patient holds over mouth and nose. Two months inhaling thus fumes of iodine has reduced my heart to half its size, for iodine is a specific for rendering arteries elastic and for liquefying

viscous blood. Then carbonic acid baths are doing me extraordinary good. In the surrounding mountains are stored large quantities of carbonic acid, so he gets it easily. The Ancient Romans who knew most things were aware of its use in heart trouble and had a great establishment for baths nearby. What didn't the Ancient Romans know? He is perhaps mostly for hearts and lungs but excels also in the treatment of diabetics, for which I am trying to get my sister out from England since she suffers much from that. He cures asthma like magic, that is why I *long* to see Olive Schreiner under him, *and* he is far cheaper than English doctors are.

So you see he is no Quack but a highly diploma-d doctor, very up-to-date, though deeply imbued also with the knowledge of the very learned herb-loving doctors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

So you imagine you are going to slide gradually into the background, satisfied with having completed Union! You dream of a peaceful country life and teaching your daughters and writing a history of your great Campaign. I fear me if you took to the bucolic life you would always be half asleep from the effect of much open air and your brain would not work. However that may be, you and Botha can't retire until you see others coming on competent to take your places.

Have you read Norman Angell's *The Great Illusion*? You should do so.

I am hoping to send Mrs Smuts some seeds for her garden and *stoep* by this mail if possible. Your spring is already here and they must be sown very soon, at once. Dear Oom Jannie my love and a thousand thanks, Yours ever affectionately,

Emily Hobhouse

PS. You know I was *nearly* dead in June and July. He said my heart had only a few weeks left to run when I came here on 1 August, or I should have taken to my bed and had to stay there for ever, as Florence Nightingale has done for close on fifty years. She died recently at 94, having lived all that time since just after the Crimean War in bed and sofa—like me, from an *enlarged heart*, which only specialists—such as in her day were rare—can reduce to a normal size. See what gratitude I must then feel for Carloni's skill and towards you who help me to secure it.

512 To M. T. Steyn

Vol. 99, no. 61

Department of the Interior

Pretoria

24 November 1911

Hooggeachte President, Een copie van het Verdedigings ontwerp is U van mijn departement verzonden. De bygaande toelichting zet het schema verstaanbaarder uiteen; ik zal echter blij zijn als U het ontwerp zelf wil lezen daar het vollediger is. Eenige wenken zullen dankbaar ontvangen worden. Steeds uw toegenegen

J. C. Smuts

Department of the Interior

Pretoria

24 November 1911

Honoured President, A copy of the Defence Bill has been sent to you from my Department. The accompanying explanation sets out the scheme more intelligibly; but I should be glad if you would read the Bill itself as it is more detailed. Any suggestions will be gratefully received. Yours ever sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

513 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 9, no. 89

Pretoria

4 December 1911

This will reach you as you are approaching Christmas-time and I therefore write you and Margaret a line of good wishes, which are not of the usual formal sort but really come from the bottom of my heart. And especially do I send my best wishes to my little namesake who now sees his first Christmas but will I sincerely hope live to see many of them and will in his own life learn to appreciate the good tidings of great joy associated with the occasion.

I have not heard from you for some time and no wonder as I have so seldom written to you. However you both know that the heart remains warm with the liveliest interest and sympathy even when little opportunity is found for expression on paper. There are few friends in the world of whom my wife and

myself speak as often as of you and that most precious friend who has lain crippled so long in Rome. I am very glad to hear from her that the special treatment at Florence is doing her good and that she is walking short distances. We hope yet to see her back in South Africa among the hearts that beat so warmly for her.

And how is Millfield getting on ? I hope they are all doing very well and that Miss Alice especially is getting stronger.

English politics is very kaleidoscopic ; you have been on the brink of a great war¹ and we here knew nothing of it all. Why England should be so anxious to get embroiled with Germany passes my understanding. The result of a war will be the greatest disaster to civilization in a hundred years. But I fail to fathom the situation and, thank goodness, it is over for the present.

Tell Margaret it is very pretty at Doornkloof and ask her to bring you out here and take you to all the interesting points in this interesting land.

514 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 9, no. 86

Department of the Interior
Pretoria
4 December 1911

My dear Wolstenholme, I am afraid you will begin to consider my daughters better correspondents than myself, so long has been the silence I have preserved. Now however I may not delay writing as this will reach you as Christmas approaches and I am anxious—not conventionally but most sincerely, to wish you the compliments of the season. Many more of them to you—with improvement to your health and all the other good things in life. You are satisfied with very little indeed, and surely the gods might vouchsafe you that little.

Your books and papers have been coming on regularly to remind me of the warm heart in far-away Cambridge. By the way, have I ever thanked you for the photos ? They were indeed most welcome as they are very good and serve to remind us all of Uncle Henry. My wife wants me to bring you out when

¹ The second Moroccan crisis, June–November 1911, had led to preparation for war in Great Britain.

next I go to England, but I am rather dubious about the matter.

I have been very busy all the time since Parliament adjourned last May. My Defence Bill at which I have *inter alia* been working very hard has just been published, and has had a favourable reception from the press. Then I have been slogging away at numerous other undertakings which will entail more trouble when Parliament meets again next January.

English politics is becoming a mystery to me. We have been on the verge of a great war with Germany, and all about nothing so far as I can make out. Why are English statesmen so little averse to getting embroiled with Germany? It is so unnecessary and useless, and war will mean one of the greatest calamities to Western civilization. The international situation all over the world is most disquieting. Perhaps the world will calm down when it reads my Defence Bill!

Well, dear friend, a merry Christmas and happy New Year to you—and a pinch of that wise philosophy which goes a long way in life. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

515 From M. T. Steyn

Vol. 9, no. 75

Privaat

Onzerust

9 December 1911

Zeer geachte generaal en vriend, Hartlik dank voor uw brief en voor de concept verdedigings wet. Tot mijn spijt heb ik de wet nog niet behoorlik kunnen bestuderen, maar zover ik die heb doorgezien kan ik mij aansluiten bij die vele lofuitingen die U toegestroomd zijn van alle kanten. Ik wil dit nog bijvoegen dat m.i. er slechts een hoofd en brein in Z.A. is die die wet heeft kunnen leveren en dat is de uwe. Veel zal afhangen hoe die wet zal uitgevoerd worden. Daarvan zal sukses of non-sukses afhangen. Het zal vermetel van mij zijn om te kritiseren maar ik wil alleen 'n paar aanmerkingen maken alleen omdat u mij gevraagd heeft zulks te doen.

De kadetten denk ik kan gerust weggelaten worden. De eisen van de studie zullen het niet toelaten, sport gaat nu reeds met te veel tijd weg. Wij moeten niets doen die de studie van de jeugd zal storen want wij hebben reeds tegen 'n verslappende

klimaat te strijden. Het kadetten systeem zal het militarisme aankweken, iets dat m.i. noodlottig is voor 'n volk en meer zal bijdragen om goede landsverdediging te verzwakken.

U houd m.i. de Unie leger en de Imperiale troepen niet altijd duidelijk genoeg van elkander, b.v. De Koninklijke Marine Reserve zal gemakkelijk 'n bron van moeilijkheid voor de Minister en zelfs voor de regering kunnen worden. *Sap. verb. sat.*

Met de loting kan ik ook niet geheel meegaan. Ik begrijp dat het ingevoerd is om rede van finantiele konsideraties. Daar komt men moeilijk voorbij. Toch heb ik liever de oude Republikeinse plan gezien nl. dat ieder weerbare man tussen 16 en 23 oefeningen moeten ondergaan en dat hij dan verplicht zal zijn om zelf voor 14 dagen mond provisie te zorgen en ook voor paard zadel en toom als hij in de ruitery wil gaan. Niemand moet het recht hebben zich los te kopen. Ieder burger moet weten dat breek 'n oorlog uit dat hij zal moeten uittrekken. Dit zal alle jingoisme de nek inslaan en de 'fat contract brigade' voorzichtig maken. Het volk zelf zal het meer zelfstandig maken. Ieder man wordt gedisciplineerd, iets dat ons als 'n volk niet kwaad maar wel goed zal doen.

Deze zijn slechts 'n paar vluchtige gedachte die bij mij opgekomen zijn. De wet zelf heb ik nog niet behoorlijk gelezen. Ik zal zulks eerstdaags doen. Ik zend U bovenstaande aanmerkingen voor wat zij waard moge zijn, Met hartlikste groeten van huis to huis verblijf ik, uw vriend

M. T. Steyn

TRANSLATION

Onzerust
9 December 1911

My dear General and Friend, Hearty thanks for your letter and for the draft Defence Bill. To my regret I have not yet been able to study the Bill properly, but, as far as I have perused it, I can join in the many praises that have been showered on you from all sides. I would also add that, in my opinion, there is only one head and brain in South Africa that could have produced this Bill and that is yours. Much will depend on how the law is carried out. Success or non-success will depend on that. It would be presumptuous of me to

criticize but I wish to make a few remarks only because you have asked me to do so.

I think the cadets can safely be omitted. Study demands will not permit it; sport already takes too much time. We must do nothing that will disturb the studies of young people for already we have to combat a relaxing climate. The cadet system will foster militarism—a thing which I regard as fatal for a people, and will help to weaken national defence.

I think you do not always keep the Union army and the Imperial troops clearly enough separated; for instance, the Royal Marine Reserve can easily become a source of trouble for the Minister and even for the Government. *Sap. verb. sat.*

Nor can I altogether agree about the drawing of lots. I understand that it has been introduced because of financial considerations. It is hard to get past that. Still, I should have preferred to see the old Republican plan, namely, that every able-bodied man between 16 and 23 must undergo exercises and that he should then be obliged to provide his own food for fourteen days and also horse, saddle and bridle if he wants to go into the cavalry. Nobody should have the right to buy himself out. Every citizen must know that, if war breaks out, he will have to turn out. This will knock any jingoism on the head and make the fat contract brigade careful. It will make the people themselves more self-reliant. Every man is disciplined—something that will do us as a people not harm but good.

These are only a few passing thoughts that have occurred to me. I have not yet read the Bill itself properly. I shall do so soon. I send you the above remarks for what they may be worth. With the heartiest greetings from house to house, I am,
Your friend,

M. T. Steyn

516 To M. T. Steyn

Vol. 99, no. 62

Department of the Interior
Pretoria

23 December 1911

Hooggeachte President, Hartelijk dank voor uwe opmerkingen op de Verdedigingsontwerp, welke ik zeer op prijs stel. U hebt natuurlijk uw vinger op de moeilijke punten gelegd en ik

verwacht vele discussies in 't parlement daarover. Ik ben bereid nieuw licht daarop te verwelkomen. Ik heb mijn best gedaan geen verwarring in 't bevel te krijgen, en U zal zien dat de Marine Reserve onder de vloot autoriteiten staan en niet onder de Unie Regeering. Alle andere afdeelingen staan direct en onbeperkt onder bevel van de officieren der Unie.

Hartelijk dank voor de groote steun die ik steeds van U ontvangen heb in de verdedigingssaak. Het is duidelijk dat uwe speeches van tijd tot tijd er veel toe hebben bijgedragen om 't plichtbesef by het volk levendig te maken.

Ik wensch U en Mevr. Steyn een heerlijke Xmis en Nieuw Jaar. Wij vergaan hier van de hitte. Steeds getrouw de uwe

J. C. Smuts

TRANSLATION

Department of the Interior
Pretoria

23 December 1911

Dear President, Hearty thanks for your remarks on the Defence Bill, which I value very much. You have, of course, put your finger on the difficult points and I expect much discussion in Parliament about them. I am prepared to welcome new light on them. I have done my best to avoid confusion in the command, and you will note that the Marine Reserve is subordinate to the fleet authorities and not under the Union Government. All other divisions are directly and without restriction under the command of the officers of the Union.

Sincere thanks for the great support that I have always received from you in the matter of Defence. It is clear that your speeches from time to time have contributed much towards awakening a sense of duty among the people.

I wish you and Mrs Steyn a delightful Christmas and New Year. Here we are dying of heat. Ever sincerely yours,

J. C. Smuts

517 From M. T. Steyn

Vol. 10, no. 73

Privaat en confidencieel

Onzerust

14 Januari 1912

Zeer Geachte Generaal en Vriend, Uw vertrouwelijk schrijven heb ik ontvangen alsook uwe vorige brief. Beiden had ik eerder

moeten beantwoorden doch sedert ik van Vryheid terug ben was ik niet heel wel en de hitte was bovendien zoo groot dat ik aan schrijven niets kon doen. De inhoud van uw laatste brief heeft mij groot genoegen gegeven daar ik volkomen met U instem dat Bloemfontein de geschikste middelpunt is voor het Militair College als ook voor een groot deel van de actieve legermacht. Wat de mannen door U genoemd betreft is het mij moeilijk daarover eenig oordeel te vellen daar ik geen een van hen persoonlijk goed ken en dus niet vooruit kan weten wat de geest is die zij in het College zal brengen. Maar daar zal U wel voor zorgen. Mijne redenen waarom ik ijvert om een deel van de 'Defence Force' te Bloemfontein te hebben wil ik niet neerschrijven maar heb die terloops met Generaal Botha besproken toen ik onlangs te Rusthof was. Hij zal het U waarschijnlijk mededeelen als hij de kwestie weer met U bespreekt.

Zoals U weet ben ik nogal optimistisch uitgevallen maar ik moet erkennen dat ik de eerste verkiezingen met bezorgdheid voor onze Regeering tegemoet zien. Want eene Regeering die reorganiseeren, 'retrench', en later misschien eene belasting moet leggen kan niet verwachten altijd populair te blijven. Het zou noodlottig zijn voor onze partij als er een verandering van regeering moet komen binnen de eerste tien jaar.

Het past ons dus om onze positie te versterken waar wij zulks kunnen doen op een rechtmatige wijze. Ik heb Hertzog gevraagd om hier een dag over te blijven om juist die punt met hem te bespreken maar ongelukkig had hij geen tijd. Van harte hoop ik dat de zitting van het Parlement niet al te lastig zal zijn en dat U allen met uw werk succes zal hebben. Met de hartelijkste groeten, Verblijf ik, Uw vriend

M. T. Steyn

TRANSLATION

Private and Confidential

Onzerust

14 January 1912

Dear General and Friend, I have received your confidential letter¹ as well as your former letter. I should have answered

¹ This letter is not among the Steyn Papers in the State Archives in Bloemfontein.

both sooner but, since I returned from Vryheid, I have not been very well; besides the heat was so great that I could do no writing. The contents of your last letter gave me great pleasure as I agree entirely with you that Bloemfontein is the most suitable centre for the Military College and also for a large part of the active forces. As regards the men named by you, it is difficult for me to pronounce any judgment as I am not well acquainted with any of them personally and thus cannot know beforehand what sort of spirit they will bring into the College. But you will surely see to that. I do not want to write down the reasons why I am working to have a part of the Defence Force at Bloemfontein, but discussed them in passing with General Botha when I was at Rusthof¹ recently. He will probably inform you of them when he again discusses the matter with you.

As you know I am inclined to optimism but I must admit that I view the first elections with anxiety for our Government. For a Government which reorganizes, retrenches, and may later have to levy a tax, cannot expect always to remain popular. It would be fatal for our party if a change of government were to come within the first ten years.

It behoves us therefore to strengthen our position where we can do so in a fair way. I asked Hertzog to stay over a day here to discuss this very point with him, but unfortunately he had no time. I sincerely hope that the parliamentary Session will not be too troublesome and that you will all be successful in your work. With heartiest greetings, I remain, Your friend,

M. T. Steyn

518 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 10, no. 98

Cape Town
31 January 1912

I was delighted to get the photos of mother and son. He seems to be a strong healthy animal and comes out very well in the photo . . .

I am still alone and am staying with the Bothas at Groote Schuur² but my wife and family will be here in a few days

¹ Botha's farm in the Standerton district, Transvaal.

² Official residence in Cape Town of the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. Formerly the house of C. J. Rhodes.

and then we go to the seaside at Muizenberg¹ where I have taken a house for some months. I am sure the little ones will enjoy themselves thoroughly, what with the sand and the water, shells and all the other curiosities of sea life. They are all very well but Santa, the eldest, looks pale now and I suppose all feel the heat which has been excessive in the Transvaal this year. The crops there have been mostly ruined by the great heat and drought—the latter almost unprecedented.

Parliament is sitting, so I am full of trouble. I have a large number of important Bills to introduce—most important and intricate the Defence Bill which I see has earned the blessing of your London *Times*, which makes me rather doubtful about it.

Things are interesting politically in England; I should not be surprised to see the Government there get into trouble this year—what with Home Rule,² Disestablishment³ and Universal Suffrage. Worst of all are these strikes which seem to show that our social and economic structure can no longer withstand the internal strains and pressures. I am very glad to hear Alice is improving so well. Remember me to her and the other friends at Millfield and give some kisses for me to little Jannie.

519 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 10, no. 104

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge
15 March 1912

My dear Smuts, Your MS.⁴ arrived all right last Saturday. It is a matter of wonderment to me how you can have got through the work of putting it together, in the very scanty leisure left to you by your official work. I have not been able yet to do more than look through the preface and the synopsis of the whole. But there are already two things about which I am pretty clear. First, I think you will be well advised to regard your book in its present first form simply as a rough draft to be kept by you for alteration, expansion and above all for

¹ Near Cape Town.

² The extension of a measure of self-government to Ireland.

³ The disestablishment of the Welsh Church.

⁴ *An Inquiry into the Whole*.

greater precision and definiteness both of thought and expression, while you read what others have written on the same subjects, and compare notes with them. I do not think it would be at all a good plan to publish first a general, undeveloped and unmatured outline, preparatory to a more definite and detailed work. Don't go before the public before you have the best and ripest of which you are capable to put before them.

Secondly, I feel that I am not the person to help you, by sympathy with your general methods and tendencies, your trend of thought, to give to your ideas the most advantageous and satisfactory form. Any discussion between us would necessarily take the form chiefly of controversy as to the very methods and bases of philosophy. If you have had time to read my short paper on Bergson—it contains some quite brief but significant indications of my own philosophical position—you will have already seen this. I have no belief in any 'intuition' beyond what is recognized by psychologists under perception—in its widest sense, as 'immediate awareness', exterior and interior—and conceptual judgment or reason. Your method is that of speculative metaphysics, and runs riot—like Bergson's—in the 'hypostatization of abstracts', which to me is *Anathema Maranatha*.¹ The idea of the whole as more and other than a mere aggregation of parts is quite familiar to current thought; only something really original, or a specialistic study illustrative of and tending to prove a formulation of it would have any chance of finding an interested public. And your 'Holism' is but one presentation of a metaphysical neo-vitalism, similar to but still bolder than that of Driesch, which is now being a good deal discussed, but has little chance of being accepted in any metaphysical form. I myself have nothing but a big ? for metaphysical systems which do not rest on a previous careful psychological study of the human mind, with its necessary limitations, which leads to an epistemology that cuts off beforehand all possibility of reaching metaphysical absolutes, in place of categories or 'regulative ideas' as practical means of organizing such knowledge as is accessible to the human mind.

Your synopsis shows certain points with which I fully agree, and I find especially in your views of ethics a good deal with

¹ Terribly accursed. See *1 Corinthians* xvi. 22.

which my own would be in *substantial* harmony, but what I have already said would also hold good here to a large extent. I should aim at keeping speculation out as far as possible; my ethics would be as un-metaphysical as I could make them. Your philosophizing on the other hand is essentially metaphysical from the outset. I hold by 'science' and scientific method; but I mean by science *all knowledge*, however apprehended, whether through outer or inner perception, *including perception of values* (science, above the mathematical and physical, which excludes these, seems to me a false and mischievous abstraction), and my 'scientific method' would aim at the ideal of exactness, order and harmony, as great as the subject-matter admits of, not simply in the sphere which so-called science marks out for itself, as 'nature', or 'what is' as contrasted with 'what ought to be', but in all that is 'knowledge' to the human mind. And a corollary to this is, that 'there is no knowledge but knowledge', the man of science, in this true sense of *Wissenschaft*, being its prophet.

Perhaps I ought to have waited until I had read further in your MS. before writing some of the above. I am afraid I cannot get on very quickly with it, but you will I suppose be for some months too much occupied with official work to be able to give time to philosophical work. Yours sincerely,

H. J. Wolstenholme

520 Chapter of Book

Box A

Chapter II (pp. 22-38) of a typescript entitled *An Inquiry into the Whole*, with marginal comments and marks by H. J. Wolstenholme. The typescript has been corrected by Smuts and consists of thirteen chapters and a Prefatory Note, in which the book is described as an 'unpretentious essay'. Wolstenholme's comments appear on the first three chapters only.

The Smuts Collection also contains the original MS. of Chapters I to VIII, together with a folder of notes and two other copies of the typescript.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEA OF THE WHOLE

On the threshold of our inquiry we are met with some fundamental questions, such as:

- 1st. Is there a Whole, either conceptually or existentially ?
If so, how can it be defined or explained ?
- 2nd. Is the Whole (if it can be said to exist) knowable, and how ?

Both these questions will have to be answered in the affirmative, if the line of study on which we have now embarked is to lead to useful results. These two questions are to some extent interdependent, for if we have reason for saying that there is a Whole, we shall have to be able to say that it is also knowable. On the other hand, if the whole is not in some sense knowable, it would be meaningless to say that it exists. They are, however, not the same, and it would therefore be better to deal with them as far as possible separately.

What then is the Whole ? In a rough and general way we may begin by saying that the Whole includes whatever is, the entire universe, material and immaterial, whether considered as an outward visible system, filled with motions and energies, or as containing the infinite phenomena of life and mind ; the Whole includes the totality of being or experience both actual and possible ; in short, whatever is, either to the inner or outer experience of man. Whatever objects, material or immaterial, form the subject matters of the various sciences from physics to psychology, fall within the Whole, although as we shall see they do not exhaust the meaning of the Whole.

The Whole is the All, but not in an arithmetical sense. We shall not arrive at the Whole by adding up all the items of existence. It is not a sum total of Being or Experience. It includes all this, but much more, and it is just that more that makes the difference for the conception of the Whole. A mere summation leads to a mere mechanical totality, which is no Whole at all, as we saw in the preceding Chapter. If proceeding on strict mechanical principles we could arrive at an idea or general concept of the aggregate of all that is in the universe, we should still have a mere barren result, incapable of throwing any light on our question. If we add together in the most perfect order all the dead cells of a dissected corpse, we shall be no whit nearer the living organism. If we had the mental vision, our object would be to penetrate to that concept of the Whole, which is no mere aggregation or sum total or compound

of parts, but which is itself one and indivisible, a real vital organic unity of which the multiplicities of the universe are not the constituent parts, but the aspects, phenomena or manifestations. That is the ideal before us; I do not say that we shall realize it or that it is realizable at all. Perhaps in that form our problem is capable only in a very modified sense of any solution at all. But it would be valuable to see in how far we could approach the ideal and reach some positive content of the Whole in this sense.

Let us now proceed to try and form some idea of the Whole in this sense of an inward organic unity of the universe as distinguished from an aggregate of parts or entities external to each other. We may proceed either psychologically, cosmologically or epistemologically. We shall adopt all three courses and see what results we are in any of these cases led to.

The psychological procedure consists in first exploring the way by which the human mind differentiates its experience into a multiplicity of objects and fills the universe with the vast variety of things, and secondly and especially, in reversing this process and establishing a regress from this multiplicity to unity.

How do we build up our subjective experience so that it ultimately forms a system of knowledge of the objects which confront us and our ideas as an External World? To answer this question fully would be to write a treatise on psychology. We shall confine ourselves to emphasizing briefly certain salient features of our psychological process.

The old association psychology started in the approved mechanical manner of physical science by assuming certain isolated or separated bits of experience in the shape of percepts or concepts which were then compounded together according to certain laws of association into a firm and coherent system of knowledge. The atomism of chemistry was quietly but effectively transferred to psychology, the perceptual or conceptual elements of knowledge were pieced together, and the world of experience was explained. In this way psychology built up a knowledge of the external world in the same mechanical manner in which the natural sciences investigated the laws of nature. Psychology became an appendage of natural science, and the same analytical mechanical method was

applied to the phenomena of nature and the epiphenomena of mind. Deeper consideration of the problems of psychology has, however, led to the discarding of this simple abstract analytical way of viewing the origin of knowledge. Today most psychologists are agreed that the mind does not start from zero or blank and then proceed to add up the atoms of sensation and perception so as to form the complex compounds of experience. They assume that there is to begin with a diffuse undifferentiated continuum of experience, which most probably dates from before the birth of the child. From this matrix or protoplasm of vague diffuse experience are then gradually differentiated or concentrated the individual sensations, feelings and conations of the infant mind. The vast post-natal experience of the individual gradually enriches this primordial continuum and by the specific reactions of mind the differentiations proceed until on the one hand all the manifold objects of the External World are formed and on the other the inner world of the subject self, the world of the will and the emotions, the spiritual world, stands revealed in all its richness and complexity. The processes of this differentiating development are traced in works on psychology and need not detain us here. Our point is that the correct psychological view traces the

Marginal comment: Some organization and the subj.-obj. relation must be pre-supposed from the beginning. Cf. Höffding *D.u. Gedanke I.A. Psych. Energie*.¹

growth of the universe with all its infinite contents from a single undifferentiated continuum, a primordial unity, which embraces both subject and object, and all the variety of contents of both subjective and objective realms which is subsequently developed from it. From that one taproot or stem has proceeded all the infinite efflorescence of experience, which constitutes the universe for us.

Now let us in imagination reverse this process. Let us conceive once more the continuum with which we started, but this time not poor and vague, but enriched with all the after experience of the individual. We shall then have all the subsequent formations and concretions of experience redissolved and held in solution in this mother substance of experience.

¹ *Denke und Gedanke* by Harald Höffding.

We shall have one indivisible experience which will include the

Marginal comment: I can put no meaning into this, it gives me no realizable concept.

external physical world of energy as well as the internal world of mind and spirit—not as separate lobes or compartments, but in one undifferentiated homogeneous continuum. We shall have a Whole which in its indivisible unity is both spiritual and material and which is capable in its organic evolutions of producing or actualizing all that is in the realms of human experience. In that solution the material and the conscious will be one; whatever there is of matter will be conscious through and through; whatever there is of consciousness will be indivisibly one with the material. The Whole will be neither the one nor the other (as they both involve finite separateness or evolvedness) but will so equally and homogeneously involve both that its organic development will equally actualize both.

We have now shown how the idea of the Whole may be approached without resorting to any method of mechanical aggregation; and the Whole thus reached is not of a mechanical character. It is a single Whole with the capacity of organic growth latent in it; and in its growth it will constitute the experience both inner and outer which forms the object and subject worlds. Nor can it be said that this result has been reached in an artificial or fanciful manner. For we have simply shown how in the process of mental development the unity which underlies the Whole develops into the manifold which forms the parts of experience. By expelling the element of time and compressing the experience of the individual into one

Marginal comment: Very much 'as it were', it seems to me!

Marginal comment: Much more study of psychology wanted—e.g. Ward's *Encl. Britt.* article, Stout's *Manual*,¹ and Höffding's last book.

Marginal comment: The concepts of modern science are pure hypotheses as tools for its purpose, and lay no claim to metaphysical validity, as indicating the nature of the real.

single moment, as it were, we become aware of that unity which in the process of Time is spread out into almost infinite detail. The psychological origin of the world is strong testimony

¹ *Manual of Psychology* by G. F. Stout.

to that living Whole of experience which is the concept we are in search of. Let us now see whether it is not possible to reach this concept by cosmological reasoning.

As in psychology we start with an evolving process—that of experience—so in the realm of nature we start with the assumption of an evolving process as underlying the phenomena that confront us on all hands. We find as apparently the oldest part of the universe those purely material or physical elements or aspects of nature which are now being more and more reduced to modes of motion of infinitesimally small centres of energy. The visible material aspect is of course not an inherent quality of these centres of energy, but is due to their reaction on the physiological medium of the observing subject. However difficult and perhaps impossible it may be for us ultimately to probe the real nature and constitution of matter, it is clear that the ideas of motion and energy represent that nature and constitution better than any others. And so far as our terrestrial imagination can go back, we can only

Marginal comment: What is motion without things that move?

conceive of the primordial world as an aggregation of centres of motion capable of doing work. So long as we shall not be able to resolve the concept of motion into something still simpler, we shall have to look upon the world through scientific eyes as centres of motion which externally influence each other. How this motion has evolved, where it has come from, we

Marginal comment: I can just as easily think of a continuum of 'grins without the cat'. (*Alice in Wonderland*).

cannot conceive. It is of course possible that motion may originally have been diffused as a sort of continuum throughout space and may under circumstances unknown to us have condensed into centres of motion in somewhat the same way as later the nebular stuff is supposed to have condensed into planetary systems. But motion itself seems primordial.

Now let us pass on through the countless ages while vast cosmic changes were going on and let us consider the next great step in the evolution of the terrestrial universe. We have just seen that our centres of motion or energy had only external effects on each other; what was going on inside the centres it

was so far impossible to make out. But now after this lapse of the ages, let us look once more into the centres of motion and what do we find? An inward character has developed; inside the centres of motion a new agency, life, has appeared. While the total amount of motion remains unaffected by this new factor, it has the effect of grouping centres of motion into certain collocations or primitive organisms which have an entirely novel character of their own. These organisms have the power so to make use of the motions of the collocated centres as to perform certain functions and achieve certain ends which constitute an entire revolution in the realm of motion. In fact, inside motion life has evolved. Its relation to motion

Marginal mark: !

is quite unknown. It appears to be a sort of new creation, so entirely different is it from motion, so much more than mere motion. It is not a negation of motion, or hostile to it, but quite superior to it, simply using motion as a means to achieve its own ends. Here too it is possible that life may have been

Marginal comment: What is life apart from living things? Life isn't a substance!

diffused as a vital continuum throughout the universe of motion, and under certain conditions now unknown to us this life continuum may have condensed into centres of life and appeared in minute organisms. Indeed it is conceivable that under certain conditions this process of vital condensation may

Marginal comment: Condensation of the 'saccharinity' before there is any sugar!

be even now going on in the sea. It is not probable that it was introduced to this planet *ab extra*, for its character is one of immanence, of inwardness to motion or matter. It is probable that the beginnings of the biological process inside the movement of the centres of energy may be so minute and obscure that they will never be understood by us. But by infinitely slow and gradual processes life did ultimately appear inside motion, and this mysterious factor in terrestrial evolution has steadily moved forward until it has covered the face of the entire earth.

And now, in the inward development of the world a new

factor appeared inside life again, namely conscious mind. Mind is as much an advance on life as life is on motion, and yet at this stage the process becomes more intelligible in proportion as it approached the (to us) better known realm of mind. How life developed inside motion is indeed inconceivable, but we are near enough to the later stage to be able to conceive how mind has developed inside life; and indeed the gradations of the process are so numerous as almost to form a continuous chain with only a missing link here and there. Mind is not a negation or in opposition to either life or motion; indeed it is in complete accord with both; but it is also entirely superior to both and uses both for the attainment of its conscious ends. When we passed from motion to life, we passed from absolute dominion or slavery into a realm where a certain limited autonomy obtained. When however we pass from life to

Marginal comment: of possible growth of freedom.

conscious mind we pass into a world of freedom. We need not characterize mind further at this stage.

We now see what the inward nature of the evolutionary process has been. From external spatial motion we have passed to inward non-spatial life and from there to still more non-spatial inward spiritual mind.

It is important to note that the development which we have now seen is not an outward or external but an inward process. Nature has not started from a material base on which other developments have grown. It is not an outer but an inner development, not an epigenesis but an endogenesis which has

Marginal comment: endogenesis is practically equal to 'pre-formation'. Cf. Ward, *R. of Ends*.¹ Ch.V.

taken place and has given us an insight into the nature of the world process. Nature proceeds not from the lower to the higher but from the external to the internal, and the further the process goes the more of the inward character is revealed. It is not the external mechanical material, but the inward character of life and mind which show us the real nature and potency of the Whole. If we wish to penetrate to the real

¹ *The Realm of Ends* by James Ward.

secret we must pierce the external shell of the material and investigate the inner activities and characters that have developed inside that shell. Though it is conceivable that the vital or mental stuff is still very sparsely diffused throughout the

Marginal mark: !

material aspects or motions of the universe, we have no reason to say that this is so; this part of the universe seems drained and desiccated of the life and mind sap which possibly once circulated through it. The world process has conceivably concentrated this sap in convenient centres in order the better to create potentials of growth and evolution.

As long as the world process is rolled out before us in time, we are unable at any point or over any period of time to see more than a section of the whole process. To reach the idea of the Whole by this cosmological reasoning, let us therefore once more eliminate the element of time; let us concentrate the process into a point of time, and we shall reach practically the same result as was reached before by psychological reasoning. We attain once more to the idea of the Whole as comprising the All, but in one organic vital union as distinct from a mechanical summation. We see the Whole as containing all that is given us in the outer and inner universe as a living unity capable of infinite development. We do not reach a merely formal empty

Marginal comment: These formulations are as unrealizable to my mind, as having 'meaning', as the Christian Trinity. The problem of the One and the Many, in any such form as this, seems to me (as Ward was inclined to think, many years ago) absolutely insoluble by the human mind.

idea of the Whole—a logical concept devoid of meaning and content. The Whole we have reached by both the psychological and cosmological processes has all the fullness of the concrete universe, and all the unity and simplicity of an ideal thought-construction blended into one. The Many are contained and held in the One, not mechanically, not added together in their separateness, but as it were in solution, all their separateness swallowed up in the one indivisible Whole. And while that Whole contains transmuted in this indissoluble union the entire material universe, its real inner nature is shown by those

characters which have become ever more conspicuous in the process of evolution, the non-spatial, inward, spiritual charac-

Marginal comment: Here are all the contradictions of Bradley's 'Absolute'.

ters of life and mind. The Whole is not merely an indivisible unity, but contains transmuted and swallowed up in that unity all the richness and variety of Experience, the vast aggregations of the natural universe, the endless teeming life of this and other globes, and the inner world of thought and emotion and aspiration of the human spirit. It is the organic unity, which in its unique implicitness contains all these elements merged.

It may however be argued that, although the psychological and cosmological processes of reasoning above resorted to supply us with the contents of the idea of the Whole, yet the idea of unity itself which is of the essence of the Whole was not really thus given, and was above rather artificially reached by the assumption of a regress from the process of experience and evolution and the elimination of the element of time. If there is any force in this objection, we shall now proceed to remove this defect, and try to reach the element of unity which is essential to the Whole by the epistemological argument. This argument reaches unity simply by making it a precondition of all experience; it shows that neither the psychological nor the cosmological process could be thought possible unless underlying both there were a fundamental unity of experience. Let us now proceed briefly to indicate the steps of this argument.

What is the material out of which the human subject constructs his knowledge of the world? Simply and solely the stream of sensations, feelings and conations or volitions which succeed each other in endless succession and variety through the mind of the subject. In this endless process there is no constancy except that of change, each item of experience lasts but a moment and leaves behind only a vague memory, which itself disappears to make way for some other item of experience. To the subjective experience of the individual, which is the immediate source of our knowledge, the universe appears simply in a phenomenal, transitory, evanescent flux, with no enduring reality behind it. To explain how out of these flux

elements, these ephemeral unsubstantial subjective phenomena, there arise or can arise the unchanging laws of the moral and material universe, the grand constancy of the processes of nature and that objective reality which the mind posits as the substratum of all this subjective phenomenalism—this is the great problem of all metaphysics. We have to show how out of this chaos of the subjective consciousness—not to sink into the abyss of individualistic solipsism—but to find a high road to the realm of the universally valid, of enduring law, and of moral freedom. We have to trace the steps by which experience rises from its turbid sources to a clear knowledge of the Universal and the Necessary, which constitute the realm of nature. To do this here would require a treatise on metaphysics; let it suffice if we confine ourselves to indicating briefly the principal points in the argument.

In the first place underlying the multiplicity of subjective experience is the unity of internal consciousness which binds them all together in coherent series. Between the mental

Marginal comment: It is not clear to me what this means, and still less whether it is true.

phenomena themselves there is no connection of any kind; they simply form a flux of antecedents and consequents without any binding force *inter se*. The unity of the individual consciousness however supplies the necessary cement for all these *disjecta membra* of experience. As Kant has shown, the

Marginal comment: How many take this view now?

categories, of universality, of necessity, and of causality etc. are not derived or derivable from experience, but are intellectual forms or moulds of experience wherewith the mind is equipped in advance and which render the process of experience possible. Armed with these capacities of reacting on the chaotic materials of the senses, the indivisible unity of the

Marginal comment: Höffding will not admit that.

individual mind or soul organizes those materials and builds them up and unifies them into general concepts and general laws. Of course in actual practice the use of language and the social character of knowledge and education help this process

of the individual mind very materially. But as a matter of abstract argument it may be conceded that the individual mind is capable of evolving general concepts and general laws from its subjective experience. Without the unity of consciousness, without the existence of one single experiencing agent in each

Marginal comment: For mental science it is simply 'the psychological ego'.

individual as the source of all experiences, it would however be quite impossible to unify the chaos of experience and to educe a general and universal character from their haphazard and fickle origins. To explain experience for the individual we are bound to assume the existence of a single indivisible unity of experience, call it mind or soul or entelechy or whatever else we wish. Here, again, as we saw above in the case of the Whole, it is logically and epistemologically necessary (if we wish to explain the individual experience) to assume at least as an hypothesis, the existence of a single experiencing agent in the individual, even though it may be difficult to demonstrate the qualities of that agent. The data of experience being infinitely various and changeable, it is impossible to explain the actual unity which arises in knowledge except on the assumption of a unity of experience underlying those data. It seems a self-evident proposition that from multiplicity you cannot get to unity, unless the principle of unity was already implicitly contained in the multiplicity.

In the second place, however, not even the hypothesis of the single unity of experience in the individual mind or soul would explain the validity of our general concepts, and the formulation of universal laws of knowledge and nature. For the question arises, why should the general concepts and laws arrived at by mind A harmonize or be identical with those arrived at by mind B? From identical materials of experience A may arrive at one result and B at a totally different result unless their mental processes in arriving at the result were identical. We see in actual practice that true knowledge is universally valid—valid, that is to say for all sane minds. For all sane minds the multiplication table holds good and logical reasoning is sound. To explain this universal fact we must proceed a step further with our assumptions and hold, not only

that a unity of individual consciousness orders the material of experience for each individual, but further that the individual consciousness is not singular but universal; that (to use the language of Kant) there is a universal consciousness (*Bewusstsein überhaupt*) of which all cases of individual consciousness are fundamentally identical specimens. A, B, C and D all believe that 2 and 2 make 4, because their mental processes are identical; their individual consciousnesses are one in a more general consciousness. In other words, what appears to us individuals as mere subjective consciousness, is really in the light of the universal harmony of experience an objective consciousness; and this general or objective consciousness shows the same unity of character as the individual consciousness. The unity of objective consciousness is as much a

Marginal comment: How far does this extend beyond the material world? And what of the problem of error?

necessary presupposition of knowledge as is that of the individual subjective consciousness. Without both presuppositions the existence of general knowledge valid for all minds becomes impossible.

It seems to me however that not even these two assumptions make it possible to explain the full facts of experience; and we are compelled to make one other assumption in order to state all the implicated preconditions of universally valid knowledge. It is, for instance, conceivable that all minds may be in agreement on a point, and yet that they may all be wrong, that the view in which they all concur may be a delusion. Experience has to be viewed not only from the point of view of its subjects but also of its objects, and for the purpose of universally valid knowledge the harmony must exist not only between the experiencing subjects, but also and as much between these and the experienced objects. If an opinion generally entertained is

Marginal comment: Working postulates or regulative ideas are not metaphysical truths. They can be assumed only so far as they correspond to fact, and are justified by fact. Error and differences of experience are as patent facts as agreement as to what is knowledge.

falsified by the facts (as is so often the case) we are as far as ever from valid knowledge, however widely the erroneous opinion may be held. Universally valid knowledge involves not

only the agreement of different minds on the same facts, but the opinion in which they agree must also be the correct opinion, that is, must tally with the facts. In other words, the validity of knowledge presupposes an agreement between subject and object. Here then we reach the last and most far-reaching presupposition of universal experience. Besides the unity of individual consciousness, and the unity of all individual consciousness in a unity of objective consciousness, there must be a unity between consciousness and its objects. It is conceivable that the human mind on the one hand and the world of objects on the other may have been of such incompatible character that the one could not harmonize with the other, the one could not successfully read the other; and in that case valid knowledge, as distinct from mere general opinion, would have been unattained. If for instance the mind understands the character of the material world as being fundamentally reducible to motion, then the nature of matter must be such as (if not really motion) to be sufficiently correctly interpreted by motion. Otherwise there would be no common meeting ground for subject and object, and all knowledge would be illusory. But as a fact we find that our reading of the world is correct

Marginal comment: Whose?

or capable of being correct, that our concepts gathered from experience explain the processes of nature and often make it possible for us to anticipate with perfect assurance what is going to happen in the future. That being so, it is evident that subject and object are not only in relation but also in agreement; that

Marginal comment: Knowledge need not be absolute; it is a matter of degree. This is evident in the non-material world.

there is a deeper unity underlying both which explains how it is possible that in the meeting and coalescence of two such apparently diverse factors, universally valid results can be and are obtained. Knowledge is only possible on the basis of a unity of experience which embraces not merely the individual subject, nor merely all subjects, but also the entire objective universe. The harmonies of nature, the grand sweep of natural law throughout all time and all space, the great ideas and the vast syntheses of thought which embrace the interior spiritual world no less than the external visible universe, all have their

Marginal comment: Absolute chaos and absolute cosmos are not the only alternatives. The world certainly appears to be something between the two.

origin and find their last explanation in that ultimate unity which is the essence of the Whole and without which all the heterogeneous elements of experience would fall asunder and chaos would take the place of cosmos.

Enough has now been said to indicate in a preliminary way the nature and contents of the idea of the Whole. It is one, not in a mere abstract arithmetical sense, but in the concrete sense of a single dynamic, organic, psychic agency underlying, penetrating and indeed forming all subjects and objects of experience. It is the One-All, at once the Body and the Soul, at once the Thinker and the Thought, at once the Mover and the Moved.

Marginal mark:!

It is conceivable, however, that some may doubt the legitimacy of the procedure we have here adopted. To them it is open to make a different use of the idea of the Whole. That is to say, they may abandon the idea of the Whole as a constitutive idea, and yet utilize and exploit it as a regulative idea. If we cannot fully say what the Whole is, we can yet try to assume it, posit it as a postulate of our Inquiry, and then envisage some of the problems of knowledge from it as our point of view. In other words, assuming a Whole in the sense of a vital organic unity of the world, we can on that assumption and from that point of view try to resurvey some of the problems which have so far baffled human inquiry. In that way our method of investigation and reasoning will be the reverse of that followed by physical science: we shall then from the standpoint of the Whole consider the problems that arise in relation to the parts and not (as in physical science) from the standpoint of the parts attempt to reach a knowledge of the Whole. Our use of the idea of the Whole will then be not positive but methodological.

Those who will not admit that the nature and contents of the idea of the Whole have been sufficiently established by the foregoing reasoning or could be established at all, may perhaps be more willing to concede that sufficient has been established to show that as a regulative idea the Whole may have methodo-

logical value for philosophical thought. In this study, therefore,

Marginal comment: And how far have we got in fact to a conception of the universe as a material, mental and moral, or 'rational' whole?

whenever the Whole is brought forward as a constitutive idea, it will be open to the sceptic to use it merely as a regulative idea, as an underlying hypothesis for the purposes of reasoning which must be justified by the value of its results.

The idea of the Whole as now sketched will have to be developed and rendered more definite in the sequel. We have now seen that not only the psychological process of growing experience, but also the evolutionary development of the universe, the formulation of universal laws of a physical character, and the universality and necessity of the laws of thought—all combine in presupposing that the apparently infinite variety and heterogeneity which characterize the contents of the universe really reduce themselves to an ultimate unity; that the universe including man is not a mere assemblage of phenomena or things, but an organic unity in which all the particular differentiations and distinctions are rooted; and, incidentally therefore, that a mechanical view of the universe, however useful for methodological purposes on certain planes of knowledge, is contrary to the fundamental facts. It remains now to develop the character of the Whole further, and to show that it is not a mere *idea* of unity, not a mere static generalization, but that it is a real, active process

Marginal comment: An abstract hypostasized.

ramifying through and giving being to all the multitudinous forms of existence. There is not merely an idea of the Whole; there is a Whole, and this Whole is the taproot of all reality and activity in the universe.

Before, however, we proceed to inquire further into the character of the Whole, it will be necessary in the next Chapter to cover some preliminary ground, and to consider the question whether (as Kant affirmed) our quest is not vain and whether the reality of things is not in fact unknowable. Is our knowledge not necessarily by the nature of our faculties confined to the phenomenal and the partial, and have we any means of getting into touch with the Whole? This question will occupy us in the next Chapter.

521 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 10, no. 24

c/o Barclay and Co., Ltd.

137 Brompton Road

London, S.W.

3 May 1912

Dear Oom Jannie, Thanks for your letter—short but sweet—or fairly so! and now I feel glad to be able to send you another cheque for £25. You know I said I would send £50 at Christmas 1912, but I find this half already lying in the Bank and I shall feel happier if it lies in your pocket where it belongs or is put as seed into your farm to produce after its kind fifty or a hundredfold.

You will never realize how much I owe you for that £100 so timely sent, that alone enabled me to go through the cure and bit by bit I hope it will all get back to you for further use.

I give you an English address because ere you get this I hope to be in England, if strength for the journey comes. After two and a half years' exile you can imagine my excitement. I suppose in September I shall return.

Rumour says you are coming to Europe, is it so? My brother has moved to Highgate where his address is:—7 Broadlands Road, Highgate N.

My love to Mrs Smuts. I will write to her from London. By the way a South African from Wynberg, W. P. Watermeyer¹ is in Rome and came to see me yesterday. He was under Mr Brounger in the Free State and on the railways and escaped in the last train before the English took Kroonstad and ever since has been in Rome; twelve years of poverty trying to live by teaching English. He *has* lived somehow and now is translating secretary to the King's International Agricultural Institute which only means £16 a month. How can a man put by for old age on that?

Judge [J. P. F.] Watermeyer of Bulawayo is a brother and offered once to help him back to Africa if he would renounce his opinions—of course this he could not do. Is there no compensation for a man's complete loss of his life and position in such a case, or does he come under the head of rebel though he never fought?

¹ William Porter Watermeyer, died 1915.

Well, good-bye. Ravelli is in London and I hope to help him there a little. Yours ever sincerely and gratefully,

Emily Hobhouse

522 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 10, no. 81

Department of the Interior
Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope
23 Mei 1912

Mijn liefste, Jou lieve brief is net aangekomen en ik heb hem met baing belangstelling gelezen. Het lijkt of het alles wel gaat op de plaats en alsof jij ook tevreden is zoowel als de kleinen. Ik ben verwonderd dat het nog zoo mild is daar het toch reeds winter is. Hier regent het tamelijk veel; vandaag is echter weer mooi weer.

Ik was van plan naar Riebeek te gaan met de vacantie van morgen tot Maandag. Maar de moeilijkheid met Hull heeft alles in wanorder gebracht. Hij heeft finaal bedankt en Sauer in 't parlement aangevallen op bittere wijze en veel linnen wordt nu in het publiek in plaats van in het Cabinet gewaschen. Hull is recht op de merieten maar heeft zeer verkeerd gehandeld door op zoo'n tijdstip te bedanken. Ik zal nu zijn werk tot einde de sessie waarnemen, wat daarna zal gebeuren weet niemand want de toestand is uiterst onzeker, en Genl. Botha's positie is erg verzwakt door Hull's bedanking. Transvalers zullen denken dat wij bij Sauer staan, terwijl wij bij Zuid-Afrika staan en niet ons eigen werk weer in gevaar willen stellen. Niet alleen heb ik Hull's werk te doen behalve mijn eigen, maar ook dat van Graaff. Sir Owen Philipps van de Royal Mail is nu hier om over het Mail Contract te onderhandelen en ik moet de onderhandelingen voeren. Vrijdag en Zaterdag zal ik dus maar met de stukken en de ambtenaren moeten doorbrengen in stede van naar Riebeek te gaan. Mijn gezondheid is goed. Het vleesch is gewillig, maar de geest is zwak—want ik voel zeer over wat gebeurd is, en de valsche positie waarin Botha en ik nu na Hull's bedanking geplaatst zijn. Ik word somtijds werkelijk moede van het last dat moet gedragen worden en het werk dat toch door niemand gewaardeerd wordt. Maar hoe komt men er uit? Dat is de vraag.

Mijn hart verlangt zeer naar Doornkloof of eenig ander schuiloord ver van deze beslommeringen. En gelijk de vervolgte heiligen in de Openbaring zucht ik: hoe lang O Heer! En jij ook zeker.

Ik meen de potato fruit kan bepaald gegeten worden, maar voelt niet zeker. Ik zal bij parlements leden vernemen. Kom Miss Smit weer naar jou? Geef mijn groeten aan Jan en soen de kleinen voor mij. Pappa verlangt zeer naar hul allen. Wij zullen ons best doen het werk te bespoedigen en zoo mogelijk midden Juni huiswaarts te keeren. Met veel liefde sluit ik.

Pappa

Ja, zie Dokter Elias.

TRANSLATION

Department of the Interior
Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope
23 May 1912

My dearest, Your dear letter has just arrived and I have read it with much interest. It looks as if everything is going well on the farm and as if you also are satisfied as well as the little ones. I am surprised that it is still so mild for it is already winter. Here it rains quite a lot; but today it is fine again.

I intended to go to Riebeeck for the holidays from tomorrow to Monday. But the trouble about Hull has thrown everything into disorder. He has definitely resigned and bitterly attacked Sauer in Parliament and much linen is now being washed in public instead of in the Cabinet. Hull is right on the merits of the case but has acted very wrongly in resigning at such a moment.¹ I shall now take over his work until the end of the Session; what will happen after that no one knows for the position is extremely uncertain and General Botha's position has been much weakened by Hull's resignation. The Transvaalers will think that we are standing by Sauer, but we are standing by South Africa and do not want once more to endanger our own work. Not only have I Hull's work to do besides my own, but also Graaff's. Sir Owen Philipps of the

¹ Hull attacked Sauer for running the Department of Railways and Harbours without proper consultation with the Cabinet and his own Department, the Treasury.

Royal Mail is now here to negotiate about the Mail Contract and I must conduct the negotiations. So I shall have to spend Friday and Saturday with the documents and officials instead of going to Riebeek. My health is good. The flesh is willing but the spirit is weak—because I feel sore about what has happened and the false position in which Botha and I have now been placed after Hull's resignation. I sometimes get really weary of the burden that must be borne and the work that nobody values. But how does one get out of it? That is the question. My heart longs very much for Doornkloof or any other refuge far from these cares. And like the persecuted saints in *Revelations* I sigh: How long, O Lord!¹ And you too, no doubt.

I think the potato fruit can definitely be eaten but am not sure. I shall ask Members of Parliament. Is Miss Smit² coming to you again? Give my regards to Jan and kiss the little ones for me. Pappa longs very much for them all. We shall do our best to hurry the work and if possible to return home in mid-June. I close with much love.

Pappa

Yes, see Dr Elias.³

523 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 10, no. 83

Groote Schuur
Rondebosch
[Cape Town]
29 May 1912

My dear Wolstenholme, Just a line to thank you for the last books and to express my regret to hear that you are not well. I had hoped the summer would bring you into good form and can't understand your indisposition. Perhaps you don't take enough exercise.

¹ 'I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God. . . . And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord. . . .' *The Revelation* v. 9–10.

² Miss Lettie Smit was a teacher at a local school who also taught the Smuts girls music.

³ Dr Pieter Elias, the Smuts family doctor, was a graduate of the University of Amsterdam, 1904, and subsequently a medical practitioner in Pretoria.

Please send me the two following little books:

1. Withers: *The Meaning of Money* (Methuen).
2. Armitage Smith: *Principles and Methods of Taxation* (Murray).

My wife and children have returned to the Transvaal and I am now again staying with the Bothas at Groote Schuur. Hull the Treasurer has resigned and Graaff the Minister for Posts is still very ill so that I have now to do their work in addition to my own at a time too when work is very plentiful and our political difficulties are very great. I am beginning to feel the strain and shall be glad when Parliament is over—which will be I hope in four weeks' time.

Good-bye, my dear old friend. I wish you a speedy recovery and good health. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

524 From M. C. Gillett

Vol. 10, no. 17

102 Banbury Road
Oxford
31 May 1912

My dear Oom Jannie, Our two loves to you both, and here is a curl from little Jan's head at 1 year old. It was his birthday this week. He is very well and very happy and smiling and friendly, full of enjoyment of play. He crawls very fast, and finds the world full of interest, and he is greatly devoted to his Da Da. He is very fair, with rosy cheeks and yellow curls and blue eyes, and his skin is browned with the open air and sunlight. We have just been spending three weeks on a farm in a lovely open valley in Yorkshire and it did him much good. You will be interested to hear that a little friend of his is hoped for to join him before the end of the summer. It will be very sweet to have the pair of them playing together, if all goes well. Little Jan often seems to be beckoning to an invisible playmate.

All this makes me think more of your family because other children are more interesting when you have one of your own, and also you can enter into the feelings of other parents.

Alice has gone on a long journey in Asia Minor, with a friend. They have gone from Damascus to Baghdad. It is very

romantic to think of, but we shall also be glad to have her safe at home again.

Mother is well. Father¹ suffers a good deal from his stiff joints and now from a gouty foot too poor thing.

I am not sure whether we ever thanked you for your last letter. Anyway, it was very welcome. But it is long since I have written.

When are you coming? It was nice to see Mrs Sauer and Magda,² and refreshing to a soul ever thirsty for South African news.

Arthur has a message, but says it is beyond him to express it. Anyway it is a loving one, and he wants to be remembered to Mrs. Smuts, and thinks much of the children, and my love to Mrs. Smuts too. Ever yours,

Margaret C. Gillett

525 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 10, no. 84

Groote Schuur
Rondebosch
Uniedag 1912

Liefste Mamma, Wij zaten tot laat gisteravond of liever heden ochtend en vandaag is een vacantie dag. Ik moet echter naar de stad in verband met de Mailboat onderhandelingen en hoop in den namiddag een wandeling te nemen den berg op. Ik begin echter met aan U en de kleinen te gedenken en deze regels te schrijven. Ik sluit in brieven van Miss Hobhouse en Lord Methuen die jou zullen interesseeren. Ik heb Miss H. de £25 teruggezonden daar mijn £100 aan haar een gift en geen leening was. Hartelijk dank voor jou lange brieven die uiterst welkom zijn. Ik had ook een van vriend Knobel waarin hij mij mededeelde dat alles en allen er zoo wel uitzagen te Doornkloof. Ja mijn hart verlangt sterk daarheen, maar wanneer ik arriveer zal de winter op zijn koudste zijn en al het groen verwelkt zijn. Ik ben blij te hooren dat Santa en Tota weer goed aangaan met hun werk—moedig hen aan en zeg als zij goed leeren dan kunnen zij zeggen welke presentjes pappa moet brengen als hij huistoe komt. Ik was ook geinteresseerd te hooren dat Japie nu apart slaapt. Hij wordt heelmaal manlijk en zal zeker een

¹ W. S. Clark.

² Wife of J. W. Sauer, and her younger daughter.

crediet voor mamma en pappa worden. Ik weet niet of Jan recht is omtrent den beer. De ham fabrieken willen niet onze Kaapsche vette varkens hebben en vragen of Berkshires of big blacks of een kruis van beide. Ik zal zien als ik thuis kom wat het best is te doen. Ik wil dit jaar 100-200 eiken planten daaronder in en langs het bosch; misschien zijn er groote boompjes bij de nursery die Jan kan bespreken; zoo niet zullen wij de duurder van Hop moeten krijgen; maar ik wil ze tamelijk groot hebben—indien mogelijk man's hoogte. Laat hem gaan kijken. Het gras moet rondom de boompjes bij het huis weggemaakt worden om verlies door vuur te voorkomen. Zeg Jan toch ook zoodra mogelijk goede voorbranden boven bij de plantages te maken en op andere deelen van de plaats en toch niet meer gras af te branden als noodig. De plaats wordt daardoor zeer verslecht.

Wij gaan goed met ons werk aan en hopen voor einde Juni klaar te komen—hoerê! Tatta mamma met zoentjes aan jullie almaal.

J. C. S.

TRANSLATION

Groote Schuur
Rondebosch
[Cape Town]

Union Day,¹ 1912

Dearest Mamma, We sat until late last night, or rather this morning and today is a holiday. But I must go to town in connection with the mailboat negotiations and hope to take a walk up the mountain in the afternoon. But I begin by thinking of you and the little ones and writing these lines. I enclose letters from Miss Hobhouse and Lord Methuen that will interest you. I have sent the £25 back to Miss Hobhouse as my £100 to her was a gift and not a loan. Many thanks for your long letters which are extremely welcome. I also had one from friend Knobel² in which he told me that everything and everybody at Doornkloof looked so well. Yes, my heart longs for it fervently, but when I arrive the winter will be at its coldest and all the green withered. I am glad to hear that Santa and Tota are again working well—encourage them and say that if they

¹ 31 May.

² The Netherlands Consul in Pretoria.

learn well they can say what presents Papa must bring when he comes home. I was also interested to hear that Japie now sleeps alone. He is becoming quite manly and will certainly be a credit to Mamma and Pappa. I do not know if Jan is right about the boar. The ham factories do not want our Cape fat pigs and ask for either Berkshires or big blacks, or a cross of both. I shall see when I come home what is best to be done. This year I want to plant 100–200 oaks down there, in and along the wood; perhaps there are big trees at the nursery which Jan can order; if not, we shall have to get the dearer ones from Hop; but I want them fairly big—if possible man's size. Let him go and see. The grass must be removed from around the trees near the house to prevent loss by fire. Please also tell Jan to make good fire-breaks as soon as possible up at the plantations and on other parts of the farm and on no account to burn off more grass than necessary; it makes the farm deteriorate badly.

We are progressing well with our work and hope to have done before the end of June—hurrah! Good-bye, Mamma. With kisses to you all,

J. C. S.

526 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 10, no. 86

Groote Schuur

Rondebosch

6 Juni 1912

Liefste Mamma, Gister ochtend kwam jou lange lieve brief aan en ik heb hem met veel belangstelling gelezen. Ik ben blij dat het volgens Miss Smit niet noodig zal zijn Cato in een lager klas te plaatsen, daar zij toch zoo vol ambitie is en zoo haar best doet om niet bij Santa achter te blijven. Ik ben een beetje bang dat zij moedeloos en zorgeloos zal worden wanneer zij ziet dat 'it is no use trying'. Het zal zeker 't zwaarst zijn om in rekenkunde op te maken voor verloren tijd, maar als jij een beetje moeite doet met haar, zal zelfs dit recht komen. Wij hebben een week van het prachtigste weer gehad, zoo mooi en warm dat ik eenige dagen weer zonder onderhemd heb geloopt. Heden ochtend regent het weer en het zal ook zeker weer koud worden. Ik heb dus het voorbehoedsmiddel genomen om weer $\frac{1}{2}$ dozijn onderhemden en zokken (Lisle thread) bij te koopen.

Mijn goed raakt ook gedurig weg te Groote Schuur, daar er zooveel volk zijn met diverse plichten. Aan Jantje Mostert heb ik geschreven dat ik haar kast voor £30 zal koopen. Maria en dr. zullen Zaterdag bij Bibas zijn op weg naar jou, maar ik versta het plan is eerst eenige weken naar Warmbad te gaan. Ik zal trachten hen te zien voor zij naar de Transvaal gaan. Ik hoop dat hul lekker bij jou zullen kuieren en dat jij hen voor een substituut voor mij zal nemen, want ik zal zeker niet voor het einde van Juni kunnen terug zijn. Ons werk spoedt niet zoals ik gehoopt had en er [is] toch zooveel nog te doen. Maar einde van Juni moet jij mij verwachten. Ik denk ook dat er verdere moeilijkheden in het Cabinet zullen zijn aan het einde der sessie. Hull is uit en ik denk dat Sauer moet ook eruit of een ander portfolio nemen. Ik vermoed dat er veel geknoei aan gang is en zal niet verwonderd zijn indien wij nog spoedig een algemeene electie hebben. Houd dit alles echter voor jouzelf. Beyers hunkert ook naar een zetel in het Cabinet—waarvoor hij geen bizondere geschiktheid bezit. Ik heb hem een post in de Burgermacht aangeboden en hoop dat hij die zal aannemen. Zend mij adres van Lord Methuen (op zijn laatste brief) daar ik aan hem wensch te schrijven. Baing groete en zoentjes aan Mamma en de kleinen van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Groote Schuur
Rondebosch
[Cape Town]
6 June 1912

Dearest Mamma, Your long dear letter came yesterday morning and I have read it with much interest. I am glad that, according to Miss Smit, it will not be necessary to put Cato into a lower class, as she is so full of ambition and does her best to keep up with Santa. I am a little afraid that she will become discouraged and careless if she sees that it is no use trying. It will no doubt be hardest to make up for lost time in arithmetic, but, if you take a little trouble with her, even that will come right. We have had a week of the loveliest weather, so fine and warm that I have again gone without a vest for some days. This morning it is raining again and it will no doubt also

become cold again. So I have taken the precaution of again buying half a dozen vests and socks (Lisle thread). My things constantly disappear at Groote Schuur, because there are so many servants with different duties. I have written to Jantjie Mostert that I will buy her cupboard for £30. Maria and Doctor¹ will be with Bibas on Saturday on the way to you, but I understand the plan is to go to Warmbaths for a few weeks first. I shall try to see them before they go to the Transvaal. I hope they will have a nice stay with you and that you will accept them as a substitute for me because I shall probably not be able to be back before the end of June. Our work is not going as fast as I had hoped and there is still so much to do. But you must expect me at the end of June. I also think that there will be further trouble in the Cabinet at the end of the Session. Hull is out and I think Sauer should also go out or take another portfolio. I suspect that there is a lot of plotting going on and shall not be surprised if we have a general election soon. But keep all this to yourself. Beyers [C. F.] is also hankering after a seat in the Cabinet—for which he is not particularly suitable. I have offered him a post in the Defence Force and hope that he will accept it. Send me Lord Methuen's address (on his last letter) as I want to write to him. Many greetings and kisses to Mamma and the little ones from

Pappa

527 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 10, no. 87

Groote Schuur
Rondebosch
10 Juni 1912

Liefste Mamma, Jou lieve brieven komen nog maar altijd aan en zijn een zoete druppel in de kelk van zwaar werk. Van Santa ontving ik ook een interessant episteltje. Zij schrijft werkelijk goed. Ik zal nu een paar regels ook aan Cato richten in de verwachting dat ze een antwoord zullen uitlokken. Het is weer Zondag ochtend en dus een dag van rust en rondlopen, maar vóór breakfast wil ik nu eerst een klein gezels met mijn liefste hebben. Het lijkt mij alsof wij nog 2 weken zullen zitten, en dan naar huis—naar mamma en de kleinen. Ik zal dan ook

¹ The elder sister of Smuts and her husband, Dr Hoffman.

maar tamelijk moeten rondgaan, maar dan zal de afwezigheid toch nooit zoo lang duren. Ik denk jij kan reeds aan mijn schrift zien dat mijne vingers beverig worden van overwerking. Ik gevoel echter heelmaal gezond en sterk, en hoop jou in goede gezondheid weer te zien. De Hulls zijn gister naar de Transvaal vertrokken, alwaar dinners en andere waardeeringen hen afwachten. En wij die gewond zijn in het huis onzer vrienden moeten nu nog zijn last bij het onze dragen. Het benieuwd mij wat houding hij gaat aannemen. Overal in de Transvaal worden Louis en ik slecht gemaakt en Hull geprezen. Wat zou gebeuren indien wij ook bedanken! Maar daaraan denkt niemand. Echter ondank is werelds loon en gelukkig heb ik nog nooit naar populariteit gestreefd, en steeds mijn plicht en werk gedaan, wat menschen ook mogen zeggen. En zoo hoop ik voort te gaan totdat mij de halter van de nek gehaald wordt door een goedwillig publiek—hetwelk misschien ook niet zoo ver af is.

Gister hebben wij besloten dat alle appel rechters na Lord de Villiers' aftreding te Bloemfontein moeten gaan wonen. Gisteravond was Lady Innes hier op een diner en zoo kwaad dat zij kon barsten. Ik zei haar dat Pretoria niet goed genoeg voor haar was en dat ik hoopte dat B. haar meer zou gevallen. Zij zegt dat zij nooit te Bloemfontein zal gaan wonen. Daar gaan praatjes rond dat ik de opvolger van Lord de Villiers zal zijn als hoofdrechtter—men wordt zeker al moeg van mij in de politiek. Tom Cullinan heeft hier geslapen en vandaag gaan wij een verre wandeling nemen. Gister namiddag ging ik naar bed tot 4 uur en daarna van 4 tot 6 den berg geklomen. Zoo kan jij zien dat ik mijn best doen om genoeg beweging te krijgen. Ja, schrijf aan Nyssie dat ik de varken zeker wil hebben—zoggen en beer. Laat Jan ook de marktprijzen voor lucerne volgen zoodat wij niet weer te laat wachten zooals laatste jaar. Cullinan heeft zijn lucerne reeds verkocht. Jan moet genoeg voor ons gebruik houden. Ik heb Jantje Mostert's kast voor £30 gekocht en zal het opzenden. Het is reeds 120 jaar in de Smuts familie en nog prachtig. Ik wonder waarom in onzen tijd niet zulk durabel werk gedaan wordt. Het spijt mij bitter van Nyssie's kar te hooren. Mijn kar is in goede order. Tatta Mamma. Baing zoentjes aan jullie almaal. Mijn hart verlangt onuitsprekelijk naar Mamma en de kleinen.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Groote Schuur
Rondebosch
[Cape Town]
10 June 1912

Dearest Mamma, Your dear letters continue to arrive and are a sweet drop in the cup of hard work. I also received an interesting little epistle from Santa. She writes really well. I shall now also direct a few lines to Cato in the hope that they will draw forth an answer. It is Sunday again and so a day of rest and walking about, but first I want to have a little talk with my dearest before breakfast. It looks as if we shall sit for another two weeks, and then home—to Mamma and the little ones. I shall have to go about a good deal then too, but then the absence will never last so long. I think you can see by my writing that my fingers are getting shaky from overwork. But I feel quite well and strong, and hope to see you again in good health. The Hulls left for the Transvaal yesterday where dinners and other forms of appreciation await them. And we, who are wounded in the house of our friends, must now carry his load as well as our own. I am curious to know what attitude he is going to take up. Everywhere in the Transvaal Louis and I are abused and Hull praised. What would happen if we also resigned! But no one thinks of that. However, ingratitude is the way of the world and fortunately I have never striven for popularity and have always done my duty and my work whatever people may say. And so I hope to go on until a kind public takes the halter off my neck—which perhaps is not very far off.

Yesterday we decided that all judges of appeal must go and live in Bloemfontein after Lord de Villiers's retirement. Yesterday evening Lady Innes was here at a dinner and so angry that she could have burst. I told her that Pretoria was not good enough for her and that I hoped Bloemfontein would please her more. She says that she will never go and live at Bloemfontein. There is talk about that I shall be the successor of Lord de Villiers as Chief Justice—no doubt people are tired of me in politics. Tom Cullinan slept here and today we are going to take a long walk. Yesterday afternoon I went to bed until four o'clock and after that, from four to six, climbed the

mountain.¹ So you can see that I do my best to get enough movement. Yes, write to Nyssie that I definitely want the pigs—sows and boar. And let Jan follow the market prices of lucerne so that we do not again wait too long like last year. Cullinan has already sold his lucerne. Jan must keep enough for our use. I have bought Jantjie Mostert's cupboard for £30 and shall send it up. It has been in the Smuts family for 120 years and is still beautiful. I wonder why, in our time, such durable work is not done. I am very sorry to hear about Nyssie's car. My car is in good order. Good-bye, Mamma. Many kisses to you all. My heart longs inexpressibly for Mamma and the little ones.

Pappa

528 From C. F. Beyers

Vol. 10, no. 4

Privaat

Library of Parliament

Cape Town

11 Juni 1912

Waarde Jan, Ik ben genegen de betrekking als officier over de Burger machten aan te nemen, mits jij kans ziet om mij £200 (salaris) per maand te geven in stede van £150 per maand, zijnde bedrag van uw offerte. Zoo gij met bovenstaande accoord gaat, zijn er andere zaken waarover ik met jou, op een gelegener tijd voor U, gaarne zou willen spreken. Jou vriend

Christiaan

TRANSLATION

Private

Library of Parliament

Cape Town

11 June 1912

Dear Jan, I am inclined to accept the position as officer commanding the Defence Forces, on condition that you are able to give me £200 (salary) per month instead of £150 per month, which is the amount of your offer. If you agree to the above, there are other matters about which I should like, at a more convenient time for you, to speak to you. Your friend,

Christiaan

¹ Table Mountain.

529 From H. J. Gladstone

Vol. 10, no. 18

Government House
Cape Town
13 June 1912

My dear General, I signed the Defence Act this morning. My heartiest congratulations on the Bill, your management of it in Parliament and on its present shape. A splendid bit of work. Sincerely yours,

Gladstone

530 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 10, no. 92

Department of the Interior
Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope
19 Juni 1912

Liefste Mamma, Maandag ochtend vond ik twee brieven van jou op kantoor—dank voor beide, hoewel ik ze liever van elkaar zou willen ontvangen. Ik heb nu schikkingen gemaakt om heden over 8 dagen te vertrekken zoodat ik Vrijdag 28 Juni thuis hoop te zijn. Dan moet ik Zondag weer terug naar Bloemfontein om de Military College te openen. Daarna wil ik een beetje naar Baberspan om te zien hoe het daar met mijne boeren gaat, en daarna weer aan 't werk te Pretoria. Het spijt mij zeer dat ik geen tijd zal vinden weer naar Riebeeck te gaan, maar ik zie geen kans tenzij ik mijn terugkeer naar Pretoria eenige dagen uitstel en dat zou ik liever willen vermijden. Mijn motor zal ik deze week afzenden zoodat het te Irene met mijn aankomst kan zijn.

Zeg Jan ik wil den Jood met zijn winkel niet op mijn grond hebben. Een winkel van dien aard is een invitatie aan kaffers heinde en ver om naar de plaats te komen en wij hebben alreeds genoeg last met rondloopers.

Confidentieel

Ik weet niet of ik jou reeds geschreven heb dat er na de parlamentszitting moeielijkheid in de Cabinet verwacht wordt. Genl. Botha gaat insisteren dat Sauer de portefeuille van Spoorwegen zal opgeven en een ander nemen; Sauer meen ik zal eerder bedanken en dan gaat Burton ook. Van Malan zijn wij onzeker daar hij zeer bangerig is. Dus kan jij zien dat onze

moeielijkheden maar begonnen zijn. En daar is vrees dat er verwijdering langs provinciaale lijnen zal komen tusschen de Kaap en Transvaal. De O.F.S. en Natal vrienden zullen bij ons blijven staan, maar de toekomst is zwanger met kommer en gevaar. Geef mijn beste groeten aan Miss Smit en Jan en de andere blanken. Liefste zoentjes ook aan Mamma en de kleintjes. Gaat Cato glad nie aan Pappa schrijwe nie? Tatta van
Pappa

TRANSLATION

Department of the Interior
Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope
19 June 1912

Dearest Mamma, I found two letters from you at the office on Monday morning—thank you for both, although I would prefer to receive them separately. I have now made arrangements to leave eight days from today so that I hope to be home on Friday, 28 June. Then I must go back to Bloemfontein on Sunday to open the Military College. After that I want to go to Barberspan¹ for a bit to see how my farmers are getting on there, and then back to work in Pretoria. I am very sorry that I shall not find time to go to Riebeek West again, but I see no chance unless I postpone my return to Pretoria for some days and I would rather avoid that. I shall send my car off this week so that it can be at Irene² when I arrive.

Tell Jan I do not want the Jew with his shop on my land. A shop of this sort is an invitation to kaffirs from far and near to come to the farm and we have enough trouble with vagrants as it is.

Confidential

I do not know if I have already written to you that trouble is expected in the Cabinet after the parliamentary Session. General Botha is going to insist that Sauer gives up the portfolio of Railways and takes another; Sauer I think would rather resign and then Burton goes too.³ We are uncertain of Malan as he is very timid. So you can see that our troubles have only

¹ A farm in the Western Transvaal bought by Smuts on the advice of J. H. de la Rey.

² The railway station nearest to Doornkloof.

³ Sauer became Minister of Agriculture and Burton Minister of Railways on 26 June 1912.

begun. And there is a fear that separation along provincial lines will occur between the Cape and the Transvaal. The Orange Free State and Natal friends will continue to stand by us but the future is pregnant with trouble and danger.

Give my best wishes to Miss Smit and Jan and the other white people. Dearest kisses also to Mamma and the little ones. Is Cato not going to write to Pappa at all ? Good-bye from
Pappa

531 To H. E. S. Fremantle

Vol. 10, no. 93

The Treasury
Pretoria
27 July 1912

My dear Fremantle, I am obliged to you for your letter of the 19th instant to which you would have received an earlier response if opportunity had permitted.

With regard to the point you mention respecting the form of the Treasury monthly accounts,¹ I perceive that the *bewaarplaatsen* items, as at present presented in the accounts, may occasion some confusion of mind to the financial critic and I have arranged for this to be put right in future published statements. The present item on the Receipts side of the account entitled '*Bewaarplaatsen* Special Account' will be deleted and the estimated recoveries under this item shown (as in the published estimates of revenue) against the heading for receipts from the Government ownership of gold mines. A footnote will then indicate that these *bewaarplaatsen* receipts are carried to a special account in the Exchequer books in pursuance of section *fifty-three* of the Precious and Base Metals Act 1908 (Transvaal). On the other hand, the Issues side of the account will henceforward be supplemented by a footnote in the sense indicated by you.²

¹ Smuts had become Minister of Finance on 13 June 1912. He continued to hold the portfolios of Defence and Mines but ceased to be Minister of the Interior.

² *Bewaarplaatsen* were gold-field sites originally granted for surface rights such as water storage and the piling of waste. Later, when deep-level mining made it possible to mine below them, they were sold or leased as gold claims and since 1908 the proceeds had been paid into a special account. In 1917 the account was closed and a sum of £2,000,000 which had accumulated in it was divided between the State and the owners.

With regard to the question of school buildings in the Cape Province, I will keep in mind what you say. When [Sir F.] de Waal's estimates are being prepared he will doubtless submit proposals for remedying the state of affairs to which you call attention; and we will do our best to meet all reasonable demands. At the same time, it is necessary to remind you that since union the Treasury has provided large sums for the erection of these buildings and we are under promise to provide funds next year on a basis not less liberal. The whole trouble is due to the action of the Cape Government prior to union in practically suspending all expenditure on such services. It takes some time to work off the arrear demands so created; there is a limit to the amount of money that can be effectively and economically laid out in any one year and we have to guard against financial indigestion with its resultant waste and extravagance.

As regards the lack of uniformity in teachers' salaries, as you know the provincial Administrators are the proper authorities to consider such matters—and when the Financial Relations Bill¹ becomes law their powers in this respect will be considerably enlarged. I am sure it would only lead to trouble if the Government were to interfere at this stage. In any case, while it is obviously desirable to secure uniformity in such matters, I am by no means convinced that it is essential; our experience of establishing uniformity is that there is an almost irresistible tendency to co-ordinate on the highest and most liberal basis, with disastrous results to the taxpayer.

I can well understand de Waal's desire to transfer responsibility for Native education to the Union Government, but I am doubtful whether the time is yet ripe for the consideration of such a proposal. It would be better, I think, to examine this matter when we come to decide what is to be done with education generally (other than higher education) after the expiry of the five years' period.² However, I am quite prepared to consider any representations on the subject which

¹ A Bill to determine the financial relations between the Union and the Provinces. It was enacted as Act 10 of 1913.

² Section 85 (iii) of the South Africa Act placed education other than higher education under the control of the Provincial Councils 'for a period of five years and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides'.

de Waal may make to us. With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

532 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 10, no. 100

Pretoria

9 August 1912

I have just received your postcard with the news of the arrival of little Anthony.¹ God bless him and make him a blessing, dear little chap. I congratulate you and Margaret most heartily and hope she will recover nicely from the dreadful ordeal. Truth to tell I would have preferred a little sister for Jannie but it is better that we are not consulted in these deep matters. You will be interested to hear that we also expect an increase in the family; little Sylma is now between 3 and 4 and we had already begun to give up all hope of further increase, but I hope all will pass off well. I had arranged for a long trip to Zululand and real barbarism, but have now had to change plans and stay at home for the occasion.

I was astonished to see from Margaret's last letter that Miss Alice had been for a health trip to Mesopotamia. South Africa would have been in every way so much better and we would have been so glad to have her with us in the Transvaal. I am however very glad that the trip has done her good and hope the good will be permanent. When are you two good folks coming out to us with little Jannie and Tonie? Remember you are rapidly getting older and more respectable and that this journey to the far-off wilds of Africa will appeal less and less to you. So do not delay too long. If you are here in the winter I could make an effort to shake off official fetters and we could go for an ox-wagon trip into the wilds—to the haunts of the hippo and the crocodile; does that not sound tempting? Do not for ever collect the shekels but get some interest also out of that largest capital of all—life itself.

I note what you say about politics. Do not let us expect too much or expect it too soon. The early Christians looked

¹ Anthony Walter Gillett (Tona), second son of A. B. and M. C. Gillett (qq.v.). Born 1912.

forward to the millennium in their lifetime. They are dead and we have ceased looking out for the great dawn. And so it goes with all the great ideals after which we strive. I personally think the Liberal Government have done marvellously much and that in what is going wrong they can't help themselves as the forces are greater than any Government could control. I refer specially to their Fleet policy. But the by-elections seem to indicate that their position is really weakening. I suppose we shall have an imperialist tariff Government soon, which will harry all of us into mischief and trouble. Here in South Africa things are going slowly forward. I don't know whether I told you before that Hull and Sauer had such squabbles in the Cabinet that Hull resigned and I am now responsible for our finances.

533 To R. I. Steyn

Vol. 99, no. 63

The Treasury
Pretoria

24 Augustus 1912

Lieve Mrs Steyn, Baing hartelijk dank voor uw telegram van gelukwenschen. Mijn vrouw zal U ook bedanken zoodra zij op is. Voor mij was de tijding verbazend, daar ons vriendje een paar weken voor zijn tijd kwam aankloppen. Mijn vrouw is perdfrisch en het jongste is sterk en fluksch. Hij loopt alleen gevaar dat zijn zusjes hem dood zullen troetelen.

Ik heb waarlijk een uiterst genoegelijk dagje by U doorgebracht en Stockenström was ook zeer opgenomen.

Zeg President dat ik hem spoedig een rapport over zijn 'harspan' zal zenden. Ook enige boeken welke hem in de tusschen pausen van de droogland boerdery misschien zullen interesseeren.

Ik had een uitnoodiging de openingsrede by de Taal Academie vergadering te Stellenbosch te houden. Maar ik moet in verband met fortificaties naar Durban op dien tyd volgens een oude bestelling met den Admiraal en Generaal Hart.

Maak een knoop in uw geheugen dat er een vaste belofte is spoedig een week by ons te Doornkloof te komen doorbrengen.

Mijn vrouw is verlangend die eer en vreugd te hebben. Met hartelijke groeten aan U beide en Mrs Fraser, Steeds getrouw,

J. C. Smuts

De Union Castle Co. zal my laten [one illegible word] omtrent passagiers op 9 Oct. Ik zal U bijtijds schrijven.

TRANSLATION

The Treasury
Pretoria

24 August 1912

Dear Mrs Steyn, Most hearty thanks for your telegram of congratulation. My wife will also thank you as soon as she is up. To me the news was amazing, as our little friend¹ arrived a few weeks before his time. My wife is very well and the youngest is strong and lively. But he is in danger of being cuddled to death by his sisters.

I really spent an extremely pleasant day with you and [Sir A.] Stockenström was also most pleased.

Tell the President that I shall soon send him a report about his 'cranium'. Also some books which may interest him in the intervals of dry land farming.

I had an invitation to give the inaugural address at the Language Academy² meeting at Stellenbosch. But I must go to Durban in connection with fortifications at that time, by long-standing appointment with the Admiral³ and General [R. C.] Hart.

Make a knot in your memory that there is a firm promise to spend a week with us at Doornkloof soon. My wife is longing to have that honour and joy. With hearty greetings to you both and to Mrs [I. G.] Fraser, Yours ever,

J. C. Smuts

The Union Castle Company will let me [one illegible word] about passengers on 9 October. I shall write to you in time.

¹ Jan Christian (Jannie), younger son of Smuts. Born 15 August 1912.

² On 2 July 1909 the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst* was founded in Bloemfontein. Its chief object was the advancement of the Dutch language and literature and of South African history, antiquities and art. By 'Dutch' was to be understood 'both the forms current in South Africa', that is, Nederlands and Afrikaans.

³ Rear-Admiral P. W. Bush

534 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 10, no. 94

The Treasury
Pretoria

26 August 1912

My dear Mr Merriman, I was very glad to see the old familiar handwriting once more and thank you very much for your letter.¹ Leuchars, acting on Maydon's strong opinion and advice, promised to Eaton [H. R. R.] the reversion to the post of Director of Customs and informed Wilshere [A. H.] accordingly. It would be most difficult for me to get out of this promise. But apart from this Maydon has also told me (as Honey [J. W.] had told me before) that Eaton is an officer of far greater capacity than Wilshere and should on the ground of merit and efficiency get the post. I myself incline to this view because, what with the disappearance of Louis Smuts and the reopening of the customs question in the near future, I am most anxious to have a man of the highest capacity at that post.

The financial question is as you know a most difficult one just now. Although the revenue has improved, we shall certainly have to resort to some taxing measures. I am not a protectionist but think that some readjustment of customs, especially in connection with the abolition of preferential railway rates could legitimately be resorted to in order to get some additional revenue. How people will receive even a light income-tax I don't know; it has led to great opposition before in the coastal Colonies and in the interior it is quite unknown. Perhaps we may be driven to it, but I don't like it very much.

I note what you say about the Provinces. But something must be done to secure their financial position. The present practice is most unsound. And I have the feeling that when they begin taxing, the people in the Provinces will think the time has come for a less ostentatious and cumbrous means of local government.

I read your *L'Avenent [sic] de Bonaparte* with intense interest.

With kindest regards to both you and Mrs. M[erriman],
Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

¹ Not in the Smuts Collection.

535 From C. F. Beyers

Vol. 10, no. 5

Whitehall Court, S.W.
23 September 1912

Waarde Jannie, Als een mensch in hierdie wereld deel rond trekt dan voelt jij geen lust tot schrijven.

Ik wil jou echter net laat weet dat het met mij goed gaat. Ik krijg echter (tot dusverre) geen kans om rond te gaan daar de manoeuvres in de verschillende plaatsen zoo snel op elkander volgen.

Zaterdag 28 Sept. ga ik terug naar Zwitserland om de inrichtingen aldaar te zien, van daar naar Duitschland alwaar ik mijn draai huiswaarts zal maken. Ik werd overal zeer goed ontvangen; laatste Vrijdag hadden wij een groot militaire 'dinner' waar de attachés en vreemde officieren tegenwoordig waren, bij die gelegenheid heb ik gesproken. French, Seely en anderen waren opgenomen met mijne toespraak. Ik maak melding hiervan omdat daar geen rapporteurs tegenwoordig waren. Ik was blij vir die kans om die Engelse vrienden te bedanken.

Ik had een aangename gesprek met die Keizer alsook met Koning George V. Ik was dood bedard en daarom misschien was het vreemd voor mij om officieren te zien 'koue koors' krij als hulle met een of ander van die kerels moet praat. Ik sluit een postkaartje in vir jou gade.

Ik zie in een kabel hier dat jij die ou Grahamstaders koud gelij het met jou gewone welsprekenheid enz. Mooi zoo!!

Nou wil ik iets tot jou kennis brengen wat vir mij onaangenaam was. Een week nadat ik hier aangekomen was, werd mij door een van Solomon zijn klerken een brief getoond geschreven na mijn vertrek van Pretoria en komende van jou kantoor door Bourne geteekend dat onder geen omstandigheden moet Solomon iets betalen voor mijn Secretaris enz. Daar ik persoonlik met jou die zaak afgehandeld heb en Bourne daarvan wist, was die brief totaal onnoodig. Nu geeft jou kantoor die kleur dat ik niet te vertrouwen ben. Jij moet jou klerken op hulle vingers tikken. Beste groete ook aan Louis. De uwe

C. F. Beyers

TRANSLATION

Whitehall Court, [London] S.W.
23 September 1912

Dear Jannie, When one moves about in this part of the world one does not feel like writing.

However, I just want to let you know that I am well. But I get no chance (so far) to go about, as the manoeuvres in the various places follow one another so rapidly.

On Saturday 28 September I return to Switzerland to see the institutions there, from there to Germany, from where I shall make tracks for home. I was received very well everywhere. Last Friday we had a big military dinner at which the attachés and foreign officers were present. I spoke on this occasion. French, Seely and others liked my speech. I mention this because no reporters were present. I was glad of the chance to thank the English friends.

I had a pleasant talk with the Kaiser, also with King George V. I was quite composed, and perhaps on that account it was strange to me to see officers get the cold shivers when they had to talk to one or other of these fellows. I enclose a postcard for your wife.

I see in a cable here that you have hoodwinked the old Grahamstowners with your usual eloquence etc.¹ Nice work!!

Now I want to bring to your notice something that I found unpleasant. A week after I arrived here, a letter was shown me by one of [Sir R.] Solomon's clerks, written after my departure from Pretoria and coming from your office, signed by Bourne, saying that Solomon was under no circumstances to pay anything for my Secretary, etc. As I had personally settled the matter with you and Bourne knew of it, the letter was quite unnecessary. Now your office gives the impression that I am not to be trusted. You must rap your clerks over the knuckles. Best wishes—also to Louis. Yours sincerely,

C. F. Beyers

¹ Smuts took part in the by-election campaign in Grahamstown.

536 From Sir D. P. de V. Graaff

Vol. 10, no. 20

Personal Office of the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs
Cape Town
27 September 1912

My dear General, Just a few lines to say good-bye to you before I take my departure for Europe by next Wednesday's mail and to express to you my grateful thanks for having taken charge of the negotiations for the Ocean Mail Contract during a strenuous period, for in addition to the Session which was pending I know that you had a great deal of other difficult matters to adjust. I don't know if anybody else has congratulated or thanked you for the successful issue of what might have been a troublesome and tedious problem to the Government and the people of the Union. I don't know what would have happened if you had not jumped into the breach at the right time, but you do it so often that I suppose you no longer find it anything unusual to do. I have had conversations here with several people who were for and against the Post Office Act and the position which we took up, and as far as I can see the general consensus of opinion is that the Government has scored considerably over the matter. Solomon enquired this morning by cable if ships trading here and giving rebates at Delagoa Bay will be considered as infringing the Post Office Act, as he wished to inform inquirers, and we replied that it would be considered an infringement of the Act. He thinks this will help greatly at Tuesday's meeting. In my own opinion I don't think we will have much more trouble about the rebate question, and whether the London Committee (who only represent South Africa to the extent of the amount of commission they can make) are satisfied or not, we will have an open market and in time the trade of this country will be keenly competed for. I feel sure that an open freight market will be a great boon to this country, and even the present enemies of the measures we have taken will thank us for them in the future.

My intention is not to stay away long as I am going for the benefit of the sea voyage. I hope to be back here before Christmas.

I trust that everything will continue to go smoothly at your

end and that your work will not be too arduous so that you may have a little rest so as to be refreshed for the Session which will soon be upon us. With kindest regards, Yours sincerely,

D. P. de V. Graaff

537 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 10, no. 96

The Treasury
Pretoria

28 September 1912

Dear Mr Merriman, It is not fair of you to test me by my attitude towards a magistrate's office and residence in your constituency,¹ and I am almost ashamed of your lapse from virtue. It is quite true that I had given instructions to go slow with our huge building programme. The fact is that for some years now we have put far too much useful money into bricks and mortar. And now there is but little money available and the time has come when some economy will have to be practised also in this direction. I have now gone again into the case of Fraserburg and although it is not the worst case, it is certainly the case with the best advocate—so that I have given instructions to proceed with those buildings.

I regret your decision in reference to the Imperial Trade Commission,² but you are in a matter like this a better judge than myself. However you are certainly wrong in regard to the importance of the Commission. It emanated not from Andrew Fisher (who by the way is a better man than you think) but from the Imperial Government who no doubt wished through this inquiry to forge a weapon against Tariff Reform but whose good intentions will probably be overruled by the British electorate so that the work of the Commission may yet be the basis for imperial preference. Hence the gravity of their task—even for us out here. I don't think the work will really

¹ Merriman had written (21 September 1912) pleading for the erection of certain public buildings for 'my poor constituents at Fraserburg'.

² Smuts had written (7 September 1912) asking Merriman to represent the Union on the Imperial Trade Commission (Royal Commission on the natural resources, trade and legislation of certain portions of His Majesty's Dominions 1912-13) after the resignation of D. P. de V. Graaff.

interfere with your public work out here, with the exception perhaps of next Session. But there—I must not endeavour to press you in the matter.

I am now busy with the dismal task of trying to devise a plan for unifying excise. It would be practically impossible to keep the Cape surtax of 6s. on imported spirits and apply it to the Union; this, and the lowering of the wine-brandy excise in the other Provinces from the present 9s. would very seriously affect both the questions of consumption and of revenue. It seems as if we would practically have to go back to 6s. on wine-brandy and place *dop*¹ on a 9s. or 10s. list with other spirits, if we don't want to lose revenue. Good-bye, Yours,

J. C. Smuts

538 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 10, no. 30

Sebasti e Reali
20 Piazza di Spagna
Roma

29 September 1912

My dear kind Oom Jannie, A thousand congratulations on the birth of your second son—truly now your 'quiver is full' and you won't be ashamed when you speak with your enemies in the gate.² It has come as a great surprise to me for I was beginning to picture Mrs Smuts with a well-grown family around her. What a number to educate! Truly your work is cut out.

I feel ashamed of writing to a Minister of the Crown in pencil, but thus I can lie back whilst writing, so please try and read.

I am sad to think you are asking the King and Queen to open your public buildings,³ another vast expense for a poor country, that. You see I am always in opposition to you now, and take the line *you* used to take in the good old days when Milner and Crown Colony Government reigned and you and General Botha and all were much nicer people. What on earth

¹ Inferior brandy made by distilling fermented grape skins (Afrikaans: *doppe*) and water.

² *Psalms* cxxvii. 4-5.

³ The Union Buildings in Pretoria.

are you all doing to yourselves ? I don't know. I feel as if, as regards South Africa, Olive Schreiner and I were left alone, two solitary Voices crying in the Wilderness—and we haven't a decent working heart between us.

I could not write last mail because my doctor Carloni was very ill and my examination was postponed. He was very anxious I should stay in Florence and go through a course of iodine and ozone etc. but I could not do so this year and came on here as soon as possible to be under my own roof. He says the muscles forming the walls of my heart are atrophied, that the heart is no longer enlarged, in fact it is now rather too small, but the muscles have almost no pumping power. To some extent they may obtain renewed vigour but only if I change my entire system of life and my diet. He definitely says I must abandon every hope of ever being able to live in England, there (as I found) I rapidly lose every power and probably a year would end me. He says I can only live in Italy in the sun; and I must get a cottage facing south, with a hill behind to screen the wind and if I obey him by doing no bodily work such as the items of housework I have done since I gave up my English maid and do nothing of any kind that means exertion, then in a year's time I may be able to do a little mental work, perhaps as much as three hours daily provided I take it very easy the rest of the time. You can't think how thankful I feel about this, for the want of object and interest in my life is the thing most trying to me yet whenever I try to do anything exhaustion overpowers me.

Good Carloni, you see he gave me my life last year, but owing to everything having gone wrong this year and this disastrous summer, the heart has not been established as it should have been and I must not expect to mix in the life or the interests of others, but be content just to exist in some sunny spot with every artificial help.

I feel my exile very keenly; in mid-life, and too ill to go out and make friends it is difficult to root oneself in a foreign land. Someday I hope you will visit Rome; your classical knowledge would make it very interesting to you.

I left Ravelli in London, his prospects are good and if he works as he should I think he is safe to get on, but the market is crowded, and often young artists have to pay to get a hearing

and of course he cannot do that. Still his chances are much better there than in Rome which is so small.

Now I must close for it is my bed-time, and end as I began with hearty and loving congratulations from Yours ever sincerely,

Emily Hobhouse

539 From L. Botha

Vol. 10, no. 7

Camden Hotel
Pietermaritzburg, Natal
10 October 1912

Lieve Jannie, Hartlijk dank voor jou brief die ik bijzonder apprecieerde, ja ik dacht het is best om wat weg te gaan van Pretoria, en alhoewel ik erken dat Natal niet de stille rustplaats is die men verlangd toch is het een verandering. Hier in Maritzburg wordt ik veel te veel lastig gevallen, en heb nu naar Durban geschreven dat ik daar niets zullen aanneem dan slechts een receptie van Hulett. Ik heb de vreeslijkste hoofdpijn wat men maar hebben kan, iets wat ik nooit in mijn leven mede geplaatst was, ik wandel veel en houd mij zoo stil mogelijk.

Ik vind de menschedom hier in groot paniek, lste over de Federatie uitdrukkingen te Johannesburg die zij beschouw als een partij oorlog verklarende tegen de Engelssprekende sectie. Couranten is een en al vol daarvan, elke man of vrouw die men ontmoet spreek daarover, en ik moet zeg de Vrouwen Federatie heb hulle bespottelijk kleingeestig gedragen en ik voel net om hulle een ernstige brief te schrijven, want al wat wij opbouw breek zij af. Maar de 2de ding die hen hier de duivel op de lijf gejaagd heb is de toespraak van Hertzog te Nylstroom. De geheele Natal voelt daarover beleedigd, in couranten, club, straten, huizen of net waar jij komt, en bestaat hier een ongehoorde opgewonendheid, die ons zoo als jij verstaan kan veel zeer veel kwaad doen. Gister heb ik ons partij hier ontmoet, en geloof mij ook zij voel zoo dat men bijkans niet met hen kunnen spreken. Wat ik ook zeide en doen krijg ik net een antwoord. Zij wordt beschouw als uitlanders, dus ou Jannie ik moet zeg ik heb geen begrip waarom of Hertzog zoo ver gaan, alhoewel ik wil hem niet veroordeel want ik weet en kan ook uit de couranten niet uitvind de werkelijke woorden die hij hebben

gebruikt. Is het zoo kwaai, laat mij s.v.p. weet naar Durban alwaar ik Maandag zullen aankomen bij Edward Hotel. Heb julle al wat regen gehaad. Hier wat geregen maar nog erg droog.

Jannie ik zal blij wees als jij Hertzog vraag met aanstelling Shepstone's opvolger te wachten tot ik terug is. Hartlijk gegroet, Uw

Louis Botha

TRANSLATION

Camden Hotel
Pietermaritzburg
Natal

10 October 1912

Dear Jannie, Hearty thanks for your letter which I particularly appreciated. Yes, I thought it best to go away from Pretoria for a while, and although I admit that Natal is not the quiet place of rest that one desires, yet it is a change. Here in Maritzburg I am bothered much too much and have now written to Durban that I shall not accept anything there except a reception from [Sir J. L.] Hulett. I have the most terrible headache that one can have—something I was never in my life plagued with. I walk much and keep as quiet as possible.

I find people here in a great panic, first about the Federation utterances in Johannesburg¹ which they regard as a party declaration of war against the English-speaking section. The newspapers are, one and all, full of it, and I must say the Women's Federations have behaved in a ridiculously small-minded way and I feel like writing them a serious letter, because everything we build up they break down. But the second thing that has put their backs up is Hertzog's speech at Nylstroom.² The whole of Natal feels insulted about it—in newspapers,

¹ On 1 October 1912 the annual congress of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Vrouwen Federasie (South African Women's Federation), founded in 1904, met in Johannesburg under the presidency of Mrs Faure. Its interests were mainly philanthropic and educational but, on this occasion, it also voiced mildly nationalist aims, such as making women 'good Afrikaners', excluding from membership all women who belonged to the Victoria League, and putting up a monument to Kruger.

² In his speech (5 October 1912) Hertzog had spoken of certain English-speaking South Africans, including Sir Thomas Smartt, as 'foreign adventurers' and 'bastard sheep' and had said he wanted to make the Afrikaner master ('baas') in South Africa.

clubs, streets, houses or wherever one goes. There is unprecedented excitement which, as you can understand, is doing us much, very much, harm. Yesterday I met our Party here, and believe me they also feel so strongly that one can hardly speak to them. Whatever I say and do I get only one answer: they are regarded as foreigners. So, Jannie old chap, I must say I have no idea why Hertzog goes so far, although I do not want to condemn him because I do not know and can also not find out from the newspapers the actual words that he has used. Is it so bad? Please let me know at Durban,¹ where I shall arrive on Monday at the Edward Hotel.

Have you had any rain yet? Has rained a bit here but still very dry.

Jannie, I shall be glad if you will ask Hertzog to wait with the appointment of Shepstone's [A. J.] successor until I am back. Hearty greetings, Yours,

Louis Botha

540 From J. X. Merriman

Private and Confidential

Vol. 10, no. 43

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

10 October 1912

My dear Smuts, Don't think me a confounded nuisance but what is one to do? All your colleagues seem to be making more or less wise speeches, what for or to what purpose I suppose they know. Meanwhile you I take it bear up the pillars of the State and so I write to you upon a matter which gives me some concern.

I see there is another row at Elsenburg.² I am not at all surprised. Agricultural Colleges are not only hugely extravagant but unless they are carefully watched they are apt to be mischievous rather than useful. The idea of old Smith³ running the agricultural education of the country is ludicrous. Slipshod himself he is the cause of sloppiness in others. If I might humbly suggest I should say you will never get any of these institutions to work properly until you get a Council or Board

¹ Botha was to attend a party congress there.

² The Agricultural College at Muldersvlei, near Stellenbosch.

³ F. B. Smith, then Secretary for Agriculture.

at their head *unpaid if possible* who will take the job up from a patriotic spirit. I fancy if you had one there would soon be a stirring in the dry bones of the institution in question—perhaps others also. Let them work on the grant-in-aid basis. I know that you, benevolent autocrat that you are, do not like this plan. You have, e.g., extinguished our Geological Commission and will do the same work at greatly increased cost, but let that pass. I am sure that no decent Board would have let Elsenburg get into its present state.

Do recollect Bob Lowe¹ and his education scheme. 'If it was costly it should be efficient and if it was inefficient it should at any rate be cheap.' I quote from memory. Your agricultural colleges are hugely extravagant and they are not as efficient as they should be. For the money we spend we could send all the pupils to an American university or to Holland, Germany or where you will and this is not right. South Africa is getting debauched by extravagance. You may say this is the fault of the age not inherent to this country, but we want to set an example, not to swim with a tide like that.

Do not think that I am making a mountain out of a molehill in this Elsenburg affair but it is a good example of the direction in which we are drifting. Just call, as Finance Minister, for a return of all our various state-aided institutions under the aegis of Agriculture and the result, and you will, I promise you, be astounded. With kind regards, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

Gokhale [G. K.] draws near. What *are* we to do with that worthy and inconvenient Brahmin? Something with marigolds in it?

541 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 10, no. 44

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

13 October 1912

My dear Smuts, I wrote the enclosed some days ago but did not send it, not wishing to be thought a busybody. Now I have just received yours about the Brahmin, for which thanks

¹ Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke (q.v.).

I am trying to interest Innes and [Sir W.] Solomon in him but they are as much at sea as we all feel. What does the fellow eat and drink—coffee and rice? I have just been reading Bryce's chapter on the negro,¹ very fruitful for us here. Pray do what you can to modify the wild man Hertzog who seems to have a touching faith in 'nostrums'. Yet I suppose he reads history. I shall truly and really be anxious to help you if I can in the matters you mention, knowing what stumbling-blocks they are to a Minister of Finance. To steer between the Scylla of ignorant prejudice and the Charybdis of doctrinaire theory is no easy task. Stop your ears with wax like Ulysses, whom, indeed, in a good many respects you resemble.

Do you not wish you were in the Balkans? There is scope enough! I was rather surprised and interested by being asked by a Coloured cab-driver what I thought of the action of the European powers towards Turkey!!² It would have done you good to have heard my exposition but it shows how education and the Press are stirring up the spirit of unrest all over the world. Awkward for the dominant races.

I see that Abe Bailey is going to try Grahamstown. He is a stamp of man that our Parliament will be better without. No convictions and not many principles but plenty of the root of all evil.

Do not overdo yourself. With kind regards, Yours very truly,
John X. Merriman

ENCLOSURE

Private and confidential

Schoongezicht
Stellenbosch
3 October 1912

My dear Smuts, More than one friend, amongst others the Courtneys, wrote to me—doubtless they have done so to you also—telling me of the intended visit of Gokhale. I did what I could to point out what an embarrassing mistake such a

¹ In *Impressions of South America*.

² A treaty between Bulgaria and Serbia (March 1912) provided for the acquisition of Balkan territory and the autonomy of Macedonia after a possible war against Turkey. The Great Powers intervened to restrain the Balkan Allies and to force Turkish concessions in Macedonia, but to no purpose. The first Balkan War began on 18 October 1912.

mission¹ would be, of course without any sort of result. Now here he is on his way. What do you intend to do ? I write to you as you are the one of the Government who will possibly best understand the position Gokhale occupies in the official British sphere as a member of the Viceroy's Council. Here of course he will be considered, and I fear treated, as a mere 'kleurling'.² I am sure that you would not wish this. Could you not set the tone by making him the guest of the Government? I am sure we all, if we went to India, would willingly accept the hospitality of people in Gokhale's position. Pardon me for writing as I dare say you have done all that is proper but I am anxious that we should not appear rude or churlish. Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

542 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 10, no. 107

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge
18 October 1912

My dear Smuts, Your cheque for £40 arrived safely last Sunday. This week I am sending you: *Journal of Ethics*, July; *English Review*, August to October; *Hibbert Journal*, July; *North American Review*, July–September; *Philosophical Review*, July and September; *Sociological Review*, July; *Eugenics*, July; *Mind*, July; Bismarck's *Reminiscences*, 2 vols. 'new remainder'; Hohenlohe's *Memoirs*, do.; Bryce: *Studies in Biography*; Bryce: *South America*; Zimmern: *Greek Commonwealth*; Weyl: *New Democracy*; Smith: *Children of all the People* (not a book such as I expected, or as Macmillan generally publishes, or as a review described it); Peel: *Future of England*; *The Great Analysis*; Moore: *Ethics*; Sorley: *Moral Life*; <Sewald>: *Jenny and Der Seehof*; Giles: *Civilization of China*; Margoliouth: *Mohammedanism*.

I have not been able to get your MS. arranged and packed to go this week, but I will despatch it by next week's mail. I have not been able to read any more of it; I have read almost nothing for several months of a kind requiring severe mental

¹ To discuss the proposed Immigration Bill.

² 'Coloured person' (Afrikaans).

application. I doubt whether I shall ever do much more now of this kind of reading; it is too great a strain. But if I had been able to read your MS. through, any detailed criticism I could have made would have always gone back to the fundamental point, a total difference of method and basis between us. You seem to me to build from the apex downwards, to proceed on the old pre-scientific plan, the good old way of Plato, Spinoza, Hegel, etc., of throwing out some brilliant speculation or flash of insight, and then trying ingeniously to make it plausible. If existence, or the universe, or the realm of knowledge, has the unity or 'wholeness' that you posit, and is explained thereby, such unity can only be reached by a long and thorough process of analysis and synthesis, parts or factors or aspects being first examined in their connections and relations, and 'wholes', first smaller, then larger and more complex, being assumed as they may be justified by the evidence. Ward has done good service by admitting and showing that all philosophizing must at least begin with pluralism. He has made as vigorous and manful an attempt as seems possible to arrive at a rational monism, but he seems to me to fail utterly; I quite agree with Hobson's secondary title for his book, as regards the latter part, *The Bankruptcy of Theism*, of theism or monism of any kind. I confess that I see in the accessible facts of the universe no rational unity, no one co-ordinating purpose, no single design. There seem to be in the facts presented for scientific analysis and constructive effort numerous lines of development that seem to show something which requires the category or 'working hypothesis' of 'directivity', or purpose, or design, but it seems to be as purely a practical instrument, as little a provable principle, as little realizable by the mind as a self-consistent, harmoniously working scheme of things, as the 'working hypothesis' of 'the conservation of energy', or the theory of electrons, etc. The most that can be said for this view of things seems to me to be rather well said by J. A. Thomson in his essay in the *Hibbert Journal* recently: 'Is there One Science of Nature?'

I am afraid I cannot give a good account of my health and general condition; it has been worse for some months than ever before. I think there is now some beginning of improvement, but whether I shall ever again recover much vigour, or

be more than a vegetating valetudinarian I do not know. I have no organic disease that I know of to threaten life, but though life may be indefinitely prolonged, it does not seem likely ever again to be of much use. Kind regards to Mrs Smuts, and my love to the bairns. Yours ever,

H. J. Wolstenholme

543 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 10, no. 108

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge

24 October 1912

My dear Smuts, Today I send off your MS., in two packages, also (1) Marlitt: *Das Heide Prinzesschen*, which, though ordered, had not arrived when my last week's despatch was sent, and (2) F. Harrison: *Autobiographic Memoirs*, 2 vols.

The turn for literary style which I think your MS. shows to be well worth cultivation, leads to the suggestion that you should apply yourself to history rather than to philosophy. In the latter I think you are attempting the, in your circumstances, impossible, and in my view, the *überhaupt*¹ impossible. It would be little short of a miracle if a busy statesman and man of affairs should be able to do as a pareragon what some of the keenest intellects have vainly essayed to do with the full devotion of a whole lifetime. Your work must perforce always remain that of an amateur, and it would take years of study and work before you could write anything that could command the attention of philosophers *von Fach*.² But if you carried out the design you once mentioned to me, of writing a history of the War, you would at once get a hearing, and might succeed in adding one more to the not numerous classics of history. It is worth considering!

Here in Europe we are in the first uncertainties of a war³ which it is still hoped may be circumscribed, but who knows? Before I write next we may be launched on the long-dreaded general European war. Yours sincerely,

H. J. Wolstenholme

¹ Entirely.

² Professional philosophers.

³ See p. 115 *supra*, note 2.

544 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 10, no. 45

*Private and confidential*Schoongezicht
Stellenbosch
25 October 1912

Dear Smuts, You may perhaps like to hear my impressions of Gokhale. I naturally did not attend any of his functions as I did not wish to be mixed up with Abdurahman nor Alexander [M.] who both seem to have their own axes to grind on that particular stone. Gokhale was good enough to call on me at the Club and I had some three-quarter hour's conversation with him; he impressed me very favourably—an educated gentleman who speaks English as well as we do, is not a Baboo but a High Caste Mahratta, who were, as you know, a fighting race who gave us many a twister. We did not discuss the question here beyond generalities but drifted off into the relation of our question to India, upon which he was very interesting—the new spirit that has arisen in the East of disgust at Western domination and the curious stirrings in that stagnant pool. Not very comforting talk to an Englishman! Of course there is another side to that question which I was polite enough not to mention. I suppose the Greeks and Asiatics always felt in the same way to the Romans who were nearly as brutal and unsympathetic as we are but without the additional arrogance of Christianity and Colour.

What this exordium leads up to is an expression of a hope that you will be able to arrive at some real solution that may do away with all the odious and illiberal machinery of repression, which indeed is a poor reflection on the opinion we hold of our own power if it needs to be hedged round in such a fashion, nor can I remember that history shows us any example of such sort of hedges being anything but fatal to the race that uses them. Recollect, I implore you, that there are other and surely greater interests at stake than the convenience of traders and the prejudices of the community. I am sure you would not associate yourself with the utterances of a harum-scarum fellow like Fichardt [C. G.]! Bring your philosophy to bear.

Curious that Paul Kruger should have been more tolerant on this question than the men of light and learning who succeeded him, but he was a man. Talking of philosophy get

and read Bryce's new book *Impressions of South America*. The travel part is flimsy but the last chapters on race questions and politics are very meaty and useful to us.

Sorry you do not agree with my nostrum for agricultural colleges. You have a more touching faith in bureaucracy than I have. If it is good it etiolates the people, if bad it is nearly as bad a tyranny as the Labour Party. But where shall wisdom be found in government? Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

545 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 10, no. 32

c/o Sebasti e Reali
20 Piazza di Spagna
Roma, Italy
17 November 1912

My dear Oom Jannie, Your very nice letter of 20 October would have been answered last week, only I have been moving house and that has usurped all and more than all of my strength and energy. The doctor had urged for months that I must move, but of course that could not be until I had found a tenant to take it off my hands—that is now accomplished and I have let it, with my furniture, till 1 May when my lease ends and I shall find myself obliged to seek another permanent abode. So here I am in a very modest little inn and after all it is some relief to a weak person to be set free from the cares of even a small house, so difficult is it to run one with an Italian servant. Often and often I wish for Daniel or Zimba, my Kaffir boys. And here I shall stay looking out for a new abode which must be without stairs and with a wee bit of garden and half the price I have hitherto had to give. To find these advantages I feel sure I must leave Rome and go and live in some of the villages in the neighbouring hills, the Alban or Sabine ranges. It will be isolated but it will be within my means which Rome is not; 600,000 people in Rome and only house accommodation for 450,000 sends rent up sky-high. Everyone complains but nothing is done to mend matters. Since the war, too, food and other necessities, high before, have risen yet higher and shew no signs of decrease.

You speak of 'Italy having won in Tripoli'.¹ I don't think that at all expresses the position. She has done but little there, only hanging on to the coast, never able to penetrate the hinterland or go beyond the cannon reach of her ships, and she was desperately anxious to end a war which was getting very unpopular and a fearful drain on the Treasury, but the conditions of peace are most unpalatable to Italians and perhaps most of them have only learnt through these conditions how little hold on Tripoli they really had. I think they must thank the Balkans that the conditions were not even worse.

Have you seen William Watson's verses on the Balkans? 'Moonset and Sunrise', where he speaks of:

'The little lands with hearts of flame
That put the mighty thrones to shame'.

It is a wonderful and thrilling chapter of History, but what awful bloodshed and misery!

Thanks for your hopes about my health. I am better since returning to Rome and feel with warmth and quiet and no exertions and every external aid, I shall keep to a certain mark, but without those aids collapse at once. I am just reading Cicero's essays *On Old Age* and *On Friendship*. I am now old enough to appreciate all he says about old age, much of which fits invalidism also. You are not old enough yet, so don't read it for another ten years or fifteen. Also this week I have buoyed myself up through the worries of house-moving and packing by reading Marcus Aurelius again and delighting in the lofty altitude from which he contemplates life.

How does your philosophical writing get on? Is it too learned and technical for me to understand? If not send me a copy.

You are so kind, dear Oom Jannie, to offer me help if needed and to hope I have enough. I assure you it is my continual effort to live economically and I have every hope of pulling through as long as the present dividends continue steady. This year I have had to repair my cottage at Johannesburg, which was heavy, but next year I hope it won't be needed. Of what comes to me here, I try from time to time to put by a little 'on deposit' always fearing some catastrophe might come

¹ In October 1912 Tripoli was annexed by Italy after a war with Turkey.

which would make a sudden or heavy call upon me. And a woman alone in a foreign land can't be too careful, new friends smile on you as long as you have money; if they thought you had none, they would turn and flee as from a sinking ship. For your generous help in the past I can't be too grateful and I always hope the day will come when I shall be able to make it good to you. And often I worry to think of the trouble I give to you and Mr Roos when you both have public affairs and private families to absorb your whole attention. Please therefore do not ever worry about me for I am carefulness itself and shall pull through somehow.

I have some more and fuller papers to send to you about the Agricultural Institute which is a movement which interests me deeply.

I am glad Irene remains a joy to you, an increasing joy, and I hope the farm begins to pay. At least it makes Mrs Smuts very happy and the children healthier than they could be in Pretoria. Where does General Botha live now? I hear nothing of him or his. My paper ends and so must I. With hearty thanks for your letter, from

Emily Hobhouse

546 From P. R. Viljoen

Vol. 10, no. 101A

Heidelberg

18 December 1912

Waarde Jannie, Ik kom zoo even terug van Maritsburg, de tijding van julle ministriële crisis kwam als verpletterende bom onder ons. Nog nooit heef ik de Afrikaanders zoo zien schrik, maar gelukkig in Transvaal en Natal zoover ik de menschen ontmoet heef staan zij achter Generaal Botha. Generaal Hertog heef ons in moeilijkheid gebreng door zijn onvoorzichtige uitlatingen. Wij beamen ten volle wat U gezeg heef op Paardekraal. Ons toekomst voor vrede en rus leg daarin dat wij alles moete doen om met de Britsche Regering in vrede te leven, die dag als Engeland niet meer de oppermag heef op zee is het klaar met ons. Wij worden dan een prooi van andere nasies. Ik hoor vandaag dat hier menschen zijn natuurlijk ondersteuners van ou Frikkie en de Wildt die lijsten wille late tekenen om Hertog te steunen. Wij houden hen wag. Ik had

een lot burgers al bij mijn aankomst om te vernemen hoe dingen staan. Ik heef ze geraden niets te teekenen en de gehele zaak aan U en Generaal Botha te laten. Ik heeft hen er op gewezen als zij zich achter Hertog scharen zij ons partij verzwak waardoor de Progressieven dan aan de beheer komen. Julle moet haas maken dat de zaak opgelost worden. Gij en Botha kan rekenen op ons. Het volk zal julle nooit verlaten. Ik ga nou veel rond en heef kans ons volk bij een te houden. Allen erkennen het dat Hertog dingen zeggen dat ons benadeel. Nu na beste wenschen voor Chrismis en nieuw jaar, met hoog achtung U Dienaar en Friendt

P. R. Viljoen

TRANSLATION

Heidelberg
[Transvaal]

18 December 1912

Dear Jannie, I have just returned from Pietermaritzburg. The news of your ministerial crisis struck us like a shattering bombshell.¹ I have never seen the Afrikaners so startled but fortunately in the Transvaal and Natal, as far as I have met people, they stand behind General Botha. General Hertzog has got us into trouble by his careless utterances. We confirm fully what you said at Paardekraal. Our future peace and quiet lie in our doing everything to live in peace with the British Government. On the day when England no longer has supremacy at sea it will be finished with us. We shall then become the prey of other nations. I hear today that there are people here, supporters of old Frikkie and De Wildt,² of course, who want to get lists signed to support Hertzog. We are keeping an eye on them. There were a lot of burghers, when I arrived, to ask how things stand. I advised them to sign nothing and to leave the whole matter to you and General Botha. I pointed out to them that if they range themselves with Hertzog they weaken our party, by which means the Progressives will come into power. You must make haste to solve

¹ In order to remove Hertzog from the Cabinet Botha resigned on 19 December 1912, reformed the Ministry, and excluded Hertzog.

² On 7 December 1912, at De Wildt in the Transvaal, Hertzog had made another pro-Afrikaner, anti-imperialist speech which precipitated the Cabinet crisis.

the matter. You and Botha can rely on us. The people will never desert you. I now move about a good deal and have a chance to keep our people together. Everyone admits that Hertzog says things that injure us. With best wishes for Christmas and New Year and with respect, Your friend,

P. R. Viljoen

547 From C. P. Crewe

Vol. 10, no. 10

Woodleigh
St. Mark's Road
East London
30 December 1912

My dear Smuts, I promised Colonel [G. N.] Williams I would forward the enclosed and as a matter of fact I advised him to put in the application which I have read. I think it would be a gracious act if presently you could employ him and I feel sure he will do his best if you do so. He has had a lesson which has modified his manner and I have had a very plain talk to him.

I am at a loss to understand why General de Wet has suddenly broken loose as I see he did at Pretoria on Saturday afternoon,¹ I had hoped and indeed thought he would have followed General Botha.

I suppose it cannot be helped but it is not pleasant to think many of the old troubles are back upon us. One had hoped South Africa would have been spared these and the horrid and detestable racial struggles. I only hope that from this distance I exaggerate the dangers which you who are at the seat of operations can judge of far better than I can. Perhaps too some steam will have been blown off before Parliament meets. Why you should be chosen for a violent denunciation on the Transvaal Education Act² now, when there has been silence from these quarters all these years I cannot understand. Is it because it is desired to put up other reasons for the Cabinet's recent troubles than the real ones, namely the De Wildt Siding speech?

¹ At a demonstration in support of Hertzog in Pretoria on 28 December 1912 General C. R. de Wet stood on a large dung-heap to address the crowd and said, 'I would rather be on a dung-heap with my people than in the palaces of the Empire.'

² See Vol. II, p. 346, note 1.

My sympathies are all with you, I cannot do more at present than sympathize. If I can be of any help let me know. I have seen a good many of our people and all I have seen take the reasonable view and feel your difficulties and the troubles of the situation.

I cannot close this without an expression of good wishes for the New Year, and the hope that the General and yourself will have the encouragement from your own people the policy of bringing about race peace in this country deserves. Yours sincerely,

C. P. Crewe

548 From S. W. Burger

Vol. 11, no. 4

Pretoria

8 Februari 1913

Waarde Jannie, Met ons nog wel en hoop 't zelfde van U allen. Het regen hier nu moois—heden de gehele dag regen ook in andere delen. Alles in de natuur en boerderij moois en geconsilieer. Maar ach! die politieke atmosfeer is vol stof en rook wolke, die ou krieses is al verrot en tog wil hij niet dood gaan. Waar drijf die Hertzog partij heen, is mij onbegrijpelijk. Jan rap en zijn maat behoort tot hun leger, zij hebben geen andere wapens als laster leugen en verdag makerij. Ik heb en ga nog voort met ons consiliatie politiek maar als hulle mij gaan drijf tot vechten, wel, dan moeten zij die bommen staan die zal komen. Ik hoop echter dat dit niet zal nodig wees. Staat maar julle man, ik hoop buiten Roos, Oost en Conradie dat Transvaal nog regt staan! Troost en sterk ons ou Long Tom maar. Hij krijg banje zwaar. Nu met beste groete, jou ou vriend

S. W. Burger

TRANSLATION

Pretoria

8 February 1913

Dear Jannie, We are still well and hope the same of you all. It is now raining nicely here—rain all day today, also in other parts. Everything in nature and farming nice and conciliated. But oh, the political atmosphere is full of dust and smoke clouds. The old crisis is already rotten and yet it will not

die. Where the Hertzog party is drifting I cannot understand. Any Tom, Dick and Harry belongs to their army; they have no other weapons than calumny, lies and arousing suspicion. I have gone on, and still do, with our conciliation policy but if they drive me to fighting, well, then they must endure the bombs that will come. But I hope that this will not be necessary. Stand fast. I hope, apart from Roos [T. J. de V.], Oost [H.] and Conradie,¹ that the Transvaal is still steadfast. Do comfort and strengthen our old Long Tom.² He has a very hard time. With best wishes, Your old friend,

S. W. Burger

549 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 11, no. 21

c/o Sebastie Reali
20 Piazza di Spagna
Roma

6 March 1913

My dear Oom Jannie, Grateful thanks for your warm letter of sympathy written from Cape Town and for that of Mrs Smuts which please tell her I hope to answer next week.

You were right in saying you felt sure I should pull through this attack. I have done so, though only by the skin of my teeth, and yesterday, the first time for eight weeks, I went downstairs. Thus you see strength is returning.

You will think I am really mercilessly bombarding a busy man with letters, writing again so soon, but the fact is I want to consult you about the unveiling of the Bloemfontein Monument³ which is to take place 16 December next. Though when I say 'consult' I use that word in the rather feminine way, merely meaning that I want to know your various points of view about it, not binding myself to follow your advice but certainly using it to help me make up my own mind. For I have received an invitation from President Steyn to come and unveil the monument and must ere long send a reply.

¹ Perhaps Willem Conradie of Pretoria, who had fought under Smuts in the Cape Colony.

² Louis Botha. 'Long Tom' was the nickname of a heavy gun used by the South African Republic Artillery in the Anglo-Boer War.

³ In memory of the women and children who died during the Anglo-Boer War.

In many ways of course I should like to do this, but on this side naturally the difficulties facing me are considerable, the chief being my strength. At present I cannot possibly judge of that and in any case should need my doctor's opinion. On your side I want to know if this really *is* a national monument provided by a *national* movement or if it has settled down to be only a Free State and local affair. Who are on the Committee and what on the whole is the general attitude of the country towards it and of the Government in particular? Will it be treated as a national dedication and the Prime Minister, etc. be officially present?

In fact I want to know these points and all you think about it, for I seem to remember when I left Pretoria you and Botha were not very much inclined towards it. Personally I *cannot* think it either *should* or *could* arouse racial animosity; should it do so in anyone that person must be of a type of mind so mean as to be best disregarded. Certainly, if I am ever to visit South Africa again it would be only for this reason that I could pull myself together for such an effort, and not *very* probable even for this.

Forgive awkward grammar and answer me soon. Yours ever affectionately,

Emily Hobhouse

550 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 11, no. 81

Cape Town

18 May 1913

My memory is so confused that I don't know whether I owe you or you owe me a letter. Like the proverbial criminal you will however get the benefit of the doubt, and I shall proceed to reply to some (unreceived) correspondence. I hope you are all well and especially little Jan and Tonie. God bless them both; I often think of my little Quakers so far away and yet so near to mind and heart. And how is dear little Margaret whom you stole away (quite unsuccessfully) from my affections? Tell her that to the jaded sight of her worn-out politician friend her fine Roman handwriting is as water to the thirsty desert stag. I long to see you all and talk as in the old days. But when shall that be? My idea of coming to England this autumn will, I fear, remain an idea. The political situation

here is such that I would not venture to leave my friends alone here. This rumpus with General Hertzog means a fight with racial narrow-mindedness and bigotry which we are bound to see through in the interests of the future peace of South Africa. Years ago when Margaret was labouring in this field she told me how disappointed she was to hear what was said of Botha and myself in Free State circles. Well, now it is all coming to a head, and I am anxious that this poison in the young blood of South Africa shall be let. But it is a painful process, because it is so painful to fight with your own friends of former days.

We have had a long and arduous Session; I especially have had a bad time as Finance Minister, but really everything is moving quite well and South Africa is making giant strides forward, except in her white population—and that is the most serious question of all in this young country with its big Native population.

How are the dear ones at Millfield? Even to think of them is a special pleasure. I hope they are all doing very well. My little family is back at Irene after several months with me here. God has been very good to both of us. May we be worthy in some small degree.

Tell Margaret Hull has turned completely against General Botha and myself and with Hertzog voted for a motion of no confidence. Mrs Hull is very bitter against us—I cannot understand why, unless it is that she knows she misadvised her husband to desert us. This is a disappointing world.

551 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 11, no. 27

The Westminster Palace Hotel
London, S.W.
30 July 1913

Dear Oom Jannie, I was sorry to see by your handwriting how very overdone you have been by the late stormy Session; and now no rest can be possible for you, as I know you are in the thick of the troubles which day by day we are reading of, as darkening the skies of South Africa.¹

¹ In July 1913 there was a miners' strike on the Witwatersrand accompanied by rioting. Imperial troops, called in by the Government to keep order, fired on a mass meeting. The strike was successful, the main issue being recognition of unions from which black miners were excluded.

Well, 'Labour unrest' has come to stay a while, and it is in all the living and growing countries of the world. Why should you be exempt? If it all turns the public eye on the phthisis trouble and the way the poor Kaffirs die of it—not so often I am told in the mines, as in their kraals whither they return bearing the disease with them and spreading it amongst their families—then the strike will have done a useful piece of work. And also it is well that plutocracy as well as aristocracy should learn the power of democracy. Don't you agree?

However ere this letter reaches you I trust all will be quiet again and you will find yourself with ample time to philosophize leisurely over all the 'ocracies and make up your mind which is the hardest to govern! I think the plutocracy is the worst to manage, far and away, and the bureaucracy is the most maddening in its dead-aliveness.

No wonder you feel the moment inopportune for the *Vrouwen Monument* to come into notice—still, I hope by 16 December all may be different, and that you will all bury the hatchet at least on that occasion. I have heard recently from a Cape friend of mine now in London that General Botha expressed himself as very sore and hurt because the Free Staters had not consulted him about this unveiling. Well, I think that a little unfair don't you? Because, as you know, President Steyn's *first* act nearly five years ago was to come to Pretoria specially to consult the Transvaal leaders about it and ask their co-operation and you all refused to be on the Committee as I understood. There was a great opportunity for conciliation lost. Anyhow now the opportunity has come again for Botha to practise his conciliatory policy, and it would be a change for once to show conciliation to *his own people*. I hate the word myself and think it was an unfortunate one ever to have adopted, the more so as it seems to have worked out as always conciliatory to the other side, while his own party, who had suffered for long years and needed a bit of petting and patting on the back, have always felt cold-shouldered. At least that was the feeling when I left Pretoria, and it has evidently increased since and was bound to find vent in some wide movement. I think his presence at this unveiling would do much to allay irritation and I do hope you will exert your influence with him to bring it about, sinking *pro tem* all

personal feelings of bitterness. If he is not there as Premier, he must be present as a private citizen come to honour the memory of the dead.

So, dear Oom Jannie, your work is cut out to bring them all to reason. I hope I shan't have to regret the effort I am making at the risk of my life to be present among you.

It is very sad about Mr Sauer, one of the few with strength and experience of affairs on whom the Cape had to rely, and to me a personal friend whose loss I feel deeply. Well, when things come to the worst they mend. I sail 30 August by the intermediate *Galway Castle* which takes twenty-one days but is cheaper. Your ever affectionately,

Emily Hobhouse

Address at the Cape is
c/o Miss May Murray
Kenilworth House
Kenilworth
nr. Cape Town

552 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 11, no. 76

The Treasury
Pretoria

4 September 1913

My dear Wolstenholme, You owe me several letters if I am not mistaken so I am not writing to you today but merely enclose a cheque for £50 as I find I am already largely in debt to you.

I have been very busy for months now—some of my colleagues on leave and one dead,¹ and the willing horse has to bear the burden. I must confess I am getting fagged and weary; otherwise I am still fit. I hope you are going on better than usual. With kind regards, Ever yours

J. C. Smuts

553 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 11, no. 77

The Treasury
Pretoria

5 September 1913

My dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your two notes.² With regard to the Loxton periodical court there has been

¹ J. W. Sauer died on 24 July. ² Not in the Smuts Collection.

some difficulty and delay in defining the area of jurisdiction. That difficulty has now been overcome, and a proclamation will be issued at an early date.

I am at present the humble individual in charge of the Justice Department.¹ Perhaps now you won't wonder why justice seems to have perished from the land. Remember however that we have such august officials as Attorneys-General to whom under the Constitution we entrusted the functions in connection with prosecution, and that they exercise their own wise discretion. I have already drawn the attention of these gentlemen to flagrant instances where the limits of free speech have been grossly exceeded in the speeches of these Labour orators.

No, I have not seen the book you mention and will have to wait till Parliament meets when I hope to have a little more leisure. To tell the truth, I am getting very weary with all this grind of administration. But Burton² will be back soon, and I hope a proper Minister of Justice will be found and then there will be only Fischer's³ and my own work to attend to.

I hope you are keeping up well and have not been washed away by the floods or carried away by indignation over all these doings up north. The country is young and growing rapidly—hence these troubles of growth. But we must see that the work of union is not endangered by a reactionary provincial spirit, which seems also to be growing. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

554 To J. H. Hofmeyr Jnr.

Vol. 11, no. 78

The Treasury
Pretoria

6 September 1913

Waarde Mr Hofmeyr, Vergeef mijn verzuim met het beantwoorden van uw brief d.d. 15 Juli 1913. Ik heb niet tijd gehad mijn oude correspondentie door te gaan, maar vind dat mijne vrouw alle belangrijke brieven vernield heeft tijdens de Engelsche occupatie van Pretoria daar haar huis herhaalde

¹ Following the death of J. W. Sauer.

² Then Minister of Railways and Harbours.

³ Then Minister of the Interior; he was on leave abroad.

malen onderzocht werd voor compromitterende litteratuur. Ek heb dus niets dat licht werpt op het belangrijke tijdperk door u onder behandeling.

Met best wenschen voor de goede vordering van uw belangrijk werk, *t.t.*

J. C. Smuts

TRANSLATION

The Treasury
Pretoria

6 September 1913

Dear Mr Hofmeyr, Forgive my delay in answering your letter of 15 July 1913. I have not had time to look through my old correspondence, but find that my wife destroyed all important letters during the English occupation of Pretoria as her house was repeatedly searched for compromising literature. So I have nothing that throws light on the important period with which you are dealing.

With best wishes for the good progress of your important work,¹ *totus tuus*,

J. C. Smuts

555 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 11, no. 38

Private and confidential

Schoongezicht

8 September 1913

My dear Smuts, I am pained to think that you should have been at the trouble of replying to my trivialities under your own hand. And it irks me to think of all the work you have on your shoulders. Rest assured that the sensible men think more of him who 'grips the kicking sweephead' than of those who bumble about making silly speeches. I am sorry that my clumsy pleasantry about justice should have come to your address. I am sure that you do your best but what annoys the man in the street is that those ruffians who burned down Taylor's premises and committed those horrid outrages upon poor Nurse Scott seem to have gone unnoticed.² I am told that Madeley [W. B.]

¹ *The Life of Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr* by J. H. Hofmeyr.

² Acts of violence during the strike on the Witwatersrand in July 1913. Mrs Scott and her daughter were driven out of their house at night and their furniture was burnt because Miss Scott was engaged to a strike-breaker.

was in the crowd and that at Taylor's place the police were looking on. Surely the *pes claudus*¹ will limp in some fashion after those rascals. I think you are wrong about the growth of provincial feeling except in the mind of Hull. What people do really feel most acutely is the fact that on the first occasion, despite a lavish expenditure, the Government of the Union should have proved itself incapable of protecting persons and property or of keeping law and order without the aid of Imperial forces! As I, with you, had much to do in framing the Act of Union this is the bitterest pill of all. I see in the Press that your colleague Malan² has been making an 'announcement' to the Press!! Surely legislation of that nature is not committed to the tender mercies of Malan and the Yachtsman?³ In the same issue there was Duncan's programme of his own off-shoot from the Unionist party.⁴ The two pronouncements remind one of the famous auction between Cleon and the sausage-seller for the favours of Demos.⁵ In our case Demos does not seem to take either of the bids very kindly. But all this miserable trimming makes me regret all the more that you are bound down to the tithing of mint and cumin leaving the weightier matters of the law, and they are weighty indeed, to such, may I say, feeble hands. Perhaps my musings in Arcadia make me take a more serious view than you seem to do of the situation. We may laugh at the ravings of the syndicalists but the dangerous thing is that they are appealing, not I fear without success, both to the poorer Dutch and to the Natives, and the apathy of most, and the vote-catching proclivities of others are aiding the forces of disorder, with which Malan and his genial crew are coping. But perhaps your insouciance is wiser in its generation than my anxiety. *Principiis obsta*⁶ is a motto that is very dear to me.

¹ Lame foot.

² Then Minister of Mines and Industries.

³ The Secretary of Mines and Industries, H. W. Smyth. On 6 September 1913 Malan had announced that Smyth would prepare seven Bills on such basic matters as industrial disputes, trade-unions, workmen's compensation, etc. Previously he had announced his decision not to appoint a Commission on industrial legislation.

⁴ P. Duncan and five colleagues had issued a proposed constitution and programme for 'The Young Unionist Society of South Africa'. It was based, on the Unionist Party programme but emphasized social and industrial legislation, assisted immigration and revision of taxation, including a land-tax.

⁵ In *The Knights* by Aristophanes.

⁶ Check the evil at the outset. Ovid.

If you get Burton as Minister of Justice you will do well; he is an ideal man for that post—*crede experto*¹—cold, impassive, courageous and just, and he knows the job *thoroughly*. I found him a tower of strength in some uneasy times. I think the Trades Federation² would find him another guess [*sic*] sort of customer from Malan unless I am gravely disappointed, and do recollect that the maintenance of law and order is the great question before the country.

Well, I feel ashamed for having taken your time up. Do not bother to reply for I shall not take it as a mark either of hostility or of indifference. With kind regards, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

556 From A. Fischer

Vol. 11, no. 8

Norfolk Hotel
Brighton
[England]

19 September 1913

My dear Smuts, Just a line to let you know that I am still alive and, I am glad to say, at last progressing satisfactorily towards health and strength. Since I wrote last, some weeks ago, I have not heard from any of you but have seen from the papers the trouble and worries you have had and are still having at the hands of the Labour Party and, I am sorry to add, at the hands of Hertzog. I had a chat with Burton before he left and he will tell you, for what they are worth, the views I have on these matters. In regard to the code wire I received from General Botha I can only confirm what I said in my reply, that the suggestions he made are, I think, excellent. I think the addition of more members to the Cabinet a necessary one and the selection for the Orange Free State of H. S. Theron, of Hoopstad, if carried out, as good a one as could be made, though of course, as in all such cases where one selection has to be made, it will cause heart-burnings in those who think themselves passed over. As to leaving the Interior only to me, that would be a decision which would not only be fallen in with by me but would meet with 'Doctor's' approval, as I

¹ Trust the expert.

² The Federation of Trades.

have been told that, though I would probably be as well as ever again soon, it would be well if I did not take too much hay on my fork for a while. I am sorry to see our friends the Indians are going to give us trouble with passive resistance¹ and I am sorry also that you should have the worry of it again till I come back. I hope they will think better of it still. I am glad to think they won't have sympathy this time from this side, at least not if Lord Crewe sticks to what he told me in the long and full talk I had with him. They seem to be in for a lot of trouble here also with labour strikes.

As soon as Parliament closed all the Ministers cleared out of town and they are keeping out of reach, so that I have not been able to get at them again since I last wrote to General Botha. Churchill has not yet sent me the promised proposed draft letter *re* naval defence, and Seeley, since his wife's death, has been away so that I could not see him about the military lands matter. I am however next week going to see Harcourt at Nuneham and will get him to fix me up appointments with the others, on above subjects, before I leave which, as at present fixed, will be on 18 October per *Saxon*. The specialist wished me to take a couple of months more but I think I can do without it and feel already as [if] I have been out of work and leaving my colleagues in the lurch long enough.

The prescription of quiet, rest, massage and strict diet, with a little physicking, has done wonders for me and I really feel that the treatment has done me good. I saw a good deal of Richard Solomon before I left for Bournemouth, where I was sent for three weeks; since then he also is flitting about on his holiday.

Give my kindest regards to General Botha and all my other colleagues and with same to yourself, believe me, Yours very sincerely,

A. Fischer

¹ The Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, designed to prevent further immigration of Indians into the Union, empowered the Minister of the Interior to declare anyone a prohibited immigrant on economic, educational or social grounds. The wives and children of monogamous marriages of Indians domiciled in the Union were exempted from its provisions. Indians were, as before union, not allowed to move from one Province to another without a permit. In protest against the Act, Gandhi started a passive resistance movement and led a march of about 2,700 Indians from Natal into the Transvaal.

557 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 11, no. 39

Private

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

3 October 1913

My dear Smuts, Thank you very much for your message. I deferred replying till I had seen Lloyd [A.C.G.]. He tells me, and Professor [E. A.] Walker confirms it, that it is undoubtedly true that the Macartney Day Book¹ is in our Archives. They are not certain about the letters, but are making search. Lloyd has meanwhile written to Maggs,² to get a fuller account of the nature of those letters so as to make sure. It seems that both copies are in Andrew Barnard's³ hand-writing at least they think so! and they surmise that they followed the old Dutch custom of having three copies made, or rather three originals, but what time they must have had in those spacious days! Does it not make your mouth water?

I wish you would shake up the dry bones of the Archives. There are two good men on the Commission—van der Horst and Lloyd and both Botha [C. G.] and Fouché [L.] are excellent but there is no 'zip' about the business.

You ought to do something for these things are just one of our greatest treasures and some-day I hope we shall see better use made of them. With kind regards, Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

558 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 11, no. 29

S.S. Garth Castle

6 October 1913

Dear Oom Jannie, Just a line to tell you and Mrs Smuts that I am come, and gone to the Purcells⁴ at Diep River⁵ to bide a wee and *rest*. The voyage has been hateful but will soon be forgotten.

I do hope you and Mrs Smuts will be coming south ere long that we may meet. Love to all and greetings till we meet.

Emily Hobhouse

¹ Earl Macartney was Governor of the Cape Colony in 1797-8.

² Maggs Bros., a London firm of booksellers.

³ Earl Macartney's secretary.

⁴ Dr W. F. Purcell.

⁵ Near Cape Town.

559 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 11, no. 79

The Treasury
Pretoria

21 October 1913

Dear Mr Merriman, You are quite wrong in thinking that your letters are not welcome. On the contrary your letters give me more pleasure than almost any others I receive. And besides I am anxious wherever possible to carry out your wishes in regard to public matters. The item about adulteration was news to me.¹ I shall consult the Excise people and let you know the result.

Re the enclosed cutting there seems to be a good deal of misapprehension as to the addition of 'Industries' to 'Mines'. Financial questions in regard to all industries will remain with the Treasury, and the change of name is only intended to carry out the existing practice under which Malan looks after labour conditions and industrial employment generally. The protectionist Mr [W. J.] Laite thinks that the protectionist Mr Malan will, as Minister of Industries, create a new heaven and a new earth. He will soon find out his mistake.

What is your idea of appointing Professor [G. E.] Cory, of Grahamstown, over the Archives at Cape Town? I have not spoken to him and only wish to have a really good man. Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

560 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 11, no. 34

*Private and Personal*Dutch Reformed Parsonage
Beaufort West

[Cape Province]

2 December 1913

My dear Oom Jannie, Which is the greater plague—the Indians or me?

Why, oh why, did you urge such a derelict, such a broken-up wreck to come so far? Here I am, held up, by that incapable organ, my heart. Doctor has ordered me to turn round and go back. I say no, it is my duty to go on. We have temporized by my staying here a few days to see if I grow worse, or perchance

¹ The letter referred to is not in the Smuts Collection.

become used to the conditions of these heights. So the doctor is watching my heart and in three or four days more I must decide what to do. But I do not disguise the truth from myself, nor does he disguise it. Any such attacks as I have had may be fatal. This I want you to know whatever may befall—and anyway *I am content*, believe that. Quite ready to go and not very desirous to stay. In any case I left my will with my brother in England. Professor L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt., 7 Broadlands Road, Highgate, London, N. is now his address, and I left instructions with the Purcells about my trunks etc., and asked them to cable my brother in case of need, and I thought my kind Trustees to whom I owe so much would see the Purcells were re-imbursed for all such things. You would find a good balance at my Standard Bank in Pretoria, and the wherewithal to bury me. So I hope there would be no difficulty anywhere.

I see Mr Roos is on his way home. I should have liked to have seen him, but 'tis not probable now. The Rev. [J. G.] Steytler and his wife are *so* good to me and have welcomed me to their cool house till I can proceed. They may patch me up.

My love to Mrs Smuts. If I get through with this I may see her at the Cape, but I want you to know just how it stands. The Bloemfontein Committee have most courteously set me free from my promise and beg me to consider my life first, but I feel a strong moral obligation, and still hope to be there.¹ Yours ever gratefully and affectionately,

Emily Hobhouse

561 From Lord Gladstone

Vol. 11, no. 13

Private

Government House
Pretoria
9 December 1913

Dear General Smuts, Thank you very much for your letter. Personally I felt that Ministers had every right to make a strong protest against the tone and substance of the Viceroy's speech.²

¹ Emily Hobhouse was not able to travel further north and had to return to Cape Town.

² Lord Hardinge, in a speech at Madras on 24 November 1913, praised the actions of Gandhi and his followers and criticized the steps taken against them by the Union Government. (*See* p. 135 *supra*, note 1.)

I am sure Harcourt shared this feeling. No easy task here just now to keep silence 'yea even from good words'. But unquestionably it makes things less difficult elsewhere and perhaps in the dignity of silence there is the best rebuke.

I think the reference covers the whole ground. Very sincerely yours,

Gladstone

562 Speech (1913)

Box H, no. 3

Speech made by Smuts at the unveiling at Bloemfontein, on 16 December 1913, of the monument to commemorate the Boer women and children who died during the Anglo-Boer War. The original document is a partly mutilated typescript, corrected by Smuts. Mutilated passages are marked thus: †.

Mijne vrienden, Ik zal zeer kort zijn, want op een ogenblik als het tegenwoordige, wanneer het hart vol is van de diepste gewaarwordingen, voel ik dat woorden ijdel en hol klinken.

In het leven van ieder mens komen er ogenblikken wanneer als het ware stilgestaan wordt en een blik terug wordt geworpen op de afgelegde levensweg—ogenblikken van diepe emotie—herinneringen—aangename en verdrietige—zoete en bittere—waarin gevoelens van dankbaarheid doch ook van teleurstelling spijt en berouw door de geest vliegen—ogenblikken wanneer men als het ware terugziet in het licht van het verleden om de weg te vinden in de duisternis van de toekomst—zulke ogenblikken komen er ook in de levensweg van volken. Voor zulk een ogenblik zeg ik bevindt het Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk zich by deze plechtigheid. Een plechtigheid die onze gedachten met liefde, trots, weemoed en berouw terugvoert naar de donkerste periode in onze Geschiedenis. Onze Geschiedenis—voorwaar een lang verhaal van ontbering, ellende en zelfopoffering onzer vrouwen. Wie zal ooit de zorg, kommer en angst beschrijven van de vrouwen der Voortrekkers toen zij met hunne mans de wildernis doortrokken? Zullen wij ooit de moed en liefde tenvolle beseffen waarmede zij naast hunne vaders, mannen en broeders al de gevaren van de woesternij trotseerden? Hoevelen van onze vrouwen kwamen niet in die strijd op gruwelijke wijze om het leven? Toen Commissaris Cloete de Voortrekkers

vrouwen na de annexatie van Natal te P. Maritzburg ontmoette, zeiden zij hem dat zij liever blootsvoets over de Drakensbergen zouden terug loopen dan onder de annexatie berusten. En toen Sir Harry Smith daarna de terugtrek op de Drakensbergen ontmoette, zeide hij dat hij er meer ellende en ontbering zag dan in enig land in de oorlogen van Napoleon behalve Portugal. Maar toch volhardden zij en moedigden de mans aan vast te houden. Een monument ter ere van die heldinnen hadden wij voorwaar reeds lang geleden met alle recht behoren op te richten.

By deze gelegenheid echter gaan onze gedachten meer bepaald naar die vrouwen en kinderen ter wier ere dit monument werd opgericht—zij die gedurende de donkerste tijd van onze geschiedenis, de jongste oorlog, omkwamen. Ik zeg de donkerste dagen die ons volk gekend heeft. Geen woorden zijn nodig om dat te staven—de cijfers zijn welsprekender dan woorden kunnen zijn.

[A partly illegible note in an unknown hand inserted here gives the following statistics:—

	Transvaal	Vrijstaat	Kaap Kolonie	Natal	
Vrouwen boven					
16 jaar	2,030	2,023	118	3	4,177 [<i>sic</i>]
Kinderen onder					
16 jaar	12,900	8,930	224	20	22,074
Samen vrouwen en kinderen					26,251]

Wanneer men zich herinnert dat de gehele bevolking der Republieken—man, vrouw, en kind—die aan de Republiekeïsche kant stond waarschijnlijk niet veel meer dan een twee honderd duizend zielen telde dan beseft men eerst de vreselijke, overstelpende betekenis van deze cijfers. Welke ellende, welke zielenangst moet daar in het hart van de meesten dier vrouwen zijn omgegaan in die vreselijke dagen! En toch wij die in het veld bleven weten het; van de zijde van die vrouwen werd met enkele uitzonderingen nooit enige poging aangewend om de mannen te bewegen tot overgave. Integendeel het is bekend dat burgers die de moed hadden laten zinken en zich overgaven met minachting en hoon door die heldinnen werden ontvangen. Mij zelve zijn vele van zulke gevallen bekend waar de mannen door die ontvangst zich uit schaamte weer by onze kommandos

aansloten. Die vrouwen waren inderdaad nakomelingen hunne dappere moeders en grootmoeders waardig. Naar die vrouwen zal ons nageslacht met rechtmatige trots wijzen. Een volk dat zulke moeders heeft voortgebracht *kan en zal nooit ontaarden!*

Dit monument werd zoals U bekend is door bescheiden giften uit alle delen des lands bekostigd; het kan dus aanspraak maken te zijn een nationale hulding van onze heldinnen. Ene hulde die gebracht wordt naar wij hopen zonder bitterheid in het gemoed en slechts uit zuivere liefde en eerbied voor die nobele vrouwen en hunne kinderen die de slachtoffers werden van een strijd tussen de twee blanke rassen die dit werelddeel hebben bevolkt. Zonder bitterheid—ik weet, ieder eerlijk mens weet, en beseft dat dit veel gevraagd is. Voor diegenen onder ons die onder de lange lijst de namen van vrouwen, moeders, dochters of kinderen herkennen, en zij zijn velen onder ons die dit doen, vereist het groot zelfbedwang en ingetogenheid om alle gevoelens van bitterheid van zich te stoten. Onze gemoe-deren schieten vol en onze kelen voelen als toegeschroefd wanneer wij ons alles herinneren vooral wanneer wij terug denken aan de smart en ontberingen † die uitbleve † en toch zeg ik is het onze plicht om geen bitterheid en haat te koesteren. Wat baat het ons, welk nut, welk voordeel kan het afwerpen om vandaag bittere verwijten te maken?—om vragen te stellen of deze of gene handelwijze nobel of zelfs verdedigbaar was? Onze taak is een andere. Wanneer nog een geslacht zal zijn heengegaan dan zal de geschiedschrijver vragen kunnen stellen en beantwoorden die wij vandaag niet kunnen behandelen zonder gevaar om hartstochten op te zwepen die moeten rusten en zonder gevaar om groot kwaad te doen. Wij, die vandaag deze hulde brengen, hebben recht om dat te doen; wij mogen en moeten die edele vrouwen eren—wij mogen en wij moeten de geschiedenis aan hun heengaan verbonden als een onschatbaar juweel in onze geschiedenis bewaren. Wij mogen en wij moeten onze kinderen leren om te trachten zulke moeders waardig te worden. Dat alles *mogen* wij niet alleen doen, het is onze heilige plicht. Dat doende handelen wij volgens de raad gegeven door President Kruger in zijn politiek testament aan zijn volk—‘onderzoek uw verleden, neemt daaruit al dat schoon is en

schep daarnaar uw toekomst'. Het bloedvergieten zelve echter in ons verleden is niet een van die dingen waarnaar wij onze toekomst moeten scheppen. God heeft niet gewild dat de een de ander zou uitroeien. Na al die ellende en dat bloedvergieten van 't verleden zijn beide rassen nog hier. Mogen wij niet, moeten wij niet geloven dat het Zijn wil is dat wij een andere weg trachten te bewandelen—de weg van liefde en vrede? Veel hebben wij geleden en velen onder U zullen geneigd zijn om te vragen 'waarom?' 'tot welk nut?' Wij kunnen slechts antwoorden: Gods wil geschiedde. In tegenspoed wordt karakter gevormd—dit is van volken even waar als van individuen. Laat ons slechts trachten om volgens ons geweten te handelen. Tevergeefs werden die levens zeker niet opgeofferd; het volk werd door beproeving gelouterd en in het karakter van het nageslacht zullen de vruchten van al die opofferingen gevonden worden.

Laten wij ons dierbaar Z. Afrika gelukkig achten dat het fundament van hare toekomstige voortbouw en grootheid op zoo 'n geschiedenis van opoffering en volharding gelegd is. En wanneer een sterk zelfbewust Zuid-Afrikaansche natie eenmaal zal verwezenlijken de hoogste en edelste idealen van het voorgeslacht, zal niet meer gevraagd worden tot wat nut al dat lijden en die opoffering was. De helden traditie zal gegraveerd staan op het hart van het volk en zal een inspiratie tot edele daden blijven van het eene tot het andere geslacht. Bij mij bestaat er geen twijfel dat door de lijdengeschiedenis van die donkere jaren heeft Z. Afrika hare ziel gevonden, en die ziel zal haar nog redden in de donkere jaren die ons of ons kroost wachten. Wij staan hier vandaag niet alleen om hulde en eer te brengen aan de nagedachtenis onzer heldinne, maar ook om door de herinneringen aan hen gesterkt te worden voor het werk dat voor ons ligt. Mijn 4 † bede is dat er van uit dit monument nieuwe kracht moge uitgaan † allen gesterkt mogen worden om het onze bij te dragen tot heil en vrede van Z. Afrika.

Ik zal niet veel langer uwe aandacht in beslag nemen en wil slechts dit verder zeggen dat ik mij verheugde daarin dat de dag voor deze plechtigheid gekozen werd op Dingaansdag—een dag die nu een nationale feestdag is geworden. Uit vele duizenden harten van hen die heden in gedachten met ons

zijn zal, hoop ik, een dankgebed opgaan tot den Allerehoogste. Een dankgebed zeg ik, want er zal voorzeker geen persoon zijn die de donkere tijden doorgemaakt heeft en zich die herinnert die niet uit ganser harte den Heer zal danken. En hier gevoel ik dat het niet misplaatst zou zijn en dat men het mij zal vergeven als ik hier tenslotte een ernstige vermaning uit.

Als er een eigenschap is die ons Volk steeds gekenmerkt heeft dan was het zijn ernstige vroomheid. Het is mijne overtuiging dat zonder die eigenschap onze voorouders nooit de moed zouden hebben gehad om door te maken wat zij deden en dat zonder dat Geloof het onmogelijk zou zijn geweest om ons volksbestaan te handhaven. Die eigenschap van ons Volk was het hechte fundament waarop het verdere gebouw mogelijk werd. Welnu, de vrees komt bij mij op dat het jongere geslacht aan dat fundament begint te tornen; ik voel dat welke deugden het jongere geslacht ook moge ontwikkelen die hunne voorgangers misten dit alles nutteloos zal zijn als zij ontrouw wordt [*sic*] aan de Kerk en aan het Geloof. Te dikwijls horen wij jongeren met weinig eerbied het Geloof dat hun ouders kracht gegeven heeft bespreken. De Geschiedenis leert het over en over—volkeren die God op zijde zetten gingen ten gronde. Laat ons volk toch zijn Geloof vast houden. Ik ben niet een diergenen die menen dat alle vermaak en vrolijkheid verbannen moet worden op onze Dingaansdag feesten; integendeel dit zou m.i. een grote fout zijn. Eerlike vrolijkheid trekt aan; dit is natuurlijk en daarin zit geen kwaad. Wat ik echter zeg is dat de godsdienstige aard, de plechtige natuur van dit feest niet mag verdrongen worden; laat ons nooit de belofte vergeten die de kiem vormde tot deze nasionale feestdag. Zodoende zal deze feestdag een sterke faktor worden om ons Volk te redden tegen dat grootste gevaar dat ons bedreigt, nl. de ongelovigheid, en zal deze feestdag helpen om ons jonger geslacht te houden in of terug te brengen naar zijn Kerk, naar zijn God.

TRANSLATION

My friends, I shall be very brief, for at a moment like the present, when the heart is full of the deepest feelings, I think that words sound idle and hollow.

In the life of every person there are moments when, as it were, one pauses and looks back on the travelled road of life—moments of deep emotion—memories—pleasant and distressing—sweet and bitter—in which feelings of thankfulness but also of disappointment flit through the mind—moments when, as it were, one looks back in the light of the past to find the way in the darkness of the future—such moments come also in the life of nations. On this solemn occasion the Dutch-Afrikaans people finds itself, I say, before such a moment. This is an occasion which takes our thoughts back, in love, pride, sadness and regret, to the darkest period in our history. Our history—truly a long story of the hardship, misery and self-sacrifice of our women. Who can ever describe the cares, troubles and anxieties of the wives of the Voortrekkers when they passed through the wilderness with their husbands? Shall we ever fully realize the courage and love with which, side by side with their fathers, husbands and brothers, they defied all the dangers of the wilds? How many of our women did not lose their lives in brutal fashion in the struggle? When Commissioner [Sir H.] Cloete met the Voortrekker women at Pietermaritzburg after the annexation of Natal, they told him that they would rather walk back barefoot over the Drakensbergen than accept the annexation.¹ And when Sir Harry Smith later met the returning trek on the Drakensbergen he said that he saw there more misery and hardship than in any country during the Napoleonic wars except Portugal.² But still they endured and encouraged the men to hold fast. Truly we should by rights long since have set up a monument in honour of these heroines.

On this occasion, however, our thoughts go more particularly to those women and children in whose honour this monument was erected—those who died during the darkest time in our history—during the last war. I say the darkest days that our people have known. No words are necessary to confirm that—the figures are more eloquent than words can be.

¹ British control was established in Natal between 1843 and 1844. Cloete does not mention this incident in his published lectures on his mission.

² Vol. I, p. 653, note 1.

[A partly illegible note in an unknown hand inserted here gives the following statistics:

	Transvaal	Free State	Cape Colony	Natal	Total
Women over					
16 years	2,030	2,023	118	3	4,177 [<i>sic</i>]
Children under					
16 years	12,900	8,930	224	20	22,074
Women and children together					26,251]

When one remembers that the whole population of the Republics—man, woman, and child—which stood on the Republican side probably did not number many more than two hundred thousand souls, then one realizes the terrible, overwhelming meaning of these figures. What misery, what anxiety of soul must have filled the hearts of most of these women in those dreadful days! And yet, we who remained in the field know it, from the women's side, with a few exceptions, no attempt was ever made to persuade the men to surrender. On the contrary, it is known that burghers who had lost courage and surrendered were received with contempt and scorn by these heroines. I myself know of many such instances where the men, out of shame at this reception, rejoined our commandos. These women were indeed worthy descendants of their brave mothers and grandmothers. Our descendants will point to these women with rightful pride. A people that has produced such mothers cannot and never will degenerate! The cost of this monument was, as you know, met from modest gifts from all parts of the country. It can therefore claim to be a national homage to our heroines—a homage that is paid, so we hope, without bitterness in the heart and only out of pure love and respect for the noble women and their children who were the victims of a struggle between the two white races who have peopled this part of the world. Without bitterness—I know, every honest person knows and realizes, that this is to ask much. For those among us who recognize in the long list the names of wives, mothers, daughters or children—and many of us do so—great self-control and restraint is demanded to rid oneself of all feeling of bitterness. We are profoundly moved and our throats tighten when we remember everything, especially when we think back to the suffering and hardship . . . †

and yet I say it is our duty to cherish no bitterness or hate. What good will it do us, what use, what advantage can it produce to make bitter reproaches now—to ask whether this or that action was noble or even defensible? Our task is different. When another generation has gone, the historian will be able to ask and answer questions with which we today cannot deal without danger of rousing passions that must rest and of doing great harm. We who bring this homage today, have a right to do it; we may and we must honour these noble women—we may and we must preserve the story of their passing as a priceless jewel in our history. We may and we must teach our children to try to be worthy of such mothers. Not only *may* we do all this—it is our sacred duty. So doing, we shall act according to the counsel given by President Kruger in his political testament to his people—‘examine your past, take from it all that is fine and fashion your future upon that’. But the bloodshed in our past is not one of the things upon which we must fashion our future. God has not willed that one should exterminate the other. After all that misery and that bloodshed of the past, both races are still here. May we not, must we not believe that it is His will that we try to walk another road—the road of love and peace? We have suffered much and many among you will be inclined to ask ‘why?’, ‘to what purpose?’ We can only answer: God’s will be done. In adversity character is formed—that is as true of nations as of individuals. Let us try to act according to our conscience. These lives were surely not sacrificed in vain; the nation was purged by affliction and the fruit of all the sacrifices will be found in the character of our descendants.

Let us count our beloved South Africa fortunate that the foundation of her future growth and greatness has been laid on such a history of sacrifice and endurance. And when a strong, self-conscious South African nation one day embodies the highest and noblest ideals of our ancestors, it will no longer be asked of what use that suffering and sacrifice was. The heroic tradition will be written on the heart of the nation and will remain the inspiration to noble deeds from one generation to another. I myself do not doubt that South Africa has found her soul in her history of suffering in those dark years, and that soul will save her in the dark years that await us or our

children. We stand here today, not only to bring homage and honour to the memory of our heroines, but also to be strengthened, by remembering them, for the work that lies before us. My prayer is that new power may go out from this monument <and that> all may be strengthened to contribute their share to the welfare and peace of South Africa.

I shall not claim your attention much longer and only wish to add that I rejoice that the day chosen for this ceremony was Dingaan's Day—a day that has now become a national festival. I hope that a prayer of thanksgiving will go up to the Most High from the many thousand hearts of those who will be with us in spirit. I say a prayer of thanksgiving, for there will surely be no one who has lived through the dark times and remembers them, who will not with a full heart thank God. And here I feel that it will not be amiss, and that I shall be forgiven if, in concluding, I utter a serious warning.

Earnest piety is a quality that has always distinguished our people. I am convinced that, without this characteristic, our forefathers would never have had the courage to go through what they did, and that without that faith it would have been impossible to maintain our national existence. This quality of our people was the firm foundation upon which later building became possible. Now, I have a fear that the younger generation are beginning to tear at that foundation. I feel that, whatever virtues the younger generation may develop that their predecessors lacked, these will all be useless if they become untrue to the Church and the Faith. Too often one hears younger people discussing with scant respect the Faith that gave their elders strength. History teaches it again and again—nations that set God aside go under. Let our people hold fast to their Faith. I am not one of those who think that all amusement and gaiety must be banned on our Dingaan's Day feasts—on the contrary, that would, in my opinion, be a great mistake. Honest gaiety is attractive—it is natural and there is no harm in it. But what I do say is that the religious character, the solemn nature of this feast must not be ousted. Let us never forget the vow that was the germ of this national festival.¹

¹ Before the Battle of Blood River (16 December 1838) the Boers vowed to build a church to commemorate victory. Dingaan's Day is now known as the Day of the Covenant (*Geloftedag*).

Thus this feast day will become a strong means of rescuing people from the greatest danger that threatens us—namely, irreligion, and this feast day will help to restrain our younger generation or to bring it back to its Church, to its God.

563 From Sir W. H. Solomon

Vol. 11, no. 58

Judges' Chambers
Supreme Court, Appellate Division
Cape Town
23 December 1913

Dear General Smuts, I am sorry to see that Gandhi and his friends have made such bad use of their freedom from confinement.¹ And yet in the circumstances I do not well see that we could have acted otherwise than we did.

The question now is what is to be done. If the Government does not accede to their demands, and they decide to boycott the Commission,² can any good purpose be served by going on with it? As I understand the position the Commission was appointed in the interests of the Indians. They complained that they were suffering under certain grievances and that acts of violence had been committed upon Indians sentenced to prison in connection with the strike. These are matters which amongst others the Commission are directed to enquire into and report upon. But if they do not choose to avail themselves of the services of the Commission but hold aloof and refuse to give evidence, how is it possible to conduct a satisfactory enquiry? I for one do not feel disposed to take part in an investigation which in these circumstances must be one-sided and, therefore, futile. I was very loth to go upon the Commission for various reasons which I need not trouble you with, and I did so only because I was assured that I could do a public service, and I, therefore, felt that it was my duty to place my services at the disposal of the Government. But as matters stand at present it is difficult to see what good can come of a Commission which the persons in whose interests it was

¹ Gandhi was released after being arrested for leading the illegal march of Indians into the Transvaal. See p. 135 *supra*, note 1.

² A Government Commission under Sir William Solomon, appointed to investigate Indian grievances. Gandhi boycotted it because it had no Indian members.

appointed intend to boycott. Of course it is possible that the position may change before the date when we decided to sit at Durban; but if it does not, I should be glad to know what the views of the Government are as to proceeding with the Inquiry.¹

I am sorry that I did not discuss this matter with you before leaving Pretoria, but I did not anticipate then that Gandhi would act in so foolish a manner. I had hoped that after the generous way in which he had been treated by the Government he would do all he could to assist us in our Inquiry. Yours sincerely,

W. H. Solomon.

564 From L. Botha

Vol. 11, no. 3

Rusthof
[Natal]

23 December 1913

Lieve Jannie, Heden ochend telegraveerde ik jou over Ghandi en anderen of wij hen niet weder kan opvatten. Ik voelde zoo vererg over hun houding nu weder in Natal, dat men hen werkelijk bij de strot vatten kan. Uwe brief van gisteren ontving ik heden avond en ben zeer dankbaar dat uw een sterke lijn met Gladstone heb genomen. Zou het niet goed wees dit op record te plaatsen door hem een brief te schrijven, want ik voel dat ons positie onhoudbaar gemaak worden door Lord Harding en andere, want als zij zulke toespraken kan maken, wat is dan hun privaat geselsery met die goed. Ik ben dankbaar dat jij die sterk gesels heb gehaad met Gladstone, dink ernstig of jij dit niet met brief opvolgen zal.

Hier is dit bitter droog, mielies veel belovend maar als regen niet spoedig komt is alles een mislukking. Ik zal blij wees als jij mij telegraveer wanneer jij van Onze Rust terug zijn zal op jou plaats dan kom ik op om te gesels een avond. Ik is tevreden met vaststellen van datums Bethlehem en Vrede. Dr van der Merwe telegraveer dat zij C. H. Wessels heb gevraagd te staan en hem gevraagd onmiddellijk naar Bethlehem te komen. Ik is nu bezig voorzichtige doch sterke brieven aan oude

¹ The Inquiry proceeded and the Commission made a report (U.G. 16 of 1914).

kennissen en vrienden te schrijven, zij verlang dat Nic de Wet en Generaal de la Rey moet komen helpen. In Vrede heb zij Manie Botha gevraagd en een sterk Comité gevormd, die Comité Voorzitter Maree met Louis Botha en andere was hier en is weder terug. Zij gaan nu hard werken, maar vragen ook hulp. Mijn moeilijkheid is onkosten, in beide gevallen moet wij twee motors hebben om rond te jagen maar dit kost geld en ik voel wij moet hen helpen. Ou Koos en de Wet zal gaan maar wij moet hen motors geven. Ik zal gaan met mijn eigen. Vrede is hoopvol maar zij vrees dat de Wet opgezet worden en dan is hun kansen zwak, en Frankfort heb de meerderheid van stem over Vrede.

Met Onze Rust moet jij maar oogen open houden want men weet noch niet wat of achter dit zit, de indruk die ik had gekregen was bevredigend, hij schijnt wat bang te wees voor een electie als Smartt dit moet houden en zeide telkens crierer iets waarop ik kan advies geven. Ik verstaan de Hertzog sectie gaat door met onderduimsche handelswijze, zij zijn nu weder bezig om allerlei soort van menschen van Transvaal te krijgen de 7de te Bloemfontein hun Congress bij te wonen, en alzoo de andere deelen des lands daarmede te misleiden. In elk geval Jannie vrede met *eer* of liefs geen vrede. Een ding wat ik *nooit* zal doen is om een job in England te aanvaarden, dit is een beleediging, neen, ik wil vrede zonder moord te plegen, dan verkiest ik boven alles mijn plaats Rusthof en een zetel in Parlement, en als daar een goede Regeering zonder Hulls, Hertzogs, Fichards, daarin, kan ik die mogelijk hartlijk ondersteunen. Vooral als jij aan het Hoofd, Merriman na zijn gemeene handelswijze tegen over mij zal ik onder geen omstandigheid ondersteunen.

Jannie als hulle met beleedigende jobs van England kom, dan breek liefs alle verdere gesprekken af. In elk geval jij verstaan de positie beter dan eenig ander, en kent de gevoel van 't Transvaalsche volk.

Nu omtrent de Engelsche Comm. zou het niet goed wees Mark Greenlees op te zit, dit zal hem werk voor een paar jaar geven en hij is loyaal. Nu Jannie ons beste wenschen voor een gezegend Xmas en gelukkig nieuwe jaar van Huis tot Huis. Beste groeten, Uw

Louis

TRANSLATION

Rusthof¹

23 December 1913

Dear Jannie, This morning I telegraphed you about Gandhi and others—whether we cannot arrest them again. I felt so irritated at their attitude, now again in Natal, that really one could take them by the throat. I received your letter of yesterday this evening and am very thankful that you have taken a strong line with Gladstone. Would it not be well to put it on record by writing him a letter, because I feel that our position is made intolerable by Lord Hardinge and others, for if they can make such speeches, what then are their private talks with these creatures? I am thankful that you have had this strong talk with Gladstone; think seriously whether you will not follow it up with a letter.

It is bitterly dry here—maize very promising but if rain does not come soon everything will be a failure. I shall be glad if you will telegraph me when you will be back at your farm from Onze Rust;¹ then I shall come up one evening to talk. I am satisfied with the fixing of dates for Bethlehem and Vrede. Dr van der Merwe telegraphs that they have asked C. H. Wessels to stand and have asked him to come at once to Bethlehem. I am now busy writing cautious but strong letters to old acquaintances and friends. They want Nic de Wet and General de la Rey to come and help. In Vrede they have asked Manie [H. N. W.] Botha and formed a strong committee—the Committee Chairman, Maree, with Louis [P. H.] Botha and others, were here and have returned. They are now going to work hard but also ask for help. My difficulty is expenses. In both cases we must have two motor-cars to chase about in but this costs money and I feel we must help them. Old Koos and de Wet will go, but we must give them cars. I shall go in my own. Vrede is hopeful but they fear de Wet² will be put up and then their chances will be poor and Frankfort has more votes than Vrede.

As regards Onze Rust, you must keep your eyes open for one does not yet know what is behind it. The impression I got was satisfactory. He³ seems to be rather frightened of an elec-

¹ Botha's farm near Standerton in the eastern Transvaal.

² General C. de Wet.

³ President Steyn.

tion if Smartt were to hold it and said repeatedly: Create something upon which I can give advice. I understand the Hertzog section¹ are persisting in underhand action. They are now again busy getting all sorts of people from the Transvaal to attend their conference at Bloemfontein on the 7th and thus to mislead other parts of the country. In any case, Jannie, peace with *honour* or otherwise no peace. One thing that I will *never* do is to accept a job in England. It is an insult. No, I want peace without committing murder. Then I would prefer above all my farm, Rusthof, and a seat in Parliament and if there is a good Government, without Hulls, Hertzoges, Fichardts in it, I may be able to support it heartily—especially if you are at its head. Merriman, after his mean treatment of me, I shall not under any circumstances support.

Jannie, if they come along with insulting jobs in England, rather break off all further talks. In any case you understand the position better than anyone else and know the feeling of the Transvaal people.

Now about the English Commission—would it not be well to put on Mark [*sic*] Greenlees? It will give him work for a few years and he is loyal. Well, Jannie, our best wishes for a blessed Christmas and happy New Year from house to house. Best wishes, Yours,

Louis

565 From E. Hobhouse

Private

Vol. 11, no. 37

c/o The Cottage

Kenilworth

Cape Town

29 December 1913

My dear Oom Jannie, Probably an invalid like myself who has hardly come back from the brink of the grave, ought in your opinion to lie quiescent and not mix in public affairs. But somehow I was not born that way and if once one has started a public conscience one can no more silence that than one can a private conscience. And we women, you know, *are* developing public consciences at a surprising pace.

¹ In November 1913 Hertzog and his supporters seceded from the South African Party and formed the National Party.

Well, dear Oom Jannie, this is my excuse for invading your New Year's peace with a political letter, on a subject that is only my business in the sense it is everybody's and upon which therefore I should not presume (since you are a Minister) to write to you, had it not been that Gandhi has *asked* me to do so and that gives a sort of right to do what might otherwise be deemed interference, were we not such old friends. Besides we have all been busy exerting each our little influence to prevent or at least postpone the threatened New Year march on Pretoria and that, you see, is conceded, for oh! how many *little* things done by *little* people go to make up the turning points in history. It is not only what you big people do in your powerful offices.

You know already, by the light of your intuition, (unusually keen for the 'mere man') that I nourish much sympathy with the Indians. For years I have been much in touch with them. Lord Hobhouse was [for] five years legal member of the Indian Government and from him I imbibed much—and afterwards he made his London home, where I lived with him, a centre for Indians visiting or residing in London. Also Lord Ripon (their Viceroy), Sir William Wedderburn, General [H. W.] Norman, my old cousin Sir Charles Hobhouse and others, all of whom have held ruling posts in India, have talked to me much of Indian affairs. Men like those I have mentioned have always done immense good in India, (I believe my uncle was the first to refuse to flog his Hindu servants) and had or have deep sympathy with the existing national movement there. One can't say the same of a large section of English officialdom in India, and in fact I often wonder *how* the Indians put up with us. Your so-called Union cruelties and injustices (?!!!) are pale in comparison, and if the various native states and tribes could agree amongst themselves I am sure they would turn and rend us.

However, this lengthy prologue is merely to sketch my position and show why I range myself more or less with the Indians. I have many personal friends Indians,—people of vastly superior abilities to myself, and altogether my life's experience has enabled me to enter into their thoughts (Oriental and diverse as they are) and to realize their almost hypersensitive character. *Why they feel as insults what you and*

I would never even notice. I have found that repeatedly. Then too, being an unenfranchised woman I feel the solidarity that unites all who lack representation.

To all this you would add if you were sitting by my sofa:— ‘Yes Auntie, and you have the natural disposition of the Irishman who defined his politics as being ‘always agin’ the Government’. And I should reply: that also is true. No Government pleases me, for I am a Celt, I must move on to better ideals that open out before me in vistas at every step, while a Government represents the brake on the wheel of progress and the enforcement of outgrown laws.

Now dear Oom, having thus cleared the ground and defined our mutual attitudes, can’t we do something to adjust this matter, so that I may go hence feeling that all is well and at peace in South Africa. I am *wholly* with you in feeling that South Africa has as many Indians as she can digest. I never weary of asking English folk what they would say and do if Indians in a like proportion took possession of England—one-sixth, say five millions. I guess her tall talk of free Empire and free entry etc. would go out like a candle. I tell them you can’t force your own altruism on other countries.

And I am with you in thinking that *for the present* the four Provinces had best maintain their differing Indian regulations. On the other hand I am sure *you want* to readjust the marriage law and abolish that stupid £3 tax, the initial fault of which, it seems to me, should be laid at India’s door who never should have agreed to it, nor indeed to the indenture system with its attendant evils.¹ However that wind was sown and you are reaping the whirlwind and a *modus vivendi* must be found to suit their *amour propre*.

You see 15 January is the date now proposed for another march. Before then some way should be found giving private assurance to the leaders that satisfaction is coming to them. Their grievance is really moral not material and so, having all the power of the spiritual behind him, he (Gandhi) and you are like Mrs Pankhurst and McKenna [R.] and never never never will governmental physical force prevail against

¹ Indians in Natal who neither returned to India nor were reindentured were liable to a tax of £3. The Natal courts might refuse entry to the sole wife of a marriage under a polygamous code.

a great moral and spiritual upheaval. Wasted time and wasted energy dear Oom Jannie.

Won't you promise them *recognition* as befits a civilized section of the community with consultation over matters affecting their interests with representatives they should appoint.

I wonder if it would fall out more easily if you had a medium through whom to thresh out an agreement with Gandhi? If you thought me of any use in such a private capacity I am willing, for I *think* Gandhi would trust me and come to see me. Also I *think* you might trust me, though I am not so sure about that, for I once sinned didn't I? And you, like the wise burnt child that dreads the fire, have never forgotten though you forgave so sweetly. But remember, I sinned on the advice of Lord Hobhouse, a Judge of the Privy Council, Lord Shaw, present Lord of Appeal, Judge Mackarness and John Edward Ellis, M.P., a Quaker. Strong advice, though I do not wish to shelter behind it.

You see, the gravity of the situation is that India keeps it going with her money and *will* till all handle for doing so is withdrawn, because she is using you or rather the position here as a convenient whip to beat the old horse with. Not being South African or Indian but in fullest sympathy with both, it just struck me, since Gandhi asked (and the name of Hobhouse is so revered in India) that I might be of some use, so use me or refuse me or abuse me just as pleases you dear Oom. I am too old and benumbed to mind throwing myself down as a paving-stone and being trodden upon as the result.

I do so as Gandhi has asked me to do what I can and often in my life I have been able to effect reconciliations and agreements, when it has been awkward for the principals concerned to lower their dignity without a human bridge to help facilitate.

So now farewell. Oh! and tell all your Ministry to be very very careful of their public words because the Oriental is far more sensitive than we Occidentals. Yours ever affectionately,

Emily Hobhouse

P.S. Anyhow, promise them a New Year's gift of a representative¹ to voice their views and then surely the other points at

¹ On the Solomon Commission.

issue will settle themselves through that channel and so the whole trouble fizzle out.

P.P.S. Of course *they* ought on their side to recognize your Commission; though personally I must say, dear Oom Jannie, you might have chosen a better.

566 From C. P. Crewe

Vol. 12, no. 27A

Woodleigh
St Mark's Road
East London
5 January [1914]

My dear Smuts, Yes the outlook is very grave¹ but you must face it; these people have got to be beaten; until they are there will be constant trouble. I think we shall keep things straight here and in the Cape generally. The only question will be whether we shall be able to afford the men who are loyal adequate protection; if that is given we shall be all right.

Remember, too, South Africa has been through war and all its horrors with stoppage of everything and yet survived. Browning's lines [are] most comforting on such occasions:

One who never turned his back
but marched breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would burst,²
Never dreamed, though right were worsted
wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled
to fight better, sleep to wake.

Anything I can do to assist, you can command me.

Thanks about young Murray; it is good of you and Stockenström. You will have to deport the revolutionaries,³ there is no other course open in the end.

I wish you good fortune and good courage. Yours very sincerely,

C. P. Crewe

¹ Refers to the general strike on the Witwatersrand in January 1914, and its suppression by Union forces.

² 'Never doubted clouds would break.'

³ The South African Labour Party included syndicalists as well as social democrats.

567 From J. X. Merriman

Confidential

Vol. 12, no. 88

Schoongezicht

[Stellenbosch]

10 January 1914

My dear Smuts, Thank you for your kind note¹ and for taking the trouble amid all your cares to write. I wish I could think that in your case razors were not being used to hack blocks. Last Sunday I attended the funeral of poor Willy Krige, and it brought back forcibly to my mind that famous ministerial 'progress' in 1890—when you as *dux* of Victoria College replied to Rhodes's speech about the North. How much water has run under the mill since then! You have travelled far and played many parts with distinction. I always respected old Willy for cleaving to Rhodes, even while condemning his later policy. A worthy if not a very strong man.

I do not like to tender any advice, as my essays in that direction are not happy, but, my dear Smuts, it is of no sort of use the Prime Minister shaking his fist, figuratively speaking, at the labour agitators from Paulpietersburg,² unless it is followed by some action. I have read with indignation the reports of the speeches of Messrs Waterston [R. B.] and Mason³, 8 January, in which they use the most violent language. Surely under the common law of any civilized country these men are liable to arrest for using language calculated (even intended) to provoke a breach of the peace, and arrested they should be unless the law is a farce. Our poor railwaymen, who only want to be let alone, are asking why such fire-brands are allowed to be at large. I have most reluctantly written this—violating the Lucretian lines—how true! *Suave mari magno e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem*⁴ but I feel it is my duty, so forgive me. With kinds regards, Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

A thousand thanks for your action *re* library.⁵

¹ Not in the Smuts Collection.

² Possibly a reference to the white coal-miners in Natal whose initiative had started the strikes that culminated in the general strike.

³ George W. Mason, a member of the Strike Committee which directed the Rand Strikes of 1913-14. Deported on 30 January 1914.

⁴ See Vol. II, p. 548, note 1.

⁵ Merriman had asked Smuts to acquire, through the High Commissioner, a series of British historical publications for the South African Public Library in Cape Town.

568 From Lady Courtney

Vol. 12, no. 26

15 Cheyne Walk
 Chelsea, S.W.
 19 January 1914

Dear General Smuts, You will doubtless get many congratulations on your success in dealing with the Strike, but some of the best friends of the South African Government are a bit troubled about it.

Perhaps they don't know enough to judge wisely, anyhow I wonder if you or someone of authority could answer one of these two articles in the *Manchester Guardian* or the *New Statesman*—the latter especially. The *Daily News* is not I think of the same consequence.

Please forgive me if I am troubling you annoyingly; put it down to a genuine wish for the success and wisdom of your great work of starting the South African nation on its career.

I have been getting very sad accounts of Miss Hobhouse but I hope she is better by now and able to enjoy seeing her South African friends.

Lord Courtney keeps wonderfully well. Our kindest regards.
 Yours very truly,

Kate Courtney

Please do not think to answer this; I know how busy you are.

569 From C. P. Crewe

Vol. 12, no. 30

Woodleigh
 St Mark's Road
 East London
 21 January 1914

Dear Smuts, It was good of you to write for you must have been very hard worked lately. I do not think we must over estimate the knock you have given to the Labour agitator. It is true Syndicalism has received a severe blow, it will also be another knock to find you deport some few of the worst of the professional revolutionaries.¹ My letter to you regarding deportation crossed yours to me. But there are grievances which must be put right in the public services, the Railways

¹ Nine of the strike leaders were deported to England without trial.

especially if we are to keep Labour from winning many seats next election. The Labour men in the country may be cowed for a bit but cowed men with grievances will take every advantage of the ballot-box, and if you had a Labour Party in the House nearly twenty strong and with something to work on you will only have the same trouble over again. That can be avoided, and I am sure your Government, that is to say General Botha and yourself, who have shown such statesmanship so far, will not allow anything to remain to grow into further cause for trouble. There are grievances in the Railways, there are others in the public services; both can be rectified without serious cost or trouble.

Do let this be done now. The Railway Commission should, I suppose, collapse now the men's elected representative¹ is in gaol. Why not a Select Committee carefully chosen from both sides of the House to go into the few real questions that matter? I told you before, as long as [Sir W.] Hoy is there you will have trouble; he has done more for Syndicalism than Poutsma. There is no one in the Railways from top to bottom who has any confidence in him. If we, as the outcome of the present position, settle all *real* grievances and restore confidence there will be no trouble for many years to come and we shall keep Labour largely out of the House by combining together to do so. If we don't, Labour will win many seats and come up again in two or three years at the most; do let us play the long game. Regarding the Session I agree with you—the shorter the better and if I can assist to that end you may rely I shall do so.

I am glad you are doing something for Bourne; he and all of them have done well; the man in the street is more than astonished at the rapid mobilization.

I am leaving for Cape Town from here on Monday by sea and arrive on Thursday the 29th; shall stay at Wynberg.

I see a rumour of James Molteno as High Commissioner in London. I do hope it is not true. You want something more steady than he is; he would land himself in some trouble over there which would not do South Africa any good. What a long screed but I am sure you won't mind. Best wishes, Yours ever,
C. P. Crewe

¹ H. J. Poutsma.

570 To J. X. Merriman**Vol. 12, no. 112**

The Treasury

Pretoria

22 January 1914

My dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your note which has just come to hand. Do not think that we have not followed your advice. I am only afraid you will say we have done so too well, when the matter comes before Parliament. I feel sure the truest kindness to these poor people is now to bring home to them the results of their actions. And the leaders must feel that they have sinned against South Africa.

It is all over now and my time is wholly occupied with liquidation of what remains and demobilization of Forces.

I shall see you next week. With kind regards. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

571 To H. J. Wolstenholme**Vol. 12, no. 113**

The Treasury

Pretoria

22 January 1914

My dear Wolstenholme, In my overwhelming troubles I may perhaps appear to forget my friends. But it is not so. You are constantly in my mind and your letters are always very welcome.

Since last July we have been passing here through one sensation after the other. The Syndicalists have unfortunately got hold of our working classes and have been preaching the social revolution with such effect that really anything had become possible.

The disorders of last July led to great bloodshed at Johannesburg. This time, however, we knew what to expect and immediately called up the Citizen Forces, declared martial law and held the disturbed areas and all the railway lines with some 60,000 armed citizens. The Liberal papers I see are attacking us for our drastic action. But remember that not a drop of blood has been shed and this display of force secured us a bloodless victory. Surely that is a great achievement.

When you last wrote to me, the Indian strike¹ was on. I am

¹ The resistance movement.

hopeful that a final settlement of that perennial trouble is in sight. You can well understand what worries and anxieties I must have passed through during these last six months. I am getting heartsick but my health continues excellent. Perhaps one of these days some political change will release me from these labours, and I can meditate in peace and quiet over the great problems.

Next week our parliamentary session starts again. It is bound to be very stormy and trying. However I know I have done my best and doubt whether others could have done better.

You are also moving to stormy times. I don't like the look of this Ulster business. It may yet test your constitutional shibboleths to the utmost.¹ Good-bye, dear friend. I hope your health is good and that plenty of books and friends help to pass the time for you. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

572 From P. R. Viljoen

Vol. 12, no. 164

Heidelberg

7 Februari 1914

Waarde Jannie, Ik kan niet nalaten U een groot pluim te steek voor daardie lang spiets van jou geloof mij ons volk waardeer dit groot. En gij heb er volkome in geslaag de volle steun te verwerven van elk ingezetene welke nationaleteit het moch zijn ik hoop die wet wat jij gaan voor breng zal een groot meerderheid krijgen. Ik krijg nu waarlijk jammer ver Hertzog. Het Volk word bitter op hem, bij ons is geen twijfel dat hij ons gehele bestaan in duigen zal slaan zoo lang hij zich maar op ons trouwe Generaal Botha kan wreken ik hoop hij zal terug keren voordat het Volk zich op hem zal wreken. Ons burgers is nu meer gereed nu zij geweren heef. Ik kom nu net te huis van een Inspecsie, het is verblijden de goede gees onder ons Volk te zien. Paarden worden opgevoer. Bij elke huis vind je dat de Moeder beschuit gebak heef en een zakje kos klaar gemaak heef want men verwag dat de strikers weer zal kwaad doen als de leger weg is van de Rand. Wat ook mog gebeuren

¹ The organizers of agitation in Ulster against the Home Rule Bill took advantage of the two-year suspensive veto exercised by the House of Lords to wreck the Bill, which had been passed by the House of Commons in 1912.

jij staat jou man zoo als altoos ik verzeker U het Volk staat achter jou. Als jij roep krijg je net zoo veel man als je hebben wil. Wij willen die uitgezette belhamels niet weer in ons land hebben. Het Volk wil een Regering hebben die alleen baas is en die niet nodig heef zich te late dicteren.

Tot mijn spijt moet ik U zeggen dat ons Boeren het bitter zwaar heef met de vreeslijke droogte. Vele plaatsen heef geen water voor het vee, van de mielies zal weinig tereg komen wij op het dorp heef geen lopend water meer. Ons water word uit een put gepomp. Ons vruchten val af van droogte dat is tog jammer als men die grote landerijen zien die verdroog. In Ermelo hoor ik ga het beter daar is wat regen gevallen. Ik hoop julle zal ons goede boeren die door de droogte hun skuld niet kan betalen te gemoet komen.

Nu Jannie ik weet jij heb geen tijd lange brieven te lezen dus sluit ik maar met beste groete ook aan Generaal Botha en julle lief famielies. Met hoogachting, U. D. W. D., en oom

P. R. Viljoen

TRANSLATION

Heidelberg

[Transvaal]

7 February 1914

Dear Jannie, I cannot refrain from sticking a big feather in your cap for that long speech of yours. Believe me, our people appreciate it very much. And you have entirely succeeded in winning the full support of every inhabitant of whatever nationality he might be. I hope that the Bill you are going to introduce will get a big majority.¹ I am now really sorry for Hertzog. The people are becoming bitter towards him. We do not doubt that he will smash our whole existence as long as he can revenge himself on our faithful General Botha. I hope he will turn back before the nation revenges itself on him. Our burghers are more prepared now that they have rifles. I have just come home from an inspection—am glad to see the good spirit among our people. Horses are being fed. At each house you find that the mother has baked rusks and prepared a bag of food because it is expected that the strikers will again do

¹ The Indemnity and Undesirables Special Deportation Act (No. 1 of 1914). Smuts had made an important speech in the debate on the Bill on 4-5 February.

mischief when the army has left the Rand. Whatever may happen, you stand fast as always. I assure you the people stand behind you. When you call you will get as many men as you want. We no longer want these expelled ringleaders in our country. The people want a Government which is the sole master and which does not have to be dictated to.

I regret to have to tell you that our farmers are having a bitterly hard time in the terrible drought. Many farms have no water for the cattle. Very little of the maize will recover. We in the town have no more running water. Our water is pumped out of a well. Our fruit drops off because of drought. It is sad when one sees the big lands getting parched. I hear things are better at Ermelo—some rain has fallen there. I hope you will assist our good farmers who cannot, because of the drought, pay their debts.

Well, Jannie, I know you have no time to read long letters, so I close with best wishes—also to General Botha and your dear families. With regards, Your obedient servant and oom,

P. R. Viljoen

573 From Scotsmen on the Rand

Vol. 12, no. 2

TELEGRAM

From: Scotsmen on the Rand

To: General Smuts, House of Assembly, Cape Town

Dated: 19 February 1914

Craigellachie ask Duncan what it means.

Note on face

Duncan please enlighten me, what does the first jaw-breaker mean?

J. C. S.

Note on reverse

The slogan (or, in Saxon, war-cry) of the Clan Grant was 'Stand fast Craigellachie'. Craig etc. was a fastness to which the clan carried the booty which, *after duly proclaiming martial law*, they appropriated from their neighbours.

P. Duncan

574 From M. C. Gillett

Vol. 12, no. 53

102, Banbury Road
Oxford

20 February 1914

My dear Oom Jannie, We have been thinking a great deal of you, but really it has been difficult to know what to write, or I would have written often, because of feeling what a stiff time you have been going through. Now your letter to Arthur¹ has come, and I can't put off longer.

It seems to be so much better to *prevent* bloodshed than to have soldiers in when damage is done, that I feel quite calm when our good friend the *Manchester Guardian* finds fault with you, and our well-intentioned but less weighty and rather excitable friend the *Nation* denounces you. But I must confess I could no longer see what you were at when the deportations were done and were made prospective as well. Then I began to feel your political foundations a bit shaky. That your call-out of the Defence Force and suspension of law saved the country I can very well understand, knowing what conditions of life are with you. But we have to await the full report of your long speech to make sure of this third point. [A.] Sherwell M.P. made a speech (at Sheffield) which had the best sense of anything I have read, and it was brave of him, because you are very unpopular with Liberals and Labour, and the people supporting you are not ones we like being united with.

It *has* been a bad time with you, and I do indeed sympathize. You must not think that because I have these doubts on what is after all a small point in your handling of things, that we are just coldly critical and unsympathetic. When all is quiet again I do hope you will *all* come over here and have a good holiday.

You see we are badly ignorant of things; all the while there has been an insidious growth of a calumny of your 'secret league' with Rand lords—one doesn't know exactly where it is stated, but it is the kind of thing which grows of itself, and we never hear anything about improved conditions of mines since you took office—that does not get out. Why shouldn't it get out? I wish the *Manchester Guardian* would send a *special*

¹ On 22 January 1914 Smuts had written to A. B. Gillett in almost the same terms as to Wolstenholme in 571.

correspondent. Its present South African correspondent is doing you no good. I can't remember who he is (Cape Town). But he hasn't real political sense. I wish I could go!

I have been often wanting to write to the *Manchester Guardian* or the *Nation*, in reply to some of their letters, but am always pulled up with realizing that one ought to have either first-hand, or else thoroughly dependable, detailed information to back up one's beliefs.

Our own agitation¹ goes on, day in, day out. The great feature of the last couple of years is the increase in Labour support. Organized Labour is growing steadily more emphatic. What would suit us, would be a small Liberal minority at the next general election and Labour strong enough therefore to turn the scale.

The babies are very well and jolly and companionable. Our love to you all.

Margaret C. Gillett

575 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 12, no. 170

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge

26 February 1914

My dear Smuts, I am sending you the first number of the new *Political Quarterly*; I have entered a subscription for you for the first year. I do not know how far you have the opportunity of seeing, without taking them in yourself, the best weekly and monthly and quarterly organs of public opinion in England. You cannot have time for a great deal of such reading, but I think it is important that you should not miss such things as nearly concern questions and problems that nearly concern South Africa. I suppose that at least *The Times*, the *Spectator*, the *Nation*, the *Fortnightly Review*, the *Contemporary Review*, and the *Nineteenth Century* are accessible in Cape Town and in Pretoria. It is noteworthy how in late years, on *some* questions, common sense, and a shrewd insight into the necessity of representing 'the times' in their progressive as well as their conservative interests, have modified the tone of *The Times*.

¹ For women's suffrage.

Indeed it is satisfactory to note that more liberal views on some subjects, e.g. education, which do not lie so near to aristocratic and plutocratic or party interests, are beginning to appear even in the Tory Party. Thus on some subjects even that miserable *Spectator*, with its contemptible plutocrat editor, St Loe Strachey, has quite instructive and fairly reasonable articles. The *Nation* was made by [H. W.] Massingham's editorship into a really good liberal paper, though it has recently shown a tendency towards encouraging some of the more extreme and doubtful elements in radical and 'Labour' politics. *The New Statesman*, started a few months ago, is a weekly organ of the Sidney Webb Fabians, and often has well-written articles on important subjects, and a good deal of information, the result of careful investigation. It has probably not yet secured a representation in South African reading-rooms, so I am going to send it to you for a few weeks; you can then determine whether you want to go on with it. By the way there is an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1914, by S. M. Mitra, on 'South Africa and the British Taxpayer', that is worth your reading.

Your 'deportations' have furnished our newspaper Press with a new sensation, and the 'Labour' Party with a free advertisement. The men¹ will be received and treated here as heroes and martyrs, even by many who do not approve of either their tactics or the characters of some of them. I am afraid that the use of force and the suspension of law will tempt even many moderate men to think it fair policy to retaliate with defiance and circumvention of law, and the assertion of their own right to resort to ruthless use of their own power and force. And the more the struggle is shifted on to this plane the worse it will be for all parties, and for civilization. No one now denies the right of excluding 'undesirable aliens', including that of deportation of those who may have slipped in,—within a moderate period; but I think that general public opinion here is right in disapproving of the new 'ostracism'. Suppose we deport Sir Edward Carson or Mrs Pankhurst, and pay their passage to South Africa? Or make a present to Russia of Keir Hardie and Cunninghame Graham? It may be true, I think it

¹ J. T. Bain, A. Crawford, W. Livingstone, D. McKerrall, G. Mason, W. H. Morgan, H. J. Poutsma, R. B. Waterston, A. Watson.

is, that modern conditions, in the industrial world and elsewhere, are not adequately met by our traditional machinery of government, and that some reorganization of our legal and administrative institutions is necessary. (The article in the *North American Review* on 'Regulation by Commission' is instructive here).¹ But every Government must so renew and reform itself as to make itself adequate to the control of, and the even distribution of justice among, whatever elements of population its history and its own policy have gathered within its limits. In South Africa, with its strong capitalist and burgher elements, bent on preserving the 'order' which protects their interests, there ought to be little difficulty on the part of the Government in securing sufficient authority and support for a firm maintenance of 'law and order', through constitutional forms and administration. Indeed the danger would seem to be rather the temptation to follow too far the policy of the 'high hand'. The article in the *Political Journal*² [*sic*] on 'The Dublin Labour Dispute' shows how in England and more or less in Europe generally even conservative policy is recognizing the danger and impolicy of such procedure—apart from its unfairness and tendency towards injustice, to which public opinion generally is becoming more sensitive. The lengths to which in England the so-called 'militant'—I call them 'hooligan'—suffragists, and the anti-Home Rule party have been allowed to go, have a good deal surprised me. In theory, I think far stronger measures than have been taken would have been fully justified. But I suppose that the holders of governmental powers and responsibilities know more thoroughly the conditions with which they have to deal, and the uncertainty of being so far supported by public opinion as to be able to carry through anything like the uncompromising and drastic measures that would undoubtedly have been adopted in Germany.

So much for the present. May the gods give you wisdom in dealing with the questions of world-wide bearing that are before you. Yours ever,

H. J. Wolstenholme

¹ By Samuel O. Dunn. Vol. cxcix, pp. 205-18.

² The *Political Quarterly*, February 1914, pp. 25-40.

576 From F. E. T. Krause

Vol. 12, no. 82

Confidential Nos. 31, 32 and 33 National Mutual Buildings
 Corner of Rissik and Market Streets
 Johannesburg
 23 March 1914

Dear Jan, I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th ult. and as I have a few minutes to spare I will attempt to give you as shortly as possible my views on the present political situation. I had already commenced a letter to Botha, but as I have to write in Dutch to him, it is very difficult to find the necessary time to complete the epistle; I shall therefore be pleased if you will accept my letter as a joint one to Botha and yourself and acquaint him with its contents.

Last Saturday I called an Extraordinary Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Rand¹ together for the purpose of enabling members to freely express their views, and to indicate what they considered to be the reason for this extraordinary revulsion of feeling exhibited during the elections.²

I did not consider it advisable to place on record any resolution, but after having heard the views of each member I tried to sum up the situation, and requested Treu, who was going down to Cape Town on a visit, to see you and Botha, and as far as possible to explain what the feeling was.

In my opinion, the causes of the defeat of Unionism³ as well as of our party, are various.

One thing, however, is clear and that is that whatever causes operated, the effect has been an almost unanimous vote for Labour, both here and in Pretoria, so I think one must come to the conclusion that amongst the various causes there must have been one determining cause to have this general effect, whatever other particular or incidental causes there may have been.

Personally I am of opinion, that this general determining cause was the 'deportation of men from the country without trial'.

In the commencement, everybody applauded the action of the Government, but as time went on the effect of the speeches

¹ The Executive Committee of the South African National Party on the Witwatersrand.

² The elections for the Provincial Councils.

³ The Unionist Party.

of Merriman and the Labour agitators, gradually caused a revulsion of feeling to take place, and people used *this argument* to cloak their reasons for their dissatisfaction with the Government and so voted Labour, not because they were supporters of Labour, but merely because for some reason or other they were against the Government. One must also not lose sight of the fact, that the public is extremely fickle and that when once a Government has been in power for some considerable time a natural opposition against it is born and consequently people will vote against a Government that is in power.

As far as the *Unionists* are concerned, although one did not expect such a telling defeat, it was quite evident that in consequence of the split in their ranks that they would lose heavily.

Amongst the particular causes, I might mention, that the *Jews* voted solidly for Labour, because the bogey of deportation loomed largely on the horizon. Further, the unreasonable and impolitic action of the Police in deporting men who had convictions against them under the Gold and other laws had its natural effect; especially the fact that men were selected whose last conviction was years ago. These deportations combined with the deportation of the nine agitators *scared* the Jew and made upon him the impression that Russian methods are not unknown in South Africa and may possibly be applied in the future.

With regard to our *own people*, the result has been surprising. But if one considers what a very large percentage of Afrikaners are now working in the mines and that these men have been compelled to join the Miners' Association and consequently are politically and financially supporting that Association, and that therefore they would support their new leaders, one can easily understand why they voted against us. In this respect ignorance and a feeling of clannishness must have done its work.

Many Unionists voted Labour because they were, firstly, dissatisfied with the attitude their party took up with regard to the deportations, and secondly, because Unionism based on racialism and jingoism does not appeal to them any longer.

As far as our own party on the *Rand* is concerned there is also a generally expressed grievance that the Government has grievously neglected us, and that the absence of a representative from the Rand in the Ministry is proof positive that the

Government has no time for the Rand or for the advice repeatedly tendered by them to Botha.

The above are shortly the causes which I think have been at work and which have contributed to the extraordinary spectacle which we have seen. Personally I have little fear for the future, in fact, I am very optimistic as to what will eventually happen.

The Labour Party has undoubtedly an absence of experienced and competent men to carry on the work of government, and the responsibility which has been thrown on their shoulders must sober the leaders, and extravagant and freak legislation will have to be abandoned with the result that the ordinary and ignorant voter will receive a rude shock, so much so that his allegiance, which is based on promises which cannot be fulfilled, will be weakened and his defection from the Labour Party will be a certainty.

Further the moderate citizen of the country is surprised at his own handiwork, and certainly never intended that Labour should rule. I further foresee a gradual but certain combination among what we call the better class of the community against the Labour Junta and the Market Square agitator. This combination I think will show the beginning of its existence at the next Municipal Elections in October.

According to my view the Labour Party has reached the zenith of its power in the Transvaal and according to my estimate the Unionists, if they still exist, will wrest from them three to five seats, and our Party might regain Vrededorp and perhaps one or two other seats.

Giving therefore Labour 20 for the Transvaal and our Party 21 seats and the Unionists 4 seats, and further giving Labour 3 seats for Natal, 2 seats in the Free State and say 5 seats for the Cape Colony, there would be a total of 30 Labour seats in the next Union Parliament, and I don't think the Unionists will have more than 12 seats all told, and if Hertzog had, say, 12 seats, we would be faced with a Labour, Unionist and Hertzog combination of altogether 54 seats.

From what I have been able to gather from Unionist opinion in Johannesburg there seems to be a strong tendency, now that racialism has received its *coup de grâce*, that there ought to be an absorption or amalgamation of our and the Unionist parties.

As there is still a strong extreme Unionist section who will not hear of an alliance with what they call the Dutch, the manner in which this absorption is going to take place is problematical.

An alliance or coalition will not, I am afraid, meet with the approval of our people, if it means giving to the Unionists leaders seats in the Ministry.

But on the other hand one could not expect the Unionists to support us unless they receive some consideration.

A suggestion has been made to me, that in order to facilitate this scheme, our party should continue to exist in outside districts, but for the Rand and other urban centres a new party should be formed, thereby giving an opportunity to the English section of the community who wish to belong to our Party (like the old Nationalist Party)¹ to actively support us. This of course would mean the total extinction of the present Unionist Party. This suggestion comes from our friend Alfred Cohn and I must say that there is a strong body of opinion in favour of this suggestion.

I have omitted above to mention the Hertzog and Botha split, because I was convinced that it would be self-evident to you that, as far as our people are concerned, this split is largely responsible for our loss in prestige and influence. In fact, I may mention, that the sooner pressure is brought to bear upon Hertzog, or rather upon those who support him, to abandon their opposition the better it will be for us. Some weeks ago I had occasion to go to the Free State and from what I have been able to gather there, especially in the Harrismith District, I am convinced that if Botha could find time to make an extended tour through the Free State, especially now that it has been openly asserted by the Labourites, (namely Mr Duff) that Hertzog supported the Labour Party, the revulsion of feeling in the Free State will be accelerated.

To sum up, I believe that the signal victory of the Labour Party in the Transvaal is going to do us good and not harm, but it would be extremely impolitic and foolish of us if we did not now exert ourselves to the utmost to educate the public up to what real Labour legislation means; for this purpose I

¹ The Transvaal National Association.

consider it essential, that every effort should be made, if possible with the help of the Unionists, who are practically dead now, to start a strong paper to carry out our work of propaganda.

Our Party will also be well advised if it were not to oppose [Hon. H. A.] Wyndham's Enfranchisement Bill, because I am of opinion that the salvation of the Afrikaner lies in the enfranchisement of his women.

The Labour majority in the Provincial Council will undoubtedly carry the right of women to sit on Town Councils and also to vote at School Board Elections, and, judging from the tone of the *Transvaal Leader*, even the Unionist opinion seems to be in favour of forward legislation of that description. If you and Botha were to give a wrong lead in this particular question, I am afraid that our Party in the future is going to suffer enormously. One must not always pander to the ignorance of the backvelder, but one ought rather to attempt to educate them and to free them from Church domination.

When speaking above of the effect of the deportation on the Elections, I intended to include in this category the present Peace Preservation Bill. I would strongly advise De Wet [N.J.] to water down the Bill considerably, and to make it perfectly clear that the peaceful citizen has nothing to fear from this legislation, and that it is solely directed against the law-breaker and criminal. Kind greetings to Botha¹ and others. Yours sincerely,

F. E. T. Krause

577 From E. Hobhouse

Personal and private

Vol. 12, no. 69

c/o Barclay & Co., Ltd.

137 Brompton Road

London, S.W.

23 April 1914

My dear generous but very naughty Oom Jannie, You have to wade through another letter from me following shortly after my last and that you must take as punishment! For Stegmann

¹ A note on this letter, in Botha's handwriting, reads: '*Gesien, gelees en niet overtuigd*'. (Seen, read, and not convinced.)

and Roos¹ have sent their quarter's account from which I see that *you* have given them £29 5s. 2d. for the electric light installation,² and *said nothing*.

Dear Oom, such things must not be. You are generosity incarnate, but indeed I must not let you do such things. Think of the five you have to educate and put out in the world and how all your money will be needed for them. And I don't know what to do. If I send this poor cheque, I fear for its fate at your hands.³ Still it goes as it makes me feel more honest. So please, please repay yourself. My means may be limited, but I always have kept (and always shall keep) well within them.

We have had a glorious April, unclouded skies, it has done me good—quietly here at Oxford with Margaret.⁴ It is a less agitating life than London for an invalid and so I purpose taking a room in some lodging-house for the summer and remaining here. I have many old friends here, the Gilbert Murrays, the Arthur Sidgwicks, the Sidney Bales, and others, besides the pleasure of being near my nephew Oliver⁵ for the summer term. They wheel me out in a chair every day and Oxford is lovely with flowering shrubs and spring borders, and song-birds galore. The society is very pleasant. Oh dear, such a seat of learning!—of *head*-learning not *life*-learning. In regard to the first I feel so ignorant beside these book-worms; in regard to the second I feel as if they were babies playing on the shore of life's ocean and as if I were centuries their senior.

I have so many invitations about England but cannot accept them, for I have not the strength to move about or do all the talking necessary if a guest is to make herself agreeable.

Margaret and her husband leave in a fortnight for their holiday, the Italian lakes, a walking tour. What a nice fellow he is!—as good as gold and his goodness comes out more and more with acquaintance. Little Jan is a veritable cherub, most lovable.

I have been reading Gandhi's book *Home Rule for India—Hind Swaraj*. Have you read it? I like it *very much*, all about India and the harm English Civilization is doing there. The

¹ The firm of attorneys in Pretoria who managed E. Hobhouse's affairs in South Africa.

² In her Pretoria house.

³ A cheque sent with a letter of 16 February 1914 was never cashed.

⁴ Margaret C. Gillett.

⁵ Oliver Hobhouse.

book has already been prohibited in India—(O foolish authorities, will you never learn wisdom?) but he means to devote his life to it in India, and I tell him he is undoubtedly qualifying for deportation from India. It is a book you would have enjoyed at one period of your life.

Bain [J. T.] pursues me with letters. Can't think how he found out my address. He and Watson [A.] are to speak in Oxford on Labour Day, 1 May and they will be supported by Herr [J.] Sassenbach, the German trades-union leader of international fame. He supped here last night and we had much talk. I put before him the difficulty of strikes in a country like yours where Natives are in a majority and it floored him rather. He acknowledged he had never realized that aspect of affairs, and could not at the moment give me a satisfactory answer as to *what* course trades-unions should pursue in countries where strikes may be a danger to the community. I hope for further talk with him. The Labour world is much upset by you, and I suppose the Provincial Elections have enabled you to gauge the depth of the feeling in South Africa also. I wonder if you will be able to soften Ramsay MacDonald's point of view.¹

Well, sometimes it seems best to be of those with no responsibilities, just able to sit and look on and criticize all round and sympathize all round. There are compensations even in old age and in weakness!

My brother is coming up shortly to lecture before the Philosophical Society, which will be nice for me. If you ever read a long long novel to send yourself to sleep upon, take *When Ghost meets Ghost* by William de Morgan, full of humour, of love of all human nature, of observation, and a rich life's experience, 900 pages! Yours ever gratefully and affectionately,

Emily Hobhouse

578 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 12, no. 161

Cape Town

9 May 1914

We have been having a very arduous and harassing Session of parliament and I hope you and Margaret will understand that

¹ He visited South Africa at this time.

I have had no time for a quiet talk with you. Your last letter was most welcome and since I have heard from Miss Hobhouse how happy you all are, and how bonny your youngsters are, especially little Jannie. My wife and family remained here till a few weeks ago, but they have now returned to the Transvaal and I have migrated to the Club¹ to live there a lonely disconsolate life.

Our parliamentary work has been most troublesome—mostly intricate industrial questions on which opinions differ widely. My budget proposals also involve far-reaching alterations in the Customs Tariff, Income Tax and Land Tax. Altogether I am very sick of all this parliamentary talk and shall thank heaven to be out of it—and out of office, if possible. I simply long to get away from my fellow-men and their talk. Six months of the desert for me! Or that ox-wagon in the bushveld down the Limpopo which Margaret and I discussed years ago as a splendid vision. How the years have flown and what waters have run down the rivers! Amid all this tumult and social upheavals of our day I find more and more an irresistible longing growing on me to get out of it, to retire to some faraway corner away from the noises, to retire into myself and my own soul, and to meditate. Surely there was something in that mediaeval monastic ideal! Good-bye, my friend. Heaven bless you and yours, who are to me as mine.

579 From J. H. de la Rey

Vol. 12, no. 43

Elansfontejn

13 Mei 1914

Waarde Jannie, Slegs paar regelen U te laat weet dat ik op schryven van het Westen Generaal de Wet genader heef.

Wij heef elkander ontmoet te Johannesburg sodat niemand daarvan weet.

Dog het spijd mij U te melden dat de eijs voor mij onmogelijk was Generaal Botha moet aftreden dog hij is van Bloemfontejn gekomen.

Hier is het maar droog. Na hartelijk groeten, u vriend

J. H. de la Rey

¹ The Civil Service Club, Church Square, Cape Town.

TRANSLATION

Elandsfontein
[Lichtenburg Transvaal]
13 May 1914

Dear Jannie, Only a few lines to let you know that I have approached General de Wet after letters from *Het Westen*.¹

We have met one another in Johannesburg so that no one knows about it.

But I am sorry to inform you that the demand was impossible for me. General Botha must resign. Yet he came from Bloemfontein.

It is dry here. With best wishes, Your friend,

J. H. de la Rey

580 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 12, no. 71
Barclay & Co., Ltd.
137 Brompton Road
London, S.W.
4 June 1914

Dear Oom Jannie, I was quite horrified, seeing your handwriting this mail. You know I have grown very sensitive to the *writing* of my various friends since letters have become my chief or only link with them and I get to know their state of health or spirits etc. by the variations which are shown. Now your handwriting—far more than anything you say or have said—shows me you are pretty well on your beam ends and *must* draw in your horns and take rest. A Club is not the place to do that. It is a pity your family had to go. However the Session must be now nearly over and then if you *won't* come to Europe for rest I prescribe either a sea trip to St Helena and back and stay there a week or so—or else pitch a tent in the Kalahari desert and withdraw from your kind for commune

¹ A weekly paper published in Potchefstroom in the western Transvaal. In 1905, when it was in difficulties, Smuts, acting for the Executive of Het Volk, assisted the owners financially and received their written undertaking to support the policy of Het Volk for as long as the paper was published. Further financial help was given in 1906-7. By 1909 *Het Westen* was well established and appeared twice a week. From March 1915 it became *Die Volksblad*, published in Bloemfontein.

with solitude. You all live too fast, motors are your curse because they lead to incessant locomotion and to more and more work and excitement. There must come periods of cabbage-like existence when the Soul can have time to grow. Holidays *ought* to be arranged for Cabinet Ministers quite regularly, if not in their own interests, yet in the interests of the community at large. I fear too that sympathy with your poor father's condition¹ has been a most serious added trial to you this Session. I presume from what you say that hope there is none, and effort can only be concentrated upon making the downward path as easy and painless as possible—or perhaps I ought to say the *up*-ward path, for I begin more and more to regard Death as a most desirable friend. To us, whose freedom and independence was our all in all, and which we have lost either through sickness or old age, the feeling that Death liberates—literally bursts our bonds—is very attractive. I like to think of cremation and then the scattering of one's ashes to the four winds, the confined spirit free to join the universal spirit of life and keep up the sum total of things. I, who live now in perpetual imprisonment, feel all this very strongly. Have you ever read Edward Carpenter's *Drama of Love and Death*? It analyses Death wonderfully and is full of suggestive thoughts.

The Gilletts are holiday-making in Switzerland. I miss them sorely. A dingy Oxford lodging all alone is a very different thing to their charming house and garden and society. The loss of those comforts, and the return of cold weather, with the perpetual pain it gives me, all combined to bring me to a very low ebb again. Then doctors and dentists pounced on me and X-rayed me and said I had pyorrhoea in an advanced stage in my gums and jaws and there could be no recovery for me while that poison was being continually conveyed to the system. It does not affect the teeth in themselves, but the only way to stop it at present known is to take out all one's teeth. I kick, and have compromised for a few but the majority must go, painless and useful though they be, and here I am undergoing this trial. My weak condition makes dangerous and difficult what otherwise one could face lightly enough. The extraction of the first two has cost me a fortnight's pain and illness, and

¹ Smuts's father was seriously ill of diabetes.

I am not yet recovered enough to face the next operation. Then, too, I have but small belief in their fair promises of the good results to follow! However it is the new fashionable disease and alarmingly prevalent.

The main interest to me in Oxford are my nephews and young cousins. Oliver takes me on the river in his punt now and again. I hire a wheel chair to take me to the river's brim for I cannot now walk to the end of my little street. Oliver is reading for Greats, a nice fellow but *so* silent. My other nephew Roland Thornton is very brilliant and may, I am told, do anything.

I am lodging in what may be called the Indian quarter, and feel as if in Natal, there are *so* many, some of them very good fellows, and just opposite lodge two or three very fine-looking studious fellows whom I thought were Kaffirs, but I am told they are from Barbados. A dusky quarter.

There are some twenty South Africans, amongst them young Hofmeyr,¹ still in his teens, to whom was entrusted the task of writing *Onze Jan's*² *Life*—his cousin. This young fellow is considered very brilliant. His mother³ is also here and very kindly helping me over obscure words in Mrs Badenhorst's story,⁴ at which I work daily, hoping to complete the literal translation this summer, though then I shall need to rewrite it to secure the English flavour.⁴ I have been disappointed in finding Deneys Reitz's translation quite useless. Except as a general guide to her meaning, it is *quite* inaccurate, and entirely destroys the value of her writing as an accurate bit of history. He leaves out and puts in and embroiders at will, and here and there omits whole pages in succession. Also he destroys the charm of her simple, illiterate, picturesque style. I have therefore discarded his work, and done it myself from the original, adhering closely to the actual language she uses and not putting in a single word except when absolutely necessary for elucidation. You may therefore rely upon the English version as being faithful and exact.

I have just read the Letters of Mostyn Cleaver⁵ which his

¹ J. H. Hofmeyr the younger.

² J. H. Hofmeyr the elder.

³ Deborah Hofmeyr.

⁴ Emily Hobhouse translated the diary (1880–1902) of Mrs Alida Badenhorst published in 1923 as *Tant' Alie of Transvaal*.

⁵ *A Young South African* by M. M. Cleaver, 1913.

mother has published; he seems to have been a friend of yours and his death must have been a great loss to South Africa. Numbers of volumes similar to these two will, I suppose, come to light and give material to the historian of the future.

There is an investigation going on into the relative deaths of men and women, or combatants and non-combatants in modern war, and of course the Boer War is one brought up. I have been applied to for figures and have given those recently published at Bloemfontein. Obviously these are not believed—*here*—but they are quite reliable, are they not? Can you however help me by telling me if, before the war, any sort of vital statistics were kept in the Transvaal? Did not each parish have its registers of births, marriages, and deaths kept by the minister? I should like also to know if you can tell me how many men *you* had in the field. Our War Office says the total against them was 88,000, which I doubt. The War Office also says 25,000 Boer *men* were killed—obviously absurd.

Now this letter has run to untoward length which is wrong, because it takes up your time and because writer's cramp, an old foe, is returning upon me and threatens to destroy my one remaining interest and employment. I must also write to Mrs Smuts. It was a bitter disappointment to have seen so little of you all when I was so near. Ever yours affectionately,

Emily Hobhouse

My brother Leonard was here lecturing before the Philosophical Society last week. He is busy, for second editions of his books are being called for.

581 From Sir B. Robertson

Vol. 12, no. 107

Government House
Nagpur
Central Provinces
India

14 July 1914

My dear General Smuts, I did not wish to trouble you with a letter whilst you were so over-burdened with the work of the Session, but I presume that your parliamentary labours will be over for the year by the time this reaches you.

I was very glad to see that the Indians Relief Bill passed successfully through Parliament.¹ Over here the Bill and the debates in Parliament have been received in excellent spirit, and there is practical unanimity amongst the Indian leaders and also in the Press that the whole subject is now closed. Gokhale, a day or two ago, sent a telegram to the Viceroy conveying an assurance to this effect and a similar telegram has been received in India from Gandhi and his fellows in South Africa. I am sure it will be a great relief to you that everything has passed off so satisfactorily. And I hope that Gandhi will now carry out his intention of returning to his native land.

I saw in the newspapers about six weeks ago that a large shipload of Indian coolies had left for India and that others were waiting to embark. This was good news as the more of them that make up their minds to return to India, the greater will be the relief to you in South Africa and the greater the peace of mind of the Government in this country. I still cling to the belief that as the coolie accumulates savings, with the better wages he is now getting in Natal, he will the more want to get back to India and settle down here. And, as I told you, everything should be done at Durban to make the way of his return easy.

I was rather taken aback at getting the K.C.M.G. for my work with the Enquiry Commission.² It was much more than I deserved, but it is pleasant to think that anything I was able to do has been so highly appreciated.

I hope you are not feeling the strain of the severe Session you have had. I have been getting the *Cape Times* regularly and wondered how you managed to get through all you did.

I wish in closing to thank you for all your kindness to me whilst I was in South Africa. My visit to the Union will always be a most pleasant recollection to me. If you see Esselen [L.], will you give him my kind remembrances, and with all good wishes, I am, Yours very sincerely,

B. Robertson

¹ Act 22 of 1914 which abolished the £3 tax and the marriage restriction. See p. 154 *supra* note 1.

² The Solomon Commission.

582 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 12, no. 134

The Treasury

Pretoria

30 July 1914

My dear Wolstenholme, I have just this morning received your latest note with the account between us. A few words of reply. I was very glad to see that you have been in better health recently. I am sure if you conserve carefully what you have you may pass through many quiet if not happy years yet. To my happiness you have contributed in no small degree not only by your constant—and often unanswered—correspondence, but by the books which have kept me more or less in touch with the world of thought. I have done a great deal of hard grinding work in public life and my favourite relaxations are my family and that spiritual structure which has been reared by the thinkers of the ages. This spiritual world is somewhat at a discount in our own day but I feel sure a great change is slowly silently coming over the scene, and the day will be yet when mankind will be dominated by spiritual and not merely economic conceptions. The books you send me are evidently extremely well chosen. I am now reading Hobson on *Work and Wealth* which is full of good stuff. I wish you to send me Bradley's last book: I believe it is on *Truth and Reality*.¹

Yesterday the news arrived that Austria had declared war on Serbia and we have been officially warned by the Imperial Government that the position is most grave. I do hope it will be possible to stave off a general conflict which is bound to put Europe back fifty or more years and to bring untold suffering and loss in its train. If Serbia goes under it will be impossible to keep Russia out of it, and with Russia stepping in the business will become a dreadful one. Meanwhile the Ulster business has become a worse tangle. What times we live in and what fate is in store for our day and generation! I had never thought of seeing the general break-up in my time. To you, the silent spectator on the shore, the drama must be as enthralling as it is painful. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

¹ F. H. Bradley, *Essays on Truth and Reality*.

583 From M. T. Steyn

Vol. 12, no. 111

Onzerust

31 Juli 1914

Zeer Geachte Generaal en Vriend, Hartelik dank voor uw brief *re* Williams. Het spijt mij om te vernemen dat zijn nonsukses aan zijn zenuwen toe te schrijven is, iets dat ik niet verwacht had want zijn werk tot hier toe als 'electrician' heeft hem dikwijls op heel gevaarlike punten gebracht en hij werd steeds beschouwd als heel koel en bedaard. Als dit echter de beschouwing is van zijne leermeesters dan zal het misschien voor hem beter zijn om zijne verlangen om vogel te worden te laten varen.

Ik dank U intussen voor uwe bemoeingen ter zijne gunste. Ik zal hem aansporen om zijn best te doen en tevredenheid te geven. Ik stel belang in hem omdat hij alleen staat in de wereld, en omdat hij door eene verkeerde liefde van zijne overledene ouders verhinderd is geworden zijne studies te voleindigen. Daarom heb ik de aanmerking van Majoor Skinner gevoeld. Ik kan niet begrijpen waarom als hij gemeend had in de uitoefening van zijn plicht een confidentieel rapport omtrent Williams te maken, hij zulks aan Williams heeft gezegd. Het was toch veel beter zulks te verzwijgen dan om de jongen onder zoo'n wolk weg te sturen. Als hij gemeend had het Williams te moeten zeggen dan moest hij ook de feiten hebben opgenoemd waarop het rapport ruste, dan kon hij die laakbare punten in zijn gedrag verbeterd hebben. Van harte hoop ik dat die ongevraagde confidentiele rapporten niet een staande instelling in onze legermacht zal worden, want de ondervinding in andere legers heeft getoond dat in de handen van een ploert het een gevaarlik wapen is om persoonlijke naijver of haat te wreken. Maar uwe handen zijn vol genoeg dat ik U niet nog meer last behoef aan te doen.

De toestanden in Europa zal ook U zeker veel kammernis baten [*sic*]. Wat een verschrikkelike toestand, en waar zal het eindigen? Ik heb heden morgen de berichten nog niet gezien maar mij hoop is dat daar de risico zo enorm is voor allen dat de grote mogendheden voor de gevolgen van een algemene oorlog zullen terugdeinsen. Komt de oorlog nu, wel, dan kunnen wij Bret Harte's vraag in zijn *Heathen Chinees* 'Is the Caucasian played out?' bevestigend beantwoorden.

Is het niet een vreemde 'Nemesis' dat dezelfde personen en invloeden die Zuid-Afrika zo veel leed en ellende hebben veroorzaakt ook nu bezig zijn om Groot Brittanje met de Ulster kwestie even zo veel, indien niet meer, kommer en zorg te berokken. En toch als men de zaak doordenkt dan kan men zien dat de troebelen in Engeland het gevolg is van de Z. Afrikaanse oorlog. Men ziet nog meer. Die oorlog heeft Engeland uit haar 'splendid isolation' gedreven naar haar 'ententes' en gele allianties en zit zij vandag in het vaarwater van Continentale verwickelingen.

De molens van de Voorzienigheid malen voorwaar stadig! Maar genoeg. Als het slechts wil regenen dan ben ik tevreden.

Tibbie en ik houden ons aanbevolen voor enige mooie boeken die U ons kan zenden.

Ik vertrouw dat de laatste boeken die ik naar Irene gezonden heb goed zijn aangekomen.

Ik kan alweer een beetje slukken dus schijnt de zon weer helderder en is de wereld voor mij niet meer zo duister.

Met vriendelijkste groeten van huis tot huis, Blij ik, Uw vriend

M. T. Steyn

TRANSLATION

Onzerust

31 July 1914

Dear General and Friend, Hearty thanks for your letter re Williams.¹ I am sorry to learn that his non-success is due to his nerves—something I had not expected because his work up to now as electrician has often taken him into quite dangerous situations and he was always regarded as quite cool and calm. However, if that is the view of his teachers then it will perhaps be better for him to abandon his desire to become a bird.

In the meantime I thank you for your trouble on his behalf. I shall encourage him to do his best and to give satisfaction. I take an interest in him because he is alone in the world, and because he was prevented from completing his studies by the misguided love of his late parents. I was pained therefore by

¹ Smuts had written reporting the outcome of his enquiry, at the request of Steyn, into the progress of Steyn's relative, Williams, a learner pilot at a British flying-school.

Major [P. C. B.] Skinner's remark. I cannot understand why, if he had intended in the course of his duty to make a confidential report about Williams, he said this to Williams. Surely it was much better not to say it than to send the boy away under such a cloud. If he had thought that he should say it to Williams, then he should also have mentioned the facts on which the report was based, and he could have improved the blameworthy points in his behaviour.

I sincerely hope that these unasked confidential reports may not become a permanent institution in our army, because experience in other armies has shown that, in the hands of a cad it is a dangerous weapon to revenge personal spite or hatred. But your hands are full enough for me not to give you still more trouble.

Conditions in Europe will also be giving you much worry. What a terrible position, and where will it end? I have not yet seen the reports this morning but my hope is that, as the risk is so enormous for all, the great powers will recoil from the effects of a general war. If war comes now, well, then we can answer affirmatively Bret Harte's question in his *Heathen Chinee*: 'Is the Caucasian played out?'

Is it not a strange Nemesis that the same persons and influences¹ who caused South Africa so much suffering and misery are now also busy causing Great Britain, in the Ulster question, as much, if not more, worry and trouble. And yet, if one considers the matter, one can see that the troubles in England are the result of the South African War. One sees still more. This war has driven England out of her 'splendid isolation' into her 'ententes' and her yellow alliances and today she has fallen foul of Continental entanglements.

The mills of Providence grind slowly indeed! But enough. If only it will rain I shall be satisfied.

Tibbie² and I are ready for any nice books that you can send us.

I hope that the last books I sent to Irene have arrived safely.

I can again swallow a little so the sun shines brighter again and the world is not so dark for me any more.

¹ The Unionists in Great Britain.

² Third daughter of the Steyns (Mrs I. G. Visser).

With the friendliest greetings from house to house, I remain,
Your friend,

M. T. Steyn

584 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 12, no. 73

Barclay & Co., Ltd.
137 Brompton Road
London, S.W.
8 August 1914

Dear Oom Jannie, The Crash has come and Europe is armed to the teeth—an Armageddon indeed. Our wretched Imperialists have, first by their secret diplomacy, and lastly by their hasty actions drawn us into a war which will ruin England also. Physical force has once more triumphed and all we have laboured to build up and do and teach for the last two generations and more is shattered.

I foretold the mischief that must come when C-B formed an Imperialist Cabinet to lead a Liberal Party. We have had no trust in them. Thank Heaven Burns and Lord Morley and [Sir C. P.] Trevelyan have come out, to their honour be it said,¹ but Lloyd George and Sir J. Simon and others have not. If Lloyd George does not resign as soon as the naval victory has been gained, which will ensure the safety of our shores, then we Radicals have doomed him. Already he has ruined his own life's work.

For pity's sake don't let South Africa be dragged in. You have Germans, poor dears, on your flank and you have Natives quite enough to deal with, and in any case the war is spread already wide enough. Cruel and wicked! And paralysing in the stupendous character it has assumed. None can foresee the end. Maybe the Far East will be drawn in.

Our shores are closing and I do not know if this will reach you. Italy and my goods and my money are unattainable and I must winter in England. Olive Schreiner has reached London after an awful journey from Germany. I hope she will join me in Oxford. The Colleges are given up to soldiers

¹ They resigned from their ministerial offices on the outbreak of war.

and the Examination Schools to the wounded. Oh! the odious look of greenish brown khaki! Margaret Gillett and I console each other as far as we can, but the only ray of hope lies in President Wilson's offer of mediation and we are working hard to get men of weight and societies to bring pressure to bear on the Ministry to accept his offer.

It would be some satisfaction if we could put [Lord Edward] Grey in a battleship by himself and William II in another and let those two sink each other if they are so anxious to; the world here did not want war and there is no fever as in the Boer War days. We must all be Labour now and the people must rule the rulers who make troubles and then send other folk to be killed to get them out of those troubles.

If the war lasts we are threatened with every trial. Already thousands are without work and industries closed—trade suspended. Ruin stares us in the face and above all the shortage of food. None can see or foretell the end. Ever your in broken-hearted grief,

Emily Hobhouse

Remember we have allied ourselves against our good friends the highly civilized Germans with the Servians, said to be about the lowest set in Europe, and the Russians, who are semi-barbarians. Pretty bedfellows indeed!

585 To C. P. Crewe

Vol. 12, no. 135

TELEGRAM

From: General Smuts

To: Colonel Crewe, East London

Dated 11 August 1914

Statement will be issued to Press this afternoon to effect that Government propose to organize and equip adequate force to provide for contingencies and that besides Defence Force opportunity will be given to form some volunteer regiments stop My idea is to have outside of Defence Force one volunteer regiment for Natal one for East London Port Elizabeth and surrounding districts and two in the Interior stop Some regiments will be mounted and some dismounted, preference

being given to younger men or men without families stop. Do you agree generally stop Please write me your views as to officers stop Cape Peninsula must remain available for local Defence stop Pay as during strike stop

586 From C. P. Crewe

Vol. 12, no. 33

Woodleigh
St Mark's Road
East London
12 August 1914

My dear Smuts, It was very good of you to consult me regarding your proposals for raising four regiments. In those proposals I concur most heartily as I telegraphed to you. In regard to officers. It was our chief trouble in 1899-1902. I would suggest for your consideration therefore the following. To take your commanding officers from the S.A.M.R.¹ or, if that is impossible, then from the Police; in the latter there are one or two good men who served during the war 1899-1902 and who are not too old for the job. To let each commanding officer select his own adjutant and for all squadron or company commanders and officers to be passed by a selection board.

You have one excellent civilian in the Transvaal who was an officer under me, Morris [J.], who is on the East Rand Proprietary Mines in partnership with Marwick [J. S.]; he is fit for any post. I can name others in the service. Clayton [W. F.] in the Agriculture Department, Ord [J. W.] in the magisterial service and so on; but the danger will be pals trying to push one another and so I advocate a selection board for officers; once you have got the right officers they will very soon select the rotters among the men and weed them out. But I strongly urge Commanding Officers *must* come from the Permanent Forces or Police; if you don't do that you will have the mess we had in 1899. Very few of the officers put in command at the beginning survived Kitchener's determination they should lead and work or go. Anything more I can do will be done at once if you telegraph. Yours very sincerely,

C. P. Crewe

¹ South African Mounted Rifles.

P.S. Selected at random here are one or two names of first-rate men:

Morris of Marwick & Morris, East Rand Proprietary Mines, Captain Woon¹ S.A.M.P.², formerly Cape Police.

Captain [T. C. R.] Whelehan S.A.M.P., formerly Cape Police. Ord, Assistant Resident Magistrate Cape Province.

[E. Y.] Brabant D.S.O., farmer, Komgha.

Clayton [W. F.], Agricultural Department, was in Forest Department.

I could of course make up a list for choice by selection. Excuse haste, no time to breathe hardly; business gone to the devil and everything else upside down.

587 To Sir D. McKenzie

Vol. 12, no. 136

Confidential

Treasury

Pretoria

12 August 1914

Dear Sir Duncan, I was glad to hear from you and was just on the point of writing to you when your note came to hand. With regard to what you say we are to a large extent dependent on the lead given us by the Imperial Government and are in communication with them. In the meantime we think it our duty to organize and mobilize a fighting force in case of eventualities. From a notice issued yesterday (copy enclosed) you will see that we intend calling not only our Defence Forces but also to a limited extent on outside volunteers. We propose raising a volunteer regiment in Natal in this way. Leuchars was here yesterday and I discussed the position as regards Natal with him and [Sir T.] Watt. In view of possibilities of trouble in Natal—from Natives or attacks at Durban—they were both strongly of opinion that *you* in any case should remain available for the defence of Natal and should not be removed from there. The command of any expeditionary force would naturally be given to Beyers, and for subordinate commands in that force we have the Citizen officers of the

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Ernest Walter Woon served in the Cape Mounted Police, 1895–1913, with the South African Infantry in the First World War. Was later Deputy-Commissioner of Police in the Transkei and Battalion Commander in the First Reserve Brigade in the Second World War.

² South African Mounted Police.

Defence Force and some additional officers for the volunteer regiments. Our idea was to entrust the Natal volunteer regiment to [General J. R.] Royston. Please write me what you advise in the matter. Give me your opinion also of other Natal commanding officers from your experience of them. Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

588 To Sir A. J. Murray

Vol. 12, no. 138

17 August 1914

My dear General Murray, I have received from the Governor-General¹ a copy of your letter in reply to Ministers' request for vehicles, equipment and stores belonging to the army² which Ministers hoped might now be placed at their disposal on the departure of the troops.

I hope you will not think that I am importunate but I must say that the reply has rather surprised me. Ministers are being pressed to take active steps in German South West Africa, and yet, when they ask for certain equipment from the Imperial stores, they are informed that the only things that can be given them are certain vehicles whose serviceableness is under grave suspicion.

We thought that if the War Office was informed by cable that certain surplus equipment was not being brought back but had been handed over to the Union Government, His Majesty's Government would have been able to arrange for the replacement while the troops were on the water of such special stores that it was thought would be required. We know that we have enjoyed every consideration from yourself and General [F. T.] Clayton, and I write to enquire whether you would be prepared to cable to the War Office asking whether their instruction cannot be modified, even to a certain extent, so that we can have issued to us signalling and, especially, medical equipment, of which we are very short, and the improvisation of which will be a costly and unsatisfactory arrangement. We also require ambulances and water-carts.

¹ Lord de Villiers, Acting Governor-General July–September 1914.

² The British army, units of which were withdrawn from South Africa on the outbreak of the Great War.

We are expected to undertake certain work, which, I may say, I am confident will be successfully accomplished, but in taking these stores to England the War Office is adding very much to our anxiety and expense. If they were informed that certain things were not being brought don't you think that in the interval they could replace at our expense the equipment quite as well and considerably cheaper than it would cost to take to England and us to improvise out here ?

I should be very glad to know that we can rely on your assistance in this matter which I regard as one of considerable importance and urgency. With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

J. C. S

589 To Sir B. Robertson

Vol. 12, no. 139

Treasury

Pretoria

21 August 1914

Dear Sir Benjamin Robertson, It was very good of you to think of me and write me a note. The opposition to the Indian Relief Bill started formidable but collapsed in the end—thanks very largely to the thorough way you and Sir W. Solomon had prepared the way. Thereafter Gandhi approached me on a number of small administrative points, some of which I could meet him on, and, as a result, the saint has left our shores—I sincerely hope for ever. From letters which General Botha has received, both from Lord Crewe and Mr Harcourt, I know that they appreciate your great services in this matter at their proper value, and I am not surprised at the honour which has come your way. It is curious how things work together in this complicated world. Through your efforts a much better understanding was created between the Indian and South African Governments and as a result I have just succeeded in getting a much needed lot of Q.F. gun ammunition out of the Indian Government for use in the neighbouring German territory.

This war is a terrible business, which may put Europe and white civilization permanently back and hasten the day of the yellow peril. Our European system has pent up and focussed

force which no man can control, and so the end has come.
With kind regards and good wishes (also to¹)

Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

590 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 12, no. 176

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge

21 August 1914

My dear Smuts, Thanks for your letter and the cheque for £25, which arrived all right. I am sending you some books in six packages, among them Bradley's book, which I had already got ready to send to you.

The long-dreaded catastrophe, in which I never really believed, it seemed so entirely without cause or reason, has come at last, with terrible suddenness. I am quite broken-hearted about it, and can say little; words seem so futile, when one's laboured, painful, struggling hopes for the world are dashed into ruins, undermined in their very foundations. If the brutal, perverse, madly insensate and insane forces of human society have so overthrown all rationality, all the gathered forces of a painfully acquired civilization and reasoned insight, and plunged the world into untold material and moral disaster, what guarantee is there that human 'progress' will *ever* be more than a fatal series of such catastrophes? Many seem to find a certain satisfaction in saying, 'it was inevitable', 'it had to come, sooner or later'. To me on the other hand it seems to make just the terrible, yet mean and degrading, tragedy of it, that it was so utterly without rational cause or necessity, so entirely avoidable, not to say by great wisdom and high moral effort, but even by a little common sense, a little enlightened self-interest even, a little insight into the successful practical conduct of human affairs for human welfare. If we were talking together, I should have much to say, but I cannot write anything worth-while. The article in the *New Statesman*, 'Furor Teutonicus' is very interesting and noteworthy. The *Nation* has had some good articles; I am sending it to you for a few weeks.

¹ Blank in the typed copy in the Smuts Collection.

I am glad you find my selection of books to send you on the whole good. Of course there will always be some that I would not have got and sent if I could have examined them sufficiently before buying them; B. Fuller's book¹ today is not first-rate, not original and first-hand enough, though a very respectable resumé of what other more original people have written. Someone was remarking the other day how much of current and just appearing literature was rendered more or less obsolete by the sudden turn of events. Brailsford's book² is very interesting, and presents much that is very important and true, though some of the factors which have actually brought about the present crisis do not come within its scope. I think that Brailsford—and the *New Statesman* and the *Nation*—are entirely right in their criticisms of the fatal policy of a 'Balance of Power', and the necessity of substituting for it a 'Concert of the Nations'. There must be an end of the system of diplomacy by which whole nations are blindly led, and determined in their action, by a small clique in each, drawn from a class which does not and cannot represent the people, the nation. Cramb's book³ is significant and true of a certain section of Germany—chiefly of Prussia—but greatly exaggerates the extent to which the views and spirit of this section really permeate the German people. I have some other books in hand which I will send soon. Yours sincerely,

H. J. Wolstenholme

591 From M. C. Gillett

Vol. 12, no. 54

102 Banbury Road
Oxford

28 August 1914

My dear Oom Jannie, It is a very miserable world, outside. I keep thinking of your summing up of our Government as quite mad in respect to Foreign Affairs—years ago—and the Liberals let them go on getting further and further bogged and so here we are. They have provided us with a selection of hypocritical theories as to why we are at war, and one or other

¹ *Life and Human Nature* by Sir (Joseph) Bampfylde Fuller.

² H. N. Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold: a study of the armed peace*.

³ J. A. Cramb, *Germany and England*.

of these seems to satisfy most people, gentle and simple. It is enough to make one split with cynicism that Asquith and Grey should pretend they are fighting for small nationalities when one remembers how satisfied they were with extinguishing you. I regret to say that Arthur is quite satisfied with the German bogey and thinks we are now at war in self-defence because Germany meant us next. I know the war party in Germany was a dangerous one, but it always seemed to me that time was on our side, and that a great deal might have been done to create a common interest and a common understanding, but that all Grey's diplomatic achievements were in the other direction. His speech, and Asquith's, left me cold and indignant.

You would not know the world it is here now. And we are given up to a secrecy and autocracy beyond belief. It is a pitiful thing to see all the sacrifice being made to get the poor country out of a danger its own Government has helped to put her in.

I am thankful you at least are not sending a 'contingent' but I suppose you will be hard pressed to do it. It seems like race suicide. Of course you will understand what a time it has been financially, what amazing shifts, and the kind of success. Who knows what it will be in that world by the time this reaches you? Arthur has had stiff work. Meanwhile the children are a dear, sweet, refreshing world in themselves. I wish I could describe it in poetry! Much love to you all,

Margaret

The Missis has just left Oxford. It has been lovely having her here.

592 From A. B. Gillett

Vol. 12, no. 49

Oxford

29 August 1914

Dear Oom Jannie, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians'.¹ Such would be my cry if I knew [to] which God to cry. These are times I have often thought of you and this letter will be long because it can't be short. In a month, here we are with a moratorium and I am trying to find the best way to get training. Do

¹ *The Acts of the Apostles*, xix. 34.

you smile—don't, it is a serious thing to me and upsets all my people. I don't think however it will be possible. This leads me to describe the situation and you must refer to dates for when you read this it will be prophecy. We are in as tight a place in France as we have ever been. Slowly our troops and the French retire. If this retiring is meant, it is just the right thing but we are in the dark and cannot tell. If we get a defeat then the war must last two years and that is why I want to train. The impression I have got of the whole affair, I speak with hesitation, is that it was all planned except two things: 1. Possibly England would keep out of it or might be bought out, 2. Italy might be brought in or bribed in. Both miscarried and yet under four weeks Germany is at Cambrai and Russia has hardly commenced her real task.

It is a glorious speculation, our Tommys are fighting beautifully, *but* just think what this means. I simply can't realize it; all my sense of the calamity has gone in a great desire to help this country out.

My impression is that the world won't be better off if Germany wins—but I'm not quite sure, as it is such an unknown question as to what sort of person will survive these times and come into power when it is over. All this war fever is bad—war is bad—hate is bad, though it is true that there has been less of war fever and hate and beastliness than usual. Probably will come as people get worked upon.

Behind all this tremendous war has been enacted for our amusement, anxiety, and constant thought the great financial drama. Yes, we live as quietly as ever, though I have been in Lombard Street six days out of the ten critical ones and seen our edifice of credit submerged and reappear on an artificial foundation. It was most extraordinary; only one had the feeling that this is absurd—things must be arranged; and so they were and we pursue the gentle tenour of our way. Gold disappeared, silver disappeared. Our call money was locked up, our stocks were unsaleable. So we called for three extra bank holidays and declared a moratorium and so got out of all our troubles.

It is just like the so-called great of the world to be able to do these things. I have seen honest little tradespeople get into just such a mess and go down and no moratorium or bank holidays for them, only writs and county courts. It is ever

thus and those who would get on should keep in with the powerful.

I suggested amongst others to the Mayor of Oxford that he should close the public houses early and he replied it was not legal and there were we refusing to pay our debts and quietly arranging artificial prices for everything but beer. However the Government has done it now.

Our Fleet is really great and the pluck of these men is splendid. It cheers us along our way. But this war will take our last man and the last sovereign we possess and gratefully would we give them to win even if they happen to be oneself and one's own. But I have no hate of these wonderful Germans who are playing their great game, the greatest maybe they will ever play. Their cavalry is simply wonderful. Their courage is superb. They attack *en masse*—just think, and get through; it is like a racing steam-roller and nothing goes wrong with them. Of course they have done heaps of cruel, wicked things but who are we to exclaim. Oh, but this bravery unites us all. They are our fellow-men and the fools and cads in office made this war as they have prepared for it. That is democracy debased—yes, I could weep for the spirit of liberty overcome, and for the spirit of gentleness and intelligence overcome, by this forceful terrible brute. But fight we must and so four clerks have gone and I should like to go into some corps or at any rate get trained for the days that may come.

Of course dear Margaret is sad at all this war. We are expecting in three or four months another little babe to join the two happy youngsters who beguile us from these horrors and anxieties.

Mr and Mrs Clark think the war quite wrong and a great mistake, but what could we do? Tell me what you think when you write; this is a rotten letter but I'm jolly weary; it is Saturday afternoon just before we close and I'm in no good temper with anyone. If we become Germanized and are alive we shall come out to South Africa and I shall become something—a farmer, say. Affectionately,

Arthur B. Gillett

I should like to be able to send my love to Mrs Smuts and to your children.

593 From D. Reitz

Vol. 12, no. 103

Heilbron

12 September 1914

Waarde Oom Jannie, Een paar regels om u te laten weten hoe of zaken hier staan.

De Hertzog leiders maken natuurlijk politieke capitaal uit de Duitsch Z.W. expeditie en de Boeren in dit distrikt zijn in rep en roer. Indien zij opgekommendeerd worden voel ik zeker dat er ernstige onlusten zullen plaats vinden. Zij staan groeps-gewijze op ieder straat hoek uit te wijden tegen de Regeering en zelfs de Kommandant verklaart dat hij de burgers zal bijstaan om enige commandeer orders te weerstaan. Ik weet natuurlijk niet wat of de Regeerings plannen zijn maar meen ik dat het goed was om u op de hoogte te houden met de publieke gevoelens in de Vrijstaat want ik vrees werkelijk voor ernstige onlusten indien er niet zeer taktvol gehandeld worden.

Natuurlijk als de Regeering bij wijze van de verschillende bestaande corps D.Z.W. kunnen occupeeren en er een 'clean job' van kan maken zal het publiek over een paar maanden de zaak in een andere licht zien maar op 't ogenblik is het hier-langs maar een naarheid zooals te keer gegaan wordt.

Hertzog's aanspraak was een bloote 'electioneering speech' met oog op de volgende electies. Hij is te klein om zelfs in deze dagen zijn persoonlijke belangen te zinken maar blijft desniettemin het feit dat zijn redevoering de mensen verbazend opgezweept heeft en indien de Vrijstaters, of in ieder geval de Heilbronners, opgeroepen worden zal er gewis een ernstige munterij ontstaan en de gevolgen waarvan ongetwijfeld ver-reikend zullen zijn. Met groeten,

D. Reitz

TRANSLATION

Heilbron

12 September 1914

Dear Oom Jannie, A few lines to let you know how matters stand here.¹

The Hertzog leaders are, of course, making capital out of the German South West expedition and the Boers in this district

¹ In the northern Orange Free State.

are in commotion.¹ If they are called up I feel sure that serious disturbances will take place. They stand in groups on every street corner inveighing against the Government and even the Commandant declares that he will support the burghers in resisting any commandeering orders. Of course, I do not know what the Government's plans are but think it well to keep you informed of public feeling in the Free State, for I really fear serious disturbances if the matter is not very tactfully handled.

Of course if the Government can occupy German South West by means of the various existing corps and make a clean job of it, the public will, after a few months, see the matter in another light, but at the moment the way people are going on hereabout is nasty.

Hertzog's address was a sheer electioneering speech with an eye to the next election. He is too petty even in these days to sink his personal interests, but nevertheless the fact remains that his oration has aroused the people amazingly and if the Free Staters, or at any rate the Heilbronnners, are called up, a serious mutiny will certainly develop the results of which will undoubtedly be far-reaching. With greetings,

D. Reitz

594 To D. Reitz

Vol. 12, no. 143A

The Treasury
Pretoria

[22 September 1914]

Lieve Nyssie, Hartelijk dank voor jou brief. Wij hebben reeds besloten de operaties in D.Z.W.A. alleen met voluntiers voort te zetten en niemand te commandeeren. De tegenbeweging ontstaat gedeeltelijk uit vrees voor commandeer orders en gedeeltelijk en meer bepaald uit politieke beweegredenen. Beyers heeft zich slecht gedragen, Kemp nog slechter; gelukkig zijn beiden eruit.

Er wordt veel, zeer veel gepraat. Sommigen zijn bevreesd voor een revolutie of burger oorlog. Ik niet. Evenwel zal ik blij

¹ On 9 September 1914 Botha announced in Parliament that South African troops would invade South West Africa, then German territory. Hertzog and the Nationalists opposed the expedition.

zijn als jij jou ooren en oogen wil open houden en mij op de hoogte houden van wat aangaat in jou deelen.

Jij zal zien als alles over is en D.Z.W.A. vormt weer een deel van ons Afrikaansche erfenis, het gevoel vinnig zal omdraaien en onze handelwijze algemeen goedgekeurd worden. Hartelijk gegroet van *t.t.*

J. C. Smuts

TRANSLATION

The Treasury
Pretoria

[22 September 1914]

Dear Nyssie, Hearty thanks for your letter. We have already decided to continue the operations in German South West Africa only with volunteers and to commandeer nobody. The opposition movement originates partly from fear of commandeering orders and partly, and more definitely, from political motives. Beyers has behaved badly¹ and Kemp still worse; fortunately both are out of it.

There is much, very much, talk. Some are afraid of a revolution or civil war. I am not. Nevertheless I shall be glad if you will keep your ears and eyes open and keep me informed of what goes on in your parts.

You will see, when all is over and German South West Africa again forms a part of our Afrikaner heritage, feeling will quickly swing round and our action be generally approved. Hearty greetings from, *totus tuus*,

J. C. Smuts

595 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 143

The Treasury
Pretoria

22 September 1914

My dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your wire. It was indeed a melancholy business having to write to Beyers in the

¹ C. F. Beyers resigned as Commander-in-Chief of the Union Defence Force on 15 September 1914 and J. C. G. Kemp as district staff officer of the Western Transvaal on the same day.

way I have had to,¹ but I am glad to know that what I sent has your approval.

We are having a very anxious and trying time and I fear it is likely to continue for some time. With my warmest regards,
Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

596 From R. Jones

Vol. 12, no. 78

Confidential

Reuter's
Cape Town
26 September 1914

Dear Oom Jannie, You're a busy man. So am I. I'll be brief. A. Do have Beyers's letter, and your smashing reply, circulated broadcast *together*. My agents² everywhere report great harm being done by Hertzogites circulating Beyers's screed only. Publication in the papers is not enough. You *must have free* circulation, in pamphlet form. Get your magistrates, or the Party organization on to it. Print thousands and send them to every village and country town for wholesale distribution. Believe me, the Beyers thing alone is doing a lot of mischief.

B. Reading the Dutch copy of Jan Hofmeyr's *Life* in bed the other night, I came across his letter denouncing the Kaiser's telegram after the Raid, and Onze Jan's³ threat about the Cape and Damaraland.⁴ It seemed to me this should help you. So I got *Ons Land* to publish it, then I wired it all over the country. That from Onze Jan and *Ons Land* should tickle up those who damn your Expedition. I also wired everywhere *Ons Land's* excellent leading article—all helps!

I hope you are fit and well. My best respects and kindest regards to Mrs Smuts and yourself. Sincerely yours,

Roderick Jones

¹ Beyers sent his letter of resignation to the Press for publication before it could reach the Minister of Defence. But the Government used its powers of censorship to delay its publication until 21 September when it appeared together with Smuts's reply.

² Reuter's News Agency.

³ J. H. Hofmeyr the elder is known among Afrikaners as 'Onze Jan' (Our Jan).

⁴ A letter from Hofmeyr appeared in the *Cape Times* of 14 January 1896 in which he said that any German attack on Great Britain would be followed by 'the acquisition by England of all German colonies—Damaraland included—which would not be an unmixed evil for the Cape'.

597 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 90

*Private*Schoongezicht
Stellenbosch

26 September 1914

My dear Smuts, Too good of you to bother about replying to me. Yes! I can well believe you are having a pretty rough time. I only hope you will not meet the reward of those of whom 'all men speak well'.¹ I have been trying to do my feeble best to help you in this hot corner. It is wonderful how the anti-British feeling manifests itself here, and such odd people too—old 'Johnnie' [J. H.] Marais, and Professor [C. F. J.] Muller, Bergh [H. J.] of the Bank etc.—the most unlikely people, and of course some patriotic students. I think the majority of the folk hereabouts are sound but one never can tell. Your countrymen are rather secretive!

I am going to my constituency² next week, on request. The people there are naturally ignorant of the true bearings of the question.

Poor Beyers! His family here are distressed. He might have remembered that the South African War, whose memory he evoked, began by an ultimatum followed by an act of aggression on *his* side.³ Had he and his friends remained quietly on top of their mountains Great Britain *would never for all their bluff have attacked them*. He might also have taken a leaf out of [Sir W.] Butler's book, who was much more against the coercion of Boerdom than Beyers can be in love with Germans *but did his duty*. Talking of Germans I wish you would take some trouble to get evidence and prosecute some real mischief makers and trounce them heavily, instead of which you fall on the herd. I am sure you are not one who 'holds your good sword like a dancer—and preys upon lieutenancy'.⁴

¹ 'Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.' *St. Luke* vi. 26.

² Victoria West.

³ The Government of the South African Republic sent an ultimatum to the British Government on 9 October 1899. On 12 October Transvaal forces, moving across the border of Bechuanaland, clashed with British forces at Kraaipan.

⁴ '... He, at Phillipi kept

His sword e'en like a dancer, . . . he alone

Dealt on lieutenantry, and no practice had

In the brave squares of war . . .'

Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, III, ix. 35-40.

I hope you are going to adopt the Swakopmund–Walfisch Bay line of advance.¹ The distance is in favour and after forty miles you get into good country and cattle *and friendly Natives* But who am I to give counsel ? Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

598 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 12, no. 162

Pretoria

27 September 1914

Many thanks for your long interesting letter with all its information. Thank dear Margaret also for her nice letter. Good be with her in all the trials ahead for her and all of us. We are all very sad over this awful business. But I don't like to pass judgment but rather to be reverential before the mystery of suffering through which mankind is once more called upon to pass. Remember that in the divine economy of the world suffering is as essential as progress and welfare. The Cross remains the everlasting symbol of our line of march. I call to mind a great line in Mommsen where he says in reference to the end of Hannibal: 'Those are the favourites of the gods on whom they lavish infinite joys and infinite sorrows'. Perhaps Christendom is to be once more purged and reshaped in the fierce mould of the great Lover. Let us remember the deeper import of the events through which we are passing and not simply curse our statesmen. It is difficult for me to see what other alternative there was for English statesmen. In 1907 the great C.B. made a move towards limiting armaments and war preparations. Germany made not the slightest response. As the burden became too great for England, tacit arrangements came to be made with France, and her fleet was taken to the Mediterranean to protect also British interests, and England became morally responsible for the northern coasts of France. I don't think England could have done otherwise then, nor could she without infamy have backed out now. I love German thought and culture and hope it will yet do much for mankind. But a stern limit must be set to her political system which is a menace to the world even worse than Bonapartism was. But I must admit the future is to me very dark. If Germany wins

¹ In the invasion of German South West Africa.

—but what if Russia wins! Let us do our duty according to our best lights and leave the ultimate issue to that Providence which somehow turns evil to good and makes poor erring humanity reap 'the far off interest of tears'. We are also fighting in the awful desert of German South West Africa and will lose many valuable lives there. But such was the wish of the English Government and Botha and I are not the men to desert England in this dark hour. Many Boers cannot forget the past and bitterly disapprove of our action. But I think we are doing our duty. Good-bye, dear Arthur. Remain calm, knowing that there is more in this than man's blundering.

599 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 145

The Treasury
Pretoria

2 October 1914

Dear Mr Merriman, It was a real pleasure to receive your note. This is indeed a difficult time. What with people's genuine dislike to this German West operation, the survival of old anti-British feeling, and the recent luxuriant growth of factions, our troubles are great. But I have faith in South Africa and in the end it will all come right. I know that General Botha appreciates very much your personal attitude in the matter.

With regard to the advance from Walvis to Windhoek, that was my first idea and the whole expedition had been arranged. It has however been postponed for the present in order to push forward in as great pace as possible from Lüderitz towards Keetmanshoop.

This invasion of the desert is indeed an almost heartbreaking affair. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

600 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 12, no. 147

Departement van Verdediging
Pretoria

10 October 1914

Liefste Mamma, De politie acht het niet wijs dat ik 's avonds naar Doornkloof ga en ik zal dus in vervolg maar in de Club

blijven tot tijd en wijl dat ik een huis heb gevonden voor jou. De politie bewaakt jou huis maar Jan moet er ook slapen. Zend mijn bruin pak, onderkleeren en pyjamas nog heden uit. Ik zal Hodgson bij jou 's avonds laten, dan kan hij 's ochtends de kinderen per motor inbrengen.

Maritz heeft gerebelleerd en met zijn commando bij de Duitschers aangesloten; er zijn 200 Duitschers met hem en ik verwacht een aanval op Coen Brits te Upington.

Denk jij dat ik een huis hier sal huren of wil jij liever daar buiten blijven? Ik denk hier is beter. Joue als immer

Jan

TRANSLATION

Department of Defence

Pretoria

10 October 1914

Dearest Mamma, The police consider it unwise for me to go to Doornkloof in the evenings and I shall therefore in future stay at the Club¹ until such time as I have found a house for you. The police guard your house but Jan² must sleep there also. Send my brown suit, underclothes and pyjamas out today. I shall leave Hodgson³ with you in the evenings, then he can bring the children in by car in the mornings.

Maritz has rebelled and joined the Germans with his commando; there are 200 Germans with him and I expect an attack on Coen Brits at Upington.⁴

Do you think I should hire a house here or do you prefer to stay out there? I think here is better. Yours as always,

Jan

601 From D. Reitz

Vol. 12, no. 104

Heilbron, Orange Free State

20 October 1914

Waarde Oom Jannie, Met referte tot de Kommandant's Resolutie te Kroonstad genomen hadden wij heden een

¹ The Pretoria Club.

² Jan Krige.

³ Smuts's chauffeur.

⁴ S. G. Maritz, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Union Defence Force in command of the military forces in the north-west Cape Colony, went into rebellion on 10 October 1914, having handed over as prisoners-of-war to the Germans those of his men who would not follow him. Colonel Coen Brits had been sent to take over Maritz's command.

vergadering van al de Krijgsofficieren van Heilbron Distrikt om die Resolutie te bespreken.

De Officieren van Wijk Kromellenboog (25 in getal) hebben de Resolutie unaniem aangenomen en hebben allen hunne getrouwe ondersteuning beloofd. Wijk Vechtkop trok biekie dwars maar hebben toch op laatst een dergelijke Resolutie passeerd met slechts een paar onbeduidende amendementen.

Als ik U enig advies schuldig ben zou ik U sterk en ernstig aanraaden om de twee Heilbron Kommandanten dadelijke instructies te geven om elk een aantal burgers te kommandeeren, zelfs al was het maar 50 man elk en zelfs al hebt U ze niet in werkelijkheid nodig. De Kommandanten willen graag vorentoe gaan en het zal dit Distrikt ten enemale regt rukken als er een vaste Heilbron Kommando, hoe klein ook, op de been is in stede van een onzamenhangend klompje vrijwilligers zooals op 't ogenblik.

Zulk een kommando zou natuurlijk onder Geo. Brand staan. Op 't ogenblik denken de mensen dat de Regeering de Vrijstaat moedwillig aanstoot wil geven door te weigeren hen te kommandeeren terwijl er in de Transvaal gekommandeerd wordt. Geloof mij het zal veel goed doen in meer dan een opzicht. U kon de Kommando na een paar weken huis-toe zenden als hunne diensten onnodig bleken maar slechts het feit dat zij opgekommandeerd en vort gingen zal verbazend veel helpen.

De boeren hier zullen allen op koers komen als zij weten dat zij niet opzij geschoven zijn en als zij weten dat er van hun mannen op de front zijn. Hoogagtend

[Unsigned]

Had van mijn vader een heel mooie brief over de ruzie die ik met hem had re Pres. Steyn. Ik kan zien die Ou Baas voel dat hij het een fout begaan.

TRANSLATION

Heilbron, Orange Free State

20 October 1914

Dear Oom Jannie, With reference to the Commandant's Resolution taken at Kroonstad, we had a meeting today of all the Military Officers of Heilbron to discuss the Resolution.

The Officers of Kromellenboog Ward (twenty-five in

number) have accepted the Resolution unanimously and have all promised their faithful support. Vechtkop Ward was somewhat opposed but nevertheless in the end passed a similar Resolution with only a few unimportant amendments.

If I owe you any advice I should strongly and earnestly recommend you at once to give the two Heilbron Commandants instructions each to commandeer a number of burghers, even if it were only fifty men each and even if you do not really need them. The Commandants very much want to go forward and it will once and for all put this district straight if there is a permanent Heilbron Commando, no matter how small, in existence instead of a disjointed group of volunteers as at the moment.

Such a commando would, of course, be under George Brand. At the moment people think that the Government wants to slight the Free State purposely by refusing to commandeer them whereas there is commandeering in the Transvaal. Believe me, it will do much good in more than one respect. You could send the commando home after a few weeks if their services appeared unnecessary but the mere fact that they were commandeered and went forward will help amazingly.

The Boers here will only get back on course if they know that they are not being pushed aside and if they know that some of their men are at the front. Yours sincerely,

[Unsigned]

Had a very nice letter from my father about the quarrel I had with him *re* President Steyn. I can see the Ou Baas¹ feels that he has made a mistake.

602 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 12, no. 75

c/o Barclay & Co., Ltd.,
137 Brompton Road
London, S.W.

29 October 1914

Ah! dear Oom, dear Oom—What are you all about? I can't write much for I feel too strongly, but oh! don't you see you are driving your people too hard along that 'Imperial' Road? For long there has been murmuring (just as *we* Radicals and

¹ Literally 'Old Master'.

Labourites in England herself murmur and fight the Imperialistic politicians) and the murmurs have burst out into deeds, and what wonder dear Oom, called upon to invade a country against which they have no quarrel to uphold a country which only fourteen years ago was treating them as the Germans are now treating Belgium.

I cannot *bear* to think that dear de Wet and Beyers and Kemp will meet a rebel's death. You have asked too much of human nature, or rather London has; I believe the pressure came from there, and I write in a hurry to implore you if these men are captured to ask General Botha to consider these facts and *not* to shoot them unless in open fight. The issue might be awful—an internecine struggle—an enmity never forgiven. They are brave, good men. Keep them in prison if you will till the end but do not execute them, do not, *do not, do not.*

The whole world is in such a hideous condition and *we* are so deeply in fault, committing, as thousands of the wisest feel, 'the greatest crime in our history'. But in it we are and can't get out though all our lives are to be darkened. Retribution perhaps come at last for all we did in the past.

This will be an endless war of attrition, none knows where it may end, only maybe disease and famine will work for peace. They are upon the heels of the armies. Here we have Belgian refugees, and I sit and listen to the selfsame stories I heard in such numbers fourteen years ago, and see the same war-look stamped upon many of the faces. Still they have not suffered like your women of old, and already surrounded with care, freedom and kindness, are happy and flourishing, spread through the length and breadth of England.

I can't write, have no time, and you are too busy to read. Only once more I beg and pray you to *spare those men* for in opposing a war of aggression they were surely right, even if the means taken have been wrong. Oh! that Defence Force of yours, how often I wrote to you that it would lead to trouble and that if you had it you would not stop at defence, but begin to invade, and so it is.

Good-bye, 1914 has indeed been a year of tragedy public and private. My love to Mrs Smuts. Yours ever affectionately,
Emily Hobhouse

603 Memorandum**Box G, no. 1B**

Towards the end of October 1914 Botha and Smuts appealed to President Steyn to use his influence with Generals de Wet and Beyers to bring the rebellion to an end and avoid bloodshed. Steyn's son, Colin, acted as his father's messenger between the rebel leaders and the Government. On 1-2 November, after a second interview with Smuts at Pretoria, Colin Steyn received from him a memorandum of the conditions for ending the rebellion which the Government would be prepared to accept. The original memorandum, in Smuts's handwriting and signed by him, is in the possession of Colin Steyn's executors. The document in the Smuts Collection is a photostat copy. Colin Steyn's story of these negotiations and their failure was recorded on tape on 15 March 1958. A typescript of the recording is in the Smuts Collection.

Voor C.S.

1. Regeering is niet bereid eenig voorstel te maken of eenige stap te nemen waaromtrent zij niet verzekerd is dat er gevolg aan zal gegeven worden.
2. Indien eenig voorstel moet gemaakt worden zooals door C.S. aan de hand gegeven (n.l., vrijstelling van straf voor allen die binnen gestelden termijn wapens nederleggen bij locale magistraten tegen uitreiking van certificaat en naar huis gaan) dan moet het van andere kant komen als een voorstel dat de ontevreden burgers bereid zijn te nemen.
3. In dat geval zal Regeering genegen zijn om zoodanig voorstel in de meest ernstige overweging te nemen daar zij vurig begeert bloedvergieten te voorkomen.
4. Het is niet duidelijk waarom burgers denken dat zij voor D.Z.W. Afrika opgecommandeerd zullen worden daar Eerste Minister reeds officieel verklaard heeft dat zulks niet zal geschieden en alleen vrijwilligers daarvoor gebruikt zullen worden.

J. C. Smuts

TRANSLATION

For C.S.

1. Government is not prepared to make any proposal or take any step in regard to which they are not assured that effect will be given.

2. If any proposal must be made such as C.S. suggests (i.e., freedom from punishment for all who within a given time lay down arms at local magistrates against issue of a certificate and go home) then it must come from the other side as a proposal that the dissatisfied burghers are prepared to make.
3. In that case the Government will be inclined to take such a proposal into the most serious consideration as they ardently desire to prevent bloodshed.
4. It is not clear why burghers think that they will be called up for German South West Africa as Prime Minister has already officially declared that this will not happen and only volunteers will be used for this purpose.

J. C. Smuts

604 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 150

3 November 1914

Dear Mr Merriman, I return Rev. T. Muller's great oration;¹ what a speech for an educated man to make! Many thanks for your other suggestions which I shall try to act on as soon as a suitable opportunity occurs.

The situation in the Transvaal has improved very much. Small bands annoy the peaceful citizens and commandeer in the name of 'President Beyers of the South African Republic'. But I really don't anticipate grave trouble. In the Free State we are prepared to deal immediately with the large forces which de Wet has raised. But Steyn has asked us to stay our hand as he is trying to make peace. We are awaiting the result of these negotiations between him, Hertzog and de Wet. I understood from Colin Steyn that Steyn wants the commandos to dissolve quietly and go home on the understanding that the Government will let bygones be bygones and not prosecute them for rebellion. But I don't really know what basis is being negotiated on. It is a dirty, miserable business which will be a blot on our fair name for ever, in whatever way we get out of it now. With kind regards and best wishes, Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

¹ See B. B. Keet and G. C. Tomlinson, *Tobie Muller*, pp. 108 *et seq.*

Your few words in appreciation of Botha at Beaufort West have had a wonderful effect. And perhaps all this may yet be a blessing in disguise for South Africa.

605 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 92

Private and confidential

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

8 November 1914

My dear Smuts, Thank you for yours of the 3rd and for the egregious address of the reverend gentleman, who has done an infinity of harm by his instillation of the poison of race hatred. The contagion has spread, as you will have seen, to the South African College.

I had been wanting to write to you for some days past, but I did not like to inflict myself upon so busy a man. What I wanted to express was the feeling of myself and a good many others, Dutch as well as English, that this palavering with avowed rebels, has gone altogether too far. Just look at the facts. On 26 October De Wet at the head of a band of ragamuffins, collected, not on the spur of the moment, but by a carefully prepared plot, destroys the railway, inflicting severe loss and damage on public property. On the 28th, having in the interval stolen (commandeered!) arms and property, he appears at Reitz, makes a ridiculous and seditious harangue, damages public property, seizes private goods, and proclaims that he is in rebellion. All this time palavering is going on. You are sending his avowed confederate¹ to him, and above all you are giving him plenty of time to increase his forces and to unite them with the other bands of malcontents. Decent respectable farmers are living in terror of having their stock stolen by these ruffians. One man at least (Schimper [F. A. S.]) has, I am told, had to send his valuable horses into Basutoland for protection!! What an example! All the time you are parleying with the ringleader. *Is there no law? Are the crimes of robbery, sedition, and public violence merely venial eccentricities when committed by a certain section of the community? If anybody else had done these things, what a howl*

¹ Hertzog.

there would have been! And how many parsons and others would you have had intervening in their behalf? And what a future are we preparing for South Africa when the crimes of treachery, public violence and robbery are condoned. Surely we have had a lesson in these matters last year, when the same kind of leniency and palaver was followed in the case of the Benoni strikers.¹ Then came the procession of the 'red army', the terrorism of the innocent, and all the rest of the humiliating business, which led up to the events of January.² Now we are treading the same path on a larger scale. A very sober-minded man, a doctor from Basutoland, was calling here yesterday and gave a very gloomy picture of the state of the Orange Free State. Only the well-to-do are to be trusted and every one looks to your ambassador Hertzog—rightly or wrongly—as the *fons et origo* of the evil state of affairs. It is much the same in this Colony. Whenever a man is taken up for seditious talk, it turns out in evidence that he professes to be 'a Hertzogite'. I daresay this is all wrong and foolish but surely, knowing all this, Hertzog might make some public declaration that would free him from suspicion and set his misguided followers on the right course. (I will not say that every follower of Hertzog is seditious, but every seditious person claims to be a follower of Hertzog.)

I see Fremantle throws all the blame on your shoulders, because you would not take his and Hertzog's advice!!! Perhaps you will think that I am on the same tack, so I will finish by asking you to remember the old adage—*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*³ also that there are dozens of men now under sentence for foolish talk in this Colony, while there is a movement to let those who commit criminal actions escape. What an incentive to crime! Everyone ought to be grateful to Alberts [J. J.] and Mentz [H.] who have done good work—no palaver about them—and I hope before this reaches you to hear that you have rounded up the other ruffians and trounced them roundly.

In Belgian matters we are waiting on Graaff as obviously it

¹ The Witwatersrand strike of July 1913 began in the mining town of Benoni.

² The general strike of January 1914.

³ The judge is condemned when the criminal is acquitted. Publius Syrus, *Sententia*.

will be useless to arrange for their reception here, unless they will come.¹ I hope you will not think I have written too warmly, or that I am indifferent to the immense weight of responsibility that rests upon you. But it is difficult to keep one's temper when one thinks of the sordid political jealousy that is at the bottom of this business which has been forced on the country without the slightest provocation or the smallest regard for the future interests of South Africa. I feel most strongly that unless the malady is extirpated, not smoothed over, and the authors, aiders, and abettors soundly punished there will be little respect for the law in the future and that the condition of South Africa will be that of Mexico or Peru. With kindest regards to Botha and yourself, Believe me, Yours most truly,

John X. Merriman

606 From J. E. de la Rey²

Vol. 12, no. 44

Elandvontijn
de 9 November [1914]

De Heer J. C. Smits [*sic*], Live Janne u zal verwonderd wees om van mij een brief te hebben. Het is omdat mijn hart uitgaad over ons toestand. Acht en de laas bittere strijd en ons land ware wij tog als broeders alhoewel daar ook Afrikaners was dat tegen ons gaad daar zij ook moede waren en niet weet wat te doet was het tog niet zoo verschrikleik als het nu is acht Janne Oom Koose heef niet nodeloos aan mij gezeg dat de toekoms voor hem zoo donker is dat hij aan God gezeg heef Heere neem mij; maar gedenkt aan de Volkt en wijst hen een wecht ten goede acht Janne en toen het zoo komd dat hij werkleik op zoo een wonderbare wijze wecht genomen word en dat ik elken dacht ziet hoe verschrikleik het gaad word zijn woorden bij mij meer ernsteger en mijn gemoed, en zooals ik u en Generaal Bota gezeg heef dat ik en zoo zwaar en voeld dat ik heelemaal uitgesleud wel weest en dengen dat gaande is u was bijde zoo goed om mij dat te vergund waarvoor ik u bijde harteleik dankbaar blijfd. Nu is het mij alsof ik staad en het

¹ Refers to Belgian refugees. D. P. de V. Graaff was then High Commissioner for the Union in London.

² The widow of General J. H. de la Rey.

medden van dit twee partijden de een is voor mij zoo deirbaar als de ander en ik ziet nog aan geen kand licht; en ons weet niet aan welke kand de licht zal schijnd en zooals ik u gezeg heef ik gevoeld mij als of ik staad tussen de twee partijen draag bijde zeer op mijn hard. Ik is niet op hoogte en weet niet hoe het staad zal blijde wees als u mij de waarheid kan zeg. Ik krieg van Schweizer Reneke tijdeng dat Hans Bezeudenhoud mijn man zijn broeder Adrian de la Rey gevang heef ik denkt hoe better het was voor hun zoo een werkt te doen. Acht Janne ik zal maar voor hem een voorspraak wees hoop dat u het bes met hem zal doet wand zooals ik gezeg heef de een is ik zoo jammer voor als de ander. Ik zied niet wei ik kan uitsleut als het nodig is kan ik voor u hetzelfde doet zooals mijn hard voeld voor ons allen, alsook de broeder van Nati Ferrere dat predekand is; hij is tereg gekomen met burgers zij is allen lost docht hij is weggestuur. Nu vraag zij of u hem niet onder parole kan laat uit komd. U moet mij niet kwaleik neem dat ik u lastig is docht zooals ik zeg mijn hard gaad voor allen uit ik vraag ompartijdig. Acht Janne ik kan mijn man neit vergeed en kan mij niet voorsteld dat het werkleik zoo is. Acht het is eenmaal zoo de Heere sterke mij hij heef het zoo velemale gedaan en zal het verder doet. Hoe gaad het Ezi en de kinderen, ik hoop allen goed. Ik verwacht een paar regels van u daar u tog meer weet dan ik hartelek groete van mij. U bedroefde tanne

J. E. de la Rey

TRANSLATION

Elandsfontein
[Lichtenburg, Transvaal]
9 November [1914]

Dear Jannie, You will be surprised to have a letter from me. It is because my heart is wrung about our condition. Ah, in the last bitter struggle in our land we were as brothers although there were also Afrikaners who went against us. Because they were weary and did not know what to do, it was not so terrible as it is now. Ah Jannie, it was not for nothing that Oom Kosie said to me that the future was so dark for him that he had said to God: Lord, take me, but think of the People and show them

the good road. Ah Jannie, and when it happened that he was really taken away in such a marvellous manner,¹ and I see every day how terrible things are, his words become more solemn in my mind. And as I have told you and General Botha that I feel so deeply about them that I wish to keep out of most things that are happening, you were both so good as to grant me this, for which I heartily thank you both. Now it seems to me as if I stand in the midst of the two parties, the one is as precious to me as the other and as yet I see light on no side and we do not know on what side the light will shine, and, as I have told you, I feel as if I stand between the two parties; have the welfare of both very much at heart. I am not informed and do not know how matters stand; shall be glad if you can tell me the truth. I received news from Schweizer-Reneke that Hans Bezuidenhout has captured my husband's brother, Adriaan de la Rey. I am thinking how bitter it was for him to do such a thing. Ah Jannie, I shall be a pleader for him, hope that you will do the best with him, for, as I have said, I am as sorry for one as for the other. I do not see whom I can shut out. If it is necessary I can do the same for you, so my heart feels for us all—also the brother of Natie [I. S.] Ferreira who is a parson.² He has been tried with some burghers. They are all free but he has been sent away. Now they ask if you cannot let him out on *parole*. You must not mind if I bother you, but, as I say, my heart goes out to all; I ask impartially. Ah Jannie, I cannot forget my husband and cannot imagine that it is really so. Ah, once and for all it is so; may the Lord strengthen me; He has done it so often and will do it further. How are Isie and the children? I hope all well. I expect a few lines from you for you know more than I. My hearty greetings. Your sorrowing *tannie*,

J. E. de la Rey

¹ General J. H. de la Rey was accidentally shot on the night of 15 September 1914 when he and General Beyers were travelling by motor-car to Potchefstroom and ignored challenges to stop by police who were trying to trap motor-car bandits.

² Rev. C. R. Ferreira.

607 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 153

*Private*Department of Defence
Pretoria

25 November 1914

My dear Mr Merriman, I am sending for your information copies of certain telegrams that have passed between President Steyn and myself in regard to the negotiations that the President undertook with a view to settling the matters in the Free State in an amicable manner.¹

I do not quite appreciate the President's silence during these critical times and I feel that if he had at the right moment come forward with a strong personal appeal to the Free Staters he would have done a great deal towards a settlement. However no such appeal was forthcoming and we have had a lot of hard fighting which has led to the complete discomfiture of the most active leader² and the disillusionment of his followers.

We are now conducting further operations to bring in those who did not avail themselves of our amnesty.³ With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

608 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 12, no. 180

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge

27 November 1914

My dear Smuts, I intended to send you some books and pamphlets this week, but have not got them put together and packed for this week's post, so I must leave them until next week, and send meanwhile a few hasty lines to bring you some greeting and good wishes for the Christmas time. I hope you and yours are all well and as happy as any denizens of this distracted world can be at such a time. It is some comfort to think of the children who are happily unconscious of it all and unaffected by it. You must be yourself so engrossed and

¹ These telegrams are printed in Appendix C of U.G. No. 10 of 1915 (Union of South Africa, House of Assembly, Annexures).

² De Wet was routed by Botha at Mushroom Valley on 12 November.

³ All rebels, except the leaders, would be free from prosecution if they surrendered within ten days.

absorbed by the calls to all humanly possible output of energy and action to give way to the melancholy reflections and despondencies that must largely make up an old man's inner life at such a time. I sometimes wonder what John Morley is thinking and feeling just now, and others like him; I have not seen or heard a word about him or his attitude towards the present world-crisis, since he left the Cabinet and political life. Perhaps he feels as I do that there is nothing hopeful and encouraging that he can say, and that it is worse than useless to damp the courage and effort of those who still have the force and energy for action that is given by the healthy and virile 'will to live', to live on the plane of their highest ideals, whether they are realizable or not. Not that I am silent among my friends and those with whom I come in contact in my necessarily very quiet and retired life. I do what I can to get matters discussed from the points of view that seem to me all important for a settlement when the time comes, probably still a good way off, for a serious attempt to re-establish international relations on a better and more promising basis than the 'balance of power', and the diabolical intrigues of nations which assume that brute power gives right, and that all is defensible that seems calculated to promote their interests, narrow, material, low interests, at whatever cost to the general welfare and to *human* civilization. I am afraid that the evidence is overwhelming that at least one great nation has become practically hypnotized by a spirit of thinking and wishing and striving that is more brutal and barbarous, more madly selfish and megalomaniac, more morally obtuse and even in many ways intellectually stupid, than one could have conceived possible for a nation in the forefront of civilization and culture. And it is still more depressing to see and realize that most of the other peoples, however ready to express horror and moral indignation at the policy and action of Germany, are still guided themselves, if they could only know themselves, by similar if less extreme principles and motives, in their views and intentions as regards social and international action. Brailsford¹ and N. Angell and others are doing a good work in showing that it is not the 'crushing' of this or that people, the transference of power from

¹ Henry Noel Brailsford, British writer and publicist, born 1873.

one to other nations, that will bring a better state of things, but only a truer insight into the ways of thinking and feeling and action, the principles and institutions, which regulate human and international action, and which must become the generally accepted basis of human intercourse in a really humanized society.

I hope your success in South Africa will soon be such as to set free the energies engaged against misguided rebellion, for direct service in the common cause of liberty and public right. Ever yours,

H. J. Wolstenholme

609 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 95

Private and confidential

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

29 November 1914

My dear Smuts, Thank you very much for yours of 25 November enclosing a telegraphic correspondence with Steyn, which is sufficiently painful reading for his friends. I was the more glad to get your letter as I was afraid that my last must have put you out, by being too frank. The times are far too serious for me to write smooth things to *you* however disagreeable it may be to appear as a sort of carping critic. I should not indeed take up your time, if I did not feel very strongly and if I was not very grateful to you and Botha for the stand you have taken in this dreary business. Poor Steyn! Shortly after Beyers wrote his manifesto¹ I wrote to Steyn imploring him to make it clearly known to those who look up to him what their duty was. He replied to me in the same querulous tone that he used to you, and I could see from his letter that it was no use arguing with him, so absolutely wrong did he seem to me to be. His correspondence with you is hopeless. He is a lawyer and he has been a Chief Magistrate of a State, and he talks as if there was no such thing as law where his friends are concerned and as if public order could be broken with impunity whenever a band of ruffians choose to dub themselves patriots. Poor Steyn! I could derive some consolation if I thought that this correspondence was the end of the miserable pattering with law-

¹ His letter of resignation was couched in the terms of a political manifesto.

breakers that has already had such deplorable results in spreading the rebellion, and conveying to a large portion of the population the notion that the rioting, plunder, and murder that they were guilty of, were only venial offences.

What, think you, must be the feelings of those who have done their best to maintain law and order when they see the very ruffians who have plundered them and shot their brothers quietly coming back to their homes, like the prodigal son,—and very possibly going back next week to the old game! Thanks to all this good-natured effort to patch up some sort of truce, we have de Wet holding up five towns in the Free State¹ and putting 3,000 to 4,000 men in line and worst of all we have Kemp, perhaps the most dangerous of the lot, joining hands with the Germans,² and likely to do a good deal of mischief. And all this palaver has gone on *after* General Botha's plain common-sense reply to Hertzog that he could not treat with rebels with arms in their hands! Is it any wonder that the rebellion spread from a riot to a condition bordering on civil war? I know only too well the pressure that has been put on you and the sort of people that have been hanging on to your coat-tails. They ought to be ashamed of themselves for they have paralysed the arm of the law just at a time when every right-minded man ought to do his best to strengthen and uphold it. A few wholesome and severe but not vindictive punishments, one really decisive action, would do more to restore order than all the conferences and palaver, which indeed only afford the malcontents opportunities to collect news and to exchange views on the situation. I hope that you will set the cleverest man you have got to collect and arrange all documents, and to give something like a collected [*sic*] history of the great conspiracy to subvert authority, and to hand this country over to the Germans.³ What right, if any, had Maritz to appeal to Beyers,

¹ Between 24 and 27 October the rebels had taken Heilbron, Reitz, Koppies, Parys and Vredefort. By 9 November de Wet had also occupied Lindley and Winburg.

² Kemp, with 610 men, left the south-western Transvaal on 2 November 1914, crossed the Kalahari Desert, encountered and evaded Government forces, and joined Maritz near Nakob in South West Africa on 28 November.

³ A 'Report on the Outbreak of the Rebellion' was written by Professor L. Fouché (U.G. No. 10 of 1915).

Kemp, and Hertzog?¹ What was the connection of that group? What was the real object of the de la Rey-Beyers visit to Potchefstroom?² If you want to get the cause of the disease you must probe it to the bottom. If South Africa is to have peace and a well ordered government there must be an end once for all to these Mexican methods.

Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been spent, many lives lost, property destroyed, and authority subverted and to this moment we do not know what is the ostensible pretext for all this horrible confusion and we find a respected man like Steyn can talk of the grievances of the people and apparently expect the ringleaders to escape the consequences of their actions. Do pray remember that there is a party of law and order and that it is the majority of the community.

I reckon that you have about 0·7 (seven-tenths) of the people with you, about 0·3 (three-tenths) on the side of disorder, of which 0·2 (two-tenths) are active. The passive ones are the most dangerous—those who stirred up the business and now sit behind the bush watching the turn of events. One of the most discouraging features is the fact that those five Free State towns fell into de Wet's hands without a struggle. I notice in the account of Bethlehem it is stated that there were only two 'loyalists'! This is the home of the ingenious [J. H.] Brand Wessels, who, I am glad to see, is on the right side of the hedge. Well, I wish I could help you, *Faites le droit advienne que pourra*. Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

610 From M. Beyers³

Vol. 12, no. 15

Rietvlei

8 December 1914

Geachte Generaal, Ik dank U. Ik wil graag morgen vroeg naar

¹ After going openly into rebellion on 9 October, Maritz announced that he would surrender if Beyes, Hertzog, de Wet, Kemp and General C. H. Muller were to come to his camp and tell him to do so.

² It is still not known whether or not they intended to incite the troops at the Defence Force camp at Potchefstroom to rebellion.

³ The widow of General Beyers. He was drowned in the Vaal River, while attempting to escape from Government troops, on the day this letter was written.

de stad. Stuur mij vriendelik mij motor kar, ik heb geen ander vervoer middel. Ik zal om 6 a.m. klaar zijn om in te gaan. Bij voorbaat dankende, Uw dienswillige,

Mathilde Beyers

Nogmaals dank.

TRANSLATION

Rietvlei

[Transvaal]

8 December 1914

Dear General, I thank you. I should like to go to town early to-morrow morning. Kindly send me my motor-car; I have no other means of transport. I shall be ready to go in at 6 a.m. Thanking you in anticipation, Yours sincerely,

Mathilde Beyers

Thank you again.

611 To C. P. Crewe

Vol. 12, no. 156

Pretoria

18 December 1914

My dear Crewe, Thanks for your note. I agree that General Botha deserves all praise and gratitude for his work and the way he has used his enormous influence in the right direction. The collapse of the rebellion came sooner than he had ventured to think and it would have been quite complete but for the escape of Kemp with some 600 men of a very good stamp to German West. We must expect them to make every endeavour to come back as these Transvaal Boers have no idea of settling away from their families in that country under the Germans. The copious rains also make it possible for them to return along various otherwise impossible routes. I have decided to detach Berrangé [C. A. L.] with the 5th South African Mounted Rifles from Lukin's column and to put under him van Zyl's¹ and Cullinan's commandos raised in Bechuanaland, also the regiment of Bechuanaland Rifles—altogether more than

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. van Zyl commanded the Kalahari Horse in East Africa, 1916.

1,000 men—to operate in Bechuanaland and watch the Langeberg, Rietfontein and adjacent routes. Berrangé had that as his South African Mounted Rifles district prior to the war. I have sent Colonel [J. L.] van Deventer in command of the whole Orange River as the dual arrangement under him and Bouwer [B. D.] was proving troublesome and I have great confidence in van Deventer. Van Deventer will now have a total force of 4,000 to 5,000 men along the whole Orange from Ramans to Upington. I am besides arranging for six Brigades of mounted forces for German West in addition to the force already there. These will total about 12,000 men : three from Transvaal commandos under Brits, Alberts and Myburgh [M. W.]; one from Orange Free State commandos under Manie Botha and Brand [G.]; one from Active Citizen Force under Celliers [J. G.], and the South African Mounted Rifles under Lukin. They will be organized in January and February and will leave at suitable intervals as General Botha may require them and in the meantime will be useful here in case of recrudescence of rebellion, about which I occasionally hear strange rumours. You will see that I am arranging for a total force of between 25,000 and 30,000 for German West, and it is all a question of physical conditions.

With kind regards and best wishes to you and Mrs Crewe for a merry Christmas and happy New Year. Yours,

J. C. Smuts

612 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 157

[Department of] Defence
[Pretoria]

19 December 1914

Dear Mr Merriman, Thanks for your last letter. Your view that those peace negotiations of ours tended to prolong the trouble is not quite without justification, but on the whole I incline to think that the attempt to nip the revolution in the bud was well worth making, and if we had had anything like even lukewarm support from our Free State friends, we would have succeeded. But not a finger was stirred. The oracles of nationalism were dumb, and the poor dupes went to their doom. I want to have an opportunity to discuss with you fully

and frankly the proper line to take with the various classes of rebels and shall probably come down to the Cape for that purpose.

I have also another important matter in which I am anxious to enlist your sympathy. In settling the Estimates for 1915-16 I am anxious to consult you and Walton especially, with a view to cutting down all superfluous expenditure and also shortening debates in the next session. If you think you could help me, I would come down about the middle of January and spend a few days at the Cape, and Estimates and other financial questions could be informally discussed by us. Do you look upon the idea favourably? I feel sure that such an informal talk will be for the good of the country, which is faced with very heavy extraordinary expenditure and a falling revenue in these strange times. I have never posed as a financial expert and as you know I am half dead with my efforts in quite another direction. So you must be good and help.

I shall read Durham's Report again and also your minute¹ to which my attention had never before been drawn. With kind regards and best wishes for a happier New Year. Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

613 From C. P. Crewe

Vol. 12, no. 41

Woodleigh
St Mark's Road
East London

22 December 1914

My dear Smuts, Lady Brabant asks me to thank you for your kind message of condolence on her husband's death.

I have to thank you for a most interesting letter of 18 December telling me what you are doing. I am glad the South African Mounted Rifles are to go to German South West, and I think your selection of Berrangé and his 5th South African Mounted Rifles for Bechuanaland is excellent, so are all your dispositions and twenty-five to thirty thousand men should be enough for

¹ In 1900 Merriman had sent Milner a minute on the treatment of the Cape rebels which was, he said, 'founded on Durham's Report' (Vol. 12, No. 96).

German South West, surely. As you say, the physical conditions are the trouble. Also I have great faith in Botha as Commander-in-Chief and I think somehow all will go well. It seems to me the *most* important thing just now is to destroy the German aeroplane at the cost even of one of ours.

I see the General has been making a statement asking English people not to make trouble by pressing for summary punishment for rebels. I am sure he had some reason for doing so, but hereabouts all our people have accepted what I put to them through the newspaper,¹ i.e., that the settlement must be left to you. And I think that may be taken as the opinion of the sensible people in this province at any rate. Our people I suppose in some parts do not see that if they press for punishment it will be put down to race hatred in addition to making it hard for you and your people. I think you were right to take drastic action in Fourie's case² but all I can say is it only shows how courageously determined you are to do what is right at any cost. I had a long letter from Chaplin; he tells me Pretoria is a hotbed of sedition and that he thinks Bain and company³ are in league with the nationalist opponents, i.e. the rebel sympathizers. I suppose that is a development we may expect; the forces of disorder will get together as well as the forces of order. We are to have a Labour Congress here in a day or two; it will be interesting to watch.

I enclose a letter from Albert Warren, a Captain on the reserve of officers; he is a good mounted officer and if needed is worth employing. I had no vacancy for him as the mounted corps I had to do with were raised in the Transvaal and so wanted local officers.

Mrs Crewe asks me to add her good wishes to you and to Mrs Smuts for Christmas and the New Year to my own and we shall begin now to be interested in German South West. I hope you are not right in supposing there is any danger of a recrudescence of rebellion although strange things do happen in South Africa. Presently you will have to face a number of by-elections and Labour will contest every seat they see any

¹ The *Daily Despatch*, established in East London in 1872, of which Crewe was the Chief Director.

² Jozef (Jopie) Fourie (q.v.), a Defence Force officer captured as a rebel, was court-martialled and shot in spite of appeals to the Government to relieve him.

³ The leaders of the Miners' Union.

chance of capturing. All good luck be yours. Yours very sincerely,

C. P. Crewe

614 From S. W. Burger

Vol. 12, no. 17

Goedgedacht

22 December 1914

Waarde Jannie, Verschoon mij dat ik U stoor te midde van al uw moeilijkheid. Ik ben met U en de Regeering dankbaar dat wij die Rebelleie nu kan beschouwen over te zijn, voorzoover dat hun macht gebroken is. Ik wensch U daarmede ook hartelijk geluk, ja die gevaar is over maar na al die moeilijkheid. Die drama door Fourie gespeeld is vreeslijk. Nu ja hij heeft zijn straf gekregen hij is dood! Maar wat een gevoel laat dat bij ons volk? En toch dit is het eenige wat U kon doen. Maar wat nu met die ander. Ik meen officieren, zoo als F. Wolmarans, Wessel Wessels, die officieren van die Unie was. Ik meen zij behoord eveneens voor een Krijgsgerich te komen. Dan wat met die belhamels die nu nog los loop. Waarom word A. D. Wolmarans, Ds. de Klerk, Tielman Roos en meer niet gearesteer. Zwart Wolmarans is die grootste en eerste Rebel, van Augustus, te Treurfontein. Hij heeft die eerste en grootste verraad gepleeg door met zijn Commando om te draai. Doch ik vertrou dat U alles zal regt maak. Ik hoop die 29ste U te zien. Met beste groeten, Uw

S. Burger

TRANSLATION

Goedgedacht

[Transvaal]

22 December 1914

Dear Jannie, Pardon me for troubling you in the midst of all your difficulties. I am thankful, with you and the Government, that we can now regard the Rebellion as being over, inasmuch as their power is broken. I congratulate you heartily on it. Yes, the danger is over, but after all this trouble. The drama played by Fourie is terrible. Well, he has had his punishment—he is dead! But what feelings that leaves among our people! And yet it was the only thing you could do. But what about the

others ? I mean officers, like F. Wolmarans, Wessel Wessels, who were officers of the Union. I think they also should come before a military court. Then, what about the ringleaders who are now still at large ? Why are A. D. Wolmarans, Rev. de Klerk,¹ Tielman Roos and others not arrested ? Zwart (Black) Wolmarans is the biggest and first rebel since August, at Treurfontein.² He committed the first and greatest treason by turning round with his Commando.³ But I trust that you will put everything right. I hope to see you on the 29th. With best wishes, Yours,

S. Burger

615 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 12, no. 97

Private

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

23 December 1914

My dear Smuts, I am obliged to you for your letter which gives me an opportunity of writing to you. Before I begin let me again congratulate you on the—I hope—complete termination of the open rebellion and, if I may say so, still more on the firmness shown in your dealing with Fourie. I read with entire sympathy [N. J.] de Wet's speech at the Wanderers; it seemed to me quite admirable—feeling, dignified and pathetic. I hope the gentleman whose lucubration I sent you some time back was present.

I shall be very pleased to see you here and any poor assistance that I can render will be entirely at your service. We shall be very much delighted if you could spare us a few days at Schoongezicht. You would have quiet and books and, I think, an entire rest which you must need. We could then discuss at large the questions of the day. I can fetch you wherever you like. Apart from anything else your presence at Stellenbosch, which is in a sense a 'focus of?' [*sic*], might be very beneficial.

¹ Rev. W. J. de Klerk was ordained in the Gereformeerde Kerk in 1903 and was a minister at Potchefstroom until he entered politics.

² On 15 August 1914 a number of armed burghers had met at Treurfontein in the Western Transvaal with some intention of restoring the Republic.

³ Frederik G. A. Wolmarans, Commandant of Lichtenburg, summoned the burghers of his district to the meeting at Treurfontein. He was ordered by Botha to stop this unauthorized commandeering. On 11 October he was ordered to commandeer his men for suppressing the rebellion. He failed to do so and later led a rebel commando into action against Government forces.

To tell you the truth I am uneasy. It is a shock to me to find that the adherents of the 'National Hero'¹ do not seem to have had their allegiance shaken by his recent performances—(or absence from performance). Even sensible men, who ought to know better, can be found saying 'They would like to know the grievances of these people before they pass judgement!!!' There is a section who persist in talking of the uprising as if it was a sort of political demonstration.² Now there is a fresh section who shake their heads over Fourie's execution. All these notables can do nothing in Parliament, but when you come to the polls I frankly own that I am alarmed. The ballot-box is the chosen weapon of those 'willing to wound but yet afraid to strike' and I do not like to contemplate the possibility of a Hertzog-Labour combination upon the future of South Africa in its relations to Great Britain. It is the proximity of the election that constitutes our most serious danger. The *ineluctabile tempus* imposed on us by the Constitution.

The main line of attack is the German South West expedition. I do most heartily urge you to prepare for it by having a judicial enquiry into the causes of the rebellion³ and more particularly into the connection that existed between German plots and the lamentable defection and disloyalty of our Defence Force. Lay this bare as I believe it can be laid bare and you will disarm nine-tenths of the opposition. Do remember what yeoman service was done by that Witwatersrand Commission⁴ in the labour business last session! If you have only assertions, however well-founded, on one side to balance assertions on the other the country will not be convinced, and it is the country voter you have to influence. The future dealing with rebels is an awkward matter. 'You cannot frame an indictment against an whole people'⁵ otherwise the Orange Free State would stand a poor chance.

¹ Hertzog.

² Many held that the rebellion was a *gewapende protest* (protest in arms), such as had taken place several times before in the old Republics—a recognized means of enforcing the will of the *volk* upon a recalcitrant Government.

³ A Judicial Commission on the Rebellion reported in 1916 (U.G. No. 46 of 1916. Union of South Africa, House of Assembly, Annexures).

⁴ Report of the Witwatersrand Disturbances Commission (U.G. Nos. 55 and 56 of 1913. Union of South Africa, House of Assembly, Annexures).

⁵ 'I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against an whole people.' Edmund Burke, *Speech on Conciliation with America*, 1775.

For us to go searching about for precedents into the Milnerian period is not much to my taste. Punish the ring-leaders who have misled the mass—who were, by the way, uncommonly ready to be misled—by some proper punishment. Indict some notable offenders among the rank and file for common law offences. Nothing touches up the ordinary man on the veld, who used to consider himself a law-abiding soul, so much as to find that he has been guilty of some vulgar offence that brings him within the meshes of the ordinary law; he loses that sympathy which political martyrdom brings him from ill-regulated minds. As for the mass, what *can* you do? I would not recommend disfranchisement; most of them do not care a dump for the vote, but if you take it away it will be made a great battle cry. If you are inclined that way rather disfranchise districts than individuals. I think that is the English practice? Stick as far as you can to the common and statute law. Special measures are always odious and goodness knows we have had enough of them—result, in one case, all those nine ruffians back here again, breeding mischief.¹

In the matter of the Finances what I can do to help I will do cheerfully. I know what a position you are in. Huge deficiency, enormous war expenditure. Half the producing population running about with guns in their hands destroying and not producing. The whole population in semi-hysterics calling on you to do some great thing instead of setting to work themselves. And the worst of all is the certainty that when the war stops you will have to face a general impoverishment and a reduction in our purchasing power in both diamonds and ostrich feathers. You are in much the same plight that Pitt was in in 1797, of which you will find a very good and instructive sketch in Buxton's *Finance and Politics*, Vol. I, Chap. 1. Rest assured that you will not mend matters with rose-water. Meanwhile till we meet think over this:

I. You can never get your finances in order as long as you have four open taps in the shape of the Provincial Treasuries drawing the Treasury vat.

¹ The nine deportees of January 1914 had returned.

II. Unless you have some rigid financial control over some departments like Public Works, Education, Agriculture, you may just as well resign yourself to bankruptcy.

III. The doubling of the Departments of Finance and Defence is fatal to any sound conduct of the first-named.

IV. 'Keep your thumb on the expenditure and the revenue will look out for itself.'

Forgive me for being somewhat blunt but in my opinion the times are far too serious to indulge in smooth speaking, and here too unless something is done the result at the polls will be disastrous.

Well, my dear Smuts, I have tried your patience sorely and I will conclude. I am sure that if I had an opportunity of talking to you I should cut a better figure and therefore, as well as for other reasons, I shall be extremely glad to see you.

With kind regards and all good wishes for the New Year, Believe me, my dear Smuts, Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

Perhaps you will telegraph when you are coming.

616 From G. R. Hofmeyr

Vol. 12, no. 76

Volksraad, [House of Assembly]

Kaapstad, [Cape Town]

24 December 1914

Dear General Smuts, I have been feeling so much for you and think of you constantly in this trying time. If you will not think me impertinent I must confess that my admiration for your wonderful talents has now risen (if that were possible) because of your admirable courage. I have often in the past said to your critics that when the history of your period of service comes to be written, true and impartial as history is supposed to be, it will do scant justice to the merits of your service to South Africa. I have done my little best to explain the German South West position, later to limit the field of rebellion and still later to see whether a way could not be found to avoid civil war. In my humble judgment, we must be most grateful that more blood did not flow in the circumstances.

You did everything that was humanly possible to prevent and, when that failed, to minimize bloodshed. And yet, I fear that the blame will by many be attempted to be placed on General Botha, yourself and the Cabinet. I am quietly drawing attention to these signs to influential friends in the Cape Province and am advising them that the only action to take is an uncompromising attitude on this question of the rebellion and on the absolute necessity of once and for all making a recurrence impossible. If no other punishment is desirable, the rank and file should be made incapable of acquiring or holding arms and ammunition for some period of time. To confiscate everything they have would only lay up difficulties for the State. I do not wish to add one worry to the many you have. Do not reply. I shall be glad if you find time to peruse this. *Trap vast, Generaal*;¹ even if things should turn against you in the country, you will have the satisfaction of having done your duty in unprecedentedly trying circumstances. Our best regards to Mrs Smuts and yourself. Poor old Beyers; I cannot for the life of me understand his conduct. I am glad the curtain is rung down on him. Yours very sincerely,

Gys

¹ Dig in your heels, General (Afrikaans).

PART X
THE AFRICAN CAMPAIGNS
4 JANUARY 1915-4 FEBRUARY 1917

1. GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

There are only two important themes in the small number of Smuts papers for 1915—the short campaign in German South West Africa and the general election in October. In February Botha took command in the northern part of the vast German colony leaving Smuts to organize recruiting and supplies. Botha's letters describing the progress of the campaign up to the surrender on 9 July are valuable records, not only for their content, but because, so far, no collection of Botha Papers has been made and they may have been destroyed. Seven of his campaign letters are printed below. In mid-April Smuts took command of the invasion forces in the south. But since there was little resistance and the country could be rapidly occupied, he soon returned to his administrative post (630, 632).

Appraisals of the political situation before the general election are the subject of a typical group of Merriman-Smuts letters, in which Merriman notes with concern the increasing sharpness of English-Afrikaner conflict and the growing number of 'poor whites', and Smuts rejects these pessimistic views and looks hopefully to the future. Yet he was not easy about the results of the election (668) and, in spite of himself, the dimensions and possible consequences of the war in Europe began to disturb him (619, 632, 668).

617 From J. X. Merriman

Private

Vol. 13, no. 78

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

4 January 1915

My dear Smuts, I take it for granted that the last volume of *George III and C. J. Fox* by Sir G. Trevelyan, which is the concluding volume of his *American Revolution*, has reached the centre of sweetness and light in which you live. If so, do pray turn up page 121, which describes the evil effect of excessive executions under *martial law* on the squabbles between loyalists and rebels in the Carolinas. I hope it may induce you to view more favourably than I think you do, the

action of the ordinary courts in crimes. But indeed the whole chapter and the whole volume will fascinate you. Kind regards, Yours,

John X. Merriman

618 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 7

Muizenberg
1 Februari 1915

Lieve Jannie, Ik heb een brief van Buxton ontvangen met betrekking tot de twee Portefolio's die jij voor verantwoordelijk is, ik moet zeg dat ik teleurgestled was toen ik de brief las en voor mij is het duidelijk dat hij geen begrip hebben van ons moeilijkheid, en besef hij ook niet wat kan gebeuren als wij nu de Kabinet vermeerderen door iemand die niets bij brengen tot de invloed wat een Regeering behoort te hebben. En ik wacht op zijn aankomst om hem persoonlijk op de gevaren te wijzen, nu wat de drie personen betref door hem en vriend Merriman genoemd moet ik zeg met Graaff kan ik mij vereenigen, maar tusschen ons, ik heb hem bezocht en hij was erg ziekerig, de dag te vooren viel hij eenklaps neder in een floute, dus van hem alhoewel altijd klaar om te helpen mag wij niet te veel vorderen, hij zeide mij als Smuts van de eene kant D.Z.W. intrek en ik de andere dan zal hij de Thesariers werk op hem neem na Parlements zitting, want voeg hij er bij de onderneming is een groote en wij behoort spoedig de land te overwonnen en al ons beste krachte moet er heen. Wat Hull aanbetref voelt ik om hem in te neem in Cabinet, zal de spoedigste weg wees om ons partij en Cabinet op te breek en voor een lange tijd klaar te maken, en Jannie ik kan veel staan, maar na wat gebeur het, voel ik is het onmogelijk voor mij om met hem in dezelfde Kabinet te zitten, dan zou het voor mij ver beter wees om heelmaal uit politiek te gaan. Hull zal geen vertrouwen bij brengen, hij zal net een stem bij brengen en dit is zijn eigen, en ons getrouwe ondersteuners zoo als Joel Krige, Mentz en andere zal ons met recht verwijten dat bij ons ontrouwheid beter kans tot promotie hebben, dan daarbij moeilijkheid ook met ons andere collegas. Wat Curry aanbetref is bijkans dezelfde moeilijkheid hij heb minder bekwaamheid dan velen en zekerlijk minder invloed

bij ons partij en bij het Volk dan mannen zooals Krige, Mentz, Cronjé; als hij boven andere in bekwaamheid uitstak dan zou er alle reden voor zijn, doch onder de omstandigheid ben ik zeker dat zijn inname eeder ons moeilijkheid ga vergrooten dan verlichten. Ik weet ons positie is onverdedigbaar, maar ik vrees om paarden in de midden van de stroom om te ruilen, wij hebben door getrouwheid aan elkander over de grootste moeilijkheid (rebellie) zoover success gehaad, en waarom zal ons nu aannemen dat ons des Heerens zegen niet meer zullen hebben. Verre daarvandaan wij hebben alle reden in ons politiek te volharden, en sterker en vaster aan het geloof te houden. Maar waarom de Gouverneur zich nu over deze kwestie bekommer is mij niet duidelijk.

Vanochtend heb ik Jagger eerst, en toen Smartt ontmoet, en met hen sterk en rechtuit over deze kwestie gesproken, en beide deze heeren stemde met mij in dat de eenigste van deze drie personen die gewicht kon bij brengen is Sir David Graaff want hij is zoo oprecht loyaal en bekwaam. Na mijn gesprek voelt zij de moeilijkheid en stemde toe dat het dan beter is zaken zoo te laten, en ik is zeker dat zij gaan U helpen de zitting zoo kort mogelijk te maken, en tevens alle steun te verlenen, zij meen zelf dat het niet nodig is voor mij om speciaal terug te komen voor deze zitting. Dus Jannie jij zal banja druk en moeilijkheid hebben maar dit zal in een verzachtende vorm zijn, en met bitjie takt komt jij door. Een mannelijke optreding weet ik zal niet makeert, en dit weet ik ons collegas zal bij jou staan. Klasie en Burtons takt en bekwaamheid zal veel bijdragen om jou te helpen, de onderhoud van heden ochend was dus veel beter dan vorige en m.i. bevredigend. Nu over andere dingen. Wat ik voel is na jou brief die ik nu net hebben ontvangenen gelezen te hebben is dit, om Burton de Finanties te geven heb mijn goed keuring, maar om hem daarbij de Spoorwegen te geven zijn ernstige beswaar tegen, en om Spoorwegen aan Natal te geven zou dadelijk weder provinciale jaloesi bevorderen. Is het niet best om boven lip stijf te houden en deze sessie door te worstelen en na de electie die niet meer ver af zijn afgelopen dan kunnen wij de geheele zaak verbeteren, of pad geven voor andere dit te doen.

De Predikanten zijn besluit is niet zoo sleg, maar ik zou

graag willen weten wat achter de gordijnen gesproken werd, dit is zeker veele van hen zijn onder grond rebellen, en het is toch zoo jammer dat dienaren Gods uit hulle weg gaan om zoo veel bij te dragen ons volk te helpen misleiden, en vooral voelt ik ernstig de leer of liever de nieuwe leer wat de jonge theologise studenten verkondig op Stellenbosch, men wilt zoo graag Stellenbosch helpen maar hulle kap jou handen af, en dit begint banja naar een soort van duiwelsche leer [*sic*] die kinderen daar op telt.

Gorges stuur jou een brief van Ds. Pienaar Lijdenburg die jij toch zeker moet lees en aan oom Schalk toon voor zijn informatie want een meer ondergrond vijandelijke brief heb ik niet gelezen.

Ik is jammer om te zeg dat ons officieren komt banja sleg klaar met Kapt. Edwards, en Lt. Col. Hoskin, en ik voel dit zoo erg dat ik nu instructie heb gegeven dat ons officieren onder geen omstandigheid direct in aanraking met die menschen moeten komen, doch alles door Jooste krijgen. Jooste is ons een verbasend hulp, hij en Louis Esselin verdient veel dank, dag en nacht bevorder zij alles in de regte richting. En as jij Esselin zijn rang ook wat verhoogen kan zal jij goed doen. Collyer en allen kan jou zeggen zonder deze twee personen zou alles in de war gelopen heeft. Ludorf is geneigd om met alle grieven mee te gaan en dit te verergeren, en Louis met zijn stadige manier heb goede slag om met de menschen te werken.

Sommige van de geweeren is niet goed, maar die zal nog gaan, doch de ammunitie is erg sleg de dop is gebarst, de kogel zit er los in en valt maklijk uit, en daar is geen vet lapje of pluisje tusschen kogel en kruit zoo als gewoonlijk, en derhalwe valt de kruit met de kogel uit, als jij de geweer laden, en dan weder de patroon terug trek dan blijft de kogel in de geweer zitten, en ik voel niet gerust, ik heb Collyer gevraagd om een naauwkeurige officiers onderzoek in te stellen, ik heb zelfs gezien dat 4 uit de vijf in plaatje patronen gebarst is, maar hierover meer na onderzoek.

Daar is net twee dingen nog, 1ste grooter Howitzers die moet ons mee geholpen worden, en 2de jij moet ernstig dink of het niet wenschlijk zijn om 300 kamelen te koop om water te draag om grootere patrollie werk te helpen dit is m.i. van

wat ik uit alle deelen verneem abseluut noodsaaklijk—verder als jij de vlieg machiens kan bespoedig doe het.

Ik vertrek Saterdag achtermiddag 4 uur en zal alles goed en degelijk door gaan bij Luderitsburg.

Jannie nu moet ik ophou. Alle hartlijkste groete van u oprechte vriend,

Louis Botha

Ja ik zal graag die plaats wil in handen krijgen, maar kan het alleen overnemen als Charlie mijn huis wil overnemen voor part betaling. L.B.

TRANSLATION

Muizenberg
[near Cape Town]

1 February 1915

Dear Jannie, I have received a letter from Buxton with regard to the two portfolios for which you are responsible.¹ I must say I was disappointed when I read the letter and it is clear to me that he has no grasp of our difficulty and he also does not realize what may happen if we now enlarge the Cabinet with someone who adds nothing to the influence which a Government ought to have. And I am waiting for his arrival personally to indicate the dangers to him. Now, as regards the three persons named by him and friend Merriman, I must say that I can agree to Graaff [D. P. de V.], but between us, I have been to see him and he was very ill; the day before he suddenly fell down in a faint, so from him, although always ready to help, we cannot demand too much. He told me if Smuts invades German South West from one side and I from the other, then he will take the Treasury work upon himself after the parliamentary Session, for, he added, it is a big undertaking and we should conquer the country quickly and all our best strength must go there. As regards Hull, I feel that to take him into the Cabinet will be the quickest way to break up our party and Cabinet and finish them for a long time, and Jannie, I can stand much, but after what has happened I feel it is impossible for me to sit in the same Cabinet as he; then it would be far better for me to go

¹ Finance and Defence.

out of politics altogether. Hull will not contribute any confidence, he will only contribute a vote—his own, and our faithful supporters like Joel Krige, Mentz and others will justly reproach us that faithlessness has a better chance of promotion with us, and in addition there will be trouble with our other colleagues. As regards Currey, there is almost the same difficulty—he has less ability than many and certainly less influence in our party and with the people than men like Krige, Mentz, Cronjé.¹ If he stood out above others in ability there would be every reason for it, but under the circumstances I am sure that his inclusion would increase rather than lighten our difficulty. I know our position is indefensible, but I am afraid of changing horses in mid-stream. Through loyalty to each other we have so far been successful in the biggest difficulty (rebellion), and why should we now assume that we shall no longer have the Lord's blessing? Far from it; we have every reason to persevere in our policy and to hold more strongly and firmly to our faith. But why the Governor is now concerning himself about this matter is not clear to me.

This morning I saw first Jagger [J. W.] and then Smartt and spoke to them strongly and plainly about this matter and both these gentlemen agreed with me that the only one of these three persons who could add weight is Sir David Graaff because he is so upright, loyal and able. After my talk they saw the difficulty and agreed that it is better to leave things thus, and I am certain that they are going to help you to make the Session as short as possible and at the same time to give every support. They even think that it is not necessary for me to come back specially for this Session. So, Jannie, you will have much toil and trouble but it will be in a mitigated form and with a little tact you will come through. I know that a manly attitude will not be lacking, and I know this—our colleagues will stand by you. Klasie and Burton's tact and ability will do much to help you. This morning's interview was therefore much better than before and, in my view, satisfactory. Now about other things. What I feel, after having read your letter which I have just received, is this: to give Burton Finance has my approval, but there are serious

¹ Possibly Frederik Reinhart Cronjé of Winburg, Orange Free State.

objections to giving him Railways as well, and to give Railways to Natal will again immediately encourage provincial jealousy. Is it not best to keep a stiff upper lip and struggle through this Session and after the election, which is not far off, is over, we can improve the whole matter or give way for others to do so.

The parsons' resolution¹ is not so bad, but I should like to know what was discussed behind the scenes. It is certain that many of them are underground rebels and it is such a pity that servants of God go out of their way to do so much to help mislead our people. And I take a specially serious view of the doctrine, or rather the new doctrine, which the young theological students are preaching at Stellenbosch. One wants so much to help Stellenbosch but they cut off one's hands, and it begins very much to look like a sort of devil's doctrine that the children are picking up there.

Gorges is sending you a letter from Rev. [D. J.] Pienaar of Lydenburg which you really must read and show Oom Schalk² for his information for I have not read a more underground hostile letter.

I am sorry to say that our officers get on very badly with Captain [W. F. S.] Edwards and Lt.-Col. [A. R.] Hoskins, and I feel this so strongly that I have now given instructions that our officers must under no circumstances come into direct contact with these people but get everything through Jooste [J. P.]. Jooste is an amazing help to us; he and Louis Esselen deserve much thanks—day and night they advance everything in the right direction. And if you can raise Esselen's rank somewhat, you will do well. [Brigadier-General J. J.] Collyer and everyone can tell you that without these two people everything would have been in confusion. Ludorf is inclined to concede every grievance and make it worse and Louis in his slow way has a knack of working with the men.

¹ Immediately after the execution of Jopie Fourie (q.v.) a group of Dutch Reformed ministers, led by Dr D. F. Malan, took steps which led to a meeting, behind closed doors, of some ninety parsons on 27 January 1915. They took resolutions that law and order must be maintained, that the Church must remain outside politics, that the Government be asked not to impose the death penalty on any more rebels, and that the Churches should not take disciplinary measures against rebels. The Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches was then asked to implement the resolutions. See D. F. Malan, *Afrikaner-Volkseenheid*, pp. 19-31.

² S. W. Burger.

Some of the rifles are not good, but they will serve; but the ammunition is very bad—the cartridge-case is cracked, the bullet fits loosely in it and easily falls out, and there is no greased rag or wad between bullet and powder as is usual and so the powder falls out with the bullet. When one loads the rifle and then pulls the cartridge back again, the bullet remains lodged in the rifle, and I do not feel easy. I have asked Collyer to make a thorough officers' enquiry. I have myself seen that four out of the five in a clip of cartridges are cracked—but of this more after enquiry.

There are only two things more. First, bigger Howitzers—we must be provided with these and second, you must consider seriously whether it is not desirable to buy 300 camels to carry water to help the heavier patrol work. This is, in my opinion, from what I hear on all sides absolutely necessary. Further, if you can speed up the aeroplanes, do so.

I leave Saturday afternoon at four o'clock and shall examine everything well and thoroughly at Lüderitzbucht.

Jannie I must now end. All good wishes from your sincere friend,

Louis Botha

Yes, I should like to get hold of the farm, but can only take it over if Charlie¹ will take over my house in part payment. L.B.

619 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 13, no. 128

Pretoria

9 February 1915

My dear Wolstenholme, It is really very good of you almost every week to write to me or send me some books and thus to remind me that I am not forgotten. As for me, I think it must be months since I last wrote to you. But my troubles and preoccupations have been heavy. During the height of the rebellion I did not even see my wife for some months although she lives only ten miles out of Pretoria. It was impossible for me to leave my office except to go to the Club for a meal. Thank goodness that trouble is over, the last of the rebels having surrendered now on the Orange River. We have now to proceed with the invasion of the desert in German

¹ Not identified.

South West Africa, and I assure you it is a dismal prospect. However, the British Government have appealed to us to do this job, as a 'matter of grave imperial importance', and we shall attack it unflinchingly. Our Session of Parliament is almost beginning in a fortnight's time and General Botha's absence in German territory, where he is commanding our forces, will add to my troubles, but I promise myself a good long rest when the war is over, and a visit to you and many talks over old times with you. I think there is going to be terrific slaughter as soon as spring conditions arrive, and in that struggle either Germany or more probably Austria or both may collapse and so shorten the agony for all of us. If this war is to last through the summer on to next winter the suffering and loss all over Europe will become indescribable. In fact it will be a case of old Europe committing suicide and the highest interests of civilization being in jeopardy. Your books are good stuff and the philosophic journals you must continue to send me. With best wishes, Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

620 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 9

Swakopmund

27 Februari 1915

Lieve Jannie, Mijn gedachte is gedurig bij jou met al jou drie dubbele moeilijkheid, want ik weet de nieuwe Lid zal jou meer moeite geven, zijn gezondheid is erg swak, en ik vrees zijn senewiachtigheid zal hem niet veel vertrouwen geven, en Curry moet ik zeg vertrouwd ik niet; informatie wat hij krijg gaat hij niet genadiglijk gebruik maar op een wijze om jou taak swaarder te maak, en daarom als jou gezondheid het toelaat, dan moet jij maar de geheele boel baklij wat jij gewoonlijk zoo succesvol kan doen en gedaan hebben. Hertzogieten zal lastig wees, hulle moet jij maar zoo een bitjie op de kop spring. Hier gaat alles goed net stadig en Collyer en ik span ons dag en nacht in om dingen recht te rukken, jij kan mij geloof toen ons hier kwam was dingen erg beroerd. Nu is de aflading zoo verbeterd dat ons Brits met zijn regter vleugel en al hun kit in een dag afladen en landen, met 1,440 dieren en 500 ton voeder en kost, verbeeld U dit in 10 dagen tijd dus

kan U zien wij doen ons best om jou taak te verlichten, daar is nu net een kwestie wat mij veel last geven, elke Vleugel van een Brigade krijg ongeveer 11 muil wagens bespanne met 10 muilen, alle andere vervoermiddelen wordt de officieren in Kaap meegedeeld kan zij hier krijgen, nu dit is bepaald wetende misleiden, hier bestaat geen remounts kamp behalve de officieren en hier bestaat ook geen transport. Alberts zijn regter vleugel is nu te Goanikontes en te Haigamkob dit is 24 en 30 mijl eerst door zand en dan in vreeslijke dubbele gebergten, en 11 wagens kan ze niet voeden, gelukkig is daar kleine lucerne landen anders moest ik ze terug roepen. Wij krijg eerst weinig gras ten ooste van Jakhalswater. Frames heb al de voet Brigades wagens genomen maar die voed hen allen daar ik Skinner nu bij Nonidas heb. Ons voorposten is te Rössing dagelijks en 10 mijl oost van Alberts zoo dat wij nu reeds ongeveer 35 mijl inland beheer, wij hebben hier voor de laatste paar weken elke nacht een swaar mist en het wordt zoo donker dat men moeilijk jou weg vinden kan, en dit was de oorzaak dat Grobler de andere nacht in de zandwereld verdwaalde, de Duitsters heb echter een groot schrik gekregen, want hun kamp hebben wij heelmaal ingenomen veel voeder en kleeding genomen ook 25 kisten patronen, 10 prisoniers, 4 wagens 57 ossen 11 muilen en wat paarden, jij heb nooit een boel harder zien vlucht, maar ongelukkig kwam zij uit door dat de Kommando van Alberts met Grobler verdwaalde en kon niet achter om voor dat het te laat was. De vijand concentreer op twee plekken te Usakos en Jakhalswater, draadloos informatie zeg dat zij een en half batterijen kanonnen te Jakhalswater heeft, en dat Wehle de Commandeerende Officier daar is. Wehle volgens alle informatie, is hun beste man, maar ik zal met vlank bewegingen hem uitoorleg zoodra Myburg hier is zal ik begint dat is wanneer zijn paarden recht is. De zee heb een ernstige nadelige effect op paarden en dan de zoutwater drink ze voor eerste 3 dagen niet en krijg een tamelijke hooge koorts wat erg nadeelig is.

Mackenzie zal ik te Garub laten blijven tot ik eerst weg is, want ik is bitjie bang dat het met hem kan verkeerd gaan, en wil zeer gaarne dat Jaap richting Warmbad Kalkfontein en Keetmanshoop bedreigd, dan kan die ou daar door zonder vechten, zijn voetvolk onder Bevis zal goed vecht, maar

hij heb een kleine opinie over Infanterie. Als ik eens in de gras en water wereld is zal dit mij niet lang neem, maar 't is een swaar land om over te komen met zoo veel paarden die water moet hebben, en sommige water is bitter van zoutheid en derhalve ondrinkbaar voor mens en dier, vooral aan de Kham Revier.

Ons politieke telegrammen moet jij niet aan 'Hoofd' adressen anders lees elke klerk dit, stuur dit aan 'General Botha' dan open Bok dit, of gebruik privaat code woord 'Country'.

C. H. Wessels heb mij verteld dat Hertzog en Co. de aandeelen verkocht die zij hebben van de geld door ons gezonden. Zij verkoop de aandeelen om eerst de invloed in de *Vriend* te veranderen en tweede om geld te krijgen een ander courant in de Kaap op te richten. Ik heb aan Fischer geschreven brieven hierbij met zijn antwoord. Ook telegram met mijn antwoord van Reitz Bloemfontein. Ik heb een sterke positie ingenomen en ik voel dat ik naar het Hof moet gaan dit te beletten, want het is oneerlijk, daar wij de geld voor de *Vriend* gaf om die op te houden en niet om Hertzog te helpen, trap dus vast en help mijn standpunt.

Jannie stuur mij omtrent 10 of 12 goede compassen wat des nachts zichtbaar is, dit hebben wij bepaald ernstig nodig zoo dat wij niet alleen op Gitsen ons verlaten. Mijn gezondheid is eerste klas, maar elke mensch moet hier eerst sout nu legt Collyer weder, ik rij alle dag uit, en zal spoedig Alberts bezoek. Best groete, U

Louis Botha

Mijn brief aan Fischer heb Albrecht op kantoor geef s.v.p. de ingeslotene ook aan hem als U daarmee klaar hebben, voor opbergen, de *Friend's* directeuren moet in Maart gekozen worden. Moet niet al mijn brieven beantwoord want jij heb nu geen tijd, mijn schrijvingen heb alleen ten doel jou meer informatie te geven langs een goedkooper weg. L.B.

TRANSLATION

Swakopmund
[South West Africa]
27 February 1915

Dear Jannie, My thoughts are constantly with you in your triple difficulty, because I know the new member¹ will give

¹ D. P. de V. Graaff became Minister of Finance on 24 February 1915.

you more trouble; his health is very poor and I fear his nervousness will not give him much confidence, and I must say I do not trust Currey. He will not use mercifully any information which he gets, but in a way to make your task harder; and so, if your health allows it, you must fight the whole bunch, which you usually can do and have done so successfully. The Hertzogites will be a nuisance; you will have to sit on them a bit. Here all goes well but slowly, and Collyer and I exert ourselves day and night to pull things straight. Believe me, when we got here things were in a bad mess. Now the off-loading is so much improved that we off-loaded and disembarked Brits with his right wing and all their kit in one day; and, imagine it, 1,440 animals and 500 tons of fodder and food in ten days. So you can see we are doing our best to ease your task. There is only one matter now which gives me a lot of trouble. Each wing of a Brigade gets about eleven mule wagons inspanned with ten mules. The officers are informed in Cape Town that they can get all other transport here. Now this is wilfully misleading. There is no remounts camp here except for officers, and there is also no transport here. Alberts's right wing is now at Goanikontes and at Haigamkob; this is 24 and 30 miles, first through sand and then in terrible double ranges, and eleven wagons cannot feed them. Fortunately there are small lucerne lands, otherwise I should have to recall them. We shall find a little grass only east of Jakhalswater. Frames has taken all the infantry Brigades' wagons, but these supply them all as I now have Skinner at Nonidas. Our advance posts should be at Rössing any day and 10 miles east of Alberts, so that we now control about 35 miles inland. We have had heavy mist here each night for the last few weeks and it gets so dark that one can hardly find one's way, and that is why Grobler lost his way the other night in sandy country. However, the Germans have had a big fright for we have completely captured their camp and taken a lot of fodder and clothing—also 25 cases of cartridges, 10 prisoners, 4 wagons, 57 oxen, 11 mules and some horses. You never saw a bunch run faster, but unfortunately they got through because Alberts's commando lost its way with Grobler and could not get round them until it was too late. The enemy is concentrating at two places—at Usakos

and Jakhalswater. Wireless information says that they have one and a half batteries of guns at Jakhalswater and that [General von] Wehle¹ is the commanding officer there. Wehle, according to all information, is their best man, but I shall outmanoeuvre him with flank movements. I shall begin as soon as Myburgh is here, that is, when his horses are ready. The sea has a seriously deleterious effect on horses; moreover they do not drink the salt water for the first three days and run a fairly high temperature which is very injurious.

I shall leave MacKenzie at Garub until I have gone because I am a little afraid that things will go wrong with him, and I should very much like Jaap² to threaten the Warmbad, Kalkfontein and Keetmanshoop region; then the old chap can get through there without fighting. His infantry under [Brigadier-General P. S.] Beves will fight well, but he has a low opinion of infantry. Once I am in grass and water country, it will not take me long, but it is a difficult country to traverse with so many horses that must have water, and some of the water is so brackish as to be bitter and thus undrinkable for man and beast, especially along the Kham River.

You must not address our political telegrams to 'Hoofd,'³ or every clerk will read them. Send them to 'General Botha' then Bok opens them; or use the private code word 'Country'.

C. H. Wessels has told me that Hertzog and company are selling the shares which they hold from the money we sent. They sell the shares, first, to shift influence in the *Friend*, and secondly, to get money to establish another newspaper in the Cape. So I wrote to Fischer—letters herewith and his answer—also telegram, with my answer, from Reitz [C. J. H.], Bloemfontein. I have taken up a firm attitude and I feel I should go to court to prevent it, because it is dishonest, as we gave the money to keep the *Friend* going and not to help Hertzog. So stand fast and support my attitude.

Jannie, send me about ten or twelve good compasses readable at night—these we certainly need badly so that we do not have to rely entirely on guides. My health is first-class, but

¹ A Major-General Wähle served in the East African campaign. He was a retired German Army officer visiting Dar-es-Salaam when war broke out. He offered his services to General von Lettow-Vorbeck.

² General J. L. van Deventer.

³ Botha's telegraphic code name.

everyone has first to be salted here. Now Collyer is down. I ride out every day and shall soon visit Alberts. Best wishes,
Yours,

Louis Botha

Albrecht [P.] in the office has my letter to Fischer. Please give the enclosed to him also for filing when you have done with them. The *Friend* directors must be chosen in March. Do not answer all my letters for you have no time now. All my letters are merely in order to give you more information by a cheaper means. L.B.

621 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 10

Swakopmund

3 Maart 1915

Lieve Jannie, Ingesloten zend ik U kopie van een telegram (No. 506) dat ik U zond als komende van mij persoonlijk en niet van 'Hoofd', alsook kopie van uw antwoord daarop, waarvoor ik moet erkennen dat ik een beetje zeer voel. Ik kan niet geloven dat gij zelf de bewoordingen van uw antwoord hebt opgetrokken. Ik zal altijd de laatste zijn om het kwalik te nemen als gij, met al uwe beslommeringen, een beetje ongeduldig wordt, maar Jannie, als jij mij over de vingers wilt tikken laat het dan niet gaan via al de klerken aan weerszijden. Ik schreef in mijn vorige brief ook dienaangaande, en zal het waardeeren als gij eenig telegram van persoonlijke of politieke aard wilt zenden geadresseerd 'Gen. Botha' en niet aan 'Hoofd' en ook als gij die laat overzetten in kode door één man die uw persoonlijk klerk is, in het woord dat ik U laatst gaf, nl. 'Country'.

Nu Jannie, in mijn telegram, zult gij zien spreek ik uitdrukkelijk van de bijstand 'which *can* be afforded' door uw departement en ik zal werkelijk niet aandringen op iets dat onmogelijk is. Natuurlijk ik besef de moeilijkheden goed maar ik denk dat ik mag zeggen dat niemand de moeilijkheden hier beter kan verstaan dan ik nie. Om U een voorbeeld te geven van de onnodige onaangenaamhede die worden veroorzaakt geef ik U het volgende. Telkens komen hier officieren aan zonder transport en heele groepen van de Brigades zonder paarden—bij hun vertrek uit Kaapstad werd hen medegedeeld

dat alles hier zou worden rechtgemaakt—hiergekomen vinden zij niets and dan is er natuurlijk een hevige kritiek over het Verd. departement. Het is verkeerd van de verantwoordelijke officieren in Kaapstad om, wanneer zij de kommandos niet volledig kunnen uitrusten, te beloven dat wat ontbreekt hier zal aangevuld worden, zoolang tenminste als die belofte niet kan worden uitgevoerd. Neem bijv. wat met Lemmer gebeurde, een bezadigder en loyaler man dan hij is er niet te vinden, doch ook hij is ontevreden. Gedurende de opstand werd hem een trolley met muilen verstrekt voor zijn persoonlijk gebruik met zijn staf, hij liet de muilen opvoeren en toen hij wagen en muilen mee wilde nemen naar Kaapstad ontving hij instructies, die ik zelf heb gezien, om ze te overhandigen aan remounts. Lemmer, gehoorzaam zooals hij is, deed dit. In Kaapstad werd hem verzekerd dat hij een trolley enz. te Walvis zou krijgen. In Walvis werd hem door remounts gezegd dat de order is dat zijn bagage moest geladen worden op de andere wagens tesamen met het goed van zijn manschappen. Ik vraag U Jannie, is dit een behandeling die onze officieren zullen verdragen of berekend is om een goede geest onder hen te bevorderen? Toch zeker niet, and de schuld ligt bij de officieren van remounts.

Gebrek aan transport middele is mijn voornaamste hinderpaal. De 2de Brigade was al zoowat 40 mijlen op langs de Swakoprivier, in die dorre en grasloze wereld. Ik was verplicht om Collins met de linker vleugel terug te laten komen naar hier om alleen de rechter vleugel te laten blijven bij Goanikontes en Haigamkob zoodat ik al de transport van de geheele brigade kon gebruiken om alleen de rechte vleugel te voeden 30 mijl van hier. Ik vond spoedig dat muilen die de 60 mijl afstand, heen and terug, hadden gedaan, voor een week ondienstbaar waren en onze paarden daarvoor krijgen nu maar 8 lbs. voer per dag! Ik heb zelfs mijn eigen kar, waterkar, en transport van de lijfwacht ingespannen om te helpen kost en voer aan rijden voor de rechter vleugel van 2de brigade. Gij weet goed hoeveel een span van 10 muilen kunnen trekken in deze zandwereld. Om U al deze moeilijkheden onder het oog te brengen zond ik U mijn telegram en ik zal werkelijk niet vergrooten.

Ik ben banje verlangend om zoo spoedig mogelijk vorentoe

te trekken en gij kunt op mij rekenen dat dit zal geschieden. Ik heb nu een goede weg gevonden waarlangs motor trolleys een lange afstand naar het binneland goed kunnen gebruikt worden. Ik hoop nu spoedig voldoende proviand bij Haigambok te krijgen om een trek naar en aanval op Jakhalswater te maken. Ik ben persoonlijk te Goanikontes geweest om de wereld te zien en zal mogelijk besluiten om een brigade noord van Swakop naar Jakhalswater te zenden en een brigade naar Tsaobis en Riet, zuid aan de Swakop. Ik word opgehouden door een vleugel van de eerste brigade die nog in Walvis is waar de paarden acht dagen zullen moeten worden opgevoerd om zich te herstellen van de gevolgen van de zeereis. Ondervinding heeft nu duidelijk geleerd dat dit noodzakelijk is anders beteekenen de paarden niets.

Het spijt mij om U te moeten melden dat er hier een ernstige maagziekte onder de mense is uitgebroken. Volgens informatie uit Duitse mediese boeken schijnt het dat deze ziekte altijd uitbreekt wanneer de Swakop afkomt.

Het spijt mij ook te zeggen dat Mrs Botha gisteren ziek werd. Ik weet niet of het ook aan de maag te wijten is, ter betere verpleging heb ik haar vandaag naar het hospitaal gezonden en vertrouw dat zij spoedig weer hersteld zal zijn. Met vriendelijke groeten, Als altoos, Uw vriend

Louis Botha

Note at head of letter in Smuts's handwriting.

Mr. Bourne. You will note great umbrage taken at answer. I can't understand who gives these assurances to C.O.'s that transport awaits them at front. In view of General Botha's position wires to 'Hoofd' must be couched in respectful terms. J.C.S.

TRANSLATION

Swakopmund
[South West Africa]
3 March 1915

Dear Jannie, Enclosed I send you a copy of a telegram (No. 506) which I sent you as from me personally and not from 'Hoofd', also copy of a reply to it, about which I must admit I feel a little hurt. I cannot believe that you have yourself drawn up the wording of your answer. I shall always be the last to take it amiss if you, with all your worries, become a

little impatient, but Jannie, if you want to rap me over the knuckles, do not let it go via all the clerks at both ends. I wrote about this in my earlier letter and should value it if you would send any telegram of a personal or political nature addressed 'General Botha' and not to 'Hoofd', and also if you would have it coded by one man who is your personal clerk in the word which I last gave you, namely, 'Country'.

Now Jannie, you will see that in my telegram I speak expressly of the support 'which *can* be afforded' by your Department and I would really not insist on anything that is impossible. Of course I understand the difficulties very well but I think I may say that no one can understand the difficulties here better than I. To give you an example of the unnecessary unpleasantness that is caused, I tell you the following: Officers are constantly arriving here without transport and whole groups of Brigades without horses. On leaving Cape Town they were informed that everything would be put right here. On arrival here they find nothing and then there is, of course, vehement criticism of the Defence Department. It is wrong of the responsible officers in Cape Town, when they cannot equip the commandos fully, to promise that what is lacking will be added here; at least, while the promise cannot be carried out. Take, for instance, what happened to [Brigadier-General L. A. S.] Lemmer. A more moderate and loyal man than he is not to be found, but he also is dissatisfied. During the rising a trolley with mules was provided for his personal use and that of his staff. He had the mules fed and when he wanted to take the wagon and mules to Cape Town, he received instructions, which I have myself seen, to hand them over to remounts. Lemmer, obedient as he is, did so. In Cape Town he was assured that he would get a trolley etc. at Walfisch. At Walfisch he was told by remounts that the order is that his baggage had to be loaded on the other wagons together with his men's stuff. I ask you, Jannie, is this treatment that our officers will stand or that is calculated to promote a good spirit among them? Surely not and the fault lies with the remounts officers.

Lack of transport is my chief obstacle. The 2nd Brigade was already about 40 miles up, along the Swakop River, in this dry and grassless country. I was obliged to have [Lieutenant-Colonel F. R.] Collins return here with the left wing

and to leave only the right wing at Goanikontes and Haigamkob so that I could use all the transport in the whole Brigade to feed the right wing only 30 miles from here. I soon found that mules which had done the 60 miles distance, there and back, were unserviceable for a week—and our horses get only 8 lbs. of fodder a day! I have had my own cart, water-cart and bodyguard's transport inspanned to help carry food and fodder for the right wing of the 2nd Brigade. You know very well how much a span of ten mules can pull in this sandy country. I sent you my telegram to bring all these difficulties to your attention and I really would not exaggerate.

I am very eager to move forward as quickly as possible and you may depend on me that this will be done. I have now found a good route on which motor-trolleys can be effectively used for a long distance into the interior. I now hope soon to get provisions at Haigamkob to make a march to and an attack on Jakhalswater. I have been personally to Goanikontes to see the country and may decide to send a Brigade north of Swakop to Jakhalswater and a Brigade south to Tsaobis and Riet on the Swakop. I am held up by one wing of the 1st Brigade which is still at Walfisch, where the horses will have to be fed for eight days to recover from the effects of the sea voyage. Experience has shown clearly that this is essential or the horses are no good.

I am sorry to have to inform you that a serious stomach sickness has broken out here among the men. According to information from German medical books, it seems that this sickness always breaks out when the Swakop comes down in flood.

I am also sorry to say that Mrs Botha became ill yesterday. I do not know if it is also due to the stomach. I have today sent her to hospital for better nursing and hope that she will soon recover. With kind regards, As always, Your friend,

Louis Botha

FIRST ENCLOSURE

From: General Botha

To: General Smuts, Priority
Cape Town

506. 28 February 1915. Much regret to bring to your notice details occasionally when you are hard worked but [in] view

expression on 25th your D.51 of hope my advance will be energetically continued must do so as rate of advance depends solely on measure of assistance which *can be* afforded by Defence Headquarters supplement large deficiencies transport consequent supply difficulties and now remounts. Tactically I foresee no chance of check here some time to come. Received 26th 23/109 from DEQUAR stating quote NOORDQUAR reports as follows remount depot established SWAKOPMUND long ago depot at WALVIS I have ordered to be closed unquote. Am advised by NOORDQUAR there is not a single horse or mule at either place for issue and though a site for remount camp exists no animals whatever are available. Statement is therefore totally misleading and [in] view made by responsible officer think merits your personal investigation. Would add that personal opinion expressed by me in PRETORIA has proved correct and that twelve mules per wagon are essential in country we have to work in. Will you kindly instruct all mule teams be on this basis. This will mean additions to teams now here.

SECOND ENCLOSURE

From: General Smuts
Cape Town

To: Hoofd
Swakopmund

Handed in at 2.50 p.m.
2 March 1915

Received at 3.47 p.m.
2 March 1915

97 Your 506 noted. Instructions given accordingly no efforts or expense have or are being spared supply your requirements and deprecate contrary implications. Naturally mistakes and misconceptions inevitable but trust avoid unduly magnifying.

622 To L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 10A

The document in the Smuts Collection is a draft telegram in Smuts's handwriting. On the same sheet is a draft telegram by Bourne scored across, apparently by Smuts; it attempts to justify the telegram to which Botha had taken exception.

DRAFT TELEGRAM

To: Hoofd

No. 198. Your private letter 3 March. Regret very much telegram you refer to gave offence.¹ Have written to you per [Captain B.] Nicholson. How is Mrs Botha progressing.

¹ The words 'gave offence' are in Bourne's handwriting.

623 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 10B

TELEGRAM

From: Hoofd*To:* General Smuts*Dated* 12 March 1915 12/48 p.m.

637. Thanks your D 198. Mrs Botha still in bed much better. Last few days very trying heat stomach disorders on increase matter becoming rather serious.

624 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 11

Swakop[mund]

7 Maart 1915

Lieve Jannie, Ik heb jou brief met groote belangstelling gelezen en natuurlijk als mijn collegas overeenkwam en de wenschlijkheid ervan inzien om Curry in te neemen dan moet mijn beswaren ook weg val, maar ik heb zoo een klein gedachte van zijn bekwaamheid, dat ik hem niet vertrouwd, want hij heb ons niet alleen gemeen behandel in de laatste 5 jaar, maar ons altoos waar hij kon aangeval, en getracht ons bij het volk verdacht te maken, en voor dit alles moet hij nu in Kabinet en daardoor zijn zetel gewaarborgd, dit is wat ik voel.

Ik hoop jij geef niet om dat ik schrijf want langs deze weg kan ik dingen zeggen wat gezegd moet worden zonder openbaaring.

Nu wat ons Spoorweg constructie betref alhier schreef ik jou over Beaton, nu wil ik jou de positie heelmaal duidelijk maken want volgens jou telegram vat jij dit bitjie verkeerd, de positie is deze in de twee maanden dat die klomp hier is tot heden hebben zij zoowat 26 mijl gebouwd dat is van Walvis hiervoor bij tot recht over Nonidas, dit alleen toon jou dat de constructie werk is onmogelijk voor ons operaties, en van ik hier is heb zij ongeveer 7 mijl gebouwd, niet tegenstaande dat ik persoonlijk dagelijks de werk bezoek en alles aanspoorde. Collins is goed en hij is de Hoofd hier met de Administratie. Whitehouse is bepaald de bekwaamste Engineur voor constructie werk, wat eigenlijk gevoel worden is dat Beaton van Luderitz overgeplaats is over Whitehouse, en

dat Beaton hier niets te doen hebben, voor jaren lang is hij niet meer op constructie werk en weet er nu minder van in praktijk dan de andere. Nu niet wetende wat te doen steek hij zijn neus in andermans werk en vertraag dit alles, hij is bepaald een goede man maar wat afgesleten, en Hoy zijn plan is om hem als Hoofd in deze land na verovering te houden daarom houd hij hem nu aan. Collins en Whitehouse werk goed met elkander, dit zou jammer wees om een van die twee hier weg te nemen; dan is het beter om zaken zoo te laten want zoodra de voortbouwen der lijn weg gaan zal het voor Beaton te ver wees om zijn neus in te steken, en ik tref nu zulke regeling dat zoodra de spoor materiaal aankomt de lijn minstens 2 mijl per dag aan te bouwen, de lijn wordt gebouwd op de aardewerk van de 2 voet lijn, dit is wijd genoeg en zeer vast en permanent, en behoort zij hier zeer vlug te werken want er is niets aan aarde werk te doen dit is net sleepers en rail leggen. Naar Usakos is dit een totaal dorse land, bij Trekkopies is er een put maar niet meer dan voor 50 paarden water, de andere staties wordt gevoed per rail van Usakos, nu kan U mijn moeilijkheid verstaan om over die land te komen 80 mijl en dan eerst vecht om water te krijgen, daarom de trek in die richting zonder spoor is uit de kwestie, maar met de materiaal die nu komt en hier is behoort wij in 20 dagen tijd zoo na te wees om een aanval te maak.

Volgens mijn telegram aan jou hoop ik in een weeks tijd te vertrekken rechtuit in richting Windhoek om daardoor de Duitsters een schrik op de lijf te jagen, en door deze vlank bewegen hen Hoofdstad te bedreigen en communicatie te breken en alzo Mackenzie te helpen en de Usakos lot zoo mogelijk af te snijden. 2de Brigade stuur ik na Jakhalswater van Husab, als daar genoeg water is zal ik daar 500 man laten, de andere naar Dors Revier mond aan de Swakop, alwaar verdere instructies hen wachten zal, ik zelf zal met 1ste Brigade via Riet en Tsaobis naar Utingbengwe, als ik dan de wereld persoonlijk gezien hebben dan kan ik best oordeel wat of beste is voor verdere operaties. Natuurlijk blijft ons grootste vijand water, dit is een land wat men met waarheid zeggen kan een natuurlijke fort op de groote schaal. De putten langs de Swakop bevat niet veel water omtrent 6 tot 8000 gallons per dag, diepte omtrent 23 voet, om ons

Comandos te voorzien kan jij verstaan zal daar veel zeer veel oponthoud zijn met putten graven, de burgers zijn nu besig om putten te graven zoo hoog op als wij kan.

Ik is blij dat 3 Brigade spoedig hier zijn zal ten volle, want ik heb ze nu zoo nodig als brood om communicatie oop te houden en in richting Usakos steeds wacht te houden en te werken. Als vijfde Brigade komt (Manie Botha) dan zal ik een Brigade opbreken en mogelijk 300 stuur om ons presoniers te Fransfontein te verlossen, ook een 300 om de officieren te verlossen, en de rest om de land noord naar Grootfontein schoon te krijgen, want met de 3 Brigades en de voetvolk behoort ik mans genoeg te zijn om Windhoek en Franke's lot hier te vatten.

Nu Jannie jij moet niet om geef als Collyer en ik somtijds sterk telegrammen aan jou stuur het is nodig, want geloof mij daar is banja verneukery wat moet regt gemaak worden, en Jannie daar is een heel boel verkeerde ondergeschikte officiertjes in de Remounts en Transport wat de boeren sleg behandel neem het van mij aan dat het zoo is, om jou te wijs met welke minachting dat Commandanten behandeld worden, dient Commandant Trichard ontvang al zijn paarden in Kaap, bij Walvis aangekomen gaf de vet instructies dat 12 van zijn paarden naar de ziek lijn Remounts moet gaan dit gebeur onder kwitantie, nu dat ik die Brigade order geef om verder in te trek, stuur hij om die 12 paarden te halen, werd hem mede gedeeld dat die paarden is uit gegeef aan andere, dit is ook gebeurd met mijn body guard, en hier zit ons nu weder met die klompie voetgangers, die paarden werd gegeven aan de transport dienst, ik heb Collyer order gegeven dat die officieren zich onmiddellijk te Kaapstad rapporteeren, en ik meen dat de Remounts die naar hier gezonden worden behoort niet alleen weg genomen worden van die klas van menschen, maar behoort direct onder mij te staan zoo dat ik daar een staf officier kan bijzit, want in elke gevecht gaat ons Commandos paarden verloren en hoe paard ik die menschen weder, ik moet dus sterk op treden en jij van allen menschen moet ons verdragen.

Een andere ernstige ding is dit U weet wij heb destijds besloten dat de Commandos kan vrij schrijf per post, maar de vrouwens of menschen in de Unie moet stamps gebruiken,

de gevolg is de vrouwens verstaan het niet, zij schrijven vrij en dan komt die brieven niet daar, en de menschen hoort niets van hen, laat toch liever toe dat die vrouwens ook vrij schrijf want de mans maak groote opofferings voor land en Volk en zij verdient het. Ook zie Roland en laat zijn instructie over censor toch gemodificeerd worden, die is heelmaal gebasseerd op Europische toestanden en voor allerlei nonsens wordt de briefe gesensord. Als zij net Swakop of Goanikontes opzit dan gaan de brieven naar pampieren pomp, hier over stuur ik jou heden een telegram, want ons beste staatmakers is daar zeer gevoelig over, en nu dat wij in groot magte in dit land is is de naauwgezetheid heelmal niet nodig bij de censor. Zorg dat er genoeg menschen zijn zoo dat de censor toch nie de brieven zoo lang ophouden. Frames wil te veel werk, hij is vluks maar heb te veel hooi op zijn vork, en zoo als somtijds het geval wil alles in zijn eigen handen houden, terwijl de meeste werk door onbekwame assistenten gedaan worden. Nu wil ik Jooste gebruiken als een Inspecteur onder hem om na Transport Remounts en andere dingen te kijken, anders komt hier een breakdown zoo's de Engelse zeg wat ons zeerder gaan maak dan een nederlaag in gevecht. Heden na een week kennis geving om voor 5,000 paarde ruiters een basis te Husab voor 8 of 10 dagen te arrangeeren zoo dat die Commando voor minstens 8 of 10 dagen kost en voeder mede kunnen nemen, laat hij mij weet hier is vandaag net voor 2 dagen kost, wat staan nog om iets uit te reiken naar Husab. Zoo is dit een gesukkel wat jou humeur erg verwaarloos.

Leipoldt doet goede werk hier en is knap, zoo lang jij hem zoo laat werk zoo's hij hier doen geef hij groote satisfactie. Mijn vrouw kwam hier zwak aan na een slegte zeereis kreeg ook de Zwakop maagziekte en legt nu al 8 dagen zeer ernstig in hospitaal, vanochend uit gevaar, gelukkig.

Ik hoop jij zal van Broekhuizen en de andere Hollander Predikant met Oost uit het land verban, ik is zoo blij dat jij dadelijk 3 avonden genomen hebben, dit verzeker een niet te lange zitting, nu Jannie ik wensch jou alle success toe trap vast en spoed door en komt zelf eenkant in dan maak ons Mei maand alles klaar. Beste groete, U

Louis

TRANSLATION

Swakop[mund]
[South West Africa]
7 March 1915

Dear Jannie, I have read your letter with great interest and, of course, if my colleagues are agreed and recognize the desirability of including Currey, then my objections must fall away; but I have so little opinion of his ability that I do not trust him for he has not only treated us shabbily in the last five years, but has always attacked us where he could, and tried to make us suspect with the people, and for that he must now be in the Cabinet¹ and so have his seat guaranteed. That is what I feel.

I hope you do not mind my writing because in this way I can say things that must be said without publicity.

Now, as regards our railway construction here, I wrote to you about [Major A. J.] Beaton. I want now to make the whole position clear to you because, according to your telegram, you have not quite grasped it. The position is this: in the two months that this bunch have been here until now they have built about twenty-six miles, that is, from Walfisch past here to directly opposite Nonidas. That alone will show you that the construction work is impossible for our operations. And since I have been here they have built about seven miles, notwithstanding that I personally visit the work daily and spur everything on. Collins is good and he is the administrative chief here. Whitehouse [G. H.] is definitely the most able engineer for construction work. What is really resented is that Beaton has been transferred from Lüderitz over Whitehouse, and that Beaton has nothing to do here. He has not been on construction work for years and now knows less about it in practice than anyone else. Now, not knowing what to do, he pokes his nose into other men's work and delays it all. He is definitely a good man but a bit rusty, and Hoy's plan is to keep him in this country as chief after its conquest, so he is keeping him on now. Collins and Whitehouse work together well; it would be a pity to take one of them away from here. It would then be better to leave things as they are for, as soon

¹ H. L. Currey was not included in the Cabinet.

as the line is constructed forward, it will be too far for Beaton to poke his nose into things, and I am now making arrangements to build the line at least two miles a day as soon as the rail material arrives. The line is being built on the earthworks of the 2-foot line; it is wide enough and very firm and permanent. They ought to work very fast here because there are no earthworks to make; it is only a matter of laying sleepers and rails. Towards Usakos it is a totally dry country. There is a well at Trekkopjes but water for not more than fifty horses. The other stations are supplied by rail from Usakos, so you can understand my difficulty—to move over this country for eighty miles and then struggle to get water. So the march in that direction without a railway is out of the question, but with the material now arriving and already here we ought to be near enough in twenty days to make an attack.

In accordance with my telegram to you I hope to leave in a week's time, taking a direct route towards Windhuk in order to give the Germans a good fright and, by this flank movement, to threaten their capital and cut their communications and so help MacKenzie and possibly cut off the Usakos bunch. I am sending the 2nd Brigade to Jakhalswater from Husab. If there is enough water I shall leave 500 men there and send the others to the mouth of the Dors River on the Swakop, where further instructions will await them. I shall myself go with the 1st Brigade *via* Riet and Tsaobis to Utingbengwe. When I have personally seen the country I can judge what is best for further operations. Of course, water remains our greatest enemy. This is a country of which one can truly say: a natural fortress on a huge scale. The wells along the Swakop have not much water—about six to eight thousand gallons a day, depth about twenty-three feet. You will understand that, in order to supply our commandos, there will be much, very much, delay digging wells. The burghers are now busy digging wells as high up as possible.

I am glad that the 3rd Brigade will soon be here in full strength because I now need them very badly to keep open communications and to be constantly on the watch, moving in the Usakos direction. When the 5th Brigade comes, (Manie Botha) I shall break up one brigade and possibly send 300 to liberate our prisoners at Fransfontein and another 300 to

liberate the officers and clear the rest of the country north towards Grootfontein, for with the three Brigades and the infantry I should be man enough to take Windhuk and [Colonel V.] Franke's bunch there.

Now, Jannie, you must not mind if Collyer and I sometimes send you strong telegrams. It is necessary for, believe me, there is a lot of wrongdoing that has to be put right, and Jannie, there are a whole lot of little misplaced junior officers in Remounts and Transport who treat the Boers badly. Take it from me that it is so. To show you with what contempt Commandants are treated, Commandant [C. J.] Trichard will serve. He received all his horses in the Cape. On arrival at Walfisch the vet ordered that twelve of his horses were to go to the sick line Remounts. This was done on a receipt being issued. Now that I have ordered the Brigade to march further, he sent to fetch the twelve horses and was told that the horses had been given out to others. This has also happened with my bodyguard and here we are landed again with this little group on foot. The horses were given to transport service. I have ordered Collyer to have these officers report at once to Cape Town, and I think that the Remounts sent here should not only be taken away from people of this sort, but should be directly under me so that I can put a staff-officer there, for in every battle our commandos lose horses and how am I to remount these men? I have therefore to take a strong line and you of all people must bear with us.

Another serious matter is this: you know we decided long ago that the commandos could post letters free, but the wives or people in the Union were to use stamps. The result is that the wives don't understand this—they post free and then the letters are not delivered and the men do not hear from them. Do allow the wives to post free as well; the men are making great sacrifices for land and people and they deserve it. Also see Roland¹ and have his censorship instructions modified; they are entirely based on European conditions and letters are censored for all kinds of nonsense. If they merely mention Swakop or Goanikontes the letters go into the waste-paper basket. I am sending you a telegram about this today as our best and staunchest men feel strongly about it,

¹ H. R. M. Bourne.

and now that we are in this country in strength, such strictness in censorship is not at all necessary. See that there are enough people so that the censor does not hold up the letters so long.

Frames wants to do too much; he is capable but has too much hay on his fork and, as is sometimes the case, wants to keep everything in his own hands while most of the work is done by incompetent assistants. Now I want to use Jooste as an assistant under him to see to Remounts and other things, otherwise there will be, as the English say, a breakdown here which will do us more harm than a defeat in battle. Today, after a week's notice to arrange a base for 5,000 mounted men for eight or ten days at Husab so that the commando can take food and fodder with them for at least eight or ten days, he lets me know that at the moment there is food here for two days only, let alone anything to issue to Husab. It is bungling that frays one's temper badly.

[Major J. G. W.] Leipoldt does good work and is able. As long as one lets him work as he does here, he gives great satisfaction.

My wife arrived here weak after a bad voyage, developed the Swakop stomach sickness as well and has now been seriously ill in hospital for eight days, but is fortunately out of danger this morning.

I hope you will expel van Broekhuizen [H. D.] and the other Dutch parson¹ with Oost from the country. I am so glad that you have at once taken three nights—that assures a not too lengthy Session. Well Jannie, I wish you all success. Stand fast and hurry along and come in here yourself on one side—then we shall finish everything by May. Best wishes, Yours

Louis

625 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 13, no. 56

c/o Barclay & Co., Ltd.

137 Brompton Road

London, S.W.

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Dear Oom Jannie, Your letter was a surprise. I had not expected to hear anything more of you for long months,

¹ Rev. Louis P. Vorster of the Gereformeerde Kerk at Rustenburg; Member of the Union House of Assembly from 1915.

perhaps years, to come. To Mrs Smuts I have written several times, but without success; she has not replied and perhaps never received them.

It is a year this week since I left South Africa, a weary, terrible year. I left your country calm and prosperous in spite of political dissension such as we are always accustomed to in England; it is sad to think of it now.

Thank you for telling me about de Wet—that you have decided to spare his life. I rejoice; not merely for him, but because it would have made matters worse and worse and your own life not safe for a moment.

I write rather hurriedly today—because your letter found me on the eve of starting for Italy. I am just off—going via Dieppe to Paris under escort of some of the Quaker Relief party who are nobly trying to repair some portion of the awful damage and heal some few of the gaping wounds which you men in your misgovernment of our beautiful world have brought upon it. Yes, dear Oom, you have small idea of the wide, deep, evergrowing indignation of Womanhood as it sees this destruction of life—the bodies of those it has created and cherished blown to pieces by murderous engines of war, and all for nothing at all. None can say for what they are fighting. Fear, greed, envy—it is all too hideous. The soldiers do not want to fight, they fraternize in the trenches, it is all a deadlock, and we alone spend one and a half millions a day upon this wicked foolery against our good friends the German people. The mendacity of our statesmen! We shall turn them all out and they shall be dishonoured amongst men.

We women have already met delegates of the other belligerent lands in Amsterdam and thus shown the way. They agreed to call a Conference of Women at the Hague in April, and each set of women returned to its own country to conduct a campaign and prepare for this. We had a fine meeting in Caxton Hall. I went. The only time I have been out; and popular feeling, never desirous of this war Grey forced on the country, is strongly turning towards peace. 'Sparrows twittering' Asquith calls us; let him mock. Right is on our side and millions twittering can rouse even the consciences of official sleepers.

I send you a set of the Appeals I have issued; our work is

intense; we rest not day or night; all ordinary life is suspended; thought, effort, means, all are concentrated upon peace. I hope in Switzerland and Italy to consolidate the women there, and they too will come and speak out. Yesterday was 'Peace Day' in Switzerland when meetings were held everywhere demanding peace. M. [H.] La Fontaine, the Belgian Senator, said to me his only hope now lay in the women. America has started a huge 'Women's Peace Party' and with Jane Addams as President is helping and will probably lead us. We have a great crusade before us. We have to try and *undo* all that you and those like you have done, the woe, the ruin, the misery you have wrought, and yet you write '*we have the same ideals*'. You will take long to convince me of that. Men have indeed shown their absolute inability to guide and govern this fair world, without woman's civilizing and moderating influence to guide them. Weak as I am, I go to do my small part in organizing a great campaign of protest and peace by the womanhood of Europe. So you see we have nought in common. You and General Botha had a glorious opportunity—*and you did not take it*. England's greatest opportunity came to her last August. Led by unprincipled men *she let it go by*, and has for ever lost it. Those great moments come seldom, they can never be recalled, once lost they are lost for ever. So I mourn—not so much for the dead and dying as I mourn for England's lost prestige and South Africa's weakness in following her to wrong.

Those women, the women in the Free State, who forbade their men to go at your behest to fight a neighbour—*they alone were great*, they rang true to all that is noblest and best. Would that all women the world over did the same.

I am bodily weak and snow is falling as I write but I must go—and though my body must be carried my spirit is strong as ever and we must each do our best at this supreme moment.

They prepare—these men—for a carnage this spring beyond what the world has ever seen. 8,000 doctors are engaged (one-third of the number in England) to patch up the wounded bodies of these young fellows who constitute the hope of our country, and of the Continent. And for what? As it is, the doctors are not enough to deal with the masses of wounded. All my nephews have enlisted, but for the moment, thank

Heaven, Oliver is safe in Burma, where his regiment has been sent.

Olive Schreiner was here; I need not tell you her feelings. Good-bye, I must haste and be off, Yours,

Emily Hobhouse

We believe, not in narrow nationalism, but in internationalism, the brotherhood of man, and we recognize *no* enemies; all humanity are our friends and our interests everywhere are one and the same. Preach this and you will be a great statesman.

626 From H. C. Hull

Vol. 13, no. 58

Goanikontes
[South West Africa]
15 March 1915

My dear Smuts, Thanks for your note of the 4th inst. which reached me here this morning. Since my last letter to you I took part in the move made by Colonel Alberts's Brigade from Swakopmund and although the actual fighting did not amount to much the experience to me was very interesting. So far as I am capable of forming an opinion it seems to me that practically the whole of the campaign will fall on the comandos. The country as far as I have seen it (some forty miles from Swakopmund) is very broken and difficult, and rapid operations can only be made by mounted men. For this kind of warfare I don't suppose the burghers have their equal. They are mobile and dashing and are not likely to do foolish things—and of course their inherent knowledge of the veld and how to take advantage of cover makes them superior to the other troops. But our chief difficulties are those of transport and it does not seem to me that your transport advisers realize how heavy that task is. The burghers are most anxious to move forward but they have been delayed owing to the failure to get supplies forward. I have been going very fully into the transport question and there is not the slightest doubt that the complement of wagons assigned to the Mounted Brigades are totally inadequate, e.g., a day's rations for men and animals for a Mounted Brigade of 2,500 men means nearly 70,000 lbs.

weight. Now the Regimental transport of our Brigade, which is also intended to carry the Brigade kits, numbers twenty-four wagons. In country like this you can't load 3,000 lbs. on a wagon drawn by only ten mules. You see therefore that, after allowing for some 40,000 lbs. for kits, the Regimental transport can't carry more than half the weight of a day's rations. Well, in addition to the Regimental wagons we have the Brigade train consisting of only twenty-two wagons, from which the Regimental wagons draw their supplies, but even the Brigade train cannot carry more than *one* day's rations. Yet the theory on paper is that the Regimental transport must carry *two days'* rations and the Brigade train *three days'* rations. I fully recognize that in a campaign like this the men must go as light as possible and that the rations also must be cut down but look at it how you will, and cut down as far as possible, it seems to me the transport is quite inadequate. Both Brits and Alberts share my views and they also agree that motor-lorries and those stripped motor-cars which you used after de Wet will greatly help to solve the difficulties. It is obvious that the difficulties will become greater the farther we move from the supply base. A hundred of those stripped motor-cars should carry each half [a] ton and if they could make two trips per day they should be able to do about 200,000 lbs. a day. This is apart from the motor-lorries which of course move more slowly. I thought I would put this aspect before you. We are all anxious to get this business over as soon as possible and to get back home. (*Kan ons nie die zaak schik nie met die edele Duitschers.*)¹ I don't suppose that is possible and therefore the best course is to get a move on and to finish quickly.

One gets little or no news of the outside world but somehow one does not miss it and least of all do we miss the proceedings in Parliament. I hope you will have a short and easy Session and that you personally will have a chance of coming up here and seeing this God-forsaken country for yourself. In spite of the monotony of bully beef and clinkers there is much that I find interesting, and of course in my job many amusing things happen. But a good many bones will be picked with you when the campaign is over. Here is one:

¹ Can't we arrange the matter with the noble Germans? (Afrikaans).

while we were at Walfisch we saw some of the *takhaars*¹ doing their business at the latrines, and what do you think they used for a wiper? A horseshoe!! And this instrument was passed from one to another to be used in turn! And then to clean the horseshoe they used it to play quoits! Well, the story got about that *you* had ordered the use of only *one* horseshoe per wing of about 1,200 men. This kind of economy is resented very much and one old takhaar said to me, '*Majoor, ik kak onder protest*'!! I told Colonel Alberts I would write you this.

Already this letter has spun out too long but I promise not to write again until we get to Windhuk. Good-bye and kind regards, Yours sincerely,

H. C. Hull

Please tell Lane that his Department has treated me very badly over my motor-car. I hear they have returned it in very bad condition after using it for three months. I think I shall have to threaten them also with *die Hooge Gerechtshof in Pretoria*.²

627 To H. C. Hull

Vol. 13, no. 137

Cape Town

25 March 1915

My dear Hull, Many thanks for your last letter. I have had many charges unjustly made against me in my time but quite the most funny is supplying a brigade with one horseshoe in lieu of sanitary paper! Would our warriors have used sanitary paper if it had been supplied? I note what you say about transport. It is quite our most difficult question. The country is being scoured for wagons, mules, donkeys, and drivers. The shortage among drivers alone is over 3,000! Cape boys are dead off after their experience of our commandos in the [Cape] Peninsula. I am now getting Natives from the interior, who are however not equally suitable. I am also getting motors in all directions and have ordered 100 more trolleys from

¹ Afrikaans name for the white inhabitants of the more remote parts of South Africa.

² The High Court in Pretoria (Afrikaans).

America. They will arrive after the war is over I fear. Your own motor has been taken back by us.

Now that you have broken the strong defensive line at Jakhalswater and Riet, the enemy will probably retire to the railway. The knock has been a great one and I am especially pleased with Alberts's good work. Please give him my congratulations. The effect here was also excellent, as everybody was beginning to ask what was being done. Nobody has the slightest conception of our transport difficulties. If those difficulties are overcome, things will move very fast as I doubt whether the burghers of German South West Africa are bitter-enders.

In Parliament everything goes dreadfully slow. You are well out of it—the Hertzogites floundering worse than ever and the Labour Party quite at sea in the absence of Creswell. I hope you will never be dragged into that connection again. After all, with all our faults we are the people with whose policy you really agree. The Unionists are more moribund than ever and support us most loyally.

Old Davie¹ is now treasurer but threatens to go as soon as the war is over. I am glad to be free from that burden, as I am anxious to take command in the south and go for Keetmanshoop as soon as D.V.² and W.P.³

Your brother-in-law is in great form and for the first time in his life really loyally supports us. Do you ever see the General? I hope you two will return to the old friendships which have been so fruitful of good for this country.

Do you hear how your boys are getting on? With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

628 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 13, no. 139

Kaapstad

28 Maart 1915

Liefste Mamma, Zondag ochtend. Leisk Stanley en ik meenen den dag te Houtbaai te gaan doorbrengen, maar ik wensch eerst met jou een paar minuten to spreken. Stanley zooals

¹ D. P. de V. Graaff.

² *Deo volente.*

³ Weather permitting.

jij weet gaat aan het einde dezer maand weg naar Pretoria en het zal goed zijn indien jij en de kleinen hem afscheids brieven willen schrijven. Hartelijk dank voor de photos. De beide groepen zijn zeer goed. Klein Louis (alleen) is een beetje dof, ik meen de vergrooing zal nog doffer zijn. Zij heeft goed gegroeid en is zoo goed als onkenbaar behalve voor de familie trek.

Ik maak nu klaar om naar de front te gaan omtrent midden April. Het parlement werkt zoo langzaam dat het mij te veel zal ophouden om tot het einde van de zitting te wachten. Smartt en de andere oppositie voormannen verstaan de situatie en zullen geene moeilijkheid maken. Mijn plan is naar van Deventer waarheen ik ook Genl Lukin's S.A.M.R. zend. Ik meen dan met de brigaden van Lukin, Celliers en van Deventer naar Keetmanshoop te trekken terwyl Gnl. Botha naar Windhuk gaat. De transport moeilijkheid is zeer groot maar ik zal mijn best doen die te boven te komen. Ik meen in een paar maanden weer terug te zijn daar ik het niet raadzaam acht te lang weg te blijven van de Unie.

Het spijt my zeer dat ik jou niet eerst zal kunnen komen groeten. Maar de tijd is zoo kort dat ik Hendrik de la Rey gevraagd heb onze paarden te gaan halen te Pretoria en eenig iets anders dat noodig is samen te brengen. Ik zal jou telegrafeeren wanneer hij te Pretoria aankomt. Hij is nu te Lichtenburg in verband met de verdeling der gronden van den boedel. Ik heb nog twee militaire pakken en een jas hier laten maken; zoodat ik wel voorzien ben van kleeven. Ik zou eerst naar MacKenzie te Aus gaan, maar Genl. Botha heeft nu een beetje tijd en is daarheen gegaan voor eenige dagen om den inval op Aus te regelen. Hier is het nog zeer warm, ja de laatste 3 dagen bijna ondragelijk. Het komt bijna vreemd voor dat jullie al de koude voelt. De kinders schijnen blij over hunne kleine holiday. Ik hoop dat zij lekker op de plaats zullen rusten. Santa lijkt bleek en mager. Pas op dat zij niet te veel leest en ook niet te veel schoolwerk doet. Cato lijkt vet en fluksch. Zeg hen allen hartelijke groeten en pappa voelt maar slecht dat hij geen tyd heeft persoonlijk vaarwel te komen zeggen. Dankie vir Oom Jan zijn moeite te Barberspan. Hy moet niet de dochter van de dieven nemen. Meer als £1,000 van my gestolen! Zoo gauw mogelijk moeten zij daar,

weg. Hartelijke groeten aan Miss Smit en de meisjes. Zoentjes aan Mamma en de kleinen van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Cape Town
28 March 1915

Dearest Mamma, Sunday morning. Leisk, Stanley and I intend to go and spend the day at Hout Bay, but I want to talk to you for a few minutes first. Stanley, as you know, goes away to Pretoria at the end of the month and it will be well if you and the little ones would write him farewell letters. Hearty thanks for the photographs. Both groups are very good. Little Louis¹ (alone) is a bit dull; I think the enlargement will be still duller. She has grown well and is as good as unrecognizable except for the family likeness.

I am now getting ready to go to the front about mid-April. Parliament works so slowly that it will hold me up too much to wait until the end of the sitting. Smartt and the other Opposition leaders understand the situation and will make no difficulties. My plan is to go to van Deventer to whom I am also sending General Lukin's South African Mounted Rifles. I intend then to march with Lukin, Celliers and van Deventer's brigades to Keetmanshoop while General Botha goes to Windhuk. The transport difficulty is very great but I shall do my best to surmount this. I intend to be back again in a few months as I do not consider it advisable to stay away too long from the Union.

I am very sorry that I shall not be able to come and say good-bye to you first. But time is so short that I have asked Hendrik de la Rey to go and fetch our horses in Pretoria and to bring with him anything else that is necessary. I shall telegraph you when he arrives in Pretoria. He is now at Lichtenburg in connection with the division of the land in the estate.² I have had two more uniforms and an overcoat made here so that I am well provided with clothes. I was first to have gone to MacKenzie at Aus, but General Botha now has a little time and has gone there for some days to arrange the

¹ Louis Annie de la Rey McIldowie, youngest daughter of Smuts. Born 1 November 1914; married D. McIldowie, 1943.

² The estate of General J. H. de la Rey.

attack on Aus. Here it is still very warm, indeed almost unbearable for the last three days. It seems quite strange that you are already feeling the cold. The children seem glad about their little holiday. I hope they will have a nice rest on the farm. Santa looks pale and thin. Be careful that she does not read too much and do too much schoolwork. Cato looks fat and lively. Give them all hearty greetings and Pappa feels unhappy at having no time to come and say good-bye in person. Thanks for Oom Jan's trouble at Barberspan. He must not take the daughter of the thieves. Stealing more than £1,000 from me! They must leave there as soon as possible. Kind regards to Miss Smit and the girls. Kisses for Mamma and the little ones from

Pappa

629 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 15

Erna Woerman

30 Maart 1915

Lieve Jannie, Gister telegraveerde ik jou dat ik terug ga, wel ik had een lange en ernstige gesprek met MacKenzie, ik heb hem zeer duidelijk gezegd dat wachten nu niet langer kan maar dat hij met zoo een groot kostbare leger moet meer doen, dat als hij het verlang beide U en ik hem met alles wat hij nog nodig heb willen helpen dat ik zelfs als hij het verlang genegen zijn om Command te nemen en Aus aan te vallen, meer kon ik niet zeggen want de positie is zeer delikaat als ik verder zou gaan dan zou hij bedank. Nu dit na wat de Gouverneur zeide zou niet verkeerd zijn maar de gevolgen daaruit kan verkeerd wees, omdat zijn paarden Komandos is allen Natal mannen en die zal MacKenzie's aftreden verkeerd opneem en bij hem staan, daarom laat ons nu niets doen. Crew en Thomson kan praat wat hulle wil. Ik erken MacKenzie is veel te klein voor die werk, hij heb ook niet meer de vertrouwen die hij hebben moet van zijn leger, tusschen ons ik is zeker dat de vijand Aus heb verlaten over de 300 ontploffingen is gehoord oost van Aus, de draadloos statie daar werkt niet meer, deze feiten en de verdere feit dat mijn Commandos nu Windhoek bedreig toont duidelijk dat het gek zou zijn van de vijand om nu noch Aus te houden, zij hebben een kleine leger waarom zal zij de

kans loop om een sterk deel te laten afsnijden 400 mijl van hun hoofdstadt, neen Jannie ik voel dat Aus legt leeg net voor instappen, ik heb MacKenzie gezegd vanavond doch niet later dan morgen avond uit te trekken en eerst de noordelijke ranten te nemen en langs die ranten Aus nemen, terwijl een paarde Komando moet zuid om werken en de infantry in de midden, als de vijand noch daar is, en dat hun vestingen swaar is, dan zal ik hem dadelijk meer kanonnen stuur en zelf komen helpen, laat ons nu maar zijn rapport afwachten, ik is blij dat jij hem de een 6 duim en de 2, 4 punt 7 kanonnen zenden, dit zal hem veel helpen alhoewel ik twijfel of ze ooit zal gebruik worden.

Jannie dit is een verbasend groot land om in oorlog te maak, ik heb alle plannen van intrek en aanval veel aandacht gegeven en vooral de plan van jou om zuid in te rukken naar Seeheim. Wil ik hoop jij zal mij toelaat om jou een weinig advies te geven, laat mij dus toe eerst jou hartlijk te verzekeren van mijn blijdschap dat jij bevel komen nemen in de zuide, dit zal en is ernstig nodig. Wij hebben in de eerste plaats te doene met een leger wat uit twee rassen bestaat en de gewenste zaamwerking hangt bepaald af van wie bevel voerder is, en zoodra de verschillende Komandos in het zuide nader aan elkander zijn, wat ons hoop spoedig plaats vinden zal, dan Jannie is jij daar abseluut onmisbaar, wij hebben niemand anders daarheen te sturen, dus niemand kan en zal jou hartlijker verwelkomen op deze zandvlaktes van Moab dan ik. Nu wat jou plan betref is bepaald verkeerd waar jij wil in, behoort kleiner groepen van Komandos in te gaan, dit zal aan transport te veel kosten, and van Deventer en Celliers is daarvoor genoeg. Jij behoort direct naar Luderitzburg te komen, maak twee vleugels van de paarde ruiters thans onder MacKenzie in een Brigade en laat MacKenzie over hen alleen bevel neem, hij verstaat geen voetvolk en is net hoofd van een kleindere beredene macht. Jij neem dan bevel over hem en de andere zuid en na Aus geoccupeerd is heb jij een groot open wereld voor operaties. Van Aus is er veel gras en water naar Bethany en dit is de regte vlank bewegen na zoo een beweging moet Seeheim Kalkfontein Warmbad en die uit plekken zelf vallen, en dan is jij in een positie om zeer veel en groot werk te doen, dit zal mij verbasend helpen, want als de vijand werkelijk aan concentreeren is bij mij zal

ik spoedig in zeer ernstige gevechten wees, en ik houd mij overtuigd de grootste werk legt noord. De vijand stuurt reeds al hun vrouwens en vee noord en dit toon aan wat zij gaan doen en zeg er komt iets over mij dan is jij nabij en zal jij dan verplicht zijn bevel daar te kome nemen. Bouwer of Celliers met hun manschappen kan jij met jou mee brengen dit zal minder kost en meer effectief wees. Lukin kan dan uiteindelijk heelmaal noord langs de Otabie lijn gezonden worden en de klein posten daar te vatten de land onder goede politie beheer te zitten en ons presoniers te lossen ik wil dus dat jij deze plan sterk bedenken, en valt het niet mee dan dink er niet meer over.

De Gouverneur dink ik is erg ontsteld over mijn telegram, maar Jannie hij steek zijn vingers in dingen hoe wel gemeend ook wat met hem niets te maken hebben, wat ik voel wat verkeerd is, is dat hij met ondergeschikte van mij gaan praat en niet met mij, aan mij heb hij niet gezegd wat hij aan jou zeide van MacKenzie, dat of U of ik daar bevel moet neemen, neen hij vroeg mij om MacKenzie meer kannonen te zenden. Natuurlijk vertraag dit weder het nemen van Aus, omdat MacKenzie nu willen wachten om eerst die kanonnen te krijgen, ons zaak is te ernstig, en hij beter de operaties in ons handen te laten, want hij is bepaald niet in een positie om dit genoegzaam te verstaan, laat hom de Komandos inspecteren, of Thomson advies geven die veel te veel menschen in de Kaap aanhouden, ik hoop dat zoodra zaken weder normaal is wij de Verdedigings Wet op dat punt veranderen zal. Of laat hem operatie zaken met jou of met Kabinet Ministers alleen bespreken.

Jij moet mij telegraveer jou finaale plaan van intrekken, stuur Manie Botha zijn andere vleugel nu aan want ik dink ernstige gevechten komt nu nader.

De Duitsters legt hulle daarop uit om in elke gevecht ons paarden dood te schieten, zij hebben zulke instructie uit, dus waarskuw in de zuid in gevecht paarden te beschermen. Ik meen in ons laatste gevecht heb ik te veel paarden verloren. Zorg dat jij een goede remount kamp hebben en dat de paarden daar vet en niet mager uit komt doe jij dit en kom jij zelf eenkant in en zoo de Heere wil dan behoort ons einde Mei alles klaar te hebben, toon deze brief aan ons collegas dat

zij zien kan dat ik dink het wenschlijk dat jij zuid in trekken.

Laat ik U hier hartlijk bedanken voor wat U en collegas voor mij daar doen. Oprechte en hartlijke groete, U

Louis

Jullie moet toch ons gewonde die terug gezonden worden bezoeken.

TRANSLATION

*Erna Woermann*¹

30 March 1915

Dear Jannie, Yesterday I telegraphed you that I was going back. Well, I have had a long and serious talk with MacKenzie. I have told him very plainly that there can be no more waiting and that he must do more with such a big, costly army; that, if he wishes it, both you and I would want to help him with everything that he still needs, that I am even inclined, if he wishes it, to take command and attack Aus. I cannot say more because the position is delicate. Were I to go further, he would resign. Now this, after what the Governor said, would not be wrong, but the consequences of it may be wrong, because his mounted commandos are all Natal men and they will misunderstand MacKenzie's resignation and stand by him—so let us do nothing now. Crewe and [Major-General C. W.] Thompson can say what they wish. I admit that MacKenzie is much too small for this work; he also no longer has the confidence that he should have of his army. Between ourselves, I am sure the enemy has left Aus. Over 300 explosions were heard east of Aus; the wireless station there is no longer working. These facts and the further fact that my commandos now threaten Windhuk show clearly that the enemy would be mad still to hold Aus. They have a small army—why should they run the risk of having a considerable part of it cut off 400 miles from their capital? No, Jannie, I feel that Aus lies empty, simply for walking into. I have told MacKenzie to move out this evening, or not later than tomorrow, and to take the northern ridges first and capture Aus along the ridges, while a mounted commando must work round south with the infantry in the centre. If the enemy is still there and their forts

¹ The ship on which Botha returned to Swakopmund from Lüderitzbucht after his visit to MacKenzie at Aus.

are difficult, then I shall at once send him more guns and come to his aid myself. So let us now await his report. I am glad you have sent him the one 6 inch gun and the two 4.7 inch guns. This should help him much, although I doubt whether they will ever be used.

Jannie, this is an amazingly big country in which to wage war. I have given much attention to all the plans of invasion and attack and especially your plan to advance in the south to Seeheim. May I hope that you will allow me to give you a little advice. Allow me first to assure you warmly of my delight that you are coming to take command in the south. It will be and is very necessary. We have, in the first place, to do with an army which consists of two races and the desired co-operation depends on who is in command, and as soon as the various commandos in the south are nearer together, which we hope will soon happen, then, Jannie, you are absolutely indispensable there. We have no one else to send there, so no one will welcome you more heartily to these plains of Moab than I. Now, as regards your plan—it is definitely wrong. Where you want to go in, smaller commando groups should go in—it will cost too much in transport, and van Deventer and Celliers are sufficient for that. You should come direct to Lüderitzbucht, form two wings out of the cavalry now under MacKenzie in one brigade, and let MacKenzie take command of them alone. He does not understand infantry and should be head of a smaller mounted force only. You then take command over him and the others in the south and after Aus is occupied you will have a big open country for operations. From Aus there is a lot of grass and water up to Bethany and this is the correct flank movement. After such a movement Seeheim, Kalkfontein, Warmbad and the outlying places must fall of themselves, and then you are in a position to do a great deal of important work. It will help me tremendously, for if the enemy is really concentrating near me, I shall soon be in very serious fighting. And I am convinced that the heaviest work lies north. The enemy are already sending all their women and cattle north and this shows what they are going to do. And supposing something were to happen to me, you would be near and would then be obliged to come and take command there. You can bring Boucher or

Celliers and their men with you—it will cost less and be more effective. Lukin can eventually be sent right up north along the Otavi line to take the small posts there, put the country under good police control and liberate our prisoners. I want you therefore to consider this plan thoroughly—and if it does not appeal to you, think no more of it.

I think the Governor is seriously disturbed about my telegram, but, Jannie, however well-intentioned, he pokes his fingers into things which have nothing to do with him. What I feel is wrong is that he goes and talks with my subordinates and not with me. He did not tell me what he told you about MacKenzie—that either you or I must take command there—no, he asked me to send MacKenzie more guns. Of course, this again delays the capture of Aus, because MacKenzie now wants to wait to get the guns. Our business is too grave and he had better leave the operations in our hands, for he is definitely not in a position to understand them properly. Let him inspect the commandos, or give advice to Thompson, who is keeping far too many men in the Cape. I hope that as soon as things are again normal we shall change the Defence Act on that point. Or let him discuss operational matters only with you or with Cabinet Ministers.

You must telegraph me your final invasion plan. Send Manie Botha's other wing on now, because I think serious fighting is now coming nearer.

The Germans go out of their way, in each engagement, to shoot down our horses—they have issued an instruction to this effect. So warn them in the south to protect horses in engagements. I consider I lost too many horses in our last fight. See that you have a good remount camp and that the horses come out of it fat and not thin. Do this and come in yourself on one side, and, God willing, we should have everything finished by the end of May. Show this letter to our colleagues so that they can see that I think it desirable that you march in from the south.

May I thank you heartily for what you and my colleagues are doing there for me. Sincere and hearty wishes, Yours,

Louis

Do visit our wounded who are being sent back.

630 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 13, no. 144

Aus

24 April [1915]

Liefste Mamma, Mijn staf kwam gister avond aan en bracht jou lieve brief, ook een van Santa. Ik zend een regel terug om 2 cheques voor jou bank in te sluiten en te zeggen dat alles zeer wel gaat. Mijn kleeren en warm goed zijn aangekomen ook bij tijds want laatste nacht was hier een van de koudste die ik nog ooit heb doorgemaakt. Aus ligt boven op de bergen omtrent 5,000 voet hoog en de koude winden snijden door merg en been. Ik regel zaken alhier en vertrek morgen naar voren en zend mijn staf naar Keetmans—een lief stadje met prachtige publieke gebouwen. Vijand is hier zoo snel aan retireeren dat ik bijna twijfel of wij ze zullen achterhalen en tot vechten komen. Misschien haal ik ze in te Gibeon waar ik over twee weken hoop te zijn. Lane is te Keetmans, Tottie hier by my, zeer wel en doet goed werk. Geef mijn hartelijkste zoenjes aan de kinderen en jou self van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Aus

[South West Africa]

24 April [1915]

Dearest Mamma, My staff arrived yesterday evening and brought your dear letter, also one from Santa. I send a line in return to enclose two cheques for your bank and to say that everything is going very well. My clothes and warm stuff have arrived and just in time because last night here was one of the coldest I have ever experienced. Aus lies on top of the mountains about 5,000 feet high and the cold winds cut through marrow and bone. I am arranging matters here and move forward tomorrow and send my staff to Keetmanshoop—a charming little town with lovely public buildings. The enemy here are retiring so fast that I almost doubt whether we shall catch up with them and come to fighting. Perhaps I shall overtake them at Gibeon where I hope to be within two weeks. Lane is at Keetmanshoop, Tottie here with me, very well and doing good work. Give my best kisses to the children and yourself from

Pappa

631 From R. I. Steyn

Vol. 13, no. 124A

Onzerust
3 Mei 1915

Zeer Geachte Generaal, President heeft my verzocht U met zijn harteliken dank de boeken terug te zenden.

Hy zegt U moet voor eerst geen andere boeken zenden daar hy in de tegenwoordige toestand van die wereld niet in die stemming is om kalm en bedaard boeken te lezen.

Hy zegt hy zit nu de gehele dag op landkaarten te kijken even als een dolsgooier op zijn dolossen!! om alzo te trachten de toekomst te lezen. Hy vrees echter met dezelfde resultaat als de dolsgooier.

Met vriendelikste groeten van huis tot huis, Blijf ik, Uwe vriendin,

R. I. Steyn

TRANSLATION

Onzerust
3 May 1915

Dear General, The President has asked me to return the books to you with his cordial thanks.

He says you must for the time being send no other books as he is not in the mood, in the present state of the world, calmly and coolly to read books.

He says he now sits all day looking at maps, like a bone-thrower looking at the bones, attempting thus to read the future!! He fears, however, with the same result as the bone-thrower.

With friendly greetings from house to house, I remain,
Your friend,

R. I. Steyn

632 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 13, no. 146

Civil Service Club
Cape Town
14 May 1915

My dear Wolstenholme, I came back today from German South West Africa where I had commanded the southern

army of invasion but we have occupied all that part of the enemy's country, so I have disbanded a large portion of my force and sent the rest to assist General Botha in the north, and have myself returned to my civil duties. I think I wrote to you last just before our Session of Parliament, most of which I went through and then left for German South West Africa at the beginning of April. Your books have been coming in steadily and some of them reached me hundreds of miles in the enemy's country. Many thanks for still thinking of me. Tonight wild mobs are (as I write) surging through the streets around me to destroy property of German subjects as a reply to the sinking of the *Lusitania*.¹ But effective measures have been taken to cope with this rioting. It has however been very bad these last few days in various parts of South Africa. Public indignation has been at white heat over this torpedoing of the *Lusitania*. This and the annexation of Belgium seem to me inexplicable acts, only calculated to alienate all public opinion the world over from the German cause, and I don't understand what is the policy aimed at by the German Government. What times we live in! The fair promise of the nineteenth century has reached a terrible fulfilment in the twentieth. In German West I found Chamberlain's *Grundlagen des 19ten Jahrhunderts* with its rosy view of the future of the *Germanen*; this I have been reading these last few days. But the *Germanen* have travelled a long way from Kant and Goethe! And when will the end come to this dreadful business? I hope whatever happens that our spiritual possessions will remain unassailed and that a deepened consciousness of right and wrong will result from this most ruthless of all world wars. But the cost! Not in material losses but in human lives and human suffering. No wonder the Hindu thinker prefers nirvana to all this exuberance of life. Will mankind, sick of all this horror, turn inward and purify its spirit, or will it become debased and demoralized and brutalized by its horrible experiences? Please answer these questions in your next letter. Tomorrow I leave for Pretoria where I shall find the family after many months of anxious separation. In spite of

¹ Sunk off the coast of Ireland on 7 May 1915 with a loss of 1,198 lives, including 139 Americans. The sinking caused considerable tension between the United States and Germany.

all cares and worries I feel like a schoolboy going home. Good-bye, dear friend, and may good be with you. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

633 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 79

Private and Confidential

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

19 May 1915

My dear Smuts, I am glad to hear that you have returned safe and sound and I hope that Botha will soon follow you. Let me take this opportunity of offering you my sincere congratulations on having got your job so far finished. You have now 'got a wolf by the ears' but that is no fault of yours. I am sure that you are quite alive to the fact of a possible bolt in the direction of German East Africa and the destruction of the Zambesi railway bridge *en route*. Either that or a most embarrassing internment in Angola seems to be the possible outcome for the Germans.

What is more serious is the state of our own country. I do not think you can know how serious that is. After forty-six years experience of public life in all weathers, I never knew such a feeling between English and Dutch, so bitter so absolutely impossible. I hope when Botha returns that you will take some steps to call a meeting of the wisest men you can find—a Witenagemot¹ in fact—to take the situation into most serious consideration. The worst feature is that a strong,—some people will tell you the strongest—section of the Dutch Reformed Church is on the side of the intransigents, if they are not the greatest promoters of strife. Our system of education seems to have thrown the schools into the hands of imperfectly educated teachers whose whole idea of instruction consists in fostering an anti-English propaganda. What is going to be the end of all this?

Now come in these detestable anti-German riots which look suspiciously like a mere pretext for public disorder. For the moment the maintenance of law and order and the protection of property, which is after all the chief function

¹ The King's council of advice in Anglo-Saxon England. Literally, the Council of the Wise.

of every Government, seem to have been quite forgotten. The Johannesburg resolutions,¹ almost comical if they had not their tragic side, are indeed a fine invitation to foreign capitalists to come here with their cash. And this brings me to a matter with which I want to trouble you. I see the mob are insisting on the internment of all Germans, innocent or guilty, harmless or obnoxious, all alike. Possibly in large centres this may be a protection for the men themselves, unjust and unnecessary as it may seem to be, and heavy as the cost which it will entail on us. But surely in country places this step is not necessary nor is it quite wise to make fresh martyrs. I have been asked to write to you on behalf of certain²

634 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 80

Private

Schoongezicht

[Stellenbosch]

21 May 1915

My dear Smuts, Do not think that I am insistent if I recur to the question of these riots and 'the terms' which have according to the papers been submitted to and forced upon the Government. I do hope you are not going to add to all the outrageous things that have taken place by haling Germans off to confinement simply because they have German names. What is to be the future of this country? Are we going to set up an unextinguishable feud with a large bulk of our fellow-citizens? Do read Mr Asquith's most admirable speech³ and do not go one step beyond. I will not insult you by pointing out that all these riots and outrages recoil upon the Government *in the country* just among the very class whose support is now more than wavering, but it is true. People contrast the righteous indignation that we heaped upon those 'protesters' who looted stores⁴ and the very slight notice taken of the people who have perpetrated all these outrages.

¹ At mass meetings on 15 May 1915 resolutions were passed calling for the internment or deportation of all Germans and the sequestration of all German property.

² The rest of the letter is missing.

³ Asquith spoke in the House of Commons on 13 May 1915 in favour of the internment or deportation of aliens but refused severe treatment of naturalized Germans who were British subjects.

⁴ During the 1914 Rebellion.

One thing seems to stand out conspicuous. Neither the Ministry nor the magistrates nor the police seem to have taken any real steps to suppress the business until the damage was done. I think anything more ludicrous than the Police Band parading the streets to attract the mob to a meeting addressed by those firm friends of law and order—Andrews [W. H.], Bain, and the President of the Trades Federation,¹ I never read. Nor am I surprised to learn that this alliance is to be cemented by a demand for a twenty per cent rise of wages. It sheds a comic light over the sordid tragedy.

There is something not wholly unamusing in the idea of the mob incensed at *German* misconduct in Europe testifying their indignation by burning down the *Dutch* Consul's stores in Durban!!

You will have to take Democritus² as your favourite philosopher. Wishing you well through your imbroglio, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

635 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 16

Karibib

23 Mei 1915

Lieve Jannie, Windhoek inname ging alles goed en geregeld af, daar vond wij een groot hoeveelheid rollend materiaal alsook 11 Engines, doch parte daarvan werd weggenomen en niets kon gebruikt worden, de Waal heeft zeer takvol opgetreden hij vaardigde een Proclamatie uit, dat al deze stukken binnen een beperkte tijd terug bezorgd worden of hij zal een huis tot huis onderzoek houden de werkplaats machinery en gereedschap insluitende motor engines was ook verdwenen, sommige ingezetene beweerde dat de Reg. dit verkocht hebben, met takt slaagde Danie om de hulp en mede werking van de Burgermeester en paar andere ook te krijgen, met het gevolg dat wij bijna alle vermiste goed terug heb, en nu 8 eerste klas engines in werk hebben, en de spoor tusschen hier en Windhoek loopt of kan nu geregeld lopen, maar ons

¹ John Thompson was the president of the Federation of Trades, founded in 1913. But the most influential officer was Robert Stuart, the Secretary.

² A Greek philosopher (born c. 460 B.C.) who derided the folly and vanity of mankind.

engines klein en groot tusschen hier en Walvis is een hooploose mislukking 7 uit 12 faalde in een dag en hier zit ons vandaag noch zonder voer voor ons paarden al wat ons heb door gekregen sedert U weg is is 20 ton per dag, terwijl ons 130 ton per dag voor mensch en dier nodig hebben, en ons paarden met vast staan elke nacht zonder voer is onbruikbaar swak geworden. Hoy met al zijn engineers heb een caos veroorzaakt—morgen gaan ik begint om met muilen de trucks aan te sleep van Ebony, de brug te Usakos is noch nooit aangeroerd, behalve dat zij een deviatie heb gemaakt die een mislukking is, want geen engine trekt of loopt door, ik heb al allerlei soorten van plannen gemaakt maar nu wordt het mij duidelijk dat ons voorwaarts beweging net door lamclendige zwakheid van een boel engineers vertraagd worden en omdat onder hen Collins en Beaton behoort nooit aan de hoofd te staan van zulk een verantwoordelijke positie en ik vrees dat Hoy voor hen te veel luister, doch dit is verdompt mismoedigen en heb een slegte effect op de burgers en geef de vijand alle kans om de reeds moeilijke en sware posities voor ons te verswaarder, doch bij de tijd dat jij deze ontvang hoop ik wel voer te krijgen genoegzaam. MacKenzie zegt hij zal omtrent 4 Junie te Windhoek aankomen. Reitz zeide mij dat de veld van MacKenzie naar Windhoek beter is dan de gras in de Unie, en zal zijn paarden toch iets hebben. De onderhandelingen was tamelijk stijf, de Gouverneur opende zijn kant met een lange opsomming, eerste van de Nakop geschiedenis en de schieterij in de revier door Liemberg of Leonard en dat mijn toespraak in Parlement verkeerd was, dan weder hoe [illegible name] en MacKenzie kaffers gewapend hebben, en hoe wij de aanvalders waren, terwijl wij behoort rustig en in vrede te leven, ik heb hem in kort geantwoord dat het mij spijt dat hij al die dingen ophaal, want wat of ik al gezegd heb werd gedaan op officieele informatie en om nu daarover te spreken bring ons niet nader, en dat wij zijnde een deel der Britsche rijk kan niet neutraal zijn wanneer de rijk in oorlog verkeer vooral niet wanneer Duitschland de aanzegger is. Over zijn voorstel heb ik jou reeds getelegeveerd, daarna werd hij bepaald dreigerig, en zeide wil julle verbitter 70,000,000 menschen tegen jullie terwijl jullie maar 40,000,000 achter jullie heb, maar nu zal jij bloed storting in dit land zien en millioenen van geld

verspilling, hij was erg opgewonnen en sprong half uit zijn stoel somtijds, ik bleef zeer kalm en antwoorde hem altijd beleefd, doch ik moest somtijds ook de botter dik opsmeren vooral over behandeling van kaffers en bastards en vergiftigen van water hij erkende dat zij coopers dip heb gebruikt maar dat zij nu geen vergiftende middel weder gebruiken of iets dat voor een mensch beschadigend is, maar dat zij nu alle water voor de voet onbruikbaar voor ons gaan maken, de indruk wat ik krijg is hulle is vreeslijk in de naauwte, en terwijl hulle niet mag overgeven zoek zij naar iets om de eer van de officieren en troepen te redden. Franke sprak zeer zelden en alleen wanneer ons te na aan zijn handelswijze kwam, hij gebruik bepaald iets wat voor hem niet goed zijn, want zijn handen beef of roert aldientijd.

Leiske houd ik hier en gebruik hem om allerlei dingen te onderzoeken, dus hij kan mij veel help—en heb ik hem naar Windhoek gezonden, om met de Waal en Mentz de bank, post en vast stellen van kost prijzen te bespreken en te regelen, Georges moet maar spoedig kom want hij kan van dienst zijn, men moet iemand hebben die buiten de Commandos staan, want was het niet voor de Waal dan was er een chaos in Windhoek. Officieren is te geneigd om hun manschappen ongeoorloofde dingen toe te laten in zoo een dorp.

Ik geef Mentz nu autorisatie om bevel te nemen over de geheele veroverde grondgebied, zoo dat er op alle dorpen uniformiteit geschiede, en dat alle boeren gelijke behandeling krijgen, en vooral sterke sympathike controle der naturellen. Georges heb hij dus ernstig nodig, tusschen haakjes dit lijken voor mij of de gevoel tusschen Engelsche en Duitsters te verbitterd is en wij zal moet uiterst voorzichtig zijn met aanstellingen, en hier is reeds een sterke gevoel tegen wat ik doen om die menschen billijk te behandelen en op hun plaatsen te doen blijven. Mijn eigen gevoel was dat jij niet Hughes maar Dirk van Deventer de behandeling van al de vee zuid te geven, volgens mijn informatie hebben zij totaal onnodig een opeenhoping van vee veroorzaakt daar, en ik verstaan dat steelerij op een groot schaal daar voort gaan en over de grens sturen, alleen een man als de twee van Deventers kan dat te weten komen. Want wij zal mogelijk compensatie betalen moet. Ik dacht het goed politiek was om de vrouwen

brieven te doen schrijven aan het noorden waar hun mans is van Windhoek, zij hebben honderde brieven geschreven en die werd toen aan Seitz gezonden met de antwoord van stilstand van wapen, de vrouwens schrijven een en allen dat de Waal mijn schoon zoon provost is en dit waarborg hun positie, dat zij wat ons troepen ben [*sic*] veiliger dan zelfs onder de Duitsters.

Wat politiek betref morgen komt Majoor du Preez en Luit. Col. Krog mij zien, een van die twee zal Fichardt hoop ik bevechten, Krog is de provinciale Lid en hij kwam in de laatste electie in tegen de officieele kandidaat die is du Preez, en du Preez is Cornelius wat altijd bij Pres. Steyn was, hij zeg mij als hulle twee bijmakaar gaan staan dan stof hulle Fichard uit, als ik met die twee klaar komen stuur ik die terug. Col. von Maltitz woont in Ficksburg is het niet mogelijk om hem tegen Keyter op te zit. Theron moet Komdt. Wessels in handen krijgen en help hem om zijn voorman daar te worden, in Kroonstadt moet jullie een goede man krijgen, ook in Harrismith Beukes en Jan Meyer moet jullie laat op komen en zien. Cronje moet bepaald naar Bethlehem en hij moet dan met Komdt. Naude van Lindley en paar voormannen van Reitz over een komen, dan moet jullie Visser van Jagersfontein laat op komen en hem polzen daar heb ons bepaald een beste kans als wij net de regte man aanstel. Carolina is een moeilijk plaats en Hull heb nu zoo stink gemaakt dat hij geen stem gaan krijgen van ons sectie, ik hoop dat hij nu spoedig van zelf zal weggaan, Collins en Alberts werk in die [richting] Hull heb gister gevraagd om terug te gaan aan hen. Wat is jullie Pretoria plannen, ik vrees dat van der Walt te <sanekkie> is. Ou Tom zal moet woel bij de Premier Mijn, laat mij weet de omstandigheid overal van de kandidaten wie wij vooruit stoten en wie Hertzogieten.

Jannie ons moet een harde gevecht opzit de Duitswest ding en de afbranden van huizen heb de vrouwgeslacht bijne eenparig tegen ons veroorzaakt. Wij moeten Hertzogieten en Arbeiders in een drijven, krijg zij de meerderheid dan moet ons maar oppositie vat, zoo dat het volk een weinig van hunne administratie krijgen. Ongelukkig is daar zulke groote vraagstukken die opgelost moeten worden namelijk de wegdoen van de Provinciale Raden, in het leven roepen van een soort

van County Council systeem de vrede making om dan Dalgoa te trachten in te slukken enz.

Geef mijn beste groete aan jou familie en ontvang jij ook dezelfde. Van altijd jou vriend,

Louis Botha

TRANSLATION

Karibib

25 May 1915

Dear Jannie, The Windhuk occupation went off well and in orderly fashion. We found a great quantity of rolling stock there, also engines, but parts of them had been removed and nothing could be used. De Waal [D.] has acted very tactfully. He issued a proclamation that all these parts are to be returned within a limited time or he will hold a house to house inspection. The workshop machinery and tools, including motor engines, had also disappeared. Some of the inhabitants alleged that the Government has sold these. Danie, by using tact, succeeded in getting the help and co-operation of the Mayor and a few others, with the result that we have got back almost all the missing stuff and now have 8 first-class engines in use and the line between here and Windhuk is working or can now work regularly. But our engines, small and large, between here and Walfisch are a hopeless failure—7 out of 12 broke down in one day and here we still are without fodder for our horses. All that we have got through since you left is 20 tons a day, whereas we need 130 tons a day for man and beast, and our horses, through being tied up each night without fodder, have become too weak to use. Hoy with all his engineers has caused chaos. Tomorrow I shall begin towing the trucks from Ebony with mules. The bridge at Usakos has not yet been touched, except that they have made a deviation which is a failure, because no engines can pull or run through it. I have already made all sorts of plans, but it is now becoming clear to me that our forward movement is being delayed by the clumsy feebleness of a bunch of engineers, and because of these Collins and Beaton should never be in such a responsible position, and I fear that Hoy listens to them too much. However, it is damned discouraging and has a bad effect on the burghers and gives the enemy every chance to make the already difficult positions before us still

more difficult. However, by the time you receive this, I hope to have sufficient fodder. MacKenzie says he will arrive at Windhuk about 4 June. Reitz [D.] told me that the veld between MacKenzie and Windhuk is better than the grass in the Union, so his horses will have something.

The negotiations were rather stiff. The Governor¹ opened on his side with a long summing-up, first of the Nakop story² and the shooting in the river by Liemberg [*sic*] or Leonard³ and that my speech in Parliament was wrong, then again how [illegible name] and MacKenzie have armed Natives, and how we were the aggressors whereas we should live quietly and in peace. I answered him briefly that I was sorry he should rake up all these matters, for whatever I had said was on official information and to talk of that now took us no further, and that we, being part of the British Empire, cannot be neutral when the Empire is at war, especially not when Germany is the challenger. I have already telegraphed you about his proposal; after that he became definitely threatening and said: do you want to embitter 70,000,000 people against you when you have only 40,000,000 behind you, but now you will see bloodshed in this country and millions wasted in money. He was most excited, sprang halfway out of his chair at times. I remained very calm and always answered him politely, but I also had to put on the butter thickly sometimes, especially about the treatment of Natives and bastards and the poisoning of water. He admitted that they have used Cooper's dip,⁴ but said that they are not now using any poisoning matter or anything that is injurious to humans, but that they will

¹ Dr Theodor Seitz.

² On 16 September 1914 about 200 men of the *Vrij Korps*, a volunteer force consisting mainly of Afrikaner settlers in German South West Africa, attacked the Union police station at Nakop on the border. They were led by Andries de Wet, a naturalized German subject. His men took possession of the station, killing one policeman, and five others were sent to Ukamas as prisoners.

³ In mid-August 1914 a group of farmers, Union nationals living near the Orange River in German territory, were ordered by the authorities to move further north. They could not be satisfactorily accommodated and so went to the Union police post at Schuit Drift on the Orange River, where they were allowed to take refuge on islands in the river. On 21 August a small party of German soldiers arrived there and demanded the return of the group (referred to as the 'Liebenberg Party'). There was firing on both sides and two German soldiers were killed.

⁴ Used by South African farmers to dip their sheep and cattle.

now systematically make all water unusable by us. The impression I get is that they are in a terribly tight place, and since they may not surrender, they are seeking a means of saving the honour of the officers and the troops. Franke spoke very seldom and only when we came too close to his doings. He definitely takes something that is not good for him, for his hands continually tremble or move.

I am keeping Leisk here and use him to investigate all sorts of things—so he can help me a good deal. I have sent him to Windhuk to discuss and arrange banking, posts and the fixing of food prices with de Waal and Mentz. Gorges had better come quickly for he can be of service. One must have someone who is outside the commandos, for if it were not for de Waal there would be chaos in Windhuk. Officers are too inclined to allow their men to do illicit things in a town like that.

I am now authorizing Mentz to take command over the whole conquered territory so that there will be uniformity in all the towns and all farmers will be treated alike, and especially so that there will be strong, sympathetic control of the Natives. I therefore need Gorges badly. By the way, it seems to me that the feeling between English and Germans is too bitter and we shall have to be extremely careful with appointments, and there is already a strong feeling here against what I am doing to treat people fairly and make them stay on their farms. My own feeling was that you should have given the handling of all the cattle in the south not to Hughes¹ but to Dirk van Deventer. According to my information they have quite unnecessarily brought about an accumulation of cattle there, and I understand that thieving and sending over the border is going on there on a big scale. Only a man like the two van Deventers can get to know that, for we may possibly have to pay compensation. I thought it good policy to have the wives write letters from Windhuk to the north where their husbands are. They have written hundreds of letters and these were sent to Seitz with the truce answer. Each and every one of the women writes that de Waal, my son-in-law, is provost and that this guarantees their position, that they are safer with our troops than even under the Germans.

¹ Colonel A. M. Hughes of the Union Reserve of Officers was Controller of Commandeering from November 1914.

As regards politics, tomorrow Major [C. J.] du Preez and Lieutenant-Colonel [P. J. F.] Krogh are coming to see me. I hope one of the two will oppose Fichardt. Krogh is the Provincial Council member and he came in in the last election against the official candidate who is du Preez, and du Preez is Cornelius who was always with President Steyn. He tells me that if the two of them stand together, they will beat Fichardt. If I get on with these two I shall send them back. Colonel [C.] von Maltitz lives in Ficksburg. Is it not possible to put him up against Keyter [J. G.]? Theron [H. S.] must get hold of Commandant Wessels¹; help him to become his right-hand man there. You must get a good man in Kroonstad, also in Harrismith. You must let Beukes [M. J.] and Jan Meyer come up and see them. Cronjé must definitely go to Bethlehem and he must make an arrangement with Commandant [S. W.] Naudé of Lindley and a few leading men from Reitz. Then you must let Visser [G. P.] of Jagersfontein come up and sound him—there we definitely have a very good chance if only we appoint the right man. Carolina is a difficult place and Hull is now in such bad odour that he will not get a vote from our section. I hope that he will now quickly leave of his own accord. Collins and Alberts are working in that direction. Hull asked yesterday to go back there. What are your Pretoria plans? I fear van der Walt [J.] is too much of a bore. Old Tom² will have to get moving at the Premier Mine. Let me know the general circumstances of the candidates—which we are pushing forward and which are the Hertzogites.

Jannie, we must put up a hard fight. The German West business and the burning of houses³ have put the women almost unanimously against us. We must drive the Hertzogites and Labour against one another. If they get the majority we shall have to go into opposition so that the people may get a little of their administration. Unfortunately there are such great problems to be solved, namely, the abolition of the Provincial Councils, the creation of a sort of County Council system, the making of peace and trying then to gobble up Delagoa [Bay], etc.

¹ Perhaps Louis B. Wessels.

² Sir Thomas M. Cullinan.

³ In anti-German demonstrations in the Union.

Give my best wishes to your family and receive the same yourself. From your friend always,

Louis Botha

636 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 149

25 May 1915

Dear Mr Merriman, It was good of you to write to me so fully. Your note of pessimism is not unjustified. The times are certainly out of joint beyond anything one has experienced before. But let us not despair. It is a great pity that we shall have to hold a general election at a time when the currents of passionate, poisoned feeling are running so high. For I believe the tide is sure to turn. The dormant anti-English feeling, which has been there all the time since Vereeniging, has been fanned into flame by the Hertzog campaign and the tremendous world events among which we are living. As contributory causes you have a certain pro-German feeling among the Dutch and a bitterly anti-German feeling among the English, the attitude of Steyn and others towards Botha and the reaction (now in full flood) against Union and in favour of local and narrowly national particularism. We who have borne the heat and the burden of the day must stand by our work and our policy and I am hopeful that reason and moderation will yet prevail. But we must be active. Please keep your eye night and day on Stellenbosch where I feel certain you will knock Jannie Marais out. Oats [F.] will use all his influence at Somerset [West] and elsewhere to help you, and the moderate section among the Dutch are stronger than you perhaps realize. The English and Coloured vote will be yours.

I agree these recent disorders have done us considerable harm. 'The rebels are being shot down and kept in prison, but the Jingo favourites escape scot-free.' So runs the argument.

I shall draw Watt's attention to what you say about the German missionaries. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

637 From J. X. Merriman

Private

Vol. 13, no. 81

Schoongezicht

[Stellenbosch]

27 May 1915

My dear Smuts, I never despair; *Aequam memento, rebus in arduis servare mentem*¹ is my motto, but age is never cheerful, it knows too much.

As for the election, from one point of view you may be right, but on the whole I think the advantage of getting the foe out of his ambush and forcing him to formulate his creed outweighs the obvious disadvantages. Whenever friend Hertzog has ventured on a speech what an ass he has made of himself. As long as he and the recluse of Onze Rust² content themselves with doing nothing more than *spargere voces*³ and oracular utterances, like 'The Lord reigneth' they loom very large. Once get them to formulate a creed and a policy of practical politics, they will fizzle out. 'The hungry sheep look up and are not fed.' The large majority of the sensible well-to-do Dutch do not love the English. Why should they? But I am sure they do not want the two-stream theory,⁴ or if they do, the young men and maidens who want to marry do not. We must make that our rallying cry. That is really and truly the outstanding policy of Botha's Government and it gilds over a good many (may I whisper it) imperfections—if such a word may be used of the Panglossian⁵ philosophy. Even now I think I can discern a gleam of sanity here, and there is certainly a weakening of the Hertzog cult.

Thanks for your interest in my own personal fortunes. What an ass I am at my time of life to still wish to 'lag super-

¹ In times of adversity remember to keep an even mind. Horace, *Odes*, II, iii. 1.

² President Steyn.

³ *Spargere voces in vulgam ambiguas*. To spread ambiguous words among the multitude. Virgil.

⁴ In a speech at Nylstroom in October 1912 Hertzog had said that the English and the Afrikaners in South Africa should be two streams flowing parallel but not merging. He had derived the metaphor from Smuts who, in October 1907, had made a speech deprecating the two streams, English and French, flowing parallel in Canada.

⁵ Dr Pangloss, tutor to the hero in Voltaire's *Candide*, suffered many misfortunes because of his incurable optimism.

fluous on the stage'¹. As far as I can see things seem shaping well. The Unionists have promised me their solid support and *mirabile dictu* so have the De Beers² men. It seems that my action in opposing your famous deportation has a little gilded over my views on the Labour leaders. I have a good section of the Dutch farmers and I hope the Coloured vote but they are always rather a bruised reed to lean on. The most active supporters of Marais are the intellectuals and the Theologians³; in a case of cash versus brains they always tend to gravitate to the former. Hofmeyr tells me that he has grave fears that this split in the Dutch Reformed Church⁴ will do that institution much harm.

I wish you could wind up that German South West business. Botha's proclamation was admirable, dignified and chivalrous. *Your* danger point is the Rand. There is trouble brewing there and if you light a fire you do not know where it will spread. Do pray strengthen your police and send the strongest man you have got in command. The worst feature was not the rioters but the well dressed mob who gave their tacit assent to all their doings.

Do not be afraid of the elections. Once you get the enemy in the open they will not make much show. Make the issue one-stream policy versus two-stream policy and you have at once a dividing line between the Hertzogite and the Labour man that will be of great service. Kind regards, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

638 From J. X. Merriman

Private and Confidential

Vol. 13, no. 82

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

30 May 1915

My dear Smuts, Thank you for your kind message.⁵ I had a very pleasant meeting with the faithful among whom I was

¹ 'Superfluous lags the vet'ran on the stage.' Samuel Johnson, *Vanity of Human Wishes*, l. 308.

² The explosives factory owned by De Beers at Somerset West, near Stellenbosch.

³ Stellenbosch is the seat not only of the University of Stellenbosch, but also of the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church.

⁴ Between the supporters of the National and South African Parties.

⁵ Smuts had sent a telegram congratulating Merriman on his decision to stand for election in Stellenbosch.

delighted to see your father-in-law¹ and my old friend Gideon [Krige]. The prospects are I think sufficiently encouraging except in Stellenbosch itself where, as I told you, the intellectuals and the Theologians are strong 'two-stream' men, ranging from mild Hertzogism, whatever that may be, up to pro-Germanism. The unfortunate thing is they will remain behind the bush and give the world no chance to realize the mischief and absurdity of their doctrine. They are actually proposing to run an offensive and disloyal creature named 'Tomlinson' for Swellendam with a good chance of getting in.²

Will you please tell Botha how greatly I appreciate his message. I only wish that the spirit of his proclamation was more widely spread, but too many people seem to be desirous of dragging ourselves down to the level of the Germans. It is a very difficult matter for there is such a feeling worked up now that you may any day have a recurrence of those disgraceful outbreaks.

Do you not think that it would be a good sort of safety-valve if you were to authorize the recruiting of a regiment for Flanders? It will be forced on you sooner or later, and it might be as well if you regulated it in some fashion. I suppose the difficulty, or one of them, is the rules of pay. South African patriots may be wanting such a price that it will put them altogether out of the practical rank. If you could get them for 3s. per day, of which I suppose the Imperial Government would pay half, it need not be a very ruinous business. I scarcely hope that many Dutch-speaking South Africans would volunteer for infantry work, though if they did it would be a great strength. Another obstacle is that nearly always those people want to go whose plain duty it is to stay here and help on this side to keep things going, e.g., look at the rank folly of two of the chiefs of the most important and critical of the departments of state³ masquerading as officers in German South West where they are not wanted and leaving their *most important* departments of *Treasury* and *Mines* to drift about—possibly on the rocks, the latter. It is this spirit

¹ J. D. Krige.

² Lance Lindenberg Tomlinson. He belonged to an Afrikaner family, not, as Merriman evidently thought, an English-speaking one.

³ J. R. Leisk was Secretary for Finance and H. W. Smyth Secretary of Mines.

of neglecting duty for adventure that will make the task of selecting men to send abroad so difficult. It is I fear, however, the only thing that will act as a safety-valve for this anti-German 'pogrom'. Force will be a very ticklish antidote in this case, and yet you cannot abnegate the first function of any Government.

I hope Lord Buxton will take the opportunity of getting on terms with the 'Recluse of Onze Rust' whose name is used as a sort of oriflamme for every sort of discontent. With kind regards, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

P.S. Since writing the above I received the news of poor old Marais's death. I do not know what effect that may have on the election. *De mortuis* . . . Poor old chap, he was a kindly soul but, of course, quite out of place and fearfully misled by that wife. I suppose he must have left a mint of money.

Read in your more tranquil moments Burke's speech to the electors of Bristol when he retired. It is one of those gems, like Lincoln's Gettysburg address, *Ore perennius*.¹

639 From L. Botha

Vol. 13, no. 18

Karibib

2 Juni 1915

Waarde Jannie, De tijd is nu bijna aangebroken wanneer ik de trek noordwaards zal kunnen beginnen—zooals zake nu lopen denk ik dat dit over een acht dagen zal zijn. Ik reken dan dat ik binnen een maand daarna klaar zal zijn en zou in mijne verwachtingen zeer teleurgesteld werden als ik niet binnen een maand na mijn uittrekken, op reis naar huis zal zijn. Ik zal in die tijd geen of weinig kans hebben tot schrijven en daarom bring ik nu reeds een paar punten onder jou aandacht.

Jij en onze kollegas moeten nu reeds ernstig beginnen te overwegen hoe wij dit gebied zullen administreren totdat over de toekomst van dit land finaal beslist wordt bij de vrede in Europa. Ik weet niet zeker doch ik verwacht dat Mentz zal willen teruggaan in verband met de verkiezingen en aan jou wil ik privaat zeggen dat het fataal zou zijn om een Engelsman aan het hoofd van dat gebied te plaatsen. De bitterheid van

¹ Lasting utterance.

alle Engelsen tegen de Duitsers is nu zoo groot dat voorlopig niets dat zal verminderen, alsook nog hun verbittering tegen de boeren in dit land die grootendeels bij Maritz stonden. De gedachte bestaat om Lukin met zijn manschappen hier te laten blijven maar ik moet zeggen dat ik denk dit groote ontevredenheid zou veroorzaken onder de Holl. Afrikaners, en ons veel kwaad zou doen. Wij zullen in de verkiezingen er een punt van moeten maken dat dit gebied nu een opening zal [one illegible word] offer om grond te verkrijgen, alsook openingen in de politie en administratie enz. Als wij Lukin met zijn manschappen, die over het meerendeel eerst kort geleden hier kwamen, hier achterlaten en al de andere terug sturen zou dit ons zonder twijfel duur te staan komen in de verkiezingen. Er bestaat hier een sterk gevoelen dat wij vrijwilligers moeten vragen onder de kommandos om hier te blijven, en honderde flukse manschappen as ook bekwame officieren hebben reeds aanzoek gedaan. Mijn gedachte is om Lukin op Grootfontein te plaatsen om in geval de Duitsers over de Portugese grens vluchten die te bewaken en om het land tot aan Omaruru te beheren, en om voor het gebied tusschen de Omaruru en onze grens iemand anders aan te stellen met manschappen meer van de andere sectie van onze bevolking. Zij behore dan in groepjes van 50 of zoo onder bekwame officieren op de dorpen gestationeerd te worden ter algemeene bescherming en om een terugkeer tot normale toestanden zooveel mogelijk te bevorderen. Ik geef jou dit maar in overweging.

Ik merk dat hier nu al hard gewerkt en gepraat wordt in de richting om Lukin met de infanterie mannen hier te laten en al de boeren naar huis te zenden. Het spijt mij om dit te moeten zeggen doch jij kan geen idee hebben hoe sterk het rassengevoel *van beide kanten* hier nog is onder onze troepen, en dit is een feit waarmee wij rekening zullen moeten houden.

Ik betwijfel of MacKenzie voor mij hier van eenig verder nut zal kunnen zijn.

Een ander punt—jij kan aannemen dat de manschappen wanneer zij van Grootfontein worden teruggezonden zoo goed als ongekled zullen zijn; jij weet het is alles haak en doren bos daarheen. Ik vertrouw dat jij zal stappen nemen om hen bij aankomst van al het nodige te laten voorzien zoodat zij

in elk geval niet in zulk een toestand naar huis gaan. Stuur hen dan toch vooral niet zonder hunne geweren naar huis, laat ons indien nodig liever later een plan maken want zij zullen het als een bepaald belediging beschouwen om ongewapend naar huis gestuurd te worden. Het spijt mij jou te zeggen dat Lukin nu reeds begint om te zeg hij kan die groot trekken niet maken en dus niet op rode gereed zijn. Collyer is een swager van hem en die is bezig hem op te wekken zoo dat hij mogelijk noch zal door komen, die goed het zoo min moed, ik heb een goede verklaring van Tienert gekregen en de Waal doe zijn best meer te krijgen. Beste groete, Uw

Louis

Vandag stuur ik jou een telegram om Lt. Col. Hawksley terug te roep. Hij is een hooploos verkeerde man en toetaal ongeschik voor ons werk. Hij moet 6 maanden tijd hebben om water eerst te booren want hij wil niets doen dat niet in Kings regulatie staan. Intussen word er geboor en daarop ga ik niet wachten, en als hij weg is dan kan Muller en andere helpen. Hij schrijf dozijnen van brieven per dag om allen sleg te maak en vout te vinden. Persoonlijk denk ik hij is mal en daar moet iets met hem verkeerd wees. Uwe Louis.

TRANSLATION

Karibib
[South West Africa]
2 June 1915

Dear Jannie, The time is now almost come when I shall be able to begin the march northwards—as things now stand I think that it will be within eight days. I reckon that I shall have finished within a month after that, and should be very disappointed in my expectations if I were not on the way home within a month of my setting out. I shall have little or no time for writing during this period, and so I now bring a few points to your notice.

You and our colleagues must now seriously begin to consider how we shall administer this territory until the future of this country is finally decided at the peace in Europe. I do not know for certain but I expect that Mentz will want to go back in connection with the elections, and to you I wish to say privately that it would be fatal to put an Englishman at

the head of that territory. The bitterness of all Englishmen against the Germans is now so great that, for the time being, nothing will diminish it, as well as their bitterness against the Boers in this country who for the most part stood by Maritz.¹ There is an idea of leaving Lukin and his men here, but I must say I think this will cause great dissatisfaction among the Dutch Afrikaners and do us great harm. We shall have to make a point of it in the elections that this territory will now afford an opening particularly for acquiring land, as well as openings in the police and administration etc. If we leave Lukin and his men here, who for the most part came here only as a short time ago, and send all the others back, it would without doubt cost us dear in the elections. There is a strong feeling here that we should call for volunteers among the commandos to stay here, and hundreds of keen men and capable officers have already applied. My idea is to put Lukin at Grootfontein to guard the Portuguese border in case the Germans flee over it, and to control the territory up to Omaruru, and to appoint someone else, with men mainly from the other section of our population, for the territory between Omaruru and our border. They should then be stationed in the towns, in small groups of 50 or so, under capable officers, for general protection and to facilitate a return to normal conditions as much as possible. I merely suggest this for your consideration.

I notice that there is already much talk and activity here in the direction of leaving Lukin and the infantrymen here and sending all the Boers home. I am sorry to have to say so, but you can have no idea how strong racial feeling still is here *on both sides* among our troops, and it is a fact with which we shall have to reckon.

I doubt whether MacKenzie will be of any further use to me here.

One other point—you may assume that the men, when they are sent back from Grootfontein, will be as good as unclothed; you know it is all thorn-bush thereabout. I trust you will take steps to have them provided on their arrival with what is necessary so that at any rate they do not go home in that condition. Especially do not send them home without their

¹ During the 1914 rebellion.

rifles, let us rather if necessary make a plan later, because they will regard it as a definite insult to be sent home unarmed. I am sorry to tell you that Lukin is already beginning to say that he cannot make the long marches and thus be ready on the 10th. Collyer is his brother-in-law and is busy gingering him up so that he may still possibly get through. These people have so little courage. I have had a good statement from Teinert¹ and de Waal is doing his best to get more. Best wishes, Yours,

Louis

I am sending you a telegram today to recall Lieutenant-Colonel Hawksley. He is a hopelessly unsuitable man and quite unfitted for our work. He must first have six months to bore for water because he will do nothing which is not in King's Regulations. Meanwhile boring is going on and I shall not wait for that. When he has gone, Muller [C. H.] and others can help. He writes dozens of letters a day to vilify everybody and find fault. Personally I think he is mad and that there must be something wrong with him. Yours, Louis.

640 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 13, no. 187

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge
3 June 1915

My dear Smuts, I was surprised to receive a letter from you from the Cape. I had not seen any notice in the papers that you had returned home, and thought that you would probably not do so for some weeks yet. So I have sent no books. This week I have despatched books and magazines in *six* packets. I have sent for Mrs Smuts a package of old German novels which I have still had by me, as new books are not at present to be procured. I fancy these old ones are quite as good as the ruck of the newer ones.

The present condition of the civilized (!) world and the outlook for the future are truly appalling. One wonders how one can go on living through it all. It would be impossible

¹ Max Teinert, a German living in South West Africa, had been in contact with S. G. Maritz when the latter had approached the German authorities for help in organizing his rebellion.

for many of us, if to *know* things were to *see* them, as they are, *always there*, in actuality or through the pictorial imagination. But mercifully we can only think of and feel a few things at a time, and can even shut out some things and feel others in their place. And though we may—as *I do*—‘condemn the universe’, and look on human life as a terrible fiasco, as on the whole ‘not worth living’—to put it mildly—yet all of us who are sound in mind and body, and whose environment is bearable, and many of whom neither the one nor the other can be said, do find in life and in ourselves something that makes us go on accepting it from day to day, finding it at least interesting and exciting, or better, finding *some* things that are ‘divinely good, divinely fair’, and makes us reluctant to give them up, so long as hope, the deceiver, whispers in one’s subconsciousness that the good and fair are going to get the victory. But I do not think, I do not really hope, that they ever will. Ever since this final crashing blow fell, I have had singing in my ears the refrain: ‘As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be’, but happily *not* ‘world without end’. And I say to myself: I have lived a long life in the knowledge of the hideous past and the terrible present, of human life on the earth, and yet have taken it, if not *aequo animo*, at least with sufficient callousness, or obliviousness, to live and love and enjoy and work and play, to some extent, like other people; and so I suppose I shall manage to do the same until the end, which is now not far off. I have long felt that only the remembrance that it cannot be for much longer now has enabled me to hold on, and come to more amicable terms with the drear or burdensome present, and try to realize the scanty but real good which it still contains, if only in pale and precarious forms and fragments.

The question you raise, whether this terrible experience will result in the greater spiritualization or the debasement of humanity, is one which only a God could answer. And there isn’t one,—not even a vague ‘something not ourselves that makes for righteousness’.¹ Nothing seems clearer than that, so far as history can teach us anything, even if the philosophical impossibilities were not there, to confound the ‘reasoning of

¹ ‘The enduring power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness.’ Matthew Arnold, *Literature and Dogma*, chap. I, par. 5.

the heart'. And yet there may be, practically, a highly probable answer to your question. The old refrain I spoke of seems to give the truth of the matter. It seems clear that the universe is sublimely indifferent to the struggle of man, whether for 'happiness' or for 'holiness'. He is just left, each man, to fight it out for himself, or, as most men do, to let it go by default, really willing nothing and doing nothing, which seems the most foolish thing of all. For the practical philosophy of the matter is simple and clear enough. Each man's answer to the question: Is it, on the whole, 'worth while'? will be, as it has been, according to his own temperament and the amount of freedom and zest in working out his own destiny that circumstances may give him. Optimist or pessimist, he has simply to make up his own mind: 'Are you going to be wise—or foolish—and end the tragi-comedy by your own resolution and act, or are you going to accept life's chances, and see the thing out? If you are, then have the common sense to take things as they are, with as little complaint as possible, and *make the best of them*, giving to that rather equivocal maxim the highest and most ideal conception and aspiration that you can find in your own soul.' And so we fall back into the 'riddle' again. For what does a man know of his own soul? He can only find it out by 'going on'—*solvitur ambulando*.¹ But as a maxim to hold before one, in all ups and down, the wisest seems to be: Life without striving is no life at all, and so long as you strive, then strive for the best, hope or no hope, as one goes on, if only for the sake of one's fellow-players, 'playing the game', even after one has given it up as practically lost.

I saw some talk in the papers of an imperial war—or settlement—conference in London, to which the leaders of each of the Dominions should come. I am afraid that cannot and will not be, but I wish it could, and would bring you, once more before I go, to these four walls in which my existence is ebbing away in a strange mingling of despair, resignation, and at times something that looks like the ghost of happiness and hope.

I hope you found that all had been going on well with your

¹ The problem is settled by walking, that is, by action.

family in your long absence. You may certainly give yourself up without scruple to all the happiness you can find there; it will not make you indifferent to the harder lot of others.

Please give my love to the bairns—if they still remember me—and my kindest regards to Mrs Smuts. Yours ever,

H. J. Wolstenholme

641 From Sir D. P. de V. Graaff

Vol. 13, no. 49

Treasury
Cape Town
8 June 1915

My dear Smuts, I am much obliged to you for sending me General Botha's cablegram and also for giving instructions to the Defence Department to keep me advised of developments in German South West Africa. I may say, however, that, except for Bulletin 209 of the 27th May, I have had nothing from the Department since the 10th ultimo.

Of course, I quite agree with Botha that it would not be wise to send a contingent to England until the campaign in German South West Africa is finished. At the same time I think it is a pity that we have not found the means of giving the men who are being disbanded now and who are desirous of going to England, an opportunity of putting in their applications and thus being registered for inclusion in any contingent to be sent at the proper time. I also quite realize the difficulty of fixing now any rate of pay other than the Imperial rate unless and until we have another Session of Parliament but I am of opinion that so much pressure will be brought to bear upon the Government that we shall have to do something to meet the demands of those who are anxious to see a contingent sent. After the German South West Africa campaign has been concluded, there will certainly be a large number of people out of employment whom it would be better to have at the front than on our hands. I agree most firmly with General Botha's suggestion that German East Africa is more in our line than is a European campaign and, as you know, I have always favoured the former.

I think Crewe is wrong: you will not get many people to go over to England or German East Africa on Imperial rates of pay. However, we are hung up until we have advanced further in German South West Africa.

I am thankful to see that you think there will be a forward movement now on the part of General Botha's forces and shall anxiously look forward for the next stage. It would be a good thing if General Botha could prevent the Germans from going to Angola or elsewhere, as the adoption of this course by the Germans would mean the maintenance of a large force in German South West Africa at an expense which we could ill afford.

While I should very much like to see General Botha come back as soon as possible, I think it would be wise to give him an opportunity of making his next move and await the result.

I am delighted to hear you say that the political situation is far less gloomy than was anticipated. The news that we get here regarding the situation in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State is as bad as it is possible to be and even the old Cape is affected to a considerable extent. However, we can only do our duty and hope for the best results.

[Sir A. T.] Hennessy has been here to say that he sees our Party is putting up South African Party candidates for Unionist seats—*vide* Grahamstown and Three Rivers. He thinks this is unfortunate because it will force them (Unionists) to enter into the political arena immediately with their candidates. He suggests that we should mutually agree in a general sense not to put up an opposition candidate in any electoral division in which the seat is at present held either by the South African or the Unionist Party and, in particular divisions where difficulty exists, that the merits of the case might be discussed. He feels very strongly in the matter. I told him that I thought it was premature to come to any arrangement now, but promised to make enquiries and to let him know later.

Smartt will make a speech on Wednesday and repudiate any intention of a coalition between our respective Parties. With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

D. P. Graaff

642 To Sir D. P. de V. Graaff

Vol. 13, no. 151

Department of Defence

Pretoria

14 June 1915

My dear David, Yours of 8 June only now to hand. General Botha's fresh start begins on 16 June and he seems to be hopeful that it will prove of a decisive character. If so he hopes to be back by middle of July. In the meantime we may defer discussing the contingent question. No, the political situation in the Transvaal is by no means so bad. The noise and activity of the Hertzogites are creating a false impression of strength, but the bulk of the people are quietly waiting for our lead. We should organize and are doing so, but not start a campaign so early, as we shall be dead with speaking before the elections come off.

The matter Hennessy discussed with you is very important and very difficult. If the Unionists and South African Party don't combat any seats of each other as at present held, our public will at once jump to the conclusion that we have made an arrangement with the Unionists and that a coalition is being prepared for—and the result with our people will be most damaging and the gain to the Hertzogites correspondingly great. No, I think the proper thing to do is to consider each seat on its merits; if now held by us and contested by the Hertzogites, and if the intervention of a Unionist candidate will probably mean victory to the Hertzogite, no Unionist candidate should stand. Similarly Unionist seats should not be given to a Labourite by our intervention.

But where Hertzogites or Labourites don't intervene or their intervention will have no effect, it will be a good thing for Unionist and South African Party men to fight it out and so avoid the fatal impression (fatal to us) that there is a secret agreement. Let us adhere to the practice of general elections but only avoid giving seats away to Labour or Hertzog and, as against them, support each other quietly by letting our supporters vote the right way.

You might talk things over with Smartt on these lines which other colleagues here also approve. Yours sincerely,

J.C.S.

643 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 152

Department of Defence
Pretoria

28 June 1915

Dear Mr Merriman, Your letters are always welcome and helpful even when it is not possible to go the whole length with you. This matter of the internment of enemy subjects continues to engage our attention. Watt tells me that for one letter he gets like yours he gets half a dozen to complain that enemy subjects are still at large. Our practice is a good deal more lenient than that adopted in England where practically every male between 17 and 55 is interned, while here action is principally taken in the large centres where anti-German feeling is running high, Germans in the rural districts being left alone as long as they behave themselves. The police and magistrates have instructions to give the same relief to destitute German families as is given to destitute British subjects. I am at one with you that our treatment of enemy subjects is in many cases harsh, but we are warned by influential people that, unless we are careful, further anti-German outbursts may be anticipated.

Another matter which has been troubling me is the forthcoming elections. Walton, Hull and others who know something of the feeling in the country, tell me that it would be very wrong to hold elections at present when feeling—racial even more than political—is running higher than ever before. Magistrates in the Free State warn me that the Hertzogites boast openly of what they are going to do when they win at the next elections. I wish you to think over the matter carefully and let me know your conclusions. Much can be said on both sides of the question.

Botha is pursuing the Germans north of the Waterberg towards Grootfontein. I hope the campaign will soon be over. With kind regards to you and Mrs Merriman, Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

644 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 85

*Private and Confidential*Schoongezicht
[Stellenbosch]

2 July 1915

My dear Smuts, It is always pleasant to me to get your letters though I *do* wish that my words had more weight with you.

However I feel when writing, *liberavi animam meam*!¹ See also Prov. xxvii v. 6.² I am quite sure that Watt as you say gets more letters from the promoters of the German-*hetze*³ than from moderate men. The latter, in this country at any rate, are sadly lacking in moral courage. I am sure you are not more severe than you think you are obliged to be, but those who are howling out for drastic measures are not the majority in this country. I enclose an article⁴ which impressed me a great deal. Little as I esteem the writer I fear that what he says is true, and I own it makes me blush for my country. The idea of calling upon the fomenters of disorder to restore peace smacks of the doings of the French Revolution. Do recollect that the *raison d'être* of all government is the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of disorder. What else do we pay taxes for? Surely not for the grandmotherly attempts at teaching people how to do their own business and by extracting their backbones in the process. However, enough of this subject. 'The mills of God grind slowly.'⁵

As regards the question you put about the elections, I had a letter half written to you on that very subject but I withheld my hand lest you should resent my fussy interference. Let me begin by saying that no one can detest elections more than I do. They incidentally reveal the very worst side of human nature. Still we have up to now invented no more excellent plan. You will understand therefore that in what I write I am not swayed by my own predilections.

Many months ago, before the Session I think, I discussed this very matter with you and pointed out the precedent for suspensory action. Since that time however the situation has vastly changed. Disorder within our borders has been suppressed and, what is of more importance still, the forces of opposition have taken shape, and in a way have gathered—if not strength—at any rate a sort of noise that passes for strength. What could have been done with some show of prudence at the early part of last Session would in my opinion

¹ I have freed my soul. St. Bernard, *Epistle* 371.

² 'Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful.'

³ German-baiting.

⁴ Not in the Smuts Collection.

⁵ Longfellow, *Retribution*.

be fatal now. It would give the enemy a just ground of grievance which they lack at present. It would be said by them, and not by them alone, that you suspend the Constitution in order to save your own skins; that you do so because the majority of the country is against you. In my opinion so strong is this position that it is more than probable you might provoke the very rising that you dread, and that in this case *the insurgents would have law and right on their side.* It would be difficult indeed for some of us who made the welkin ring in 1902 in the denunciation of Walton and his friends and Milner and Jameson, to join in a similar conspiracy to defeat the law.¹ *You would go far to convert your majority into a minority.* For I am convinced that you take a wrong estimate of election prospects. Those Hertzog people make a great noise, but do look at the sorry spectacle they cut when they come to business! There are some four or five different lots: 1. the De Aar party; 2. the Cape Town party (called the Seccotine party from their cementing aims). These two are mutually destructive. Fremantle is the only man of political ability in the whole lot. Anything more feeble than the speeches of those two intellectuals, Malan the Rev.² and van Zyl H, I never heard. There is scarcely a man of substance among them, but those *Graeculi esurientes*,³ the briefless, muster strong. Then you have, 3. the National Party, 4. the Hertzogites and 5. the Taal⁴ party. The only bond of union is a professed hatred of Botha and yourself which, if you sift to the bottom, where it does not come from jealousy, is based, not on your mistakes or errors, but on your good deeds such as loyalty and, blackest of all, your adherence to the one-stream policy. They make a great deal of noise, because there is no one to show the other side. Wherever the other side is put before the poor ignorant people the Hertzogians have a poor show. Look at Worcester, Swellendam, Riversdale, where those three shining lights Heatlie,⁵ van Eeden [J. W.] and Vintcent [A. I.] seem to have secured their position simply by taking pains. You have *the*

¹ In March 1902 there was a movement led by the Progressives to suspend the Constitution of the Cape Colony.

² D. F. Malan.

³ Hungry Greeklings . . . Juvenal, *Satires*, iii. 76.

⁴ The Afrikaans language.

⁵ Charles Beeton Heatlie. Born 1865 in Worcester, Cape Colony. Member of the Union House of Assembly, 1910-24.

best part of the Dutch Reformed Church with you. You have all the substantial moneyed folk, and you have the thinking people who do not admire Fichardt, Fremantle or Mossie [H. S.] van Zyl and their like.

But you must have courage and take the job in hand. Organize! organize! In my humble opinion you do not want rigid machinery to select candidates but you want brains and a cause and organization. The one-stream policy will carry the day if you explain it, but to imagine you are going to run this election by a *Hoofd Comité*¹ at Pretoria is a mistake. Go round! Get some missionaries going! Remember the old proverb,

Softly stroke a stinging nettle
And it wounds you for your pains
Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains.²

Just so with this Hertzog faction. Their cause is based on personal jealousy, race hatred, and narrow-minded exclusiveness, and it is bound to fail if we grapple it properly. If I might counsel you,

1. Set the campaign going, the sooner the better; give a lead! At present no one likes to begin and the enemy have full scope.
2. See to the terms of alliance with Smartt and company. He is a dear, good, fellow and he is thoroughly true but he sometimes talks imprudently. It is most important that you do not clash.
3. Do what you can to split the Labour Party and to defeat the Andrews wing.

I dare say you have done all or most of this and I have, I fear, been too long already. I will therefore conclude by saying: in my opinion, and I have for long most carefully considered the situation—

1. It would be a *fatal mistake* to put us in the wrong by suspending the Constitution.

¹ Head Committee (Dutch).

² Tender-handed stroke a nettle,
And it stings you for your pains;
Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains.

Aaron Hill, *Verses Written on a Window*.

2. It would increase the enemy forces that are now in a minority.

3. It would give time for a rift in the good understanding with the Progressives.

Any assistance I can give is at your disposal. *Ecrasez l'infame!* Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

645 From Lord Buxton

Vol. 13, no. 26

Governor-General's Office
Pretoria
9 July 1915

My dear Smuts, I want to send you a personal line of congratulation on the ending—the very successful ending—of the German South West affair.¹

It has been a very big job, and one fraught with special difficulties.

Your share in the whole affair has been splendid. The organization has been wonderfully good, especially as so much of the machinery had to be improvised.

All those who have had to do with this part of the work—and Bourne especially—are much to be commended and congratulated.

Now that this affair is over (as we may hope) I suppose South Africa will break out in a new place—I wonder where?

The strain on you all these months has been tremendous; and I've often wondered how you've stood it. But this will be a good tonic. Yours very sincerely,

Buxton

646 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 153

[Department of] Defence, Pretoria
10 July 1915

Dear Mr Merriman, I was very glad to get your views in reference to a postponement of the general election. I am in

¹ The German forces in South West Africa surrendered to General Botha on 9 July 1915.

most thorough agreement with you and consider the Government would politically ruin themselves if they countenanced such a policy. As soon as Botha is back and can as Prime Minister give the lead we ought to start the fight, and I for one am not for a moment doubtful of the issue.

The German surrender has already had a marked effect on our local Hertzogites. Poor things! They seem to have been looking all the time for some serious reverse to come! The return of our stalwarts will also have a good effect all through the interior. Botha's peace terms are very liberal to the conquered enemy, as all the reservists who were farmers, shopkeepers etc., are allowed to go home. I only hope our local fire-eaters will not look upon this as rank treachery.

Burton is making a tour of the seaports and will be in Cape Town about 18 or 19 July. By that time Botha will also be there I hope. I shall probably try to come down too and do my best to shake your hand and discuss political matters. With kind regards, Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

647 From W. P. Schreiner

Vol. 13, no. 50

647 and 648 were submitted by Smuts to Graaff, who urged him to go to England for a few months, 'but not before the elections'.

32 Victoria Street
Westminster, S.W.

14 July 1915

Dear General Smuts, Before passing to other matters let me confirm my message of congratulation on the great achievement in South West Africa. The newspapers here ring with the praises of General Botha, yourself, and the gallant forces of the Union. I think you will probably be flooded with extracts or marked copies, but I venture to send two cuttings which may interest you. I like the photo or print picture of yourself in the one, but I doubt whether the brigand depicted in the *Evening Standard* of today represents you, even in the view of your warmest political antagonist. It would be of real value to South Africa if you or a colleague could come over at this time. I am, I think, fairly alive to the intricacies and difficulties of the political situation, with the general

election looming not very far ahead. Yet, while I conceive that tours by General Botha and others through the country districts of different Provinces will occur to you to be of essential importance, I would urge consideration of the suggestion that you should, if it be at all possible, come over and represent the Union here in regard to various important matters. The future of the conquered territory, the arrangements regarding the projected volunteer contingent for service here, the financial position on this side—these are but some of the problems which are worthy of the personal presence of yourself in London for a week or two. I have already on the financial situation suggested to Graaff a visit, but I learn from him that he cannot, for reasons doubtless strong and sound, undertake it. It occurs to me that if you should arrange to leave for England early in August you might be back in South Africa about the end of September, and much might be gained. I am sure that you will acquit me of any desire to pass to you the discharge of any of my proper functions. I am, frankly, not a bad worker at the office, and my *soul* is not fettered to the office-stool. But, after all, a High Commissioner is not a Minister, and, while he should be useful and I hope does not labour in vain in his corner, he cannot be expected to carry the weight or receive the recognition which are the due of a representative Minister from the Union.

Incidentally such a visit would enable you to gather material for conclusions which may be useful when the time appears to be ripe for appointing someone else to this office. As you remember I took it for an indefinite period, and though I have no intention either to leave it while I may be deemed useful here, in the interests of South Africa, or to embarrass the Government, it may be that, for one reason or another, the wisdom of a change may become apparent before very long. Canada has, throughout the war, been represented here by a Minister, Sir George Perley, and Australia is soon to have a Minister in place of Sir George Reid. I think the tendency will be more and more towards having in London a real representative able to speak with intimate and confidential knowledge the mind of his Government not only in time of war but also in the time of peace, when so much great work

will have to be done in the construction and protection of the Empire under an improved Constitution. I foresee a day when the representative in London of each of the Dominions will always be a member of his Government,—and go out with them. Think it over, my friend, and, if you can, come and talk it over. The war may, after all, end sooner than it is now popular to suppose. With kind regards, Yours very sincerely,

W. P. Schreiner

648 From W. P. Schreiner

Vol. 13, no. 50A

32 Victoria Street
Westminster, S.W.

28 July 1915

Dear General Smuts, Just a line to cover a copy of the leading article in *The Standard* of 24 July, which I hope may interest you in connection with my letter of 14 July. The central point is the wisdom of having here a Minister to represent the Union. As between him and the Cabinet his hands might well be closely tied, and possible embarrassment thus avoided. On the other hand he would, *ex hypothesi*, be kept regularly *au courant* with the situation in South Africa and the policy of the Cabinet, and would on this side be the recognized medium of communication with the Departments of the Imperial Government. However, you have the idea. With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

W. P. Schreiner

649 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 88

Schoongezicht
[Stellenbosch]

4 August 1915

Dear Smuts, You will be heartily sick of the Germans. Do take the trouble to read this honest fellow's letter.¹ If he had signed his name I would have given him some good advice; as it is I put him on your patient shoulders. There is of course a good deal in what he says but he is quite wrong in blaming

¹ Not in the Smuts Collection.

the Government (except it is their privilege). Those rank idiots of 'British citizens' do all the mischief and don't know what evil they are doing. Malan the Rev. is still hard at the bellows blowing up the coals of race hatred. I think he must be an avatar of that sainted man the Rev. S. J. du Toit. It is absurd to hear a Frenchman¹ ramping about our *dierbare moedertaal*,² really sometimes I can find it in my heart to excuse *Le Roi Soleil*.³ Glad to see your ovation in Johannesburg but I wish the election was over. Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

650 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 89

Private

Schoongezicht

[Stellenbosch]

6 August 1915

My dear General, This information or opinion has come into my hands and I feel that I should be doing wrong in withholding it, but if you ever use it, do not mention the writer's name; it is General [G. H.] Nicholson, late Colonel of the Hampshire, one of the best regimental officers in the army. He is now with his brigade in Flanders. After eulogizing the South West Campaign he goes on, 'While we shall all be glad to see the South African contingent here as they have offered, my own personal opinion is that they would be very much better employed both for their own sakes and the Empire in taking German East Africa. If they come out here, a small contingent, they will lose their identity and be swallowed up in the enormous armies here. We—the English—alone have 600,000 men and constantly increasing and the other armies are in millions. The Canadians (75,000) are like a drop in a bucket of water and you would not send anything like as many. By taking on the East African Campaign Botha would have a show of his own, gain a country which would be of the greatest use to South Africa and do very much greater service to the Empire than by coming to France where the contingent would produce little or no effect, and neither the

¹ D. F. Malan's French ancestor came to the Cape c. 1690.

² precious mother-tongue Afrikaans.

³ It was Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 that led to the emigration of French Protestants, among whom were the ancestors of several Afrikaner families.

training nor campaigning fits them for the sort of work we have here. For one thing mounted troops are no use. All the cavalry here are dismounted and digging and fighting in trenches. In East Africa they could fight in their own way. Here they cannot. There are no long flank marches to be made here by mounted men. It is simply hammer and tongs and storms of shot and shell and bombs and trench fighting foot by foot.' (Quotation ends.) I dare say you will agree with a good deal of this. People and papers have not got a very clear idea what they want to, or can, do. Just now it is raining machine guns, platform speeches and so forth. I wonder what the Duke of Wellington would have said in his Saxon English. Still it is a safety valve and you cannot sit on it.

The elections are the other topic and every day (*I am told*) strengthens the Nationalists. I am not sure of this but they take a great deal of pains. You might supply the poor 'musket bearers'¹ with a little ammunition, i.e., the report of Fourie's trial; at any rate, what was the indictment. And also some of the more poisonous publications of the Potchefstroom Press. These things only reach us in fragments but they want driving in on the platform. I suppose 'Francey'² is your Minister of Munitions of this sort. But give it some *personal* attention. They are circulating a poem *Jopie Fourie* making him a sort of Andreas Hofer.³ This passes from hand to hand and does a lot of harm. But you have had enough of me. Yours truly,
John X. Merriman

651 From F. C. Kolbe

Vol. 13, no. 66

St. Mary's

Cape Town

22 August 1915

My dear General Smuts, I am sending you by this post, registered, my promised pamphlet.⁴ It is about 8,000 words.

¹ Merriman had said, in 1909, when Botha offered him a place in the first Union Cabinet, that he preferred to be 'a humble musket bearer in the ranks'.

² F. S. Malan.

³ Tyrolese patriot, born in 1767. After the Tyrol was transferred from Austria to Bavaria under the Treaty of Pressburg, Hofer led a revolt in 1809 for its restoration. His forces were defeated by Bavarian and French troops and he was executed in 1810.

⁴ *The National Crisis—an appeal to the Afrikaner People.*

I ought to have sent it sooner, but I am a man of many occupations, and don't write easily: besides, my eyesight troubles me. I have shown the bulk of it to Professor [N.] Brümmer, and he says to me *privately* (why won't people speak out, and hang the consequences?) that he endorses every word. He also says that the schism is a noisy, small minority at Stellenbosch: but I hae ma doots (to use an English *Taal*). I suppose you will publish the thing in both English and Dutch¹: I should be very glad to see the English revise, for I am rather particular about my punctuation, and printers have their own ideas. I hope it will help the cause. Yours most sincerely,

F. C. Kolbe

652 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 90

Private

Schoongezicht
[Stellenbosch]

24 August 1915

My dear Smuts, Many thanks for your message and for the removal of martial law. I hope things are going well with you though there is no doubt that the forces of disorder are making strenuous efforts. They are making my life a burden here as they have engineered a Labour candidate,² as well as old Marais, who is being run by the *Burger*³ and the parsons for all he is worth. I often feel inclined to wish that I had gone off to England out of all these troubles. Have you studied Fremantle and Fichardt's utterances? It is all very well to smile at them but there is another thing to consider. The ignorant fools who listen to them say, 'Ah, they are not prosecuted because there is *iets daar agter*⁴ and the Government is afraid to touch them'. Averse as I am to prosecutions I must say that I should like to see these blackguards laid by the heels—under de Wet's famous Act⁵ for anything more calculated to stir up sedition I never remember.

¹ The Afrikaans title is: *Die Nasionale Krisis—'n beroep op die Afrikaner Volk*.

² C. H. Haggard.

³ *De Burger*, later *Die Burger*, established in Cape Town in July 1915.

⁴ something behind it (Afrikaans).

⁵ Probably the Indemnity and Special Tribunals Act (No. 11 of 1915) which authorized trial by a Tribunal of three Judges of the Supreme Court of those concerned in 'treasonable, seditious and rebellious acts'. It had been passed to define proceedings against those who had gone into rebellion.

May I bring a small matter to your notice? I had a letter from King William's Town asking me to speak for one Luyt (who has I believe been prosecuted for some electioneering malpractices) as South African Party candidate. Now the Progressives, or whatever they call themselves, have played a very fair game with the Government by refraining from putting up a Unionist even where, with a Nationalist standing, they would have had a very good fighting chance, e.g., Dordrecht, Uitenhage, Stellenbosch and it does seem to me to be not quite fair if we go and try and take away their ewe lambs. I refused to go and act the part of Balaam by blessing old Whitaker [G.] instead of cursing him. With kind regards and all good wishes, Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

653 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 154

Pretoria

30 August 1915

Dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for you recent letters, some of which have passed unanswered and others have been dealt with by wire. I have not seen the scurrilous statements of Fichardt and Fremantle to which you refer, nor has General Botha. He is suing Brand Wessels for libel in connection with an insinuation that after the Boer War he went to England to receive payment for his services! Your quotation from Colonel Nicholson is most interesting and agrees entirely with my own view. Unfortunately the first infantry brigade just formed will have to go to Europe as it was recruited on that basis at the request of the British Government. But they now practically intimate that in future German East Africa will be our destination. If that country were conquered by us, we could probably effect an exchange with Mozambique¹ and so consolidate our territories south of the Zambesi and Kunene.

I must confess I am not much disturbed by this campaign of lies and calumny now being carried on by the Nationalists. The signs are that we shall beat them and within the next five years these impatient office-seekers will have their ardour

¹ Portuguese East Africa.

considerably cooled. We shall however have to leave the Witwatersrand largely to the Unionists in the hope that they again will leave us a free hand in the rural areas. We are now dealing with our candidates on the Rand on this basis and hope to succeed. I read the future as follows: Labour and Nationalist Party 40, Unionists 30, South African Party 60. I shall be much surprised if we do worse than that.

I shall turn my attention to the literary side which hitherto has been left to Fransie. Dr Kolbe has sent me a beautiful pamphlet, now being printed and translated, on the two-stream policy. Some affidavits about German machinations taken in Windhuk will also be useful. Dr A. Murray's letters will also be scattered broadcast. What other suggestions have you? You must not forget to help in neighbouring constituencies. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

654 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 91

Private

Schoongezicht
[Stellenbosch]

6 September 1915

My dear Smuts, Yours of 30 August was welcome. I can quite understand that you have a good deal to do besides answering more or less foolish letters.

I do not well see how you could have done anything else but send the men now raised to Europe, and hope that they will better Nicholson's forecasts. What people will not understand is that this country has already made great sacrifices, particularly in money, that we *may* in certain possible eventualities have sore need of men here. Just now there is a great cry for the country to take on its shoulders the burden of the extra pay. *Do pray be cautious about promises.* I can foresee a very troublous time with finance. I do not know whether you have read Hirst's new book *The Political Economy of War*. He is a pacifist but the part that deals with figures, debts, and so on is gloomy enough. *This* is a difficult country to tax. Remember that! As for what you say about East Africa, it will be as much as we can manage to secure South West Africa. At the end of the war there will be a general feeling not to utterly demolish Germany and this will lead those

interested to be favourable to the restoration of South West Africa, which will of course be water over the mill of the rebellious section of this country. Therefore bend all your energies and talents, of which you have plenty, in two directions: first, govern German South West wisely and well. You ought to send your *very* best men there. I will refrain from criticizing the appointments that are made. They fill me with apprehension, when I think of the importance of the work. The second thing is what you call the 'literary work'. We *must* have the case of the Natives presented with the utmost care and fullness—*ab ovo*—with all written evidence that you can get hold of. This is our strong point, our sheet-anchor in any diplomatic storms. Above all, let it be accurate. I am glad that you are personally taking this matter up. Francey may be a great statesman and orator but I do not think that literary presentment is his great point. We want a careful précis of all the actual proofs of German negotiations with this Colony; a transcript of that map, if to be procured. In fact, any authentic documents bearing on this subject.

I suppose you are having a full account of the rebellion from the military point of view. You ask about Fichardt and Fremantle. The former has made many speeches of a highly seditious nature, while the latter has accused you in almost so many words of murder. I think it is charitable to believe that the mind of the latter is somewhat unsettled but the former is a dangerous rascal. They both do an infinity of harm with the ignorant. Do you ever see that bright morning star of journalism *De Burger*? The correspondence columns are most instructive, far more so than the bleatings of the Rev. Editor.¹ With kind regards and wishing you all success, Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

655 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 155

Department of Defence

Pretoria

24 September 1915

Dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your always welcome and interesting letters. I regret Currey's fate very much, as he

¹ Dr D. F. Malan.

would have been specially useful in Parliament now that it appears that Graaff declines to stand again.¹ General Botha has communicated with Graaff who says that with the South African Party vote badly [*sic*] he considers John Studer (a local commandant) the best man to adopt as our candidate. I think you wrong Burton as I know from his conversations with me that he favoured Currey's candidature. I fear the position is that in the past Currey has been much dependent on the Searles², who are now turned against him, and that Currey has not sufficient independent support apart from the Searles. I regret the whole business very much, as I foresee grave difficulties in the reorganization of the Government after the elections. I appreciate your caution about military expenditure, and yet I also feel that we shall have to do something more than merely talk loyalty and organize volunteers for overseas service. We shall probably have to pay the difference between the Imperial 1s. and the Union 3s., both in respect of the brigade going to Flanders, and another which we have been, or will be, asked to organize for German East.

In the Transvaal the election campaign is going all right and I think our cause will be helped by the dastardly attempt on my life last night³ which finally failed because of the devotion of some plain clothes constables. The two men who fired at me from a couple of yards' distance will, I fear, escape as, in the general mêlée, identification will not be possible. I see Hagar will oppose you, but I doubt whether any worker will be deceived by the tactics of this candidature. With best wishes, Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

656 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 156

TELEGRAM

From: General Smuts, Pretoria

To: Rt. Hon. J. X. Merriman, Stellenbosch

Dated 24 September 1915

Many thanks for wire which greatly appreciated. Political effect⁴ will be excellent.

¹ He was re-elected to the House of Assembly in 1915.

² The Searle family were the first settlers at Great Brak River, Cape Colony, where they founded a large shoe factory.

³ At Newlands, one of the meaner suburbs of Johannesburg.

⁴ Of the attempt on his life.

657 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 97

Schoongezicht

[Stellenbosch]

26 September 1915

My dear Smuts, I got your characteristic message. I wish I was as sure as you are that the deliberate outrage planned on you was likely to do good. *We have gone too far*—the country is overrun with secret meetings and every schoolmaster is a propagandist. If we escape civil war it will only be because the Nationalist Party lack fighting men. I hope you will find time to study Fremantle's speech at Uitenhage.¹ His disgraceful innuendoes about Botha, yourself and de la Rey seem to me to be clearly actionable. Yet this maniac is the chosen guide and philosopher of a great section of the Dutch Reformed Church. I notice in many places that the young seem to be specially infected with the National plague—the result I presume of education 'as she is taught'.

Our nomination passed off well. My opponent's seconder was good enough to put forward as his man's great qualification that 'he could buy me up a hundred times'—rather quaint?

What have we done that fellows like [M.] Alexander! and Walton!! should get in unopposed while we have to struggle in the waves of strife.

I hear that you are safe and I hope it is true. We *must* make an end of these fellows. With kind regards, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

658 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 99

Schoongezicht

[Stellenbosch]

30 September 1915

Dear Smuts, I write to you though I know how very unavailing it is to approach your official nirvana. Do you know that there

¹ In his speech on 25 September 1915 Fremantle referred to Smuts as 'my personal enemy'. He said de la Rey had 'hatched the rebellion' and was 'a Botha man' and 'an intimate friend' of Smuts. He implied that de la Rey had expected help from Botha and Smuts.

is a regular manufactory of publications carried on here¹ in order to spread the true doctrine?—or as one informant said 'to let the people know the truth'. A young fellow who was staying with me saw some *studentjes* reading one of these precious publications *De Vechten en Vluchten van Kemp en Beyers*,² printed, he thought, in Stellenbosch. I am trying to get a copy but these things are kept very dark. What is your Department doing? There is a law which compels all publications to be sent to the South African Public Library but, like most other salutary laws of the kind, i.e., surprise statements of Banks, it is never enforced. You, from your lofty official height, will smile at such trifles but I tell you the whole mind of the people outside the towns is corrupted by these poisonous tracts which are more highly coloured versions of the *De Burger* doctrines. You may judge from the correspondence in that delectable paper and *from the questions* at election meetings what sort of lies are scattered abroad. Only last evening some jackass asked me what was the relative price of Fouché's pamphlet and the Rebellion Committee blue-book³ and on getting the reply said, 'Ah, you see how the Government works. The truth costs 17s. 6d. and the lies are sold for a trifle; that is the way they humbug the people.' I found to my amazement that there is a regular nest of rebels headed by the local member of the School Board and the Field-Cornet.

You have not done the things you ought to have done in not exercising some vigilance over this propaganda of poison, or in omitting to publish vital documents. I write plainly but I feel strongly. It makes me extremely angry to hear these Afrikaner nationalists booing the hero of Spion Kop⁴ and cheering such sorry fellows as Malan (not Francy) and Hertzog. What ignorant ingratitude!! And of course *you* come in for your share. Do be careful about sending men out of the country. We shall want them all when the civil war comes, as it will, if things go as they are now going.

¹ In Stellenbosch.

² *The Battles and Flights of Kemp and Beyers* (Dutch)

³ There were three official publications on the rebellion—(a) a Report by Professor Leo Fouché (U.G. 10—'15), (b) a Report of a Select Committee (S.C.1—'15), (c) a Report of a Judicial Commission of Inquiry (U.G. 42 and 46 of 1916).

⁴ Louis Botha.

Do you *really* think that we ought to send men to fight at 3s. *per diem* alongside of men who get 1s. 3d.? To say nothing of those who are doing the same work at 1s. 2d. *per diem*. It seems to me to destroy all the idea of patriotism about which we hear so much. How much *per diem* did your burghers get in the Boer War? And no one could have put up a better fight.

This is not a very nice letter, but the times are not nice either. I wish you all success in your battle and that you will give the dirty dogs a good drubbing. I am deeply grieved that Alberts [J. J.] has not got a seat. Now that was just the sort of man we want, not too old to learn and as true as steel. Kindest regards, Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

659 To F. C. Kolbe

Vol. 13, no. 159

Department of Defence
Pretoria

30 September 1915

Dear Dr Kolbe, Your Appeal¹ is running like wild fire and not a day, elapses that we are not asked to send thousands of copies in this or that direction. I knew your quality in many directions but never suspected that as a political pamphleteer you would yet rank with the best. I am especially amused by what many good English people have told me, viz., that they had never yet looked at the question from *that* point of view, viz., the sane point of view of your Appeal. Good-bye and many thanks from Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

660 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 160

Department of Defence
Pretoria

1 October 1915

Dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your last two letters. The lawyers are doubtful whether the innuendo *intended* by Fremantle follows from a reasonable construction of his words.

¹ The letter is annotated as follows: 'Letter about the effect of my first political pamphlet. F.C.K.'

(That is the legal test.) We have to be careful not to launch on proceedings doomed to failure. But I for one would be most anxious to get even with him. The Nationalists are now simply reduced to abuse and rowdyism, and I hope your academic electors will be properly shocked. Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

661 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 161

Department of Defence

Pretoria

5 October 1915

Dear Mr Merriman, Yours of 30 September just to hand. I can understand your anger against the lampooners and libellers. There is a stream of this anonymous filth which the censors are stopping in the press but some copies circulate privately. *Vechten en Vluchten* etc., which you refer to, is a book written many years ago by Rev. [J. F.] Naudé on the Boer War and has nothing to do with the rebellion. Of course the Nationalists are now resuscitating all the episodes from our greater past and appropriating credit to themselves although most of them did precious little to build up that tradition. They were the handsuppers and national scouts in those times, and I fear the only thing which is 'national' about many of them is their connection with the national scouts. The policy of prosecution [one illegible word] the elections are however is highly doubtful. They will say the Government is making use of its powers to crush its political opponents and sympathy will be created for the martyrs. But their libellous statements are most gross.

Here in the Transvaal the fight is going fairly well. I doubt whether the Nationalists will get three seats here. General Botha is fairly sanguine that in the eastern Cape the position is safe. I only hope that seats like Piketberg, Clanwilliam etc. will not be lost in the west. My own seat is among the unsafe ones but I shall do my best to win. I hear you are quite safe in spite of the wealth of your opponent. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

662 From A. E. Shipley**Vol. 13, no. 121**

The Lodge
 Christ's College
 Cambridge
 8 October 1915

My dear Smuts, Your letter arrived last night and fortunately today we had a Fellows' Meeting, and I read it to the Society. I need hardly say it gave us all the greatest pleasure and gratification, and we are very proud to have your name enrolled on the List of Honorary Fellows.

Things are not going too well in Europe. Bulgaria's decision¹ will certainly prove a big factor; as we are almost held up in Gallipoli it looks as if the Germans might get to Constantinople first. Yours very sincerely,

A. E. Shipley

663 From J. X. Merriman**Vol. 13, no. 100**

Schoongezicht
 [Stellenbosch]
 12 October 1915

My dear Smuts, Of course I knew you would value the recognition of your work by your old College more than anything like those shoddy decorations with which our poor Colonials beplaster themselves. I only wish more people were of the same opinion but, alas, surprisingly few imbibe the true spirit of English university life and recognize what—with all their defects—they stand for. Jan [J. H.] Lange is another good specimen, (they say he could drink more beer than anyone at Trinity).

I am anxious about you. You certainly laid those blackguards out, but the worst of it is the adverse voters do not come to the meetings. I shall be glad when you are safe on land.

There is ugly talk down here of a fresh revolt; it comes through the women, like bazaar talk in India. I hope you have force enough on which you can depend to secure the magazines. Do not undervalue your enemies. They are desperate and

¹ Bulgaria had become the ally of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

despicable fellows, on paper, and if they can induce a sufficient number of dupes to rise—as long as they save their *own* skins—they stop at nothing. You would be surprised at the hold the movement has got down here—mostly among fools be it said—but there it is and the *geheime vergaderingen*¹ with prayer and treason nicely sandwiched are playing the devil. I think, *when the election* is over, you ought seriously to consider laying one or two of these gentry by the heels. Good luck. Yours truly,

John X. Merriman

Do pray hang on to those gaol-birds you have got in the jug.

ENCLOSURE

Memorandum in Merriman's handwriting attached to 663.

12 [October] 1915

It is always useful to try and estimate the forces of the enemy. In order to gauge the value of the blatant assumption of the 'Nationalists' or Hertzogites that they are the people and that they represent the majority, the following may be of use. The figures are taken from the Census 1911.

Taking the European population only, 1,276,242 and leaving the 4,700,000 Native and Coloured on one side, we get the following,

Dutch Churches	693,898
and if we add Lutheran	23,707
	<hr/>
we get	717,605

The other denominations, including 12,004 unspecified and 47,000 Jews!! are therefore 558,637 in numbers.

Of course there are allowances to be made on both sides. Dutch-speaking Wesleyans, Baptists, Congregationalists, etc. and English descended, especially Scotch, who are enrolled in Dutch Church, but speaking broadly the numbers given may fairly represent the Dutch- and English-speaking population, viz.,

Dutch	717,605	The Dutch are rather less than three-fifths;
English	558,637	The English rather more than two-fifths;
or, say,	Dutch 53.5%	English 45.5%

¹ secret meetings (Dutch).

Of course all the Dutch-speaking are not Hertzogites, i.e., anti-British. How many Botha-ites or [*sic*] pro-British? That is the question.

I estimate certainly one-third say 229,201, as a conservative estimate; add these to 558,637 you get 787,838 as pro-British, Botha-ites, or whatever you call them, and 488,404 Hertzogites, Nationalists, or whatever they call themselves. As to the quality of the respective forces, much could be said, but that is another story!

664 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 13, no. 189

5 Oxford Road
Cambridge

22 October 1915

My dear Smuts, I sent some books last week in *three* packages, but had not time left before post time to write even a post-card. So my congratulations on your honorary fellowship at Christ's have been delayed. I am glad that the College has at length done something to atone for its lack of observant insight at the time of your undergraduateship, and thus of recognition even in the form of an adequate scholarship. But it might fairly plead—if it knew—that your own violet-like—let us say retiringness, and your sacrifice of your own social and other advantages to the interest of compatriots, made it somewhat difficult to discover what Faust called *des Pudels Kern*.¹

I am sending today *one* package, besides the weeklies. The *Unpopular Review* sent last week had been delayed through the neglect of the publisher. The last quarterly number of the year ought to be here soon, but there are delays now in all book deliveries. I shall not renew the subscription next year for the *Unpopular Review*, unless you intimate your wish to continue it. There are a few very good and very timely articles in it, which I myself should have been sorry to have missed, but a great deal of it is the rather crude and superficial sort of writing that is poured out by wide-awake, and often clever and fairly sensible, but only half-educated people, who seem still to abound in America.

¹ The heart of the matter.

I do not attempt to write of the many things of which I should have much to say if I could talk with you. I have been reading with some anxiety the meagre newspaper reports of the state of affairs in South Africa. I have not yet seen a newspaper for today, but I hope that Botha's and your stirring appeals have by this time proved successful, and that South Africa has been rescued from no inconsiderable danger, and Great Britain from what would have been a grievous disappointment. Ever yours,

H. J. Wolstenholme

665 To H. Cloete

Vol. 13, no. 164

27 October 1915

My dear Cloete, Thank you very sincerely for your congratulations upon my election¹ which I assure you I greatly appreciate.

I feel confident that the result of the election² will prove to be the death blow to the National Party, for our misguided fellow Afrikaners cannot but realize that they are by far in the minority, and this being their high-water mark, it will be useless for them to proceed along a path of isolation and impotency. With kind regards, Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

666 From E. F. C. Lane

Vol. 13, no. 69

South African Heavy Artillery
Cooden Camp
Bexhill
Sussex

25 November 1915

My dear General Smuts, I have often been with you in spirit during the last few months and have been watching, as far

¹ Smuts was elected for Pretoria West. He polled 1,102 votes against 808 and 209 for the Nationalist and Labour candidates respectively.

² The results of the general election of 1915 were:

South African Party	54
Unionist Party	39
National Party	27
Labour Party	4
Independents	6

as an irregular supply of papers will permit, your campaign and subsequently your victory and debates in Parliament. The elections were, I suppose, satisfactory on the whole and no one in England has anything but admiration for the way you allowed all the various contingents to come over here because you all thought it your duty, notwithstanding the grave risk that you were running at the polls because all those who came over were your sworn supporters. The Free State I think is the horrid problem because the elections show there are some thousands of your supporters who have no representation whatever and I expect you will have found that that is causing a good deal of friction. The Transvaal seats that the Government lost rather surprised me. I thought that Nicholson [R. G.] would have pulled off Waterberg and certainly Matthews [E. H.] Lichtenburg. Pretoria North—at one time so ably represented¹—now lies defeated and I suppose poor old Sir Thomas² will have to worry along making bricks and finding diamonds, neither of which are very much in demand.

I went up to London last week-end and lunched with Selborne. Leisk was there as well and we had a real heart to heart chat with him and discussed the position of the Dominions at the present time. We pointed out that you, whom all England honours, were keeping up Imperial interests in South Africa without any real knowledge of what was going on and without any guide as to the strategy that they were aiming at. Leisk took up the running when I was silent and we put forward a very good case so that he promised to attend the Monday Cabinet and to take up a stand and say that you must have a weekly, or if necessary bi-weekly, summary by cable and a weekly mail letter to the Governor-General for circulation amongst Ministers as to what is going on. Selborne was confident that he could get it through and I hope by the time this has reached you you have heard something. There is a feeling of grave discontent here in the administration of things and but for the want of a better alternative there would have been a change some time ago. Being however committed to the coalition there was no alternative except a cutting down

¹ Smuts had been elected for Pretoria North in February, 1907.

² Sir T. Cullinan.

of the Coalition Cabinet with the result that the War Council runs the war, just consulting any Minister whose portfolio is concerned and reporting weekly to the Cabinet 'for information' what they do. The British Government are all awfully sick with the Northcliffe Press and all own that it is doing an enormous amount of harm, but there they let the matter stop and don't do anything to rectify matters. The conservative paper is the *Morning Post* but, for old acquaintance's sake, people don't give up *The Times* and it is very powerful as the *Daily Mail* puffs it, and in turn it puffs the *Daily Mail*, and so they both wield a lot of influence. One used to see in *South Africa* how 'Sir Somebody this or that' had suggested getting General Botha over to take a hand. This I find now was not blind hero-worship, as it might rightly be put down at first sight, but really a call from the heart for a *man* who will at least bring in sound judgment and political honesty into the nation's councils. I have felt like it time after time. Oh, give us Bourne, who will at least tell us a definite answer! And so it is with the 'older statesmen'; they feel we will do with a light heart what we are told, but give us a man whom we can trust! When you were asked to write anything in a keepsake book for various people I always made you sign that extract from Oliver Wendell Holmes which goes something of this sort,

'. give us men,
tall men sun crowned men, men who will not lie
men above the fog in public and in private thinking'.¹

That is what we want badly now.

The corps is going on well. There are a large number of clever young men in it and if they do not hurry us we shall do well. There is an idea in England that the South Africans are *the* thing and if one thinks that about the artillery long enough it will be believed as a fact, whereas we want a lot of training in the highly technical side owing to the necessity of being able to compete successfully with the experts who we have to fight against. There is only one Battery anywhere near [ready] to take the field and then, if its commander be-

¹ 'God give us men . . .

Men who have honour; men who will not lie;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking.'

The lines are from 'Wanted', by Josiah Gilbert Holland.

comes a casualty, it will be very little use, though given time we shall be second to none.

The British Government made in my opinion an initial error in making us siege artillery. The greatest asset a South African has is his mobility and power to trek around, and they should have given us animal traction guns which are easier to learn how to handle, and then sent us off to some of the more distant and warmer scenes of war, whereas now we are siege artillery, tractor-drawn, with guns (6-inch howitzers) that require the highest technical knowledge, and are likely to get to Flanders, where all the men will get horribly tucked up with cold. However, I suppose that is all part of the day's work and, as you say, one must just do one's duty and be grateful for a chance of doing it.

I run the office of the Regiment and have a tremendous lot to do all day so I don't get any chance of learning any technical work but I hope to get things so organized that I get a little time at night to do so. I have told Bourne about my position; it is all right while we are training but likely to be a little doubtful when Batteries start moving off.

How is the farm getting on? The price of living here is terrible and the price of meat, beef 1s. 5d.—1s. 7d. per lb., and fish 1s.—1s. 9d., is much above Transvaal prices so that house-keeping is not at all an easy job for the ordinary man. The workman wastes his high wages on his stomach and if he doesn't do that he buys a piano or something he never aspired to before and so receives no great benefit from his money. If they would only save it for the big labour strike that must come at the end of the war they could beat the masters in the financial struggle that then will be, but he doesn't look so far ahead and 'today's the day' is his motto. I have sent the dear children a few things for Christmas which I hope will arrive safely. Now good-bye. My warmest regards, Yours ever sincerely,

Ernest F. C. Lane

667 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 13, no. 170

Department of Defence

Cape Town

29 November 1915

My dear Wolstenholme, When this reaches you it will be somewhere near Christmas-time, and I wish to write you a line

of sincerest good wishes for the season and the future. How good you have been in sending me letters continually even though no answer was forthcoming.

We have been through a very busy time; luckily we won again at the elections. My own constituency was won again handsomely in spite of the fact that it consists almost entirely of English and Dutch labourers who have been very hostile to me since the great strikes of 1913 and 1914. But our task in Parliament will be very difficult and so I have had to refuse the military command in German East Africa which the British Government wanted me to undertake. I doubt whether I shall come to England in the near future, much as I would like to meet you and other dear friends once more.

Yes, keep on sending me books on the same scale as heretofore. Continue my philosophical journals, which I read regularly, and all good works on philosophy. Do not send me too many books on the war as they seem to be of so little value and my time is very limited. Your side-notes are usually very welcome and interesting. Don't forget novels for my wife, who is sufficiently catholic to continue to read German as well as English stories.

Some of your last letters have been written evidently in deep depression. There is much to make us profoundly sad and almost to despair of the future of the race when we see our greatest intellectual and scientific discoveries turned like so many daggers at the heart of civilization. But sorrow and suffering are of the essence of ethical progress and let us hope that even here there is a soul of good in all things evil. What a Christmas, that of 1914, and now that of 1915! And what will the next be like? I see no sign of peace—except that which will follow the utter exhaustion and collapse of the Western world. Good-bye, my dear old friend.

J. C. Smuts

668 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 13, no. 174

Cape Town

29 November 1915

When this reaches you it must be about Christmas-time and I wish to send you, Margaret and the little ones my sincerest

good wishes for the season and the future. I hope you have not taken my silence amiss. I have in these months borne a terrible burden and found no time for talking to my friends. I hope never to go through another such period. Weeks and months have passed when I did not even see my wife or children. When the rebellion and the German South West African campaign were over, we started on a violent general election campaign, and now Parliament is again sitting. Never a moment's breathing-space. I was very glad to get your letters and hope you will not forbear to continue writing to me even though you do not always get an answer.

The British Government asked me to go and take the command in German East Africa but our parliamentary majority is such¹ that I do not want to leave General Botha alone, especially as the feeling in the country is still very bad after the rebellion. Maybe I shall be able to go to England after the end of the Session next April.

What a Christmas, that of 1914, and what a Christmas this one is, and what will the next be like? It is terrible and depressing to see all the great discoveries and scientific achievements of our race turned like so many daggers against the heart of the race. Do you see any daylight? I am always thinking of these things and yet always trying to stifle my thoughts.

I hope you and Margaret and the boys are still all well. I should very much like to see you and them. Give them all my dearest love. And remember me to the Street circle also. I have still a letter from Miss Alice to answer. Good-bye, and good be with you.

669 From D. Reitz

Vol. 13, no. 113

Heilbron, O.V.S.

[11] December 1915

Waarde Oom Jannie, Het is een vervloekte schande de wijze waarop wij door de Regeering behandeld zijn geworden.

Gen. Botha en Klaas de Wet hebben ons hand en mond beloofd de gevangen niet te lossen en van morgen is het

¹ The Government did not have a majority over all parties.

zooveel als mijn leven waard is mijn gezicht op straat te toonen. Al de Heilbron Rebellen kwamen gister terug met gevolg dat alles vandaag hier in rep in roer is—de rebellen rijden de straten vol met de teruggekeerde helden en beschimpen ons en demonstreeren de dorp door.

Ik moet U regtuit zeggen wij zijn nou met de Regeering hierlangs klaar; zij hebben grovelijk met ons woord gebroken en ons honderd maal minder consideratie betoond dan de rebellen. Het leven is nu waarachtig hier onhoudbaar dank zij de wijze waarop de Regeering ons protecteerde. Wij hebben hier een haastige bestuurs vergadering en de heele partij (Z.A.P.) heeft besloten van de Partij af te stappen. Wij gaan natuurlijk niet bij de Nationale vuilgoed aansluiten maar met de tegenwoordige Regeering zijn wij nu klaar.

Dit zal natuurlijk aan onze persoonlijk vriendschap niets doen; tegen nieuwe jaar zal ik waarschijnlijk in Pretoria zijn en U komen zien. Met groete,

D. Reitz

Wat U lieden niet verstaan is dat wij niet uit lokale hatelijkheid en wrok de mensen in de tronken wilden behouden maar omdat hun loslating ons het leven hier absoluut miserabel maakt en de Rebellen meer en meer vertrouwen geeft. Ons bestaan is werkelijk hier onmogelijk gemaakt.

TRANSLATION

Heilbron, Orange Free State
[11] December 1915

Dear Oom Jannie, It is a damned disgrace the way we have been treated by the Government.

General Botha and Klaas de Wet solemnly promised us not to release the prisoners and this morning it is as much as my life is worth to show my face in the street. All the Heilbron rebels came back yesterday¹ with the result that today everything is in a state of turmoil. The rebels are riding about the streets with the returned heroes and taunting us and demonstrating throughout the town.

¹ The Government had at one stroke liberated 118 rebels imprisoned under Act No. 11 of 1915, whereas its declared policy on amnesty was to consider individual cases. Over 50 of the more prominent leaders, however, remained in gaol and the fines of those liberated were paid before their release.

I must tell you plainly that in these parts we have now done with the Government—they have grossly broken their word to us and shown us a hundred times less consideration than to the rebels. Life here is now really intolerable thanks to the way in which the Government has protected us. We have had a hasty executive meeting here and the whole branch (South African Party) has decided to resign from the Party. Of course we are not going to join the Nationalist trash but we have now done with the present Government.

This will, of course, not affect our personal friendship—towards New Year I shall probably be in Pretoria and shall come to see you. With regards,

D. Reitz

What you folk do not understand is that we do not want to keep the people in gaol out of local hate and revenge but because their release makes life absolutely miserable here and gives the rebels more and more confidence. Our existence here has really become impossible.

670 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 13, no. 101

Confidential

House of Assembly

Cape Town

20 December 1915

My dear Smuts, Let me begin by wishing you as happy a Christmas as the times allow, and as prosperous a New Year as you deserve. That it will be full of interest for all of us goes without saying.

I know how you hate advice, and how you generally treat well-meaning profferers of such wares. There is however one matter which seems to me so all-important, that in respect of it I cannot refrain from rushing in where angels (such as we have in South Africa—of both colours) fear to tread. I refer to the question of the 'Poor White' or rather, the Lazy White—the indigent White—for I cannot bring myself to think it right, that the mere word *poor* should be degraded into a term of reproach. This question constitutes a great and growing evil. Of the four really important questions before us it is by far—to my mind—the most important, as

its growth, and its persistence, threaten the very foundations of our national existence. I need not enlarge to you on the magnitude of the disease. Recent events, both in the rebellion and in the elections that followed, must have convinced even the dullest of us—and I hope neither of us is dull—of the dire possibilities that lie before us from this cause: in one direction from the insidious teachings of the international Socialists, and their specious invitations to plunder, and on the other through the not impossible alliance with the Natives, just stirring with the uneasy sense that they too have some rights, beyond the mere ‘dignity of labour’—for other people. Some will say that the case of the poor white is hopeless. I do not agree with them. No case is hopeless if one only hits on the right plan, and takes trouble. But I admit that there is no offhand solution for this evil and that it calls for infinite toil and patience.

Immediate action is necessary from every point of view, economical, social, political and national. The object of this letter is to suggest one small practical step, without which I do not think any real reform is possible. It is not too late, though it may soon be, to take in hand what should have been carried through years ago. That is, to cause to be made as complete a report as possible of the evil with which we have to deal. At present we have vague accounts and conjectures of the extent of the mischief. We hear of hundreds in this district, and of thousands in some of our larger towns. There is a general conviction that this misery, and degradation, is widespread, indeed universal, and that it is on the increase. I hope these are [*sic*] exaggerated, but that there is a foundation for the opinion is, I fear, too true. In some districts it is the lack of occupation, in others the disinclination to work, that is at fault. In some districts poverty has merged into destitution and degradation, in others the absence of opportunities and the lack of education are the chief factors in the gradual sinking of the landless European. In order to arrive at the magnitude and nature of this disease from which the body politic suffers and which delay may render fatal, if we wish to prevent a great national crisis, we require a full and frank statement of the nature and extent of the morbid conditions with which we have to deal.

I would most strongly urge upon your consideration the desirability of instructing the magistrate of each district to send in *at once* a full report of the number and condition of the indigent Europeans in his district; whether they show any inclination to accept employment; if not, what are their means of livelihood; how they live; generally, the circumstances surrounding this class of the community. Instruct him to obtain from every local body, clergyman, doctor, school inspector and chief of police in his district figures as to numbers and reports on the condition of all indigents. He should make detailed reports on any special localities that he knows of in his district that he is able to visit, the habits and mode of life of the occupiers—in which respect photographs would be of interest.

Some of these reports will be no doubt of little value but taken in the mass the whole will form an indispensable groundwork for some action. Certain areas in the Union might be selected for special reports by selected officers, like Captain Naudé, in whose judgment the Government has reliance. I would instance as such special areas, the midland districts of the Cape surrounding Graaff Reinet, George, Knysna and Oudtshoorn, *very bad*; Johannesburg and the dry diggings which seem to be the magnets for all the floating indigency, misery, and crime in the whole Union. Doubtless other similar areas will suggest themselves and I would take leave to add Ficksburg and the Basutoland border which is a special danger centre for gun-running, liquor selling, and other still worse practices. Without some authoritative report on facts we are simply beating the air, and wasting our time and money on, more or less, theoretical suggestions. Such a report as I have sketched above would no doubt from its very nature be imperfect, but it would be a beginning, a something to awaken interest and to work upon. By instituting such an enquiry the Government would render the greatest service to South Africa.

If it is set on foot *at once* valuable results might be obtained even in the six weeks before Parliament meets *if only the officials were made to understand that the Government were in earnest and that some unwonted energy was required on their part*; above all, if they are told that facts and figures are of the first

moment, and that their opinions, however invaluable they may be, are at this stage only of secondary value. I feel certain that the mere effort to obtain accurate and general information on the subject would be taken by all those who are not blinded by political prejudice as an evidence that the Government not only realized the gravity of the question, but that they recognized the necessity for dealing with it at the earliest possible date; and this too would be of value.

I dare say that you have long since cursed me in your heart for boring you with such a letter on such a subject. To me it is one that seems bound up with the whole future of our race in this country and that any Government which deals with it in a sensible, statesmanlike manner will deserve well of the country. Therefore 'my withers are unwrung'.

With kind regards to you and Botha, to whom please show this letter, Believe me, Yours most truly,

John X. Merriman

2. GERMAN EAST AFRICA

The campaign in German East Africa was much longer and harder than that in South West Africa. It had been begun under British command in November 1915. Smuts took command in February 1916 and stayed until the end of the following January, by which time the campaign was all but over. The circumstances of his appointment are recorded in **671-674**.

A connected story of the campaign is not to be found in Smuts's papers. His own brief account of it appears in a preface to the best history of the campaign: *General Smuts's Campaign in East Africa*, by J. H. V. Crowe. But he wrote a number of letters from the front in which phases of the campaign are vividly described. The best of these letters were written to his wife. They are, in spite of the difficulties and hardships they recount, full of gusto and also of delight in the beauty of a country which fascinated him throughout his life. Other letters to his regular correspondents show what he was thinking about the larger issues of war and peace—the dangers of a 'stalemate', of a 'war of attrition', of 'an inconclusive peace' (**681, 683, 685, 700**). And letters to Wolstenholme, whose parcels of books reached Smuts at his headquarters, show that he was 'still revolving my Holistic theory' (**702**). Contact with the world of South African politics was maintained through informative letters from Botha, Merriman, Burton and others.

At the end of the year Botha and the Cabinet decided that Smuts should represent South Africa on the Imperial War Conference. He was reluctant to extend the already long separation from his family, but it is clear that a growing anxiety about the course of the war in Europe and a desire to get closer to the centre of action influenced his acceptance of his colleagues' decision (**710, 711**).

671 From Lord Buxton

Vol. 14, no. 39

Villa Arcadia
Parktown
Johannesburg
6 February 1916

My dear Smuts, I should like you to see the telegram I sent yesterday after my conversation with General Botha and yourself.

It will probably be also a convenience to you to have a copy of the other telegram of importance. I enclose them herewith.¹ Please keep them locked up!

Tomorrow evening there is a 'command' performance in Johannesburg for the Victoria League: and I must consequently dine at seven o'clock.

If you are over in the late afternoon tomorrow, won't you stay and have dinner with us? Her Excellency would like this *very* much. You could leave at eight o'clock.

[General H. A. S.] Baikie telegraphs to say that he is arriving here Tuesday or Wednesday, (I do not know if this telegram was sent before or after he knew of change of command). If he does come, I would probably bring him over on Wednesday.

I am wiring to ask him to bring all necessary or useful documents for you.

I leave here for Cape Thursday evening. Yours very sincerely,

Buxton

672 Lord Buxton to A. Bonar Law

Vol. 14, no. 42A

Copy of a telegram.

From: Governor-General

To: Secretary of State

Dated. 8 February [1916].

Secret. It would, I think, be advantageous, as removing any jealousy on part of British Officers, or any possible feeling

¹ These telegrams are not in the Smuts Collection. On 8 February 1916, Bonar Law replied to Buxton's telegram of 5 February, that Smuts had been appointed 'to command the forces in East Africa with temporary rank of Lieutenant-General in the British Army'. (Vol. 14 no. 42.)

that Smuts has ousted S.D.,¹ if something like the following statement in connection with the public announcement of Smuts's appointment could be made.²

Begins:— His Majesty's Government last November, when the Union German East Contingents were being formed, offered the command in German East to Smuts. At the time he was, for various reasons, unable to undertake it. When ill health necessitated S.D.'s relinquishment of the command, he suggested Smuts as his successor. His Majesty's Government again offered command to Smuts, and in the circumstances he accepted it. Ends.

673 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 14, no. 206

Pretoria

8 February 1916

Many thanks for your interesting and welcome letter which reached me yesterday. When you or Arthur write to me again please address to British East Africa where I go to command almost immediately. When I refused the offer of the Imperial Government last November they sent out Smith-Dorrien who became seriously ill at Cape Town. So the Imperial Government renewed their offer to me, and in view of this situation and the 20,000 South Africans we are sending there, my colleagues were strongly of opinion that I should go. I shall do my best to succeed where several predecessors have already badly failed. But I feel it is a terrible risk. Pray for your old friend who in these times is forced to do soldiering against his will. The old world which interested and fascinated us is lying in ruins, and what new birth of time will succeed it no one knows. Let us face the situation bravely and hope that something better may emerge. My thoughts are often with you and Arthur and your little ones as well, and the dear ones at Millfield. Do not, as Friends, think worse of me because of the work I am doing.³ I do sincerely believe that we are struggling for the preservation against terrible odds of what is most precious in our civilization. I have passed through terrible times already but feel that there should be no hanging

¹ Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien.

² This suggestion was followed.

³ The Society of Friends is pacifist.

back when so much is at stake. May it soon be all over and mankind be at peace once more. I hope to write you or Arthur from there and expect to hear from both of you.

Give my love to little Jannie and the other little ones. And tell Alice that I often think of her and she will be often in my thoughts while she is writing her book.¹ Good-bye, and may good be with you.

All at home very well and rapidly growing in stature and wisdom. I have often left home before but never with such feelings as now. But my wife is one of the bravest.

674 From L. Botha

Vol. 14, no. 10

Kantoor van de Eerste Minister
Kaapectad
23 Februari 1916

Lieve Jannie, Mijn hart en ziel is bij jou en ik zal alles doen om jou te helpen wees daarover verzekerd, zeg my net wat gedaan kunnen worden.

Ik sluit jou hierin de volle debat over de oversees betaling— ik was dankbaar jou telegram te krijgen geen ander weg was open, zelfs ons vriend John X. kwam bij mij na een 3 daags caucus waar hy 3 toespraken in hielden en mij sterk ondersteunde en zeide ik moet jou nu adviseeren om deze zaak te laten varen, nu gaan Afrika gescheurd worden, dus eerst na de opbreken van ons partij mij duidelijk voor de oogen kwam, maakte ik de verklaring, ik ben blij om te zeg dat dit bijzonder veel goed heb gedaan in de Unie, en behalve de Arbeiders is alles nu weder rustig en stil. Met ons werk gaan het bijzonder goed, ik dink wij zullen dit jaar goed vorder met de consolidatie werk, de eenigste oppositie die wij hebben zal is hier en daar over de begrooting en uitgaven verbonden Duits Oost. Wij hebben besloten om Brits brigade ook uit te rusten met paarden enz. op koste der Regeering.

Ik heb Georges gevraagd om te trachten iets voor Granvil Nicolson te krijgen, maar hij weigert heelmaal om iets te doen.

Hier werd gepubliceerd een lijst van gesneeuvelde gewonde

¹ Alice Clark was at this time engaged in research in the London School of Economics. Her book entitled *The Working Life of Women in the 17th Century* was published in 1919.

en vermiste 172 waarvan 133 Unie mannen waren, zonder eenig inlichting dit heb een tamelijke pijnlijke situatie gekreeërd — ik en Smartt moest al ons invloed gebruik om dit uit de huis te houden. Tighe heb zeker goed op zijn kop gekregen, maar in elk geval nu dat jij daar is voelt alles verlicht, jou gaan draag de goedkeuring van allen weg, en ik kan jou alleen Gods beste zegen toewenschende, wees voorzichtig en laat van Deventer een Kapteinschap altijd bij jou houden, als ik hier iets of privaat of officieel ver jou kan doen dan is dit ver jou om te praat. God bring jou veilig terug naar ons zal steeds mijn gebede blijven, moge jou werk gezegend zijn en met de beste wenschen en hartlijkste groete, van jou ou vriend

Louis Botha

TRANSLATION

Office of the Prime Minister

Cape Town

23 February 1916

Dear Jannie, My heart and soul are with you and I shall do everything to help you, be assured of that. Just tell me what can be done.

I enclose for you the full debate on the overseas payment.¹ I was glad to get your telegram; no other way was open. Even our friend John X.² came to me, after a three-day caucus in which he made three speeches and supported me strongly, and said: I must now advise you to let this matter drop—South Africa is now going to be split. So, only after I saw clearly that our party would break up did I make the statement. I am glad to say that it has done a great deal of good in the Union and, except for the Labourites, everything is now again peaceful and quiet. Our work is going particularly well. I think we shall make good progress with the consolidation work³ this year. The only opposition we shall have will be here and there on the Budget and the expenditure connected with German East. We have decided also to equip Brits' brigade with horses, etc., at Government cost.

I have asked Gorges to try and get something for Granville Nicholson, but he entirely refuses to do anything.

¹ The question of the pay of South African soldiers serving overseas.

² Merriman.

³ See p. 347 *infra*, note 2.

A list of killed, wounded and missing was published here—172, of which 133 were Union men. This, without any information, has created a rather painful situation. Smartt and I had to use all our influence to keep it out of the House. [Major-General M. J.] Tighe must have got a good drubbing, but in any case, now that you are there, everything feels easier. Your going has everyone's approval and I can only wish you God's best blessing. Be careful and let van Deventer always leave a captaincy with you. If I can do anything for you here, privately or officially, you have only to say so. God bring you back safely to us will always remain my prayer. May your work be blessed. With best wishes and sincerest greetings from your old friend,

Louis Botha

675 From M. C. Gillett

Vol. 14, no. 86

102 Banbury Road
Oxford

14 March 1916

My dear Oom Jannie, Your letter of 9 February came ten days ago, and it touched me very much. You will have known how much I have wished you would not need to do this, and it was a grief to read about it in the paper almost the very day you wrote that letter. I have no belief myself that civilization is saved by fighting, rather the reverse, but those who think ideas can be helped or defended by war seem now to be involved in joining in it and continuing and aren't able to help themselves. I would love to see you and hear how you can explain any way out of the blind ruin by your method, but the time has long gone by since I would be 'hard' on anyone, and every day I think of you, and of Mrs Smuts and the little ones.

My great hope is that your present work may soon be done and that, with the status of that, you may come to Europe and help poor Europe to see a way, for I believe you could reconcile difficulties, and someone will have to emerge to do this, for the old generation is helpless before the situation it has created—(from the European standpoint, you are not the old generation you know!) I suppose England in the rank and

file has never been so conscious of 'Europe' before, even in the days of Napoleon—that in itself seems to suggest a hope.

Our children are all well, very blooming with their rosy cheeks and blue eyes; baby Nicholas is as full of energy and happiness as can be—all the energy of Tona, and the happiness of Jan. Jan loves the flowers as much as ever, and he is a lesson to grown-ups in the faithfulness of his observation of the world around him. He likes drawing, and what he calls 'brodery like what you do, Mamma'—this is work done with a blunt needle in very coarse material, (not, I may say, like the embroidery Mamma does!)

If my old friend Mr Hemsworth (now Major) is in your service, give him greeting from me. His real occupation is sub-Native Commissioner or something of that kind in the Transvaal. He was in the expedition to South West Africa.

We have had a spell of very bitter weather, after a mild winter, and now we want spring. All work on the land is being hampered by lack of labour. You can't carry out the change to women's labour all of a sudden, and as regards the land, it is only here and there in this most conservative country that any change has been made. No effort was made to do this kind of thing at all till many many months of war had gone by, in spite of representations made by organized women to the Government. It used to be a joke among women that people were more afraid of women's labour than they were of the Germans. When there are so many restrictions on the import of food, one feels apprehensive at any difficulties placed in the way of its production at home, in market gardens and farms.

My father is growing very, very lame, and only walks with great difficulty from one room to another. Otherwise he and Mother keep very well, considering their age. Father is 77 and Mother 76. They were here for the week-end just now. They read your letter with interest and appreciation and affection.

I have just had in this house a three days' sale of articles made in the internment and prisoner of war camps in this country. You can imagine how these months and months in camp with no occupation hurts the men, so the Society of Friends helps with supplying materials and the disposing privately

of the things made, and also does this in the Belgian refugee camps in Holland. We were also selling their things. Much love to you,

Margaret C. Gillett

676 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 145

Himo

14 Maart 1916

Liefste Mamma, Het is van daag een beetje stiller en daarom wil ik een regeltje aan jou zenden. Wij hebben een gedenkwaardige week achter ons. Dinsdag nacht een week geleden vertrokken wij om vijand rechts om te trekken en zoo snel was ons werk dat bij Zondag ochtend was vijand in volle vlucht zuidwaarts en de geheele Kilimanjaro en Meru wereld in ons bezit. De geest onder onze jonge burgers is uitstekend. De slag van Kotovo was een repetitie van Spionkop. Wij stormden gedurig en werden steeds terug geslagen, maar omtrent 8 uur Zaterdag avond zond ik 2,000 Afrikaners voor finale storm en de hooge boschranden van Reata en Latema werden genomen door twee partijen Transvalers terwijl de rest weer teruggeslagen werd. Zondag ochtend wist niemand wat de toestand was totdat wij de heugelijke tijding kregen dat het onze menschen waren boven op de randen. Wij snelden dadelijk tot hunne ondersteuning en de vijandelijke leger was in terugtocht door de bosch. Het was een heugelijke overwinning en drie Transvalers gaan gedecoreerd worden—Freeth van Pretoria, Thompson, R. M. van Boksburg, en Fulton van politie. Gister is Moschi in bezit genomen en onze menschen rusten nu een beetje uit na de zware inspanning. Ik ben blij dat de veldtocht zoo prachtig begonnen is; het zal mijn positie die hier zeer moeilijk was versterken en de macht onder mij met vertrouwen inboezemen. Er ligt zwaar werk voor maar ik zal mijn best doen om door de moeilijkheden heen te komen.

Ik heb nu twee brieven van jou ontvangen en ook een lieve brief van Santa vol nieuws. Laat de kinderen maar aan mij schrijven en alles vertellen, want het doet mijn hart goed. Laat hen niet naar antwoorden uitzien hoewel ik zal antwoorden zoodra er meer stilte is. Het is hier een prachtige wereld. Gister was ik in Moschi en jij kan geen idee vormen

hoe prachtig de hellingen van Kilimanjaro zijn. En snaaks, niet zoo warm als ons boschveld. Hier is het omtrent zooals te Pretoria in den zomer. Ik was verbaasd te zien hoeveel boertjes ons zijn. Het schijnt mij of omtrent de helft van onze infanterie boeren zijn, en allen vechten prachtig. Mijn komst hierheen heeft een uitstekende uitwerking gehad.

Jan moet toch zeker genoeg bullen krijgen voor de vele jongen koeien. Ik ben blij dat boomplanterij goed vooruitgaat. Ik hoop jij zal zeker de kinderen voor verandering naar Rooikop nemen. Het zal hen even veel goed als het strand doen. Koop twee tenten en gaan boer lekker in de boschen voor een maand. Hier is prachtige groot boschen—misschien de grootste in de wereld en ik zal erin zijn met de winter.

Nu beste groeten mamma en zoentjes aan allen—vooral Jannie en Louis, maar ook aan de anderen. Ik verlang baing naar jullie almal.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Himo
[East Africa]
14 March 1916

Dearest Mamma, It is a little quieter today and so I want to send you a line. We have a memorable week behind us. Tuesday night a week ago, we left to encircle the enemy from the right and we worked so fast that by Sunday morning the enemy was in full flight southwards and the whole Kilimanjaro and Meru country in our possession. The spirit among our young burghers is excellent. The battle of Kitovo was a repetition of Spionkop. We charged continually and were always beaten back, but about eight o'clock on Saturday evening I sent 2,000 Afrikaners for the final charge and the high, bushy ridges of Reata and Latema were taken by two parties of Transvaalers while the rest were again repulsed. On Sunday morning no one knew what the position was until we got the glad news that they were our people up on the ridges. We at once hurried to support them and the enemy army were in retreat through the bush. It was a joyful victory and three Transvaalers are to be decorated—Freeth of Pretoria,¹

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Freeth, D.S.O.

Thompson, Resident Magistrate of Boksburg,¹ and Fulton of the Police.² Yesterday Moschi was captured and our people are now resting a bit after heavy exertion. I am glad the campaign has begun so excellently; it will strengthen my position here, which was very difficult, and will instil confidence into the force under me. There is hard work ahead, but I shall do my best to get through the difficulties.

I have now received two letters from you and also a dear letter from Santa full of news. Let the children write to me and tell me everything, for it does my heart good. Don't let them look forward to answers, although I shall answer as soon as things are quieter. This is lovely country. Yesterday I was in Moschi and you can have no idea how beautiful the slopes of Kilimanjaro are. And strange to say, not as warm as our bushveld. Here it is more or less like Pretoria in summer. I was surprised to see how many of us are farmers. It looks to me as if about half of our infantry are farmers, and all fight splendidly. My coming here has had an excellent effect.

Jan must be sure to get enough bulls for the many young cows. I am glad that tree-planting is going on well. I hope you will be sure to take the children to Rooikop³ for a change. It will do them as much good as the beach. Buy two tents and go camping pleasantly in the forest for a month. There are lovely big forests here—perhaps the biggest in the world, and I shall be in them in winter.

Now, best wishes Mamma, and kisses to all—especially Jannie and Louis, but also to the others. I long very much for you all.

Pappa

677 From L. Botha

Vol. 14, no. 14

Kantoor van de Eerste Minister
Kaapstad
21 Maart 1916

Beste Jannie, Ik heb gisteren jou brief uit Nairobi ontvangen, waarvoor mijn beste dank. Wat jij daarin voor de aanval geschreven hebt, heb je prachtig uitgevoerd. Ik heb die brief

¹ Major W. J. Thompson, D.S.O.

² Captain F. M. Fulton, D.S.O.

³ This farm in the bushveld near Rust-der-Winter had recently been bought by Smuts.

aan verscheidene mensen getoond om hen te wijzen hoe jij jou in zo korte tijd meester gemaakt heb van de positie. Vergun mij dan ook om jou, ook namens jou andere kollegas en alle vrienden hartelik geluk te wensen met het behaalde sukses. Wij bewonderen allen wat jij gedaan hebt, want wij weten dat jou werk daar een reuzentaak is die met de grootste moeilijkheden gepaard gaat. Jou overwinningen hebben er ook veel toe bijgedragen om hier een betere geest te ontwikkelen. De zwaarmoedigheid onder onze vrienden is verlicht geworden en daar is nu alleen een gevoel van dankbaarheid tegenover jou dat jij zo verbazend vinnig na aankomst bent opgetrokken en de vijand uit Engels gebied hebt verdreven. Ik hoop dat jij zo zult voortgaan en dat jij zo kort mogelijk daar zult blijven. Ik heb jou re-organisatie plannen met de grootste aandacht gelezen en ben direkt naar Buxton gegaan en hem gezegd dat, volgens mijn opinie, dit het enigste plan is om dingen daar by jou recht te rukken. Dat jij daar streng tegenover de officieren optreedt draagt de goedkeuring van elkeen hier weg, want een oorlog zoals deze, verweg van ons land en in een bosachtige, ongezonde en moeilike streek, kan niet met sukses met de handschoenen aan uitgevochten worden. Hoe strenger jij optreedt, des te getrouwer zullen jou manschappen bij jou staan. Wij zijn allen verwonderd dat jou verliezen zo gering zijn, vooral vechtende tegen ingegraven posities.

Na ontvangst van jou telegram heb ik dadelik Manie Botha gezien en laatste nacht heeft hij bij mij aan huis vertoefd. Hij heeft aangenomen, maar vraagt om ingelijfd te worden onder Brits omdat hij Brits persoonlijk kent en ook al de mensen die bij Brits zijn. Ik heb Lemmer als tweede man genomen omdat zoals jij weet, hij nog altijd een grief heeft omdat hij niet Brigadier-Generaal geworden is, en ik heb hem daarom nu de gelegenheid gegeven. Vanochtend heeft hij mij geantwoord met tranen in de ogen dat zijn vrouw in bed moet en dat het dientengevolge op het ogenblik onmogelik voor hem is om te gaan, maar later, als jij hem dan nog nodig hebt, dan is hij volkomen bereid en ter jou beschikking. Ik zal nu Myburgh vragen, maar daarover zal ik jou telegraferen zodra ik mijn definitief antwoord heb.

Met de paardekoop gaat het tamelik goed. Manie Botha en Barney Enslin hebben al de spekulaties de kop ingedrukt.

Het eerste gedeelte van de 'War Stores' Kommissie rapport is nu in druk. Bourne zegt mij dat hij er inzage van gehad heeft en dat het een schandalig dokument is om reden dat het verre van duidelijk is, en slechts suspicie op de ambtenaren gooit. Mogelijk echter heeft Bourne dit een beetje te vinnig gelezen.

Wat Parlement betreft hebben wij biezonder goed werk gedaan en veel konsolidatie werk doorgezet, maar nu op de Gedeeltelike Toe-eigenings Wet hebben Hertzog en Fichardt al de stilte in het Huis gebroken en zij verzetten zich nu tegen elke penny uitgave voor Oorlogsdoeleinden. Er is nu in het Huis een sterke obstructie aan de gang—Hertzog heeft een biezonder bittere aanval gemaakt en ik versta uit goede bron dat hij en zijn volgelingen op de gehele Begroting hunne obstructie taktiek zullen volhouden. De Nationalisten organiseren vanuit Kaapstad zo hard mogelijk. Elke Vrijdag avond vertrekken zij en houden Zaterdag tien tot twaalf vergaderings in verschillende delen van de Kaap. Hulle dink er komt spoedig een electie.

Johannesburg heeft ter elfder ure een gemene houding aangenomen in verband met de Universiteits wetten, maar ik denk dit zal alles nou recht komen.

Lionel Phillips is aangekomen van Engeland en is nu in Johannesburg. Zijn vrouw die net rondgaat om de gevoelens tegen ons op te wekken, denk ik, is veel de oorzaak van al de grieven op de Rand. Zij zegt dat wij niet genoegzaam naar Johannesburg kijken, maar te oordelen naar zekere praatjes van Phillips zelf afkomstig omtrent betere organisatie voor de Unionisten enz., komt het my voor dat het in hoofdzaak de bedoeling is om gebruik te maken van de ongelukkige verdeeldheid onder onze mensen om ons bij een volgende verkiezing op alle plekken te bevechten en een meerderheid te krijgen. Dit laat ik daar, maar ik heb hem gezegd dat ik hem bij zijn terugkomst hier wil persoonlijk zien en jij kan er zeker van wezen dat ik dan rechtuit zal praten.

Het is mij nu duidelijk dat de zitting langer zal aanhouden dan wij verwacht hadden, maar de betaling van leden houdt einde van deze maand op. Of dit ons zal helpen weet ik niet. De Begroting hopen wij voor het einde van Maart voor te leggen.

Wat de droogte betreft, dit is gedeeltelik opgelost door

mooie regens in de Kaap, maar over een grote uitgestrektheid blijft de droogte even ernstig. De verliezen in vee en gezaaide zijn verbazend groot en velen van die klasse van mensen welk een groot verband op hun plaats hebben zijn geruineerd. Als het echter maar net wil regenen dan zal ook deze kwestie opgelost worden. Wij hebben een paar duizend zakken graan en koren gestuurd naar die gedeelten waar het geregend heeft, om te zaaien.

Ik was blij om te horen dat Wynand Malan bij jou gekomen is. Ik hoop dat hij betrouwbaar is en jou de beste informatie geeft. Wat is van de andere Boeren daar geworden, en wat van hun plaatsen? Zijn daar enige gevallen van mishandeling plaats gevonden van de Duitsers tegenover hen? Het is zeer belangrijk om dit hier te weten.

Ik heb Gorges gevraagd of hij Granville Nicholson daar een plek kan geven, maar hij zegt nee. Is het niet voor jou mogelijk hem iets te doen te geven—de man verkeert in een aller ellendigste toestand en zoals jij weet, is het voor Landen moeilijk om voor hem en Geyser beiden plek te vinden.

Volgens uitspraak van het Hof heeft Havenga zijn zetel in Fauresmith verloren, maar hij heeft appel aangetekend. Volgens Burton en de Wet heeft dit appel niet de minste kans van slagen maar hij heeft het waarschijnlijk gedaan om tijd te winnen totdat de nieuwe kiezerslijsten voltooid zijn. Wij hebben H. S. Theron gevraagd om daar voor ons te staan en hij heeft de kandidatuur aangenomen. Hij is gisteren daarheen vertrokken en zal zijn best doen om de zetel voor ons te winnen. Ongelukkig versta ik dat er een paar honderd van onze kiezers bij jou op kommando zijn.

Wij houden jou familie zoveel mogelijk op de hoogte. Zij zijn allemaal fris en gezond en ik ben blij om te zeggen dat mijn vrouw ook nu veel beter is. Zij kan nu in de achtermiddag opstaan.

De Nationalisten hebben de Prieska zetel in de Provinsiale Raad gewonnen ongelukkig omdat Prokureur Steyn, die door onze partij genomineerd was, na de nominatie werd gearresteerd voor allerlei soorten van bedrog of diefstal, en toen de officiële nominatie kwam weigerde hij om terug te trekken. Hij zond diezelfde dag een cheque aan de Magistraat, maar deze weigerde dit aan te nemen. Daarop werd in der haast van

Copenhagen genomineerd. Steyn is toen Nationalist geworden en heeft met zijn klompie voor de kandidaat van de tegenparty gewerkt met het gevolg dat deze met een paar stemmen is ingekomen.

Wat Kolonel Hosken betreft, is het voor my duidelijk van wat ik gezien heb dat hij en zijn zoon zullen moeten gaan. Dit althans is het oordeel van de mensen die in de zaak gewerkt hebben. Alhoewel geen specifieke gevallen van diefstal bewezen kunnen worden, zijn er toch verscheidene dingen aan het licht gekomen die een sterke suspicie op hem werpen en waarvan geen bevredigende uitleg gegeven kan worden. Mijn plan is om aan het einde van deze maand te handelen. In zulke gevallen kan ik niet anders dan streng optreden. Maar alles hangt af van de rapport.

Onze kollegas en leden van onze party in het Huis zijn allemaal fris—humeur is goed, eenheid is biezonder goed en allen zenden jou eenparig hun hartelijke groeten en beste wensen voor jou sukses.

De Engelse koeranten hebben jou werk de eerste rang gegeven en sommigen hebben het zelfs gesteld boven de slagen bij Verdun. Zo kan jij zien die ou wereld het banja lekker gekrij. Ik heb Theron gezegd om uitknipsels te krijgen en die aan jou te zenden.

Ik hoop jij zal mijn zeun zo nu en dan een beetje advies geven en hem streng, maar tevens vriendelik behandelen, en zo nu en dan een beetje naar hem omkijken.

Ten slotte Jannie, wens ik jou, ook namens mijn huisgezin, Gods beste zegen, alle sukses en geloof mij, als steeds, jou

Louis Botha

Vergeet niet in jou afwezigheid is het voor mij aangenaam om voor jou hier te doen wat ik kan dus eenig privaat of officieele werk praat net. Uw

Louis

TRANSLATION

Office of the Prime Minister

Cape Town

21 March 1916

Dear Jannie, I received your letter from Nairobi yesterday, for which my best thanks. What you wrote in it before the

attack, you have carried out beautifully. I have shown the letter to various people to indicate to them how, in so short a time, you have made yourself master of the situation. Allow me then to congratulate you sincerely, also on behalf of your other colleagues and all friends, on the success achieved. We all admire what you have done, because we know that your work there is a gigantic task which is accompanied by the greatest difficulties. Your victories have also contributed much to the development of a better spirit here. The despondency among our friends has been relieved, and there is now only a feeling of gratitude to you that you have advanced so amazingly soon after arrival and have driven the enemy out of English territory. I hope that you will continue thus and that you will remain there as briefly as possible. I have read your re-organization plans with the greatest attention and went straight to Buxton and told him that in my opinion, it is the only way to put things right where you are. That you are taking a firm line with the officers has the approval of everyone here, for a war like this, far from our country and in a bushy, unhealthy and difficult region, cannot be fought out successfully with gloves on. The stricter you are, the more loyally your men will stand by you. We are all astonished that your losses are so slight, especially when fighting against entrenched positions.

After receiving your telegram I saw Manie Botha at once and he spent last night at my house. He has accepted, but asks to be enlisted under Brits because he knows Brits personally and also all the men who are with Brits. I have taken Lemmer as second man for, as you know, he still has a grievance because he has not become a Brigadier-General, so I have now given him the opportunity. This morning he answered me with tears in his eyes that his wife has to be confined to bed and that it is consequently at the moment impossible for him to go, but later, if you still need him, he is entirely ready and at your disposal. I shall now ask Myburgh, but I shall telegraph you about that as soon as I have my definite answer.

The buying of horses is going fairly well. Manie Botha and Barney [B. G. L.] Enslin have knocked all the speculation on the head.

The first part of the 'War Stores' Commission report¹ is now printed. Bourne tells me he has had sight of it and that it is a scandalous document because it is far from clear and only throws suspicion on the officials. However, Bourne has possibly read it a little too quickly.

As regards Parliament, we have done particularly good work, and put through much consolidation work,² but now on the Part Appropriation Bill, Hertzog and Fichardt have already broken the peace in the House and they are now resisting every penny of expenditure for war purposes. A strong obstruction is now in train in the House. Hertzog has made a particularly bitter attack, and I understand from a good source that he and his followers will maintain their obstructive tactics on the whole Budget. The Nationalists are organizing from Cape Town as hard as possible. They leave every Friday evening and hold ten to twelve meetings on Saturdays in various parts of the Cape. They think there is an election coming soon.

At the eleventh hour Johannesburg has taken up a mean attitude in connection with the University Bills,³ but I think it will now all come right.

Lionel Phillips has arrived from England and is now in Johannesburg. His wife who, I think, goes about arousing feeling against us, is largely the cause of all the grievances on the Rand. She says that we do not pay sufficient regard to Johannesburg, but, to judge by certain rumours emanating from Phillips himself about better organization for the Unionists etc., it seems to me that it is chiefly intended to use the unfortunate division among our people to fight us everywhere in the next election, and to get a majority. I leave it at that, but I have told him that I want to see him personally on his return here and you may be sure that I shall then talk plainly.

It is now clear to me that the Session will last longer than

¹ U.G. 3—'16.

² Consolidating Bills needed to unify the laws of the four provinces on such matters as Insolvency, Patents, Mental Disorders, Railway Management.

³ Three Bills to constitute the South African College and Victoria College the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch respectively and to include the other University Colleges in the country in a new University of South Africa with its headquarters at Pretoria.

we had expected, but the payment of members stops at the end of this month. Whether this will help us I do not know. We hope to submit the Budget before the end of March.

As to the drought, this has been partly relieved by good rains in the Cape, but over a large area the drought remains as serious as ever. The losses in cattle and crops are astonishingly heavy and many of the class of people who have a big mortgage on their farms are ruined. However, if only it would rain, this matter would also be solved. We have sent a few thousand bags of grain and wheat for sowing to the parts where it has rained.

I was glad to hear that Wynand Malan¹ has joined you. I hope he is trustworthy and gives you the best information. What has become of the other Boers there, and what of their farms? Have there been any instances of ill-treatment of them by the Germans? It is very important here to know this.

I have asked Gorges if he can give Granville Nicholson a post there² but he says no. Is it not possible for you to give him something to do—the man is in a most miserable condition, and, as you know, it is difficult for Lands³ to find places for both him and Geyser.

Havenga [N. C.] has lost his seat at Fauresmith by judgment of the Court, but he has appealed. According to Burton and De Wet this appeal has not the slightest chance of succeeding, but he has probably done it to gain time until the new voters' lists have been completed. We have asked H. S. Theron to stand for us there and he has accepted the candidature. He left yesterday on his way there and will do his best to win the seat for us. Unfortunately I understand that a few hundred of our voters are with you on commando.

We keep your family informed as far as possible. They are all well and I am glad to say that my wife is now also much better. She may now get up in the afternoon.

The Nationalists have won the Prieska seat in the Provincial Council because unfortunately Attorney Steyn, who was nominated by our party, was arrested after the nomination for various sorts of fraud and theft, and when the official nomination arrived, he refused to withdraw. On the same day he sent a cheque to the magistrate who refused to accept it.

¹ He was then farming in Tanganyika.

² In South West Africa.

³ The Department of Lands.

Thereupon van Coppenhagen was hastily nominated. Steyn then turned Nationalist and worked with his little group for the candidate of the opposing party,¹ with the result that he came in by a few votes.

As regards Colonel Hosken,² it is clear to me from what I have seen that he and his son will have to go. That, at any rate, is the verdict of the people who have looked into the matter. Although no specific cases of theft can be proved, nevertheless various things have come to light that throw a strong suspicion on him and of which no satisfactory explanation can be given. My plan is to act at the end of this month. In such cases I cannot act otherwise than strictly. But everything depends on the report.

Our colleagues and members of our party in the House are all well—their mood is good, their unity particularly good and all unanimously send you their sincere greetings and best wishes for your success.

The English newspapers have given your work first place and some have even put it above the battles at Verdun. So you can see the old world is very pleased. I have told Theron [F. H.] to get cuttings and send them to you.

I hope you will give my son³ a little advice now and then and treat him strictly but kindly and keep an eye on him from time to time.

In conclusion, Jannie, I wish you, on behalf of my family too, God's best blessing and all success. Believe me, as always, yours,

Louis Botha

Do not forget I am glad in your absence to do what I can for you here, so for any private or official work—just ask.
Yours, Louis

678 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 147

Himo Rivier
26 Maart 1916 (Zondag)

Liefste Mamma, Gister avond toen ik van een inspectie reis terugkwam vond ik uwe brieven uit Hughes postzak. Zeer

¹ Stephanus Sigismundus Grové.

² See p. 361 *infra*, note 1.

³ Louis, the elder son of General Botha.

hartelijk dank aan jou en de kleinen voor die lange interessante brieven en al dat nieuws. Tota haar brief was bijna zoo lang als die van jou. En ook Santa en Japie en Jimmie schreven lange brieven. Zeg Jan dat ik zeer blij ben dat hij die bullen gekregen heeft en liever te veel als te weinig. Hij moet ook zien met Ludorf dat kaffers met beesten weg komen van Rooikop anders zal er niet genoeg winter veld voor al dat vee zijn. Ik ben verheugd over de mooie regens en hoop veld en boomen zullen nu goed vooruitgaan.

Hier gaat tot nu toe alles goed. Vijand is laatste week met groot verlies van Ruwu rivier teruggeslagen zoodat wij nu ons trein spoor onbelemmerd kunnen voortbouwen. Wij zijn reeds Taveta voorbij en zullen in drie weken by Duitsche spoor nabij Kahe aansluiten zoodat ons vervoer tot by Moschi per spoor zal gaan. Dat is noodzakelijk want de regentijd is gister begonnen en deze losse lava grond wordt dadelijk modder zoodat transport over de paden onmogelijk wordt. De regenval te Moschi is zo duim in April! Wij gaan een zwaren tijd tegemoet en ik ben bang voor veel ziekte vooral koorts onder onze jonge burgers. Maar wij moeten maar voort worstelen, en ik hoop er zullen genoeg rekruten van de Unie komen om onze verliezen en ongevallen goed te maken. Ik heb voor jou twee bom bussen van de *Konigsberg* Long Tom door ons aan de Ruwu rivier genomen als een aandenking aan dien dag en wapenfeit. Het gevecht vond plaats in een groot bosch waar wilde palm boomen hoog in de lucht groeien en andere boomen zoo groot als jij in jou leven gezien hebt. Ik ben trotsch op mijn Afrikanertjes die zich zeer dapper gedragen hebben in de aanvallen op de ingegraven posities van den vijand. Deze week vertrek mijn hoofdkwartieren naar ou Moschi die hooger en drooger in den berg ligt en waar er behoorlijke huisvesting voor mijn staf gedurende den regentijd is.

Ik heb niet tijd aan de kleinen te schrijven maar zeg hen dat ik hun brieven zeer waardeer en altijd verlangend er naar uitzien. Waarom is schilder werk van Cato gestopt? Zij kon reeds zoo goed teekenen. Jannie is pa zoolang ik weg ben met titel van luitenant van de sterren en olievaars. Wanneer komt zijn bijbie dan? Met zontjes en groeten van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Himo River
[East Africa]
(Sunday), 26 March 1916

Dearest Mamma, Yesterday evening when I returned from an inspection tour I found your letters out of Hughes's postbag. Very many thanks to you and the little ones for these long interesting letters and all that news. Tota's letter was almost as long as yours. And Santa, Japie and Jimmie¹ also wrote long letters. Tell Jan that I am very glad he has got the bulls, and rather too many than too few. He must also see, with Ludorf,² that Natives with cattle leave Rooikop, otherwise there will not be enough winter grazing for all those cattle. I am glad about the good rains and hope the veld and trees will now go ahead well.

Here all is well so far. The enemy was beaten back with heavy loss from the Ruwu River last week so that we can now go on building our railway line unhindered. We are already past Taveta and shall link up with the German line near Kahe in three weeks so that our transport will go as far as Moschi by rail. That is essential, for the rainy season started yesterday and this loose lava soil at once turns into mud so that transport by road becomes impossible. The rainfall at Moschi is 20 inches in April! We have a hard time ahead and I fear much sickness, especially fever, among our young burghers. But we must struggle on, and I hope enough recruits will come from the Union to make good our losses and mishaps.

I have two shell cases for you from the *Konigsberg*³ Long Tom taken by us on the Ruwu River, as a memento of that day and feat of arms. The fight took place in a great wood where wild palm trees grow high into the air and other trees as big as any you have seen in your life. I am proud of my little Afrikaners, who have borne themselves very bravely in the attacks on the entrenched positions of the enemy. This week

¹ Jacob Daniel Krige (Jim), eldest brother of Sybella Margaretha Smuts (q.v.). Born 1869; died 12 October 1935.

² Smuts's attorney.

³ A German cruiser which lay in the Rufiji River. The German troops had removed her guns.

my headquarters leave for Moschi, which lies higher and drier in the mountains and where there is proper accommodation for my staff during the rainy season.

I have not time to write to the little ones but tell them that I value their letters very much and always look forward longingly to them. Why has Cato's painting been stopped? She could already draw so well. Jannie is father as long as I am away with the rank of lieutenant of the stars and storks. When is his baby coming? With kisses and greetings from
Pappa

679 From L. Botha

Vol. 14, no. 15

Kantoor van de Eerste Minister
Kaapstad
13 April 1916

Lieve Jannie, Hartelik dank voor jou brief van de 26ste ll. Ik was zeer verblijd om weer jou handschrift te zien vooral in deze dagen wanneer ik jou zoveel mis. Ik ben zeer dankbaar dat jij gezond en vris ben en dat jij die bul op zoo'n bekwame en suksesvolle wijze by de horens heeft gevat. Jou manier van optreden daar admireer ik in het biezonder, beide tegenover de offisieren en de wijze waarop jij de gevechten heeft geleverd. De bestaande jaloezie zou jou totaal belet hebben om een sukses van de veldtocht te maken. In een gesprek heb ik Buxton gezegd dat ik jou met macht en kracht zou ondersteunen in jou voorstellen en het was my een verlichting toen ik het antwoord zag dat de Britze Regering al jou aanbevelingen aannam. Dit zal jou nu in de gelegenheid stellen om met meer gerustheid jou offisieren te gebruiken.

Wel Jannie, wat jou krijs-operaties betreft moet ik zeggen dat jij daarmede een naam hebt gemaakt die in dit land en in de gehele wereld geadmireerd wordt. Ongelukkig is onze lijst van doden en gewonden wat hoog, doch hoe jammer dit ook al is, kan dat niet anders. De vordering die jij gemaakt hebt is biezonder goed, en het laatste nieuws omtrent de krijsgevangenen door jou gemaakt bij Lokkisale heeft grote enthoesiasme hier verwekt. Als het jou nu net kan gelukken om nog een paar klompen op die wijze kaf te loop, zal dit ongetwijfeld een grote schrik op het lijf van de Askaris jagen. Ik hoop dat jij jou best doet om de gevangene Askaris bij

wege van Tabora en daarlangs op te sturen, en dan de hoofdmannen vrede aanbiedt op konditie dat zij hunne rasgenoten zullen bewegen om de Duitsers in de steek te laten en zich over te geven—het gebruik van geld op een diplomatische wijze onder hen zal, mij dunkt, ook geen kwaad doen. Maar jij is op de plek en ik heb het volste vertrouwen in jou plannen.

De Portugezen en de Belgen zullen, mijn inziens, niet veel uitvoeren en ik stem met jou in dat zij het land zullen in okkupatie nemen waar er niet gevochten zal worden. In elk geval, als de regen jou niet hindert en het weer mooi droog is, zal het met jou ook veel beter gaan. De Duitsers daar die jij in het bosch gedreven heeft, of ook misschien in moerassen, moeten het nu tamelijk zwaar krijgen.

Ik heb net uw telegram aan de Britse Regering gelezen met betrekking tot diegenen die als reserven voor de 1ste Brigade zijn aangeworven. Het gaat biezonder moeilijk hier om mensen bij mekaar te krijgen voor infanterie, en alle krachten worden ingespannen om het benodigde getal te werven, doch het land is tamelijk uitgeput, en ik vrees dat velen van diegenen die uiteindelijk aangeworven zullen worden maar van weinig betekenis zullen zijn zonder een gegronde en degelijke opleiding. Ik heb Generaal Brits instructies gegeven om nog twee meer regimenten te vormen—een onder Murray Smith van Natal, uit welke provinsie het gehele regiment gevormd moet worden, en een uit de Oostelike Kaap Provinsie onder Hartigan. De brigade van Brits is voltallig, en ik versta dat hij veel meer manschappen kan krijgen dan nodig is. De Transvaalse Boeren hebben zich in dit opzicht biezonder knap gedragen, en nu dat jij aan het hoofd van zaken is, is het gemakkelijk om hen te krijgen.

Jij behoef jou niet ongerust te maken wat betreft het Verdedigings werk hier—alles gaat goed en ik geloof niet dat wij enige moeilijkheid zullen hebben.

De Nationalisten doen hun best om ons op alle mogelijke manieren in de wielen te rijden. Alles wat uitgaven betreft in verband met de administratie van Zuid West Afrika en de veldtocht in Duits Oost Afrika, wordt door hen bestreden, en dit heeft ons zo vertraagd, dat ik vrees dat wij ons werk niet klaar zullen krijgen voor de eerste week in Junie. Elke Zaterdag houden de Nationalisten op 10 of meer plaatsen

vergaderingen en gaan voort om de grootste onjuistheden te verkondigen die men nog ooit gehoord heeft, en toch lijkt het alsof er nog mensen zijn, en vooral in de Kaap Provinsie, die hen geloven. Willie Hofmeyr wordt waarschijnlijk goed betaald uit fondsen nagelaten door Jannie Marais, en hij is nooit op kantoor te vinden, en gaat steeds rond om te organiseren. Grote demonstraties van allerlei aard worden elke Zaterdag gehouden, en zo gaat het het gehele land door. Zij zijn er van overtuigd dat er spoedig een algemene verkiezing zal plaats vinden, en ik denk dat zij tot die overtuiging zijn gekomen alleen uit wat Smartt en andere Unionisten verklaard hebben dat zij ons alleen zouden ondersteunen zolang de oorlog duurt. Jooste echter vertelt mij dat de Nationalisten maar weinig vordering maken in de Transvaal, maar hij klaagt steen en been dat de houding van de *Volkstem* in de laatste tijd geheel onmogelijk wordt. Al de moeite in ons land wordt nu door dat nieuwsblad in het leven gehouden. Burton en de Wet worden door dat blad op de gruwelijkste manier aangevallen en geheel ten onrechte. Ik heb de *Volkstem* twee zeer ernstige brieven geschreven, want alles laat mij denken dat de zaak tot een punt loopt. Onze partij wil nu *en masse* van de koerant bedanken en hunne ondersteuning intrekken, en ik heb Dr Engelenburg geschreven dat het best zou zijn om de Partij de koerant te laten overnemen, daarvoor betalen, en een Comité van Toezicht uit hun leden aan te stellen, en onder directie van dat lichaam, de koerant te laten verschijnen. Volgens mijn informatie, twijfel ik of er een persoon aan de *Volkstem* werkzaam is die niet Nationalisties gezind is.

Ons werk in het Huis maakt goede vordering, niettegenstaande alle oppositie—wij zullen dit jaar konsoliderende wetgeving doorkrijgen op een grote schaal. Over de finanties en de begroting zal ik niets anders zeggen dan dat wij nu in vol debat daarover zijn. De oppositie daartegen in het Huis is biezonder zwak, en die Unionisten praat die ou praatjes. Jij zal blij zijn om te hoor dat Mr Merriman tegenwoordig mijn beste vriend is—hij is bijna iedere dag op mijn kantoor en hij geeft mij zijn ondersteuning in alle opzichten. Ik denk dat het goed zou zijn, als jij de tijd daarvoor hebt, om hem zo nu en dan een brief te zenden.

A. S. Zondag hoop ik de zieken en gewonden uit Duits Oost Afrika die hier zijn aangekomen, te bezoeken. Het heeft mooi geregend maar te laat voor de mielie-oogst, die bijna overal een mislukking is, en ik vrees dat er dit jaar een groot tekort zal zijn. Mrs Botha vordert maar langzaam, en is nog lang niet vris. Fransie, zoals jij weet, is getrouwd en schijnt helemaal gelukkig te zijn; ontvang mijn hartelike dank voor jou telegram van gelukwens bij gelegenheid van het huwelijk. Van Louis ontving ik vandaag ook een brief en hij heeft goede moed. Ik hoop dat hij zijn werk naar bevrediging uitvoert.

Ik schroef Bourne een weinig op om zoveel mogelijk te bezuinigen. Gorges beveelt aan dat wij 600 man van de Z.A.B.S. moeten wegnemen, maar dit komt mij gevaarlijk voor. Ik heb hem doen weten dat hij eerst 300 anderen, die onder Harvey werkzaam zijn moet terug sturen, zodat de Z.A.B.S. hun werk kunnen overnemen en ook tegelijker gereed zijn als er iets zou mogen gebeuren. Ik probeer om de 300 manschappen in kwestie meteens te werven voor Duits Oost Afrika.

Manie Botha vertrekt met het eerste beschikbare schip. Het spijt mij dat ik er nog niet in geslaagd ben om iets voor arme Granville Nicholson te doen te krijgen en ik versta dat hij in zeer treurige omstandigheden verkeert. Het Landbouw Departement wil Joof Alberts niet aanstellen in plaats van Coen Brits—zij beweren dat zulks tegen de wet zou zijn en dat zij niet anders kunnen dan om iemand anders in de plaats op te schuiven.

Ik had altijd gedacht dat Crewe voor jou de vijfde wiel aan de wagen zal uitmaken, hij is een lastige man die op jou schouders voorentoe wil, ik dink jij moet hom naar Northey toe stuur, hij zal wil daar gou opgezet worden, anderweek stuur ik jou de lijst van wetgeving die wij willen en reeds heb doorgezet.

Ik heb jou boer ou Jan te Grootschuur gehaad hij gaat spoedig terug, en zeg allen wel thuis. Als ik iets doen kan ver jou dan is het net ver jou om te spreek.

Mijn vrouw vereenigd met mij in aller beste groete. Gods beste zegen success en veilige terug komst blijf steeds de bede van jou ou Vriend

Louis Botha

TRANSLATION

Office of the Prime Minister
Cape Town
13 April 1916

Dear Jannie, Sincere thanks for your letter of 26 March. I was very glad to see your handwriting again, especially in these days when I miss you so much. I am very thankful that you are quite well and that you have taken the bull by the horns in such a capable and successful fashion. I particularly admire the attitude you have taken, both towards the officers and the manner in which you have conducted the battles. The prevailing jealousy would have quite prevented you from making a success of the campaign. I told Buxton in a conversation that I would support your proposals with all my might, and it was a relief to me when the British Government accepted all your recommendations. This will put you in a position to use your officers with greater confidence.

Well, Jannie, as regards war operations, I must say that you have made a name that is admired in this country and in the whole world. Unfortunately our list of killed and wounded is rather high, but, although it is a pity, it cannot be otherwise. You have made particularly good progress, and the latest news about the prisoners taken by you at Lol Kissale has aroused great enthusiasm here. If only you now have the luck to overrun a few more parties in this way, it will undoubtedly give the Askaris¹ a good fright. I hope you are doing your best to send the captured Askaris up by way of Tabora and thereabout, and then to offer the chiefs peace, on condition that they will induce their fellow tribesmen to leave the Germans in the lurch and surrender. The use of money among them in a diplomatic way will also, I think, do no harm. But you are on the spot and I have the fullest confidence in your plans.

In my opinion the Portuguese and the Belgians will not achieve much² and I agree with you that they will occupy the territory where there will be no fighting. In any case, if the rain does not hinder you and the weather is nice and dry,

¹ African troops used by the Germans.

² Belgian and Portuguese forces took some part in the campaign in East Africa.

it will go much better with you too. The Germans there, whom you have driven into the bush, perhaps also into marshes, must be having a rather hard time.

I have just read your telegram to the British Government with regard to those who have been recruited as reserves for the 1st Brigade. It is particularly difficult here to find men for the infantry, and every effort is being made to recruit the necessary number. But the country is pretty exhausted and I fear that many of those who will eventually be recruited will be of little use without a thorough and proper training. I have given General Brits instructions to form two more regiments—one under [Lieutenant-Colonel W.] Murray Smith of Natal, from which Province the whole regiment must be formed, and one from the Eastern Cape Province under [Major M. M.] Hartigan. Brits's brigade is at full strength, and I understand that he can get many more men than are necessary. The Transvaal Boers have borne themselves particularly well in this respect, and now that you are at the head of affairs, it is easy to get them.

You need not be uneasy about the Defence work here—all goes well and I do not think we shall have any trouble.

The Nationalists do their best to obstruct in every possible way. Everything that concerns expenditure in connection with the administration of South West Africa and the campaign in German East Africa is opposed by them, and this has delayed us so much that I fear we shall not get our work finished before the first week in June. Every Saturday the Nationalists hold meetings at ten or more places and proceed to proclaim the greatest inaccuracies one has ever heard, and yet it seems as if there are still people, especially in the Cape Province, who believe them. Willie Hofmeyr is apparently well paid out of funds left by Jannie Marais and he is never to be found in his office and goes about continually to organize. Big demonstrations of all kinds are held every Saturday, and so it goes throughout the whole country. They are convinced that a general election will soon take place, and I think they have arrived at this conviction merely from what Smartt and other Unionists have stated—that they would support us only while the war lasts. Jooste, however, tells me that the Nationalists are making little progress in the Transvaal, but

he complains bitterly that the attitude of the *Volkstem* is of late becoming impossible. All the trouble in our country is now kept alive by that newspaper. Burton and de Wet are attacked in the most atrocious manner by that paper, and quite unjustly. I have written two very serious letters to the *Volkstem*, for everything leads me to think that the matter is reaching a climax. Our party now wishes to resign *en masse* from the paper and withdraw their support, and I have written to Dr Engelenburg that it would be best to let the Party take over the paper, pay for it and appoint a supervising committee from among their members, and to let the paper appear under the direction of that body. According to my information, I doubt whether there is one person working for the *Volkstem* who is not a Nationalist sympathizer.

Our work in the House makes good progress, in spite of all opposition—we shall put through consolidating legislation on a large scale this year. On finance and the budget I shall say no more than that we are now in full debate on it. Opposition to it in the House is particularly weak, and the Unionists are talking the same old talk. You will be glad to hear that Mr Merriman is at present my best friend—he is at my office almost every day and he gives me his support in almost all respects. I think it would be a good thing, if you have time for it, to send him a letter now and then.

Next Sunday I hope to visit the sick and wounded from German East Africa who have arrived here. There have been good rains, but too late for the maize crop which is a failure almost everywhere, and I fear there will be a big shortage this year. Mrs Botha makes slow progress and is far from well. Fransie,¹ as you know, is married and seems to be quite happy—my sincere thanks for your telegram of good wishes for the marriage. I also received a letter from Louis today and he is in good heart. I hope that he does his work satisfactorily.

I am putting the screw on Bourne a little to economise as much as possible. Gorges recommends that we take away 600 men from the South African Mounted Rifles but this seems to me dangerous. I have let him know that he must

¹ Botha's daughter, Frances Botha-Reid.

first send back 300 others, who are working under Harvey,¹ so that the South African Mounted Rifles can take over their work and at the same time be ready if anything should happen. I am trying to recruit the 300 men in question at once for German East Africa.

Manie Botha leaves by the first available ship. I am sorry that I have not yet succeeded in getting something for poor Granville Nicholson to do, and I understand that he is in very bad circumstances. The Department of Agriculture will not appoint Joof [J. J.] Alberts instead of Coen Brits—they allege that this would be illegal and that they cannot do otherwise than to move someone else up into the position.

I always thought that Crewe would be your fifth wheel of the coach. He is a trying man who wants to climb up on your shoulders. I think you must send him to [Colonel E.] Northey; he will soon be sat upon there. Next week I am sending you the list of Bills which we wish to, and have already, put through.

I have had your farmer, old Jan, at Groote Schuur.² He returns soon and says all are well at home. If I can do anything for you, you have only to speak.

My wife joins me in the best of good wishes. God's best blessing, success and a safe return remain always the prayer of your old friend,

Louis Botha

680 From Sir H. R. M. Bourne

Vol. 14, no. 26

Department of Defence

Cape Town

14 April 1916

My dear General, I have just received your letter of 26 March and am very grateful to you for finding time to write. We are proud and delighted with the great successes you have already achieved. Only those few who know even a little of the difficulties with which you have to contend can really apprec-

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Frances George Harvey. Born 1872. Served in Matabeleland 1893 and 1896, in the Anglo-Boer War and the First World War. Died 3 August 1944.

² The Prime Minister's official residence in Cape Town.

iate the extent and significance of your first push. We are straining every nerve to fulfil your requirements properly but of course it is no use pretending that the supply of useful infantry men is not getting rapidly exhausted. I am convinced that the only satisfactory solution is to get the First Infantry Brigade and all its reserves out as soon as possible and force the pace against the enemy, as we did in German West, provided your railway and transport facilities permit of your using and keeping large forces well forward. Everything possible is being done now to cajole, bully and shame men into coming forward and the response is pretty fair, but whether the material thus collected will be really useful fighting stuff within a short time is very doubtful.

We have of course been deeply interested in the strategical problem which confronts you. If your forces permitted your clearing the Pare and Usumbara mountains to Tanga and at the same time driving in with large mounted forces to the heart of the country, that, of course, would paralyse the enemy. Probably that is not practicable and then there is the choice between pushing inland after first clearing the border and railway to Tanga or masking your threatened flank and communications with an adequate force and making a big move inland without delay. In any event we are confident you will be equal to the occasion to the best of your resources. The War Office must see to it that these are adequate and we are confident that they will meet any requests you may make for strengthening them beyond what our efforts here can produce.

On the whole we have got along here well. The further additional appropriation including the Protectorate¹ came to £1,106,000 and the debate on the second reading and committee stage was chiefly a Nationalist protest against any further war expenditure, which General Botha and Mr Burton handled excellently well.

The War Stores Commission has just reported and their general conclusions on the whole are not open to very grave objection, though I do not accept them entirely. The report, however, adopts a disgraceful line in mentioning names of

¹ The South West Africa Protectorate.

officers against whom 'there are reasonable suspicions of bribery' but no evidence. I do not think the Government can make that portion public. The opinion is expressed that Hosken¹ 'is unfit to be entrusted with the administration of a large organization' and he, one gathers, is one of the men suspected of bribery and also his son.

I cannot understand how Buckle [H. O.] could have ever signed the report. He had, I know, fearful tussles with Moltano [J. T.] and Close [R. W.].

However I will not weary you with our little tribulations and worries. We are making the best of them and I am trying to keep going as well as I can till the end of the Session. Then I must take a short spell and try to get rid of my headaches and sleep better.

General Botha appears to be keeping well and full of vigour. He is very good to me and I try to give him as little worry as possible. Mrs Botha's health seems to be better too.

Good-bye now, General, and may the best of luck and success attend you. I am so grateful for your letter and kindly advice. Yours very sincerely,

H. R. M. Bourne

681 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 14, no. 207

Moschi
German East Africa
2 May 1916

I have just been reading again your letter which arrived some weeks ago. Outside a tremendous downpour of rain is proceeding. I have never in all my life dreamt that rain could fall as it does here on the slopes of the Kilimanjaro. Last Saturday evening it started at about ten o'clock and proceeded quietly without a break right through the night until $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches had fallen in the morning. The rivers are full, the country is one vast swamp between the mountains; and my advance troops

¹ Colonel C. Victor Hosken was Director of Transport and Remounts in the Permanent Force of the Union Defence Force in 1915-16 and the subject of severe strictures by the members of the Commission, which enquired into charges of bribery and corruption in connection with contracts and purchases for the Department of Defence (see Report of the War Stores Commission U.G.3 of 1916).

are 220 miles from here where the railhead is at present and have to be fed and provided somehow. Apart from the rain it is a very beautiful country here. I took a walk up the slopes of the mountain a few days ago on a bright sunlit afternoon, and my mind went back to that day when you and I were roaming over the foothills of Monte¹. What has not happened since, and how the whole world in which we grew up has been shattered in fragments! I do not believe there is a man living who will piece those fragments together again. The regeneration must come from within, from the soul; mankind must feel the pulsation of a new spiritual life before the wounds will heal and the new order will arise. The mechanical weight, the mere materialism of our nineteenth century culture proved too much for the strength and wisdom of our society and leaders. And so it all went in order that the young dawning life within might not be strangled. For that new life there is and it will slowly assert itself and recreate the world for us or our children. All will not be lost. Remember how the Boers went under but saved their souls as a people. My hope is that Europe will save her soul in this vast struggle and that the ground will be cleared for a slow, gradual, fresh start in the years to come. I am not much troubled over schemes of vengeance such as seem to delight the newspaper writers. When this war is over and we have counted our dead and our losses, there will be little spirit left in any people to continue the hatreds and bitterness of the war. So at least I fervently hope and pray.

My wife writes me that all goes well in South Africa. Santa and Cato are old enough to write me most delightful letters also. They are all good, clever children and growing up strong and healthy. I wish I were back again with them. No time will be lost in pressing this campaign to a conclusion. But it bristles with extraordinary difficulties and the hospitals are full of men suffering from all sorts of tropical complaints—sunstroke, malaria, dysentery etc. etc.

I don't expect to see you soon. But you and yours are ever in my mind. Give my love to Arthur and to the dear friends at Millfield—and to Alice in Holland to whom I owe a letter which I shall write shortly.

¹ See 276.

682 From Lord Buxton

Vol. 14, no. 55

Government House
Cape Town
3 May 1916

My dear Smuts, I am sorry that the War Office have not been able to do anything in the matter of reinforcements with the First Brigade.¹ I was afraid, as soon as the information came that the First Brigade had actually left Egypt and had gone to Flanders, that we should not be able to get any of them. The satisfactory thing is that I think it is clear they form a part of a great scheme which means an advance on the West as soon as the weather improves and the country gets drier.

It certainly is unfortunate that the enemy should have been able to run the blockade. I am afraid it means that they have fully replenished their stores.

As regards the general position, though the capitulation of Townshend² is unfortunate, it is after all but a comparatively small matter, and no doubt his prolonged resistance has kept a large force of Turks occupied which might otherwise have been active elsewhere.

I never myself felt the least nervous about the Revolt³ or the position in Ireland. On the contrary, while of course regretting that such a thing was possible, it seemed to be rather an advantage than otherwise that the country should actually know how it stood there. These Sinn Fein people have lately been active, though not in actual revolt; and this Rising will have the advantage of destroying their influence, which was increasing, and of killing a considerable number of them and imprisoning probably the rest of the leaders, some of whom no doubt will be shot. This faction (and I am glad to believe it is only a small faction) have for some years past been a very serious thorn in the side of Redmond [J.] and of the Constitutionals and Nationalists and damaging to Home Rule. They have on more than one occasion made Redmond's position much more difficult than it otherwise

¹ The First South African Brigade raised for service overseas.

² The British garrison at Kut in Mesopotamia commanded by General C.V.F. Townshend surrendered on 29 April 1916.

³ The 'Easter' Rising in Ireland began on 24 April 1916.

would have been. Their action now, and the fiasco which has ensued, will undoubtedly immensely reduce their influence, and increase that of the Nationalists; and all this is to the good.

It certainly seems curious that the Irish Government were not sufficiently aware of the position to enable them to frustrate an actual Rising. But the Irish Government (without Home Rule) are notoriously ignorant of the position in Ireland, and nearly always manage to do the wrong thing in the wrong way!

The Session moves along rather slowly, but the Government seem on the whole to be getting their Bills satisfactorily.

The Trading with the Enemy Bill is undoubtedly unpopular; and the Imperial Bill on which it is founded is too thorough-going and far-reaching for this country as it stands; and no doubt the Bill will be considerably modified by the Select Committee. The Imperial Government, though they would prefer the original Bill, are prepared to acquiesce in such modifications that are rendered necessary by the particular needs of, or the political position in, this country.

I hope your sick list is not increasing, and that the horses are not being very seriously affected. The mounted brigades have already fully justified their existence. Yours very sincerely,

Buxton

Since writing the above I have just seen Mr Sandberg, who is acting as Norwegian Consul-General here.

He has just come back from Norway and so [was] able to give me the latest views taken in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. He says that the general view there is that if the Russians are able to resist the attack of the Germans in the East, that an unsuccessful attack will mean the collapse of Germany; and a satisfactory peace before the end of the year.

I asked him specifically whether he meant that it would be sufficient if the Russians were able to resist an advance by the Germans, and did not necessarily imply also an advance on their part.

He said the general view was that a successful *defensive* campaign would be sufficient. But, on the other hand, if the Germans drove the Russians further back and got to Petrograd, that that would greatly prolong the war—as is obvious.

The defence of Verdun had had a great moral effect apart from the material loss to Germany.

He told me that, as regards Norway and Denmark, they were unanimously in favour of the Allies; or perhaps one might put it, they were very anti-German.

But Sweden was, as we know, rather divided in opinion, being somewhat afraid of Russia and being very much at the mercy of Germany.

He evidently takes a cheery view in regard to the war.

B.

683 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 14, no. 157

Moschi

German East Africa

12 May 1916

Dear Mr Merriman, It *was* good of you to think of me and to send me Russell's book. I shall read it with great interest. I was on the point of writing to you last week (but was prevented) to tell you with what pleasure I had read your speech in the Budget debate. It was always a treat to me to listen to you in that debate in former years, even when I happened to be the victim of your shining blade. And this year's performance seems to have been a particularly happy one. It did me good to hear from Botha how great a help you are to him in counsel and in speech in the House. I used to tell him in previous years when he was inclined to be irritable and resent your 'humble musketeering' that he misjudged you and that in real trouble you would prove a true and staunch friend. And I have not been wrong. And since the rebellion he has realized the value and strength and sincerity of your support. South Africa is passing through a very trying phase in her national development. The new wine is proving too heady for a large number of our good patriots and it is for those of us who have kept our heads to go quietly and firmly forward and see the country through this grave crisis in her fate. Unless things miscarry in Europe we ought to see a much better spirit develop in South Africa after the end of the war.

I must however confess that the military situation in Europe

does not inspire me with much confidence. On both western and eastern fronts the war has reached the stage of stalemate. And unless a really supreme effort from Salonika through the Balkans could carry the war back into Austria and Hungary, I do not see how we are to achieve victory. Economic pressure is bearing heavily on Germany, but I don't imagine it is much less on France, Italy and Russia. And for England too the strain must soon become unbearable.

Here we have pushed on as fast as possible under conditions of rain and mud such as I would have thought impossible if I had not seen them. Our casualties have been much heavier than in the German South West Africa campaign, and fever has for the time filled our hospitals. But I shall press on resolutely. There is no doubt the enemy is much better led here than in South West. The German Commander von Lettow¹ has not only organized a very large Askari army but he is making them fight with great skill and bravery. They are what our Zulus or Basutos would be if properly trained. And in number we are about equal. A blockade-runner has just brought them ample supplies of rifles and ammunition. So I shall have my work cut out for me as they say.

With best wishes for your and Mrs Merriman's continued good health and happiness, Yours very sincerely,

J C. Smuts

684 To N. Levi

Vol. 14, no. 158

Moschi

19 Mei 1916

Lieve Levi, De uwe van 1 Mei ontvangen. Ik heb geen bezwaar tegen uw skets mits U mij niet te veel weg geef op politiek gebied. Ik wil het geschrift natuurlijk liever niet zien, maar zal aan de hand willen geven dat U het aan Dr Engelenburg toont, daar hij een goede vriend is met rijp politiek oordeel. Ik hoop U zal geen uitgever vinden en dat daardoor alles in de dove pot zal geraken.

Hier gaat alles goed en tot dusver voorspoedig. Geef mijn groeten aan de Dr. *t.t.*

J. C. Smuts

¹ General P. von Lettow-Vorbeck.

TRANSLATION

Moschi
[East Africa]
19 May 1916

Dear Levi, Yours of 1 May received. I have no objection to your sketch¹ on condition that you do not give me away too much on the political side. Of course I would rather not see the manuscript, but would suggest that you show it to Dr Engelenburg as he is a good friend with ripe political judgment. I hope you will not find a publisher so that the whole thing will come to nothing.

Here everything goes well and successfully so far. Give my regards to the Doctor. *Totus tuus*,

J. C. Smuts

685 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 14, no. 160

German East Africa

21 May 1916

My dear Wolstenholme, Many thanks for your letters and papers and books which have been arriving the last couple of weeks and which show abundantly that I am not yet forgotten. I have had here a most dismal spell of continuous rainy weather at the foot of Kilimanjaro. And my enforced inactivity has been spent in looking through some of these papers and books. *Drift and Mastery*² is an extraordinary book for so young a man to write. Unfortunately I never had time to read the *Preface to Politics*,² but shall do so now on my return home. I brought Ward's *Realm of Ends* with me and reread most of it during the rainy season. It is a fine piece of philosophic thought, however barren the ultimate results.

The weather is improving now and in another day or two I shall again be on the move and have little time for reading. But some of your books I shall take with me.

The war in Europe is dragging along wearily. Sometimes it seems to me that stalemate is the only hope one can look forward to. But in spite of all loss and suffering I could wish

¹ *Jan Smuts—being a character sketch of General the Honourable J. C. Smuts*, by N. Levi, published 1917.

² By Walter Lippman.

some decisive conclusion were to be reached which would for some generations to come cure mankind of this insane folly of war. An inconclusive peace might be merely the prelude to a new era of preparedness and costly preparations. And if mankind sets its mind determinedly on peace as the goal, the things of the spirit may again become of value, and the materialism which produced this catastrophe may become discredited. But no one can forecast the future. The American Civil War was followed by an increased wave of materialism and dollar-worship. Some of your letters are very despondent. But I console myself with the idea that where so much heroism and such a spirit of utter sacrifice has been shown among so many millions of men and women of all nations, there must be sufficient good seed to germinate in the coming years into a new spiritual harvest. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

686 From L. Botha

Vol. 14, no. 17

Prime Minister's Office
Cape Town
2 Juni 1916

Lieve Jannie, Hartlik dank ver jou brieven, ik is zoo dankbaar over jou vooruitgang, voor mij kan ik al teekenen van het einde zien, zoo lang jij net gezond blijven, is alles recht, paarden krijgt ons tamelik vooral nu dat wij de stand van paarden hebben verlaagd. Schepen is meer ons moeilikheid, daarom mijn telegram aan jou of afladen ten uwent niet met meer spoed kan plaats grijp [*sic*]. Dingen in Europa lijken ernstig stijmate, de Duitsers vech prachtig, en neem stadig maar zeker een trench na de andere te Verdun. Zij blijven de aanvallers de Franche trap prachtig vast. In Transvaal Provinciale Council heerst er kaos. Rissik voorstel income belasting en later weder Hoofd belasting werd door Arbeiders Unionisten en Nationalisten uitgegooi, en ook geweigerd geld te stemmen, met het gevolg dat niemand vandaag betaald worden. Ik heb Klaas daarheen gezonden om Rissik te adviseeren om endien niet anders dan dat zijn Uitvoerende Raad moet bedank. De andere wil alleen grond belasting en ik weet niet of het niet veel goed kan doen dat de Arbeiders een tijd lank baas is

met hulle mal idealen. Ik persoonlijk kijk op de toestand niet met tevredenheid, want een sware grond belasting nu op ons boeren grond in de midden van een ernstige oorlog kan niet alleen een verkeerde maar ook een gevaarlike effect op de Hollandsprekende menschen hebben, het is dom van de Engelse element om zoo een proef te stellen, ik heb Smartt en Duncan geroep en hen dit duidelijk verklaard en gezegd als er weder iets ga gebeuren dan zal zij de verantwoordelijkheid ervan dragen.

De krijgsgevangene zijn nu allen uit behalve 22 meestal de Kemp sectie, daarvan komt binnen kort nog meer uit, de zaak van Greyling versus een deel der rebellen werd geschik, £1,600 met al de kosten, de Helpmakaar heb bijna alles afbetaald. Evans Kommissie nu amper klaar, van Broekhuizen nu dat hij uit is werd gevraagd om te preken in Pretoria, en een groote agitatie opsweperij om duizende menschen in kerk te krijg, wij ontving een telegram van Justice dat daar spanning en ernstig wrijving bestaan. Wij telegraveer toen dat van Broekhuizen moet gewaarschuud worden, preken is in loslating document verboden, en als hij niet tot de letter zijn losting terme uitvoer dan moet hij gevolgen staan, hij besloot toen verstandig niet te preek, waarschijnlijk prefereerde hij Pretoria fort tegen die van Johannesburg, maar mij werd verteld dat de Kerk bevatte omtrent 2000 menschen, al de Hollanders van Joburg en Pretoria, ook jou *constitutie* was daar, en toen Klasie zijn order in kerk gelezen werd, vloekte zij staande verliet de kerk en houd toen een vloek vergadering in de straat, de jongere predikanten is steeds op hol, in Transvaal heb synode Paul Nel an andere uit gewerk. Paus van Heidelberg Louw is nu moderateur, en de Kommissie is Jim Louw, Kriel en Nichol Naude etc. Nel en Bosman heb geweigerd post te neem onder hen. De droogte eerst in Kaap en nu weder de ongekende overstroming heb veele armoede veroorzaakt, dit geef mij ernstige dagen, en daarbij is er veele teekenen die mij niet aanstaat, en die somtijds erg suspiciuws lijken, maar ik blijft wakker voor wat ook gebeur, die is maar een wonderlik land zoo's een kartoen die ik ontvang waar een ding de andere jaag, en daaronder stond 'always one Damn thing after the other'. Annie is veel beter alle andere vrienden ook.

Liefde en groete en veilige en spoedige terugkomst na alles succes behaald. Blijf steeds de gebede van uw

Louis Botha

Ons zal 15 Junie klaar krijgen.

De Iersche Vrijheids oorlog, is net zoo een fiasco als die van de Wet. Nu moet de ongelukkige volk leiden onder de mal werk van voormannen.

TRANSLATION

Prime Minister's Office
Cape Town
2 June 1916

Dear Jannie, Sincere thanks for your letters. I am so thankful for your progress. For my part, I can already see signs of the end. If only you remain well everything will be all right. We get a fair number of horses, especially now that we have lowered the height for horses. Our greater difficulty is ships, hence my telegram to you—whether off-loading at your end cannot be done faster.

Things in Europe look seriously like stalemate. The Germans are fighting excellently, and slowly but surely taking trench after trench at Verdun. They remain the attackers. The French are standing fast splendidly.

Chaos reigns in the Transvaal Provincial Council. Rissik's proposals on income-tax and later on poll-tax were thrown out by the Labourites, Unionists and Nationalists, and they also refused to vote money, with the result that nobody is being paid today. I have sent Klaas there to advise Rissik that, if nothing else can be done, his Executive Council must resign. The others want only a land-tax, and I am not sure that it would not be a good thing if the Labourites with their mad ideals were masters for a while. I personally do not view the situation with satisfaction, for a heavy land-tax now on our farmers' land in the middle of a serious war may have not only a bad, but a dangerous, effect on the Dutch-speaking people. It is stupid of the English element to make such an experiment. I have called Smartt and Duncan and told them so clearly, and have said that if anything happens again they will be responsible for it.

The prisoners of war are now all out except twenty-two,¹ chiefly the Kemp group, of whom more will be coming out shortly. The case of Greyling versus a section of the rebels was settled—£1,600 with all costs. The Helpmekaar² has paid almost everything. The Evans Commission³ has now nearly finished. Van Broekhuizen, now that he is out, was asked to preach in Pretoria and there was much agitation and instigation to get thousands of people into the church. We received a telegram from Justice⁴ that there was tension and serious friction. We then telegraphed that van Broekhuizen should be warned that preaching was forbidden in the release order, and that if he did not carry out the terms of release to the letter he would have to stand the consequences. He then sensibly decided not to preach. Apparently he preferred Pretoria fort to that of Johannesburg.⁵ But I was told that the church contained about 2,000 people—all the Dutch people of Johannesburg and Pretoria. *Your constituents* were there too. And when Klasie's order was read in church, they swore an oath standing, left the church and then held an oath meeting in the street. The younger ministers are still running riot. In the Transvaal the Synod has squeezed out Paul Nel and others. The Pope of Heidelberg, [Rev. A. J.] Louw, is now Moderator⁶ and the Commission⁷ are Jim Louw,⁸ Kriel and [Rev. W.] Nicol, [Rev. J. F.] Naudé, etc. [Rev. P.] Nel and [Rev. H. S.] Bosman have refused to accept office under them.

Much impoverishment has been caused in the Cape, first by the drought and now again by the unprecedented floods. It is giving me anxious days, and there are also many signs that I do not like and that sometimes look very suspicious.

¹ Rebel leaders sentenced by Special Tribunals.

² The Helpmekaar (Mutual Aid) was launched in 1915 to pay fines for and claims against convicted rebels. Considerable sums were raised. The surplus was used to endow Afrikaner cultural organizations.

³ The Rebellion Losses Commission (Chairman: M. S. Evans) reported in September 1916 (U.G. 40—'16).

⁴ The Department of Justice.

⁵ A reference to the Fort prison in Johannesburg.

⁶ The Chairman of the *Moderatuur*, i.e., Executive of the Provincial Synods of the Dutch Reformed Church.

⁷ The Synodal Commission of the Transvaal, consisting of Ministers and Elders from each *Ring* or district, together with the *Moderatuur*.

⁸ The Rev. J. M. Louw.

But I am on the alert for whatever may happen. This is an extraordinary country—like a cartoon I received, in which one thing chases the next and underneath was written: ‘always one damn thing after the other’.

Annie is much better. All other friends also. Affectionate wishes and a safe and speedy return after success in everything remains ever the prayer of Yours,

Louis Botha

We shall be finished on 15 June.

The Irish Freedom war is just as much a fiasco as that of de Wet. Now the unfortunate people must suffer for the mad doings of ring-leaders.

687 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 14, no. 117

House of Assembly
Cape Town
5 June 1916

My dear Smuts, It was a great pleasure to me to get your letter of 12 May which was all the greater as it reached me on the morning that we received the news—very distorted at first—of the Jutland battle,¹ which Reuter, with their customary ineptitude, misrepresented as being in the nature of a distinct German success. Great thereupon was the exultation in Nationalist circles and infinite was the harm done in the backveld. Now we are no doubt experiencing the truth of the old adage about the danger of giving a lie the start. Strange is it not, that these wretched fellows could find anything to exult over in what they supposed weakened the sea strength of Britain? For I suppose no country is so much interested in the maintenance of our naval supremacy as Holland, and both in that country and in Denmark their fate and very existence depended on the issue of Jutland.

We watch your doings, as well as we are able to do from the imperfect fragments that reach us, with interest and pride. You seem doing the right thing ‘keeping them on the run’, than which nothing is more disquieting to Native troops.

¹ The inconclusive naval battle fought on 31 May 1916 between British and German fleets off the west coast of Denmark.

When once you can get a-straddle of the main railway from the coast to Tabora you ought to be near the end. In a certain way one feels sorry for the Germans. They seem to have been civilizing agents in East Africa, very different from their performance in the South West, and I am told that some of their Native administrators were high class men. But the German mind and the German *ideal* is a lower one than our own, widely as we may at times depart from our professions, and if German ideals become dominant, civilization will have a set-back, and a weary hill to climb again. That belief and consciousness is the only justification for all the weary welter of slaughter and extravagance that is now desolating humanity. There is a very good article in *The Nineteenth Century* by one Holmes.¹ When you come across *The Nineteenth Century* make a point of reading it—October 1915. (I suppose you do have some sort of library at Nairobi?) It impressed me very greatly by its sanity.

When your success is achieved, and to no one will that success be more grateful than myself, if only as a personal prophecy fulfilled, then will your real trouble begin. In the peace negotiations the future fate of East Africa stands on a different footing from that of South West Africa. There will, unless I am greatly mistaken, be a great reluctance among our friends(?) and allies to vest that country in British hands. Yet what other course is for us thinkable? Belgium and Portugal, who will both claim a voice in the settlement, seem impossible. France will have to be bought off and Russia will have so many territorial arrangements on her hands and will be so anxious to effect them at the expense of Turkey and Germany, that she will be, I fear, anxious to square them by dealing generously with the matter of East Africa. The future is not rendered any easier or plainer by the ravings of that objectionable creature Hughes [W. M.] or by all the nonsense talked by the Empire Trade people or the Tariff Reformers—to hear whom talk one would expect to find France and Russia quite second-rate militant powers in comparison with Great Britain. Take the best solution—that East Africa is ceded to Britain, what then? At best it can only

¹ 'Ideas of Life and Education—German and English', by Edmond Holmes.

become a second Natal—a colony with a planter aristocracy resting on black labour, with a white race always departing from the ideals of their forefathers, doomed in a few generations to perish, as every Aryan race perishes in the tropics. You have seen enough of British East Africa to know whether my gloomy views on such settlements are justified. From all I can learn that country is no credit to us. Is the solution to be black country ruled by whites—a sort of African India in which South Africa might play the same part that Scotland has played in British India by supplying soldiers and administrators and in becoming a field for the ambitions of our young men, or is it to be the dumping ground for the overspill of British India, also under white government? These problems, which [*sic*] of course depend on the issue of the struggle, and the partition of the spoil. From our own selfish standpoint it is a supreme misfortune that we are so divided. Those miserable Nationalists! Incompetence leading Ignorance! have done and are doing an infinity of harm. Their despicable jealousy of Botha, and yourself have obsessed them to such an extent that they see everything awry. How different it would have been if, as a united folk, we had been able to send our united light cavalry to Mesopotamia to turn the scale on that field! Now they, the Nationalists, gratify their petty spite by open abuse and secret misrepresentations of those who try to do their duty and by ill-concealed attacks on everything British.

7 June. I had written thus far when we got last evening the news of the terrible tragedy of the loss of the *Hampshire* with Kitchener.¹ It arrived, appropriately enough, just as we were going into the Defence Vote on the estimates upon which the Nationalists were going to expend their accumulated venom. Botha with much dignity and good taste, read the message and adjourned, thereby avoiding what might possibly have been an objectionable scene.

I appreciate your personal remarks in your letter very much and that you recognize that [in] one's own poor way one tries to do one's duty—not by any means easy in a parliamentary system like ours. The representative form of government

¹ On 5 June 1916.

needs above everything a temperate, well-ordered Opposition, which is as valuable to the Government as it is to the country. This we entirely lack in the Union with the result that we are split up into wholly irresponsible groups—some of them very dangerous. I never remember the parliamentary tone quite so low as it is this Session. However we have got quite an admirable Speaker in Joel Krige who has won golden opinions from all sides. Burton has also done well and, considering the burden on his shoulders, wonderfully well. There is plenty of money just now, and when the wind sits in that quarter government is easy. But there is stormy weather ahead when the war comes to an end and your braves come home seeking employment. Just now *vogue la galère* over a summer sea.

I am afraid the fever¹ must be giving you much more cause for anxiety than the Teutonic hordes. I hope you may be spared, and that we may see you in the triumphal car in Adderley Street² before long. Let me know if you want any particular sort of book. I am trying to find you a good book on Java. A study of that country is very useful in view of possible contingencies. And do, I implore you, recollect, that it is by Native management that an African administrator comes to be judged—not by the turbulent, noisy, white minority, which is but a thing of the day doomed in the vicissitudes of time to pass and disappear, while the black and the barbarians are the true permanent forces of [*sic*] with an unhistoric past and a dim uncertain future. It is our task, as it was that of the Romans before us, to try and transmute them. An uphill job but *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos* is a good motto.

I must not ramble on. Good-bye and good luck to you.
Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

688 From G. V. Fiddes

Private

Vol. 14, no. 80

Colonial Office

[London]

9 June 1916

My dear General, I was very glad to get, three days ago, your interesting letter of 11 May. It was very good of

¹ Malaria.

² The principal street of Cape Town.

you to make time to write in the midst of your intense activity.

The rapidity of your first advance almost took people's breath away here. It is a brilliant beginning, and how you managed it—and how your mounted men managed it in the rainy season and in difficult country—is still a mystery to me. According to our very latest advices Northey is sweeping forward from the south in what seems a rather venturesome manner. I suppose he relies on your keeping the enemy so well occupied that they won't be free to turn on him in force; anyhow he is strategically under your control, so we need not be anxious.

We have been considerably preoccupied over the question of sending you reinforcements. At one time it seemed as if War Office would be able to give you some more white troops. When that prospect ceased, [Major-General Sir C. M.] Dobell discussed the matter with the War Office and it was thought that we might let you have a brigade (4 battalions of 600 with 100 per battalion as a depot reserve) of the West African Frontier Force who had been doing so well in the Cameroons. We accordingly asked Gold Coast to send one battalion and Nigeria three battalions. Gold Coast readily agreed; but all the Nigeria people said it was impossible. We then pared down the Nigeria portion to one battalion, but the reply was the same. It was very disappointing; and only when the written reasons arrived were we forced to agree to the view that the local opinion was sound. Promises had been made to the men when they returned from the Cameroons which had to be kept: otherwise we should have had wholesale desertions. Later, if you urgently require more troops, then it may be possible to raise a Nigeria battalion of volunteers—always providing their old officers are available. With these troops the personality of the officers is everything.

Meanwhile the present position is that about 30 June one battalion Gold Coast and one battalion of the 'West Indian Regiment' will be despatched. I don't know the fighting value of the latter, who are an Imperial—not Colonial—black force; but the former may be expected to give a good account of themselves. And I gather that it is not out of the question that the War Office may be able before long to find you some white troops, but have no certain knowledge as to this.

We have been going through a stirring ten days. First—owing to the cold accuracy of the Admiralty report at that date and to the magnificent lying of the Germans—it looked as if our fleet had had something like a hiding. Then—as further reports dribbled in and especially when our sailors returned licking their lips and scoffing at the German accounts—it became clear that the enemy fleet had had a considerable mauling and had been very lucky to escape destruction. And the climax arrived when the Germans with no sense of humour announced that ‘for military considerations’ they had concealed the loss of a 28,000-ton battle-cruiser and another.

For the moment the battle has been put in the second place by the announcement of Kitchener’s tragic death. I was sure that South Africa would feel as deeply about it as anyone, and I was not surprised at the terms of the resolution adopted by both Houses. We also had a dignified and very touching message from Ministers, and it was so perfectly expressed that I could not help wondering who had drafted it. If you had been there I should have fathered it on you.

Lord Buxton has sent us a report by Gorges on South West Africa; it is full of information and very well written, and I am sorry that the Union Government don’t propose to publish it at present. Gorges seems to have risen to his opportunities, and I am very glad. When I knew him he was very quiet, but a sterling good fellow.

So much for current topics, which may or may not be news to you in the field. But, before closing, there is one matter on which I should be really grateful if you found time to send me a line. What follows is of course strictly confidential.

For a long time past—in fact in the time of your predecessor—there have been persistent rumours that the military were not receiving the support and assistance that they were entitled to expect from the Governor and the Administration of the East African Protectorate. It was impossible to get definite particulars and the sources were not always above suspicion. But the Secretary of State was much perturbed by them, and made enquiries which seemed to produce satisfactory replies. However the rumours have not entirely ceased, and I know that they found their way to South Africa. It may be

that you would be diffident about making complaints—if you had cause of complaint—and would prefer to bear with it so long as things are not too bad. Or it may be that the whole thing is unfounded, in which case you would be glad to give the quietus to a mischievous legend. Therefore I should be most glad if you would give me a perfectly frank statement of the position, and if necessary I would then speak to the Secretary of State about it; for I am quite certain that he would not tolerate anything which added to your difficulties and which it was in his power to remove.

With all good wishes for a speedy ending of what has been so well begun, Yours sincerely,

G. V. Fiddes

689 From N. Levi

Vol. 14, no. 104

De Volkstem

Bus 389

Pretoria

13 Junie 1916

Geachte Generaal, Ik stelde het zeer op prijs, met deze post 'n eigenhandige brief van U te ontvangen en zag natuurlijk met voldoening dat alles goed gaat. Wij horen hier voortdurend over malaria en insekten, zodat uw gezondheid 'n onderwerp is waaraan dikwijls wordt gedacht. Van uw zwager hoorde ik dat U door 'n spin was gebeten, maar dat alles in orde was.

Uw brief liet ik Dr E. zien en hoewel hij zijn leven doorbrengt met 't lezen van boeken en stukken, heeft hij toch—na uw verzoek, of suggestie—erin toegestemd 't MS. te lezen. Ik zou U de lezing hebben aangeboden, maar evenals U zelf zegt liever niet daartoe over te gaan, verklaar ik ook liever, in de tekst, met 'n rein geweten dat U met de inhoud niets te doen hebt gehad, zodat ik alleen de verantwoordelijke persoon ben. Dit temeer omdat er misschien passages in zullen zijn die U zelf niet zoudt willen onderschrijven. Dit, opzichzelf, meen ik is echter geen bezwaar zo lang 't uitkomt dat ik alleen aansprakelijk ben. Dr E.'s taak zal dan m.i. hierin liggen dat omtrent uzelf of anderszins geen dingen

gezegd worden die voor 't partijbelang schadelik zouden kunnen zijn en ofschoon ik zelf al degelik heb opgepast om dit te vermijden, aanvaard ik natuurlik gaarne uw suggestie. Dr E. heeft groot belang in 't werk gesteld, ook vóórdat uw brief aankwam, en meent met mij dat er iets behoort te worden gepubliceerd. Ik zeg 'met mij' en dit betreft natuurlik de publikatie, niet de persoon v.d. schrijver, want ik herhaal dat ik liever gehad had dat 'n meer bevoegde het moest doen. Ik heb uw brief ook van Mev. S. laten lezen en dit heeft haar hart opgelucht!

Juist kwam vandaag 'n brief van Longmans, Green, die de eerste twee hoofdstukken—handelend over uw eerste periode, tot 't vertrek van Cambridge—hadden gekregen van de Handelskommissaris in Londen. Ik had ze hem gezonden met 't verzoek ze aan 'n geschikte uitgever te tonen, omdat 't van hier zo'n hopeloos tijd verlies afgeeft als men soms 'n uitgever treft die er in geen geval iets mee te doen wil hebben. Longmans zegt dat hij 't gelezene 'interesting' vond; dat hij 'means business' kunt U hieruit opmaken dat hij voorlopige kondities aanbiedt—te worden bevestigd na ontvangst van het gehele MS., dat hij 'spoedig hoopt te zien'—vraagt om foto's en zegt dat hij liever niet wil publiceren zonder van uw toestemming zeker te zijn. Ik zal dit nu wel met Mev. S. regelen, dan behoef ik U geen moeite aan te doen. Hij biedt maar 'n kleine royalty aan en wijst op zijn hoge onkosten, als gevolg van de oorlogstoestand. Ik zal proberen wat ik met hem kan doen en maar bedenken dat ik, als beginner, blij moet zijn zo'n huis te kunnen krijgen, dus zal uw wens van géén-uitgever-vinden waarschijnlijk niet in vervulling komen. Maar gauw werken kan ik niet. Daartoe komt mij het onderwerp te belangrijk voor en nadat ik 'n hele dag hard op 't kantoor gewerkt heb, voel ik 's avonds niet fris genoeg om er veel aan te doen, vooral omdat ik gewoonlik op Zaterdagmiddag nog bij U thuis ben om materiaal in te zamelen.

Neem mij niet kwalik dat ik zo'n lange brief schreef. Ik meende het aan uw welwillendheid verplicht te zijn dat ik U op de hoogte bracht. Na beleefde groeten en beste wensen, ook aan Mnr. Krige a.u.b., noem ik mij, als steeds, Uw dienstw.

N. Levi

TRANSLATION

De Volkstem

Box 389

Pretoria

13 June 1916

Dear General, I appreciated very much the receipt by this post of a letter from you in your own hand and noted, of course with satisfaction, that all goes well. Here we are always hearing of malaria and insects, so that your health is a matter which is often in our thoughts. I heard from your brother-in-law¹ that you had been bitten by a spider but that all was well.

I let Dr Engelenburg see your letter and, although he spends his life reading books and articles, he has nevertheless, at your request, or suggestion, agreed to read the MS. I would have offered *you* the reading, but, as you yourself say you would rather not do this, I also prefer to say in the text with a clear conscience that you have had nothing to do with the contents, so that I alone am the responsible person—the more so because there may be passages to which you yourself would not wish to subscribe. But that in itself is not, I think, a difficulty, as long as it is known that I alone am answerable. Dr Engelenburg's task will then, in my opinion, consist in this: that nothing is said about you or anything else that might be damaging to the interests of the party, and although I have already been very careful to avoid this, I am, of course, glad to accept your suggestion. Dr Engelenburg has taken a great interest in the work, even before your letter arrived, and agrees with me that something should be published. I say 'with me' referring, of course, to the publication, not the writer, for I repeat that I should have preferred that someone better qualified should have done it. I also let Mrs Smuts read your letter and it has relieved her heart!

Only today a letter came from Longmans, Green who had received the first two chapters—dealing with your first period, until the departure from Cambridge—from the High Commissioner in London. I had sent them to him with a request to show them to a suitable publisher, because from here there is such a hopeless waste of time if one strikes a publisher

¹ P. S. Krige.

who does not want to have anything to do with it. Longmans [representative] says that he found what he read 'interesting'; you may conclude that he means business from his offering provisional conditions—to be confirmed after receipt of the whole MS., which he 'hopes to see soon'—asking for photographs, and saying that he prefers not to publish without being sure of your agreement. I shall arrange this with Mrs Smuts, so that I need not trouble you. He offers only a small royalty and draws attention to his high costs as a result of war conditions. I shall see what I can do with him and bear in mind that I, as a beginner, should be glad to get such a firm, so your wish about not finding a publisher will probably not be fulfilled. But I cannot work fast. The subject seems to me too important for that, and after I have worked hard at the office all day I do not feel fresh enough in the evenings to do much to it, especially as I am usually at your home on a Saturday afternoon to collect material.

Forgive me for writing such a long letter. I consider myself obliged by your kindness to keep you informed. With respectful greetings and best wishes, to Mr Krige also, please, I am,
Yours sincerely,

N. Levi

690 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 163

Luchomo

14 Juni 1916

Liefste Mamma, Ik sta op het punt van hier verder zuid te vertrekken maar zal eerst een regel aan jou schrijven daar ik misschien geen goede gelegenheid in de volgende paar dagen zal vinden. Hier verlaten wij de Pangani met zijne groote waters en trekken zuidwaarts totdat wij ergens op de centrale spoor zullen komen—ik weet nog niet waar. Pangani hebben wij nu voor ongeveer 140 mijl gevolgd en is een uitstekende succes geweest. Boeken en dokters hebben ons gezegd dat de Pangani een doodelijke streek is wat koorts en tsetse vlieg betreft. Integendeel, onze gezondheid is nog zeer goed en geen vlieg is gezien, en water was er altijd meer dan genoeg. Nu echter een drooge wereld in en water moeilijkheden, die gewoonlijk grooter zijn als alle andere militaire moeilijkheden.

De vyand heeft de Usambara verlaten, Wilhelmstal is in ons bezit met honderden vrouwen en kinderen waarvan von Lettow zeker zeer blij is om ontslagen te zijn. Maar Tanga en de aangrenzende kust is nog niet verlaten, hoewel ik verwacht dat zulks spoedig zal gebeuren. Wij zijn op 22 Mei begonnen en ik verwacht dat op 22 Juni a.s. wij zeker een 200 mijl getrokken zullen hebben, dat een uitstekend feit is in een wereld waar er geen pad is, waarover wij geen informatie hadden en die den vijand verplicht heeft de noorden spoorweg te ontruimen. Van Mombo in de Usambara gaat een lichte trolley lijn naar Handeni 30 mijl van hier die den vijand van groote dienst was en nu door hem vernield is; wij herstellen echter deze lijn en hopen er ook goed gebruik van te zullen hebben. Jij kan begrijpen dat waar voor zoovele honderden mijlen van de spoor af transport moet gereden worden, onze moeilijkheden verbazend groot worden. Motors breken, dieren vrekken en alles gaat verkeerd, en duizenden monden moeten gevoed worden. Indien wij echter hetzelfde succes hebben dat wij tot hiertoe gehad hebben zal er niets groots over te klagen zijn. Genl. Botha telegrafeert mij dat het parlement a.s. Zaterdag opbreekt en dat hij hoopt een korte tijd daarna naar mij te vertrekken en dan eenige weken alhier te vertoeven. Hij zal zeer welkom zijn en ik hoop een genoegelijke tijd hier doorbrengen, hoewel hij geen rust zal hebben daar wij steeds op reis voorwaarts zijn. Maar dit is een mooi land en werd om gezien te worden. Sprekende van de Pangani, er zijn vele groote krokodillen. Laatste week ging drie muilen aan elkaar gekoppeld om water te drinken; een krokodil kreeg een aan den neus en was sterk genoeg alle drie onder het water te trekken en te verdrinken. Wat een maaltijd voor hem en zijne vrienden! Al de rivieren zijn vol krokodillen. Overal ziet men de sporen van leeuwen, buffels en andere groot gedierte. Gister reed ik eenige afstand in de bult en zag prachtige elanden en gemsbokken. Met een geweer behoeft men hier nooit honger te lijden.

Hoe verschrikkelijk is Kitchener aan zijn einde gekomen! Het lijkt mij of zaken glad niet zoo rooskleurig in Europa staan, maar ik hoop dat alles nog zal recht komen. De Fransen hebben zich zeer fluksch gedragen. Maar onze ou natie praat veel groot en doet niets bijzonders.

Genl. Botha schrijft mij dat er weer een tamelijke gemompel van ontevredenheid onder onze menschen is, maar dat er geen ernst bij is. Wanneer zal ons volkje toch leeren om zijn mond te houden. Door al die leugenachtige praatjes komen die rampen over ons.

Ik hoop mamma en de kleinen zijn allen wel. Baing groeten er zoete zoentjes aan mamma, Louis, Jannie en all de kleinen. Pappa denkt veel, zeer veel, aan jullie almaal. Groeten ook aan Mrs. W., Jan en Norie. Ik hoop op de plaats gaat het goed. Het mamma al een tweede meid? Schrijf groeten ook aan Bibas en Stellenbosch en wees zelf gegroet van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Luchomo

[East Africa]

14 June 1916

Dearest Mamma, I am on the point of moving further south from here but shall first write you a line, as I shall perhaps not have an opportunity in the next few days. Here we leave the Pangani with its great waters and march southwards until we come upon the central railway line somewhere—I do not yet know where. We have now followed the Pangani for about 140 miles and it has been an outstanding success. Books and doctors have told us that the Pangani is a deadly region as regards fever and tsetse fly. On the contrary, our health is still very good and no fly has been seen, and there was always more than enough water. Now, however, we go into dry country and water troubles, which are usually greater than all other military troubles. The enemy has left the Usambara; Wilhelms-tal is in our possession, with hundreds of women and children that von Lettow is no doubt very glad to be rid of. But Tanga and the adjacent coast have not yet been abandoned, although I expect that this will soon happen. We started on 22 May and I expect that by 22 June next we shall have marched about 200 miles which is an outstanding feat in country where there is no road, about which we had no information and which has forced the enemy to evacuate the northern railway. A light trolley line runs from Mombo in the Usambara to Handeni, 30 miles from here, which was of great service to the enemy and which he has now destroyed; but we are repairing this

line and hope to make good use of it also. You can understand that when transport must be provided so many hundreds of miles from the line, our difficulties become enormous. Motors break down, animals die and everything goes wrong, and thousands of mouths have to be fed. If, however, we have the same success that we have had so far, there will be nothing serious to complain of.

General Botha telegraphs me that Parliament rises next Saturday and that he hopes to leave shortly after to come to me and stay here some weeks. He will be very welcome and will, I hope, spend a pleasant time here, although he will have no rest as we are always travelling forward. But this is a beautiful country and worth seeing. Talking of the Pangani, there are many big crocodiles. Last week three mules tethered together went to drink; a crocodile seized one by the nose and was strong enough to drag all three under the water and drown them. What a feast for him and his friends! All the rivers are full of crocodiles. Everywhere one sees the tracks of lion, buffalo and other large animals. Yesterday I rode some distance in the hills and saw beautiful *eland* and *gemsbok*. With a rifle one need never starve here.

How terribly Kitchener has met his end! It looks to me as if things are not at all rosy in Europe, but I hope all may yet come right. The French have borne themselves particularly well. But our old nation talks big and does nothing in particular.

General Botha writes me that there is again a good deal of dissatisfied muttering among our people, but that it is not serious. When will our little people learn to shut its mouth? Through all this lying talk disasters come upon us.

I hope Mamma and the little ones are all well. Many good wishes and sweet kisses to Mamma, Louis, Jannie and all the little ones. Pappa thinks much, very much, about you all. Regards also to Mrs W[hyte],¹ Jan and Norie.² I hope all is well on the farm. Has Mamma a second maid yet? Write good wishes also to Bibas and Stellenbosch and receive them yourself from

Pappa.

¹ A school-teacher at Irene who lived with the Smuts family at Doornkloof for many years.

² Not identified.

Zaterdag, 1 Juli 1916

Liefste Mamma, Ik schrijf deze brief weer te Luchomo aan Pangani waar ik de laatste paar dagen by Genl. Brits vertoef. Ik was Maandag op pad naar Mombo om eenige zaken te regelen en toen ik hier aankwam zeide dokter dat mijn temperatuur 140 was en dogt ik malaria had. Ik ging dadelijk naar bed en van ochtend eerst opgestaan—nog een beetje dof in het hoofd en slap in de lijf, maar anders weer gezond. Morgen of overmorgen zal ik terug gaan naar de front onder de bergen. Het was niet een onaangename tijd behalve een dag toen ik zeer zware hoofdpijn had. Ik had tijd veel aan mamma en de andere lievelingen te denken en te verlangen. Ik zag allen daar op Doornkloof en heb werkelijk dat visietetje naar jullie hartelijk genoten. Maar nu is alles voorbij en zal ik maar weer met mijn Duitschers worstelen. Hier is een verdwaalde Z.A. mail deze week alhier aangekomen maar alleen bezigheids brieven voor mij, niets van Doornkloof behalve een brief van Santa aan Hodgson. Hodgson's appetijt was zeer verzwakt maar deze week eet hij hier zooveel dat Scholl deze namiddag uit is met een geweer om te zien of hij niet een wildbraat voor hem kan krijgen!

Ou Koen heeft mij zeer goed behandeld; gelukkig hebben zij hier veel ideal melk en boerbiskuit, en deze twee dingen gaan goed samen met koorts. Ik heb vandaag vele van onze ou staatmakers alhier gezien bij de 2de bereden brigade. Voor dien tijd wilde de dokter niet toelaten dat zij mij zou lastig vallen. Wij hadden laatsten Zaterdag een zeer goede slag met vijand waarin hij 3 maxims en 1 pompom verloor. In die slag op een zeer warm dag voelde ik eerst ongesteld; Zondag was het beter, maar de rit van Maandag bracht zaken naar een punt. Mamma behoeft echter niet bekommerd te zijn daar ik daardoor ben gelukkig zonder naar hospitaal te gaan. Ik zal china voor een week of wat langer gebruiken om al de gift uit mij te drijven. Ik ben verbaasd dat ik niet eerder heb koorts gehad, in aanmerking genomen de gevaarlijke wereld waarin onze operaties in de laatste tijd zijn plaats gevonden.

Zeg Jan dat hij de witstinkhout boompjes in de vijgelaning

moet uithalen en mooi op de werf op geschikte plaatsen planten. Juli is zeker de beste maand om dit te doen. Zij zullen zeker goed groeien indien tamelijk groote gaten voor hen gemaakt worden en zij in het begin met water geholpen worden. Het is wonderlijk dat de boomen alhier zoo anders zijn als in Zuid-Afrika. Vele doornsoorten zijn hier maar niet een dezelfde als in Z.A. hoewel er een mooi boom is die bijna dezelfde is als ons Kaffer wacht-een-beetje. Ik vergat om te zeggen dat de rest van mijn staf allen wel zijn en ik alleen (na Collyer) heb koorts gehad. Tottie is zeer wel en fluksch.

Nu ik zoover naar voor ben, ontvangen wij maar min nieuws en weet ik maar min van wat in de groote wereld of op andere vechterreinen aangaat. En ik bekommer mij eigenlijk ook niet over andere dingen. Want ik heb mijne handen meer dan vol. Om niet alleen te vechten en voorwaarts te dringen, maar deze groote massas menschen en dieren in deze boschwereld aan het leven te houden is een moeilijk werk, en wanneer alles over is zal ik een goede rust verdiend hebben die wij dan heerlijk te zamen zullen doorbrengen. Maar tijd is om en ik moet groeten. Hartelijke zoenjes aan Mamma en de lievelingen en mijn beste wenschen en groeten ook aan Jimmie, Jan en Mrs. W.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Saturday, 1 July 1916

Dearest Mamma, I write this letter once more at Luchomo on the Pangani where I have been staying for the last few days with General Brits. On Monday I was on the way to Mombo to arrange some matters, and, when I arrived here the doctor said that my temperature was 104 and he thought I had malaria. I went to bed at once and have got up only this morning—still a bit dull in the head and slack in the body, but otherwise well again. Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow I shall go back to the front below the mountains. It was not an unpleasant time, except one day when I had very severe headache. I had time to think much about Mamma and the other dear ones and to long for them. I saw everybody there at Doornkloof and really thoroughly enjoyed that little visit

to you. But now all is over and I shall again wrestle with my Germans. A stray South African mail arrived here this week, but only business letters for me, nothing from Doornkloof, except a letter from Santa to Hodgson.¹ Hodgson's appetite had weakened very much, but this week he is eating so much here that Scholl² has gone out this afternoon with a rifle to see if he can't get a joint of venison for him!

Old Koen³ has treated me very well; fortunately they have a lot of Ideal milk⁴ and rusks here and these two things go well with fever. I saw many of our old stalwarts here today with the 2nd Mounted Brigade. The doctor would not let them bother me before. Last Saturday we had a very good battle with the enemy in which he lost three maxims and one pompom. During this battle, on a very warm day, I first felt unwell; on Sunday it was better, but the ride on Monday brought things to a head. But Mamma need not be worried as I am over it, luckily without going to hospital. I shall use quinine for a week or so longer to drive all the poison out of me. I am amazed that I have not had fever sooner, considering the dangerous country in which our operations have lately taken place.

Tell Jan that he must take out the white stinkwood trees in the prickly pear avenue and plant them nicely round about the house at suitable spots. July is no doubt the best month to do it. They will probably grow well if fairly big holes are made for them and they are helped at first with water. It is wonderful that the trees here are so different from those in South Africa. There are many thorn varieties here but not one the same as in South Africa, although there is a beautiful tree which is almost the same as our *Kaffer wacht-eeen-beetje*. I forgot to say that the rest of my staff are all well and only I (after Collyer) have had fever. Tottie is very well and sprightly.

Now that I am so far forward we do not get news and I know little of what goes on in the great world or in other theatres of war. And I do not really worry about other things. For I have my hands more than full. It is a hard task not only to fight and press forward, but to keep these great masses of men and animals alive in this forest country, and when all is

¹ George Hodgson, Smuts's chauffeur.

² Smuts's orderly.

³ General Coenraad Brits.

⁴ Unsweetened tinned milk.

over I shall have earned a good rest which we shall spend delightfully together. But time is up and I must say goodbye. Best kisses to Mamma and the dear ones and my best wishes and greetings also to Jimmie, Jan and Mrs Whyte.

Pappa

692 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 14, no. 225

5 Oxford Road

Cambridge

4 July 1916

My dear Smuts, Your letter arrived just after I had sent off my last package. I am glad to find that they have been reaching you, I hope regularly, and that you have been able to make some use of them. Your taking Ward's book was very characteristic. It is the work of a fine mind, but your remark as to the 'barrenness' of results quite coincides with my own prevailing impression, after reading the book, of the pathetic futility of all its fine-drawn and highly wrought speculation. It shows how even a powerful and subtle intellect can remain to the end of life dominated and directed by the moral and religious atmosphere in which it first found itself and proved its powers. I once talked to Ward and asked him some questions, to try to find out whether the fine-spun subtleties and the tenuous results he had achieved had really for his emotional life, his spiritual nature, the inspiring glow, the comforting serenity, and devout satisfaction with this grand work of divine power and goodness, which we associate with the word 'religion'. And I am afraid that the results for his own personal life are 'barren' too. He knows well enough that his metaphysical speculations are something totally different from the modes of thought, feeling and belief of the 'religious' man. Yet he seems to think that they somehow save the situation from total failure, and form a certain possible hope of rising out of them into a warmer and more tangible atmosphere of religious life. I think his results, though meagre and disappointing, do really preserve him from the disillusion and depression produced in so many of us by a critical testing of the old easy optimism of pre-scientific times.

I read in the newspapers that the campaign in East Africa is

drawing to a close, which means that you will probably be preparing in the course of a few weeks more for your return home. I am sending this week the newspapers and two magazines, as usual, but think it will be better from next week to send them to Pretoria, where they will be likely to be in your hands earlier than if they had to be sent after you from East Africa. Of course it is quite uncertain how things may go; I hope I am doing the best thing in the uncertainty.

The *New Republic* has not turned up at all this week; one cannot rely on anything connected with transport turning out as it should. Numbers of things are not now procurable at all, others are doubled and more in price, because of freights. Just after I had packed the papers and magazines I had to send, a new number of the *Philosophical Review* came in, one that by its subject I suppose will be of special interest to you. So I pack and send it off just in time; I hope it may be of comfort to your soul on the journey back to South Africa. I suppose that if the campaign does come to a successful issue shortly, you will have satisfaction in the accomplishment of a difficult and dangerous piece of work that had to be done. Yet if I were in your place I think I should hardly feel much pleasure in a piece of work that, with one set of results following from it, might seem a useless waste of all that it has cost, as only furnishing something with which to bargain with the enemy at the close of the war,—and with another result, the denial to Germany of any future share in the colonizing of Africa, may be one cause in perpetuating those conditions out of which the war arose. For if the threat of depriving Germany of all colonies, while the other nations retain theirs, under the old conditions, is carried out, she will deeply resent the humiliation and indignity, as well as the injustice of such a course. I can see no prospect of anything approaching a satisfactory settlement of the colonial question except to put the whole of it on the basis of international co-operation, in which all nations will be on an equality, as regards the work and its rewards as well as its responsibilities. I do not know what you think and feel with regard to this perplexing problem, in settling which your views and Botha's must be an important factor. I sometimes reflect what a futile

and useless person I should be if I had any such responsibilities myself.

I must close and rush to the post. The packages are already gone. Ever yours,

H. J. Wolstenholme

693 From L. Botha

Vol. 14, no. 19

Kilindini

6 Augustus 1916

Lieve Jannie, Net hier veilig en gezond aangekomen, en morgen vertrek ik met de *Montrose* dezelfde schip waarmede ik kwam. Ongelukkig kan de *Professor Woerman* niet leeg gemaakt worden voor de rode en ik zoo lang niet wachten kan, en een week ongemak is niet te erg, vooral na mijn harte verlangen vervuld is door jou weder gezien en gesproke te hebben, wel mijn goed vriend morgen vertrek ik terug, en wil dus graag ver jou voor ik weg gaan zeg dat nu ik al jou operaties hier heb gezien en jou moeilijkheid verstaan, bewonder ik te meer dat jij zoo veel in die tijd heb gedaan, man ik ben trotsch op jou werk en bij mijn vertrek kan ik alleen zeg dat al mijn gewicht is ter jou beschikking, en wees verzeker Jannie ons bid ver jou success en veilige terugkomst, mijn innige teleurstelling is dat ik van Deventer met zijn kommando niet had kunnen bezoeken, maar toen ik bij Moshi kwam was ik werkelijk ziek, en bleef ziek tot aan de Lake nu heelmaal beter, had uiteindelijk sterk aanval van disenterij. Nairobi is een prachtig land met groote vooruitzichten en mijn reis was zeer intersant. Uganda is meer een kaffer land mooi doch tropies. Prachtige stroom water uit de Lake in de Nijl.

Ik sluit jou hierin brief van Buxton. Gelieve mij dit te retourneren met jou aanmerkingen. Ik heb reeds besproken de aanstelling van een Commissie om zekere aanbevelingen te maken welke soort van industries wij nu moeten behandelen en hoe, mogelijk kan men een Commissie aanstellen voor beide.

Ik heb de hospitalen bezocht en ben heelmaal overtuigd dat de behandelingen van de beste is wat ons gewonden en zieken krijgen.

Nu Jannie mijn reis was aangenaam en heerlijk en ik heb net jou daarvoor te danken, dank hartlijk voor jou vriendelijkheid. Kapt. Biscoe, Krige, Botha heb zeer veel bijgedragen om het voor mij aangenaam en heerlijk te maken, success en spoedige en veilige terugkomst. Beste groete, Uw

Louis

TRANSLATION

Kilindini

[East Africa]

6 August 1916

Dear Jannie, Have just arrived here safe and sound and tomorrow I leave by the *Montrose*, the same ship by which I came. Unfortunately the *Professor Woermann* cannot be emptied before the 10th and I cannot wait so long, and a week's discomfort is not too bad, especially after my great longing to see you and speak to you again has been fulfilled. Well, my good friend, tomorrow I return and so before I leave, I should like to tell you that now that I have seen all your operations here and understand your difficulties, I admire more than ever your having done so much in the time. I am proud of your work, old chap, and on leaving I can only say that all my influence is at your disposal, and be assured, Jannie, we pray for your success and safe return. I am deeply disappointed that I was not able to visit van Deventer and his commando, but when I got to Moschi I was really ill and remained ill until the Lake.¹ Now quite better; had a heavy attack of dysentery in the end. Nairobi is beautiful country with great prospects and my journey was very interesting. Uganda is more of a Native country—lovely but tropical. Beautiful stream of water from the Lake into the Nile.

I enclose a letter from Buxton.² Please return it to me with your comments. I have already discussed the appointment of a Commission to make some recommendations as to what kind of industries we should now deal with and how. Possibly one Commission can be appointed for both.

I have visited the hospitals and am quite convinced that the treatment of our sick and wounded is of the best.

¹ Lake Victoria.

² Not in the Smuts Collection.

Well, Jannie, my journey was pleasant and delightful and I have only you to thank for that. Sincere thanks for your kindness. Captains Briscoe [J. E.], Krige and Botha have contributed a great deal towards making it pleasant and delightful. Success, and a speedy and safe return. Best wishes,
Yours,

Louis

694 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 172

Msiha Kamp

11 Augustus 1916

Liefste Mamma, Slechts een regel daar wij op punt staan te vertrekken achter den vijand aan. Wij hebben bijna 6 weken in deze kamp gestaan en de vijand heeft in die tijd 700 tot 800 groote scheepskanon bommen op deze kamp geworpen. De kamp is dan ook vol gaten en de duizenden troepen hebben allen zoo goed als onderaardsch gewoond. Een stuk bom viel in mijn tent terwijl ik op mijn bed lag te lezen, een ander barstte bij ons mess tent. Ik breng voor die kinderen stukken van deze laatste bom bij die tent opgeteld. Maar vijand is nou ver weg met kanonnen en al. Wij hebben nu ook onze scheepskanonnen laten komen en howitzers die 60 lb lyddite bom werpen. Zoo zal de vijand maar leelijk schrikken.

Alles gaat zoover goed met onze voorwaartsche beweging. Zondag trokken wij de vreeslijke Nguru bergen in, maar het was werkelijk onmogelijk met transport oor de grammadoellas te komen en ik moest allen weer terug zenden en zelf terug keeren. Maar de troepen met een 4 dagen voedsel gingen voort en hebben uitstekende werk gedaan onder Brits, Enslin, en Hannyington. Enslin's paarden ruiters waren in 2 dagen dwarsdoor de bergen en te Mhonda achter de vijand waar hij verbittered aangevallen werd maar zich staande gehouden heeft tot vandaag Brits bij hem zal aankomen. Vijand staat nu onder aan de voet der Nguru bergen en ik trek af om morgen of overmorgen hen daar aan te vallen en naar de spoor te drijven.

Hodgson had weer dysentery maar is nu weer beter. Hij heeft mij echter elken dag nog gedreven en is zeer knap en fluksch. Verder zijn wij allen wel en nog vol moed. Geeft

baing groeten aan de kinderen en zoentjes ook aan Mamma van

Pappa

Mattie Basson heeft Lemmer's deel van Welgevonden voor mij gekocht voor 25/- per morgen. Laat Ludorf transport op mijn naam passeeren en zoodra dit gedaan is geef Lemmer den cheque voor koopprijs. J.C.S.

TRANSLATION

Msiha Camp
[East Africa]

11 August 1916

Dearest Mamma, Only a line as we are on the point of leaving in pursuit of the enemy. We have been in this camp for almost six weeks and during this time the enemy has fired 700 to 800 big naval gun shells into it. The camp is full of holes and the thousands of troops have all been living practically underground. A piece of shell fell into my tent while I lay reading on my bed; another burst near our mess tent. I am bringing for the children pieces of this last shell picked up at the tent. But now the enemy is far away, shells and all. We have now also had our naval guns brought up and howitzers that can fire 60 lb. lyddite shells. So the enemy will have a bad fright.

So far everything is going well with our forward movement. On Sunday we marched into the terrible Nguru mountains, but it was really impossible to get through the *grammadoellas*¹ with transport and I had to send all back again and return myself. But the troops with four days' rations went on and have done excellent work under Brits, Enslin and [Colonel J. A.] Hannynghton. Enslin's horsemen were through the mountains in two days and in pursuit of the enemy at Mhonda, where he was fiercely attacked but has stood his ground until Brits reaches him today. The enemy is now at the foot of the Nguru mountains and I am marching down to attack them there tomorrow or the day after and drive them to the railway line.

Hodgson had dysentery again but is now better. He has, however, driven me every day and is very capable and alert.

¹ Afrikaans word meaning remote country, difficult of access, inhospitable, mountainous.

For the rest we are all well and full of courage. Give lots of good wishes to the children and also kisses to Mamma from
Pappa

Mattie Basson has bought Lemmer's portion of Welgevonden¹ for me for 25s. per morgen.² Have Ludorf pass transfer in my name, and, as soon as this is done, give Lemmer a cheque for the purchase price. J.C.S.

695 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 173

Turiani

16 Augustus 1916

Liefste Mamma, Ik heb laatst aan jou geschreven toen wij de Nguru bergen introkken of kort daarna. Nu zijn wij erdoor en de commandos zijn op pad zuid van de bergen naar de gras vlakten die afgaan naar de centrale spoor. Ik was gister zelf onder de bergen om de voortbeweging te regelen maar ben weer terug gekomen hierheen om veel achterstallige officieele correspondentie af te werken. Turiani ligt aan de voet der bergen aan een prachtige rivier, de Liwale.

Hier is tamelijk vruchten: naartjes lemoenen en andere tippische vruchten. Wij kookten hier een wilde erwt die net zooals onze makke erwtje lijkt and smaakt. Ik breng een envelope vol samen om in de Transvaal te planten. Ik heb hier ook een wilde guava gevonden die net zooals ons makke lijkt, maar een beetje kleiner. Tropische bloemboomen zijn hier zeer volop met de prachtigste bloemen; maar het is te koud voor hen in de Transvaal. De bergen zijn majestueus—7,000 tot 8,000 voet hoog met dicht bosschen begroeid. De groote woud boomen zijn hier toch te prachtig. Maar waarom zal ik jou met dit alles lastig vallen. Wie weet, misschien komen mamma en de kinderen nog een dag een vakantie hierdoor brengen. Japie en Jannie zullen zeker hierheen komen om al dit wild te zien.

Morgen trekken wij voort en spoedig zullen wij op de centrale spoor zijn. Ik wonder of de Duitschers het daar gaan

¹ This purchase made Smuts the owner of the whole of the farm Welgevonden in the western Transvaal.

² A morgen, the unit of land measurement used in South Africa, is equivalent to about two acres.

uitvechten zoodat wij spoedig naar huis kunnen gaan dan of zij zuidwaarts zullen retireren en de oorlog nog maanden uitrekken. Het lijkt baing of zij dit laatste zullen doen. Mijn hoop is dat vele Askaris zullen weigeren zuidwaarts te gaan en dat von Lettow dus maar met een klein gedeelte van zijn macht zal wegvlugten. Maar het is moeilijk te zeggen wat gaat gebeuren en de tijd zal spoedig leeren. Hier zijn vele rivieren en al de bruggen zijn door de vijand verbrand of opgeblazen. Zoo kan jij zien hoe zwaar wij het hebben om dit alles weer te herbouwen ter einde de vijand snel te achtervolgen. De brug over de Liwale is in één dag herbouwd; die over de Mwuhe heeft 500 man drie dagen dag en nacht werken genomen, maar van avond zijn alle bruggen tot anderkant de bergen klaar, en kunnen de kanonnen en transport voortgaan om de troepen reeds 20 mijl verder te achtervolgen.

Mijn gezondheid is zeer goed, Tottie is nog niet ziek geweest en ik hoop wij zullen spekvat thuis komen. Maar ik zal daarem in de trein kan klimmen ten spijte van Jannies opinie.

Baing groeten en zoentjes aan Mamma en de kleinen van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Turiani

[East Africa]

16 August 1916

Dearest Mamma, I last wrote to you when we moved into the Nguru mountains, or shortly after. Now we are through them and the commandos are on their way south of the mountains to the grass plains that go down to the central railway. Yesterday I was at the foot of the mountains myself to direct the forward movement but have come back here again to dispose of a lot of arrear official correspondence. Turiani lies at the foot of the mountains on a lovely river, the Liwale.

There is a good deal of fruit here: mandarins, oranges and other typical fruits. We cook a wild pea here which looks and tastes just like our garden pea. I am bringing an envelope full with me to plant in the Transvaal. I have also found a wild guava here, which looks just like our cultivated one, but a little smaller. Tropical flowering-trees are very plentiful here

with the loveliest flowers; but it is too cold for them in the Transvaal. The mountains are majestic—7,000 to 8,000 feet high, covered with thick bush. The big forest trees here are too beautiful. But why should I trouble you with all this? Who knows, perhaps Mamma and the children will come and spend a holiday here one day. Japie and Jannie will no doubt come here to see all this game.

Tomorrow we go forward and soon we shall be on the central railway. I wonder if the Germans are going to fight it out there so that we can go home soon, or whether they will retire southwards and prolong the war for months. It looks very much as if they will do the second. My hope is that many Askaris will refuse to go south and that von Lettow will therefore flee with only a small part of his force. But it is difficult to say what is going to happen and time will soon tell. There are many rivers here and all the bridges have been burned or blown up by the enemy. So you can see what a hard time we are having to rebuild all this so as to follow up the enemy quickly. The bridge over the Liwale was rebuilt in one day, that over the Mwuhe took 500 men three days working day and night, but this evening all bridges to beyond the mountains are ready and the guns and transport can go forward to follow up the troops already twenty miles further on.

My health is very good. Tottie has not yet been ill and I hope we shall come home as fat as pigs. But I shall nevertheless be able to get into the train, in spite of Jannie's opinion.

Many good wishes and kisses to Mamma and the little ones from
Pappa.

696 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 176

Morogoro

31 Augustus 1916

Liefste Mamma, Ik denk ik ben achter geraakt met mijne brieven in den laatsten tijd maar het is nu 4 weken dat wij dag en nacht voortrukken om den vijand te drijven en geen rust te geven, en natuurlijk beteekent dat dat wij zelf ook geen rust of stilte hebben en correspondenties erg eronder lijden. Maar jij weet natuurlijk dat ik altijd geregeld zal schrijven zoolang ik er maar de gelegenheid voor vind. Wij zijn nu in M.

gehuisvest maar ik been steeds nog in het veld. Gister en eergister was ik rechts om de bergen by Brits en Enslin, de laatste waarvan zeer goed werk gedaan heeft. Vandaag ga ik mogelijk weer links om de bergen om by Hoskins te komen. Vijand vlucht voort al vechtende naar Kissaki zuid van deze groot blok bergen genaamd de Uluguru bergen, en eerst wanneer wij die plek genomen hebben en zien in welke richting de vijand vandaar retireert zullen wij weten hoe zelf te trekken. Van Deventer is hier bij mij van Kolossa overgekomen en vertoeft hier totdat wij zien wat de vijand gaat doen en welke instructies hij dan moet krijgen. Dingen loopen tamelijk snel en in 2 maanden hoop ik het begin van het einde te zullen zien. Jij kan zien mijne handen beven en mijn schrift is slecht: dat is van de quinine die ik tweemaal per week moet nemen. Laatste nacht ze dosis heeft my zooals gewoonlijk zeer beverig gemaakt. Ik ben echter zeer gezond en wel en neem de quinine als voorbehoedmiddel. Ik zal blij zijn wanneer dit niet meer noodig is—3 maanden na aankomst in de Transvaal!

Ik hoop jij is nu door jou moeilijkheden heen en dat de kinderen nu allen wel zijn. Ik ben baing jammer voor jou geweest dat jij zoo zwaar had met al die ziekte en moeilijkheid en met geheel onvoldoende hulp in huis. Het zal goed zijn als jij een ander blanke meisje als hulp kan krijgen.

Hodgson lijdt veel aan dysentery die chronisch geworden is en leeft nu van ideal melk en zoep. Hij ziet er akelig uit maar doet nog steeds zijn werk. Hoe lang dat zal duren weet ik niet. Hij wil niet naar hospitaal of naar huis. Hij was baing opgenomen met de cartoon waar wij ons tegen de leeuwen verweren.

Ik heb een lange brief van Levi gehad. Het lijkt of zijn boek ook ten einde gaat. Ik wonder wat een mengelmoes dat zal afgeven want hij weet dood weinig van mijn leven en denken en de uitknipsels zal hem niet veel wijzer maken. Maar hij heeft zijn hart erop gezet en ik wil hem niet keeren. Ik hoop er worden geen groote flaters gemaakt. Hij zag jullie in de stad en zegt dat Jannie er zoo lief uitzag in zijn uniform. Louis is ook zoo fluksch en lief en houd nog vol: Levi lillik! Ook tamelijk waar!

Nu Mamma baing groeten, baing zoentjes aan jou en de

kleinen. Ik hoop spoedig geen zoentjes meer te zenden maar persoonlijk te brengen. O wat zal dat heerlijk zijn, zooals het gezang zegt. Pappa denkt onophoudelijk aan jullie te midden zijner drukkenste moeilijkheden. Pappa

TRANSLATION

Morogoro
[East Africa]

31 August 1916

Dearest Mamma, I think I have got behind with my letters of late, but it is now four weeks that we have been advancing day and night to drive the enemy and give him no rest, and, of course, that means that we ourselves have no rest or quiet and correspondence suffers. But you know, of course, that I shall always write regularly as long as I find an opportunity for it. We are now lodged in Morogoro but I am still in the field. Yesterday and the day before I went round the mountains to the right to Brits and Enslin, the second of whom has done very good work. Today I shall perhaps go round the mountains to the left to get to Hoskins. The enemy flees on, fighting all the time, to Kissaki south of this great block of mountains, called the Uluguru mountains, and only when we have taken this place and see in what direction the enemy retires from there, shall we know how to advance ourselves. Van Deventer has come over to me from Kilossa and is staying here until we see what the enemy is going to do and what instructions he should then get. Things are going fairly fast and I hope to see the beginning of the end in two months. You can see my hands are shaking and my writing is bad: that is because of the quinine which I have to take twice a week. Last night's dose has made me, as usual, very shivery. But I am very healthy and well and take the quinine as a prophylactic. I shall be glad when it is no longer necessary—three months after arrival in the Transvaal!

I hope you are now through your difficulties and that the children are now all well. I have been very sorry for you, that you had such a hard time with all this illness and trouble and with quite inadequate help in the house. It will be a good thing if you can get another white maid to help.

Hodgson suffers much from dysentery which has become chronic, and now lives on Ideal milk and soup. He looks

dreadful but still does his work. How long that will last I don't know. He won't go either to hospital or home. He was very pleased with the cartoon in which we are defending ourselves against the lions.

I have had a long letter from Levi. It looks as if his book is drawing to a close. I wonder what sort of hodge-podge that will be, for he knows precious little about my life and thought and the cuttings won't make him much wiser. But he has set his heart on it and I don't want to stop him. I hope no big bloomers are made. He saw you in town and said that Jannie looked so sweet in his uniform. Louis is also so lively and dear and still maintains: Levi ugly! Quite true, too!

Well, Mamma, many good wishes, many kisses to you and the little ones. I hope soon not to send kisses any more but to bring them in person. Oh, how joyful that will be, as the hymn says. Pappa thinks constantly of you in the midst of his most pressing difficulties.

Pappa

697 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 177

Morogoro

3 September 1916

Liefste Mamma, Net een lijntje om jou te zeggen dat alles nog wel gaat met gezondheid als anderszins. Een post vertrekt over een paar minuten en het doet geen kwaad zelfs een paar regels te zenden. Ik ben de laatste dagen hier te M. gebleven om vele zaken te regelen en van Deventer is van Kilossa over gekomen om zijne moeilijkheden met mij te bespreken. Maar de troepe zijn ver weg langs en door de bergen om de vijand te drijven en van ochtend vertrek ik ook weer naar het front. Over een dag of wat hoop ik zal Dar es Salaam geoccupeerd worden en alle maatregelen worden genomen om de spoor zoo spoedig als mogelijk te herstellen zoodat wij een korter transport kunnen krijgen in plaats van de tegenwoordige lange lijnen—400 mijlen bij van Deventer en 200 hier bij mij. En wij zijn niet gestopt bij de spoor maar werken aan. Binnen 14 dagen zijn wij zoo ver als de Britsche regeering mij gevraagd heeft te gaan voordat ik naar Z.A. terug keer nl. by de groot

Ruaha rivier en de Rufiji rivier. Maar ik zal maar langer blijven en zien of ik niet de zaak in nog een paar maanden kan klaar maken.

Maar de post zak gaat nu. Baing groeten en zoentjes van
Pappa

TRANSLATION

Morogoro
[East Africa]
3 September 1916

Dearest Mamma, Only a line to tell you that all is still well with my health and otherwise. A post leaves in a few minutes and it does no harm to send even a few lines. I have stayed here at Morogoro during the last few days to arrange many matters, and van Deventer has come over from Kilossa to discuss his difficulties with me. But the troops are far away—along and through the mountains to drive the enemy, and this morning I also leave again for the front. I hope Dar-es-Salaam will be occupied in a day or two, and all measures are being taken to repair the railway as soon as possible, so that we can have shorter transport instead of the present long lines—400 miles at van Deventer's and 200 here with me. And we have not stopped at the railway but are working forward. In fourteen days we shall be as far as the British Government has asked me to go before I return to South Africa, that is, at the great Ruaha River and the Rufiji River. But I shall stay longer and see if I cannot finish the business in another few months.

But now the post-bag is leaving. Many good wishes and kisses from
Pappa.

698 From H. Burton

Vol. 14, no. 36

Confidential

Pretoria
12 September 1916

My dear Smuts, As Botha has gone for a few weeks' tour in the Transkei, it has occurred to me that you might like to have a line or two from one of your other colleagues as to things in general.

I need not tell you how constantly our thoughts have been

with you and your men in the long and difficult work you have undertaken. We hope your task is nearing its end and congratulate you heartily on the remarkable progress which has been made hitherto, in face of unusual obstacles. You must have had a very trying and anxious time all through these long months. At all events, you have the consolation of knowing that your work is deeply appreciated by South Africa at large, as well as by the English people in England. A fellow called Rowden has written in the English papers to suggest that, when you have done in East Africa, they should get you to the French Western Front, as he is certain you will prove to be 'the modern Napoleon'! This, perhaps, is what an old acquaintance of mine would call 'laying it on with a trowel' but your modesty need not blush unduly at the exaggeration.

Since the Session, things have gone along fairly quietly and, on the whole, satisfactorily here. Botha will have told you that our experience shows Nationalistic feeling to be waning decidedly in the Transvaal and Free State. The Cape is still a source of some anxiety, but we have appointed Fred Muller as organizing secretary there and hope for improvement there also as a result of more active organization and propaganda. The anti-war spirit has, I think, been dying down too, to a considerable extent and is being replaced by a sort of 'Christian resignation' to inevitable circumstances, probably induced partly by the new turn of events in Europe. I was in Bothaville (Western Free State) six weeks ago, opening their new railway there and was most cordially received by some 1,200 to 1,500 people, the great bulk of whom were Nationalists. One of them had been in to see the magistrate (a good, tactful fellow) on business and on being asked what he thought now of the war in Europe, replied: 'Nee, Landrost, ik moet eerlik zê, tot nou toe het ik nog hoop gehad maar nou lijk dit vir mij ik moet maar hoop op gee'¹ This to the British magistrate! Could such a thing happen under any other than this curious system of ours!

You have heard, of course, about the so-called 'second

¹ 'Well, magistrate, I must honestly say, until now I was hopeful, but now it seems to me I shall have to give up hope' (Afrikaans). The speaker had cherished hopes of British defeat.

rebellion',¹ a stupid movement engineered by fellows like Schonken, and a van der Merwe (not 'Jakhals'),² and a few others, with the secret oath business and so forth. The gaff has been blown upon them by old Christian de Wet, of all people, who is now the principal Crown witness against these two worthies, in a criminal trial for treason, which seems to be a dead certainty for the Crown and must be all to our advantage, though, of course, the Nationalists leaders have repudiated the whole thing (and in all probability with genuine disapproval) and de Wet's action is all part of the same role. This development has, of course, made further immediate clemency to the remnant of prisoners in the Fort impossible, though [Rev. A. J.] Attie Louw (of Heidelberg) yesterday, at old Mrs General Joubert's funeral, urged such leniency upon a hard-hearted Government, in an impassioned and violent harangue on the usual dreary lines.

Our finances are keeping up very well so far and, if things go on as they are doing, we ought to have a surplus at the end of the year—rather a substantial surplus, I am afraid. We shall probably get quite a decent revenue from the new diamond export-tax. Curiously enough, ever since it was imposed, the price of diamonds has been going up and it is at present practically at boom point. The 'Premier' is working again and it looks as though this mine too, may have to pay some export-tax, of which I am very glad, especially as it will tend to falsify the predictions of our critics. The Railway revenue is a good deal above estimate too. But one must remember that there has been a good deal of stocking going on, affecting both customs and railways and I am not at all confident that this satisfactory tendency will continue during the *next* financial year. The Union Loan has been quite a success. We get £9,000,000, of which about half are conversions and the other half entirely new money—an excellent result.

The Trading with the Enemy Act, which was one of our

¹ In the course of July–August 1916, Gerrit van Niekerk Schonken and Christiaan Pieter van der Merwe approached General C. R. de Wet for the purpose of organizing a second rebellion. De Wet refused to help them, informed the authorities of their intentions and gave evidence against them when, on 8 September, they appeared in court on a charge of high treason. *See the Cape Times*, 9 September 1916.

² Jackal (Afrikaans)—a nickname.

chief difficulties during the Session, is now in operation and, on the whole, except for some ultra-British demands, represented by the Beamish and Pollock lot and the *Natal Witness*, seems to be meeting the case, without causing undue hardship to innocent people. I have authorized the winding up of a few concerns that clearly were 'obnoxious' (in the legal sense)—like Orenstein, Arthur Koppel and Company, the 'A.E.G.'¹ at Johannesburg, etc. But genuine South African concerns, like, e.g., Malcomess and Company, I have simply arranged for the supervision of, with their consent and co-operation. There are many difficulties and complications, of course, but we are, I hope, managing fairly well.

We have put the new Harbour tariffs into operation (since 1 September). This is the scheme devised, you will remember, to meet the inland demand for making the harbours pay for themselves, a demand whose justice we have always recognized. Needless to say, there has been a regular howl all round, in tones which are largely mutually destructive. This of course, we had to expect and I think we shall have less of it under existing circumstances than in normal times. So, though I have sent Hoy to discuss matters with them all, at their Congress of Associated Chambers of Commerce—now sitting in Cape Town—I am keeping a stiff upper lip and insisting upon the new scales having a trial, especially as they are the result of months and months of investigation and consideration by the *full* Railways Board. Speaking of the Board, we are finding great trouble in suitably filling the two vacancies. We have asked Macintosh [W.] (Port Elizabeth) as the Cape 'representative' and he is inclined to accept, if he can arrange his affairs but has asked for time to consider. The Transvaal man gives great trouble. One's choice is so limited. You may know that Botha has an idea that, if Rissik gives up the Administratorship, as he seems disposed to do, he would take the Board vacancy. This of course would be quite the best solution *for the Board* but it creates such an impasse in the other direction that I don't expect it will materialize. Whom, then, are we to select? Botha says you think we cannot pass over old Tom² but I want you to re-

¹ Allgemeine Electricische Gesellschaft.

² Sir T. Cullinan.

consider that, in the light of public criticism as to suitability and competence, dear good fellow that he is. I fear that would be a decided administrative blunder. Let me know what you think. We want a Transvaaler who will represent more particularly the Dutch, country, view of things.

We have talked over Lord Buxton's suggestion *re* appointing a commission to examine 'trade-after-the-war' questions, in the light of the Economic Conference's resolutions.¹ Botha wrote you about this and you replied that you agreed and that we should get all sections represented. Well, I have talked the matter over with the Governor-General once or twice and pointed out my difficulties. The central feature of this whole business is going to be inter-Imperial preference, by way of tariffs and discriminations. You know what Nationalist feeling is about all that and also the strong feeling in our own party. If you get a commission, on which Nationalists are represented, you will for a certainty have a majority *and* minority report, with the danger that *our* representatives e.g. Merriman as a type—might join the minority report. You could not avoid discussion in Parliament, *before* the Dominions Conference in London takes place, on the whole subject and you would have heated and long debates as to the proper instructions to our delegates. This might so queer the pitch for us and the Imperial Government beforehand that I strongly incline to the view that it is better to send our men with such instructions as we gather *alicunde*² to be acceptable to the bulk of the people, and then leave their conclusions, of course, subject to the consent of Parliament *afterwards*, when the thing is an accomplished fact—always a much easier thing to get than with *res integra*.³ Buxton now wishes me to tell you that, after reconsideration, he quite agrees with my view and I will discuss the whole thing again in the Cabinet when Botha gets back. The Commercial Congress, I notice, has taken much the same line, i.e., of awaiting a lead from the Imperial Government, though they have passed a few resolutions of a general character. This whole business is going to be one of extreme delicacy and difficulty for us, I am sure, and we must go circumspectly.

¹ See p. 412 *infra*, note 1. ² From various sources. ³ Matters left open.

Well, I must catch the mail to you and you will be tired of so long a screed to a busy man in the field.

I hear Mrs Smuts is wonderfully well and bright. My wife is going to see her soon. Your colleagues unite in sending you kindest regards and all good wishes. Let me know if there is anything I can do for you and, believe me, with my own best personal hopes for you and your success, Yours sincerely,

Henry Burton

699 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 181

Morogoro

26 September 1916

Liefste Mamma, Ik meen er zijn al een paar brieven aan jou die nog niet weg zijn van deze plaats daar er in de laatste week geen transport is geweest wegens de groote regens en de verspoelde paden. Maar morgen gaat er gelegenheid naar de kust en zend ik maar weer een regeltje om jou ou hartje te verkwikken. Alles hier nog wel. Ik ben terug van Kissaki daar zaken elders van meer belang zijn. Ook is er verbazend veel ziekte te Kissaki vooral in deze regens. Col. Piet Botha van Brits divisie zegt my er liggen 700 van Brits aan koorts te Kissaki! Wat moet ik doen? Het is werkelijk verbazend hoe menschen koorts krijgen. Ik breng Brits divisie terug naar hier waar toestanden beter zijn.

Wolstenholme heeft een rekening van £23 tegen mij. Zend Frank Theron een cheque zoodat hij een draft voor £50 aan Wolstenholme kan zenden daar ik er niet van hou geld aan arm menschen te schulden. Jij zal blij wezen te hooren dat Hodgson nu goed vooruit gaat en geen vleesch meer eet. Ik heb in geen weeken van jou gehoord hoewel er een groote post by Turiani is en geweest is voor de laatste week. Jij kan jou niet voorstellen hoe gevaarlijk de regen in deze wereld wordt. Een oude zendeling deelt mij mede dat de vlakke van 40 mijl tusschen Kissaki en Rufiji rivier een onafgebroken zee van water wordt in den regentijd. Hoe moet ik den vijand daarheen achtervolgen! En indien ik zulks doe en de regen komt, hoe krijgen wij voedsel en wat wordt van ons, van de wereld afgesneden aan de Rufiji? Maar alles zal wel recht-komen, en ik zal andere plannen maken. Nu is deze 40 mijl

een dorre woestijn zoodat er niet genoeg water voor de troepen is indien zij nu vooruitgaan. Hier is het dus een geval van niets of te veel. Wij krijgen het bitter zwaar. Maar hoeveel zwaarder hebben die vluchtende Duitschers en Askaris het niet! Dus laten wij maar geduldig zijn en volharden tot het einde toe.

Ik ga al de slechte zieken naar de Unie terug zenden en ben alleen bang dat hun aankomst een zeer slechte en onaangename indruk aldaar zal maken. Maar hoe gauwer zij terug gaan hoe beter kans op spoedig herstel.

Deze is een klaag brief maar ik heb geen ander nieuws. Nu geeindigd met lieve zoentjes aan mamma en de kleinen. Ik hoop alles gaat jullie wel en dat Santa wat sterker and vetter wordt.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Morogoro
[East Africa]
26 September 1916

Dearest Mamma, I think there are already a few letters to you which have not yet left this place, as there has been no transport for the last week because of the great rains and the roads washed away. But tomorrow there will be an opportunity for despatch to the coast and I again send a line to refresh your little heart. Everything here still well. I am back from Kissaki as there are more important matters elsewhere. Besides, there is an amazing amount of sickness at Kissaki, especially in these rains. Colonel Piet Botha¹ of Brits's division tells me that 700 of Brits's men are down with fever at Kissaki! What am I to do? It is really amazing how people are getting fever. I am bringing Brits's division back here where conditions are better.

Wolstenholme has an account of £23 against me. Send Frank Theron a cheque so that he can send a draft of £50 to Wolstenholme as I don't like owing poor people money. You will be glad to hear that Hodgson is now progressing well and eats no more meat. I have not heard from you for weeks although there is a big post at Turiani, and has been for the

¹ Pieter Botha, a nephew of General Louis Botha.

last week. You cannot imagine how dangerous the rains are in this country. An old missionary informs me that the 40-mile plain between Kissaki and the Rufiji River becomes one continuous sea of water in the rainy season. How am I to pursue the enemy thither? And if I do so and the rain comes, how do we get food and what will become of us, cut off from the world on the Rufiji? But everything will come right, and I shall make other plans. This 40 miles is now an arid desert, so that there is not enough water for the troops should they now go forward. So it is a case of nothing or too much. We are having a terribly hard time. But how much harder a time the fleeing Germans and Askaris are having! So let us be patient and persevere to the end.

I am going to send all the bad sick cases back to the Union; and am only afraid that their arrival will make a very bad and unpleasant impression there. But the sooner they return, the better chance they will have of quick recovery.

This is a complaining letter but I have no other news. I end now with dear kisses to Mamma and the little ones. I hope everything is well with you and that Santa is becoming a bit stronger and fatter.

Pappa

700 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 14, no. 208

Morogoro (On service)

[East Africa]

24 October 1916

I owe you one letter and Arthur two. I shall send yours first. I was very glad to see all the domestic news in yours. With what eagerness one turns in these days away from the questions of war and public affairs to those of the quiet, neglected, and almost forgotten home, where some private happiness still continues to bloom to remind one of the lost world. It was a joy to me to hear that the dear old people were still well in spite of age and infirmities. May Heaven bless them and spare them long to their dear ones. They belong not only to a generation, but an age, which is disappearing, and we shall not see their like again. I am also glad that Jan, Anthony, and

Nicholas, (whose initials form the name of No. 1) are all well and happy. I wonder what the future has in store for them; whether this war will be followed by an era of peace and quite days of social reconstruction, or whether it is only the prelude of the storms which are going to tear our Western civilization to pieces? I must say I have the gravest misgivings about this threatened commercial war to follow on the conclusion of hostilities. It promises a world divided into hostile tariff camps which will again burst out in bloody conflicts with still more refined methods of destruction. You may in that case see a great revival of Quaker religion. In fact, I would myself join those who believe in the Inner Light and forswear the Satan of bloodshed. But as for this war I believe we are really (perhaps in spite of ourselves) standing for the greatest and highest causes, and I should more than regret any victory being turned to mere commercial rivalries and selfishness. And victory is still far off. Austria is in a bad way, but Germany is still strong and determined, and a war of exhaustion will have to last still many a weary dreadful month before she gives in. Here too the campaign is dragging on far beyond the period I had expected. Every portion of any value of this colony is lost to the enemy who is now confined to the deadly malaria region of the great southern river systems Rufiji, Ulanga, Rovuma. But the word has gone forth from Germany that they must hold out here to the uttermost, and in the swamps and jungle where the enemy now is it is most difficult to get at him. The rainy season is also coming on and will last to next May, and during it operations are impossible. So you can see what a dismal prospect there is in front of me. The fever among our men, especially the whites and Indians, is very bad and becomes much worse during the rains.

From South Africa the news is good except that one of our heavy, prolonged droughts is being experienced. At Doornkloof all are well and happy. Little Jannie complains that if Pappie does not return soon he will quite forget him and love Oom Jimmie (my wife's brother) instead. But his love is periodically revived by the promise of some present or other when I return. The youngest daughter, now two years old, tells the birds in the trees to come out as the trees belong to

Pappa, who will be very angry when he comes back and finds them in his trees!

But good-bye, my dear friend. My love to you and Arthur, to the three little ones, and to the circle at Millfield.

701 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 14, no. 185

Morogoro
[East Africa]
27 October 1916

Dear Mr Merriman, I have not replied for a long time to your last letters, but you will no doubt make allowance as you know and appreciate how I am placed in this country—mostly on the move from one part of the country to another and with little opportunity for regular correspondence. The last two months have been a specially busy and arduous time. We have strained every nerve in driving the enemy over many hundreds of miles in the hope that his exhausted condition would make him surrender, or [of] the capture of the central railway system. But the German commander is a tough fellow, determined to hold out to the very end and even to retire into the Portuguese territory rather than surrender. Unfortunately for us the rainy season with its transport troubles and malaria is again approaching, and as the southern part of the German territory is particularly unhealthy and difficult, this wretched campaign may still last some considerable time. Really this is not a country into which to bring a force of white men, and I have often had reason to remember your advice to send here 10,000 Zulus rather than white South Africans. The enemy of course fights with a Native army under a very limited number of white officers and is consequently not affected by tropical diseases to anything like the same degree as ourselves.

In Europe the war is also dragging very slowly along and it is now quite possible that the war may last to the end of next year and so even exceed the length predicted by Lord Kitchener¹. I do not think the Germans are near the end, and if they can keep the Austrians from going under, we may even see an inconclusive peace in the end.

¹ Three years.

I am glad to hear that you are still very well and politically and otherwise active. What a pity the Nationalists are doing their utmost to divide South Africa and prevent that union between the white races which would be the greatest blessing to South Africa and the guarantee of its future. It remains for us to be at least equally active and to see that their poison does not eat too deep into our national life or the body politic.

With best wishes both to you and Mrs Merriman, Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

702 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 14, no. 189

Morogoro

[East Africa]

17 November 1916

My dear Wolstenholme, I wrote to you a little while back but it now appears that our mails for a period of two months have disappeared in the *Arabia*,¹ and I therefore send you another line. Your books and papers and letters continue to arrive and are very welcome and appreciated. The periodicals with your critical comments are read not only by me but a number of other senior officers who take an interest in other than military matters. I wrote my wife to send you a remittance to cover my deficit and create a margin in my favour. I hope she has done so. Croce's two books you have sent me (*Philosophy of the Practical*, and *Hegel's Philosophy*) are both very interesting. I believe there is another volume or two translated which you might send me. Send me also Balfour's lectures on *Humanism* and Baldwin's *Genetic Theory of Reality* (Putnam and Sons) the contents of which latter are like to interest me. Some of my dear old German philosophers I have found in this country and I can therefore reread them at odd times. I am still revolving my Holistic Theory of which you seem to think little but which solves many puzzles for me. I think our thought-alphabet inadequate. For the organic we have such conceptions as life, personality, etc. etc. But the tendency in nature away from the purely mechanical, the tendency

¹The P. and O. steamer torpedoed and sunk on 6 November 1916 in the Mediterranean.

which moves towards wholes (what I call Holism), begins far below the stage of life and is co-extensive with matter, and far transcends¹ personality. Not only should there be a concept of Holism, but I believe there is such an activity in nature and that our concepts of life, mind, personality, society, etc. are all partial attempts to seize hold of this fundamental activity. Please think about this and don't merely pooh-pooh what I say. There is something in it.

The war in Europe will certainly last another year and then probably end in an inconclusive peace. Here the campaign is practically over, but the Germans hang on most tenaciously in the pestilential river systems of the south where it is most difficult to oust them or round them up. In a few months the campaign will become a purely police matter and I shall go back to South Africa. Thank goodness!

With affectionate greetings and best wishes for the New Year,
Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

703 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 14, no. 118

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

20 November 1916

My dear Smuts, I cannot tell you how glad I was to see your handwriting or how ashamed it made me feel for having neglected you so long. I only wish that we could have a few hours' talk. Bourne sends me the reports so I am fairly well posted up in your doings. I suppose at present that you are operating in one of the most deadly places in the world—the Rufiji Delta—and as you say we are pitting the lives of white men against the climate and those of blacks. Of course, as far as we can judge, the enemy must be in a parlous condition. It seems fruitless heroism on their part to hang on but as you are an old practitioner yourself in that same line, you will enter into their feelings. I wish one could feel more certain about the ultimate fate of East Africa. One thing seems certain, that the Allies will none of them be over-anxious to see Great Britain increase her heritage in Africa. Whatever they might

¹ This word is underlined and amended by Wolstenholme as follows: 'lies far back of'.

have been, the vapourings of Hughes, the Paris resolutions,¹ and the action of the Colonial Office over the palm-nut kernels business in Nigeria² have made them profoundly suspicious as to our aims and ultimate objects in this war. You, who doubtless remember the story of the Vienna Congress and the way in which the Allies there, when the sound of Napoleon's cannon were scarcely silent, began to intrigue and plot against each other, will not have many illusions as to the sort of reception we shall have nowadays.

Botha, with whom I am in correspondence, has most fortunately steered clear of Mr Hughes (the Tory hero) and has never lent his countenance to all the outcry for crushing Germany—the economic war, exclusive trade, and all the other nostrums that make us rub our eyes and fancy that the clock has been put back to the eighteenth century. This, and the character our troops have got for conduct and discipline in comparison with Canada and Australia, ought to give South Africa a strong position at any conference. Only one can never be sure for a moment what that *tasse d'avocats* in London who rule our destinies may not take up as a *ballon d'essai*, perhaps I ought to say as a sort of life-buoy. The latest utterance that has come over the cable is one from Winston Churchill in which he proposes to reform the British Empire on, apparently, the socialistic lines of the Empire of the Incas as depicted by Prescott and others. Wilson Fox on the other hand suggests that it be treated as a private estate and administered on the lines of a Chartered Company. People have gone mad and with all your difficulties you are, I think, better off than the unfortunate politicians who find themselves ruling the whirlwind in Europe just now.

We are, as usual in South Africa, up to our necks in hot water. By way of an amusing interlude those jackasses who call themselves 'British Citizens'³ are kicking up their heels

¹ An Economic Conference met in Paris on 14 June 1916. It made recommendations on economic measures to be taken by the Allies not only during the war, but also after it.

² The Colonial Office had decided to put enemy property in Nigeria up for sale. The question arose whether or not subjects of neutral powers should be allowed to bid.

³ The British Citizen Movement urged drastic action against enemy aliens in South Africa and were dissatisfied with the terms of the Trading with the Enemy Act of June 1916.

again and braying, but whether it is only to let us know they are there, or whether they hope to organize another 'pogrom' I do not know. I think the former. Then the Labour Party are fomenting an agitation under Sampson [H. W.], Madeley and G. Hoy¹ in favour of state mining on the East Rand, upon which project Francey has a Commission² sitting with the notable Tielman Roos as a member, just to see that any mischief going shall redound to his credit. Francey has also another Commission³ sitting upon Colonial industries, comprised almost exclusively of red-hot protectionists and anti-Germans. Then we have the old standing dish of the pay of the overseas contingent⁴ which has excited Natal to frenzy. I don't think this emanates so much from the men as from their political friends out here who see a glorious opportunity for beating Botha with a thick stick.

The Nationalists continue to make a great noise but I *really* do not think they are gaining much ground. I think the gross ineptitude of Hertzog and the other would-be leaders comes home to the *lands vaders*⁵—who, to be fair, have a good substratum of commonsense if you can dig down to it. Far *more dangerous* is the *chance of a split* between the Unionists and Botha. Smartt is all right but some of the blades on the Rand are very *difficiles*. This would be a capital misfortune. But all these things must seem small and far away to you. I wish the thousands of Zulus that are being sent to Europe could be diverted to you. It would be a much less dangerous, and possibly disastrous, experiment than the other. But as it is we must, I suppose, make the best of it. It is not only the professional mischief-makers who view the experiment with disfavour but some of our wisest and most solid friends, who regard the introduction of our Natives to the social conditions

¹ George Frederick Hoy. Born 1868 in Edinburgh. Went to South Africa 1887.

² Commission on State Mining (Chairman: P. Ross Frames), appointed September 1916.

³ Not identified.

⁴ The Unionists and their supporters wished the men of the overseas contingent to be paid at the South African rate, which was about twice as high as the Imperial rate, and declared that the Government's proposal that the Imperial Government should meet the cost of the contingent, at Imperial rates of pay, would discourage recruiting.

⁵ fathers of the people (Afrikaans).

of Europe with the *greatest* alarm. Do you remember in 1899 when *we* tried to stop such a movement on a much smaller scale? What water has not run under the mill since then!

I suppose you get books and I am sure you make time to read them. P. Molteno has just sent me a very striking book by Morel—the man who led the Congo crusade against Leopold—*Truth and the War*. The motif is to show how this war has been brought about by the practices of secret diplomacy indulged in by all European nations, and how the peoples, their lives, and their fortunes have been thrown into the abyss by the machination of a knot of men of whose doings they were kept in profound ignorance. It is well written, full of references, and to a certain extent carries conviction. If I can get a copy in Cape Town I will send it along. Another book you ought to see is *Central Europe (Mittel Europa)*, the translation of a work by F. Naumann; object, to advocate and explain the formation of a sort of federation or super-state between Germany and Austria. It is not anti-English, rather moderate, and very interesting as showing the factors that we shall have to deal with.

But I will not inflict my tediousness any more. Good-bye, good luck. I wish you a safe delivery from Germans, Portuguese, Belgians and all miasmatic microbes, and that Cicero may soon return from Cilicia in triumph. Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

704 From Lord Buxton

Vol. 14, no. 64

Government House
Pretoria
21 November 1916

My dear Smuts, I am very sorry that the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times*¹ have been running a-muck over the question of the discomforts endured by the troops during the campaign. The cartoon in the *Rand Daily Mail* was really disgraceful, and will have harrowed the hearts of a very large

¹ Weekly newspaper established in Johannesburg in 1904.

number of parents and others. They probably did not think of this when they thought they would make a scoop.

However, your message, published to-day, will I am sure do a lot of good, and the General has been giving the complainers a piece of his mind.

I would not have troubled you on the matter except that you may like to see the enclosed,¹ which is one among many letters, more or less similar in character, which my daughter² has had in consequence of her letter to the Press in regard to the hospitals in East Africa. That appeared, as you may know, in the Press here, and the Defence Department suggested its circulation to the parents and dependents of the men, and it has been sent round to them. She has received some very nice letters in consequence. I send you a copy of this one as it particularly deals with the question of hardships.

Good luck to you. I've just had the Admiral³ here,—he spoke warmly about you. He also gave me a message from you which I much appreciate. Yours very sincerely,

Buxton

705 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 189A

Morogoro

21 November 1916

Liefste Mamma, Coen Brits is vanavond hier en ik zend morgen met hem een kistje met goedjes vir jou en de kleinen. Vir *jou* —een Duitsche vlag; vir *Jannie* een rocket kanon met gekleurde vuurpijlen; vir *Japie* een *kostbare* Arabische belt met dolk; vir *Santa* een cap van de 4.1 duim zeekanon als papier gewicht; vir *Cato* een ivoor olifant als papier gewicht; vir *Louis* een koppie en pierink genomen van Pangani's kinders (misschien een ander vir Jannie, zeer dik en zwaar en onbreekbaar). Vir *Sylma* een gevlochten kaffer mandje en zilver jakhalsvel voor haar bed; de andere vel vir Cato. De andere mandje vir Santa. Vele boontjes vir zaai en vir de kinders. Een paar schelpen van oostkust vir jou. Jij moet maar jou best doen alles te verdeelen maar bovenstaande is misschien beste. Die

¹ Not attached to the original letter.

² Priscilla Buxton.

³ Vice-Admiral Sir Edward T. B. Charlton.

koppie is daarom te min vir lieve Louis en jij moet haar ook iets anders given—zamen met een zoentje van pappa.

Het spijt mij zeer dat ik niet zelf die pakket kan brengen, maar mamma moet maar geduldig wachten, pappa zal zelf eendag kom en iets anders vir liefste mamma breng.

Ik heb ou Koen gevraagd om zelf naar Doornkloof te gaan om het nieuws te brengen.

Nu mamma, baing zoentjes en baing groeten aan jullie almal van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Morogoro

[East Africa]

21 November 1916

Dearest Mamma, Coen Brits is here this evening and tomorrow I shall send with him a small box of things for you and the little ones. For *you*—a German flag; for *Jannie* a rocket-gun with coloured rockets; for *Japie* a *valuable* Arabic belt with dagger; for *Santa* a cap of the 4.1 inch naval gun for a paper-weight; for *Cato* an ivory elephant for a paper-weight; for *Louis* a cup and saucer taken from Pangani's children¹ (perhaps another for Jannie, very thick and heavy and unbreakable). For *Sylma* a plaited Native basket and silver jackal skin for her bed; the other skin for Cato. The other basket for Santa. A lot of beans for sowing and for the children. A few shells from the east coast for you. You must do your best to divide everything, but the above is perhaps best. But the cup is too little for dear Louis and you must give her something else too—together with a kiss from Pappa.

I am very sorry I cannot bring the parcel myself, but Mamma must wait patiently. Pappa will come himself one day and bring something else for dearest Mamma.

I have asked old Coen to go to Doornkloof himself to take the news.

Now Mamma, many kisses and good wishes to you all from

Pappa

¹ See 709.

Morogoro
24 November 1916

Liefste Mamma, Hoe snellen de dagen daarhenen! Over een maand is al weer Kerstmis en het lijkt alsof ik een paar maanden geleden Doornkloof verliet. Voor jou die daar stil thuis zit is de indruk natuurlijk de tegenovergestelde, maar hier is men zoo druk bezig, vandaag hier morgen daar, en gedurige gebeurtenissen en moeilijkheden dat alles byna als een droom passeert. Morgen ochtend vroeg b.v. vertrek ik op een inspectie reis naar Dodoma 180 mijl verder west, van daar naar de groot Ruaha rivier om te zien hoe Jaap van Deventer met zijn pad vordert naar Iringa, en over 5 dagen hoop ik weer terug te zijn—een reis van tusschen 500 en 600 mijl per motorcar. Die achter as van de Yankee is aan stuk en wordt nu gepareerd [*sic*] dus zal Hodgson niet met mij kunnen gaan. Hij is echter geheel wel. Ik heb 2 andere Vauxhalls van Engeland voor mijn gebruik georderd en indien zij in goede order zijn aan het einde van het campagne zal ik trachten te tegen een waardeering van de War Office over te nemen—één voor mij en één voor het kantoor. Dan kunnen wij de Napier weer van de hand zetten. Ik kan de Vauxhall nu zelf goed drijven, en ik ben bang dat ik de Napier niet weer van de hand zal kunnen zetten als ik te lang wacht, daar de type te veel veranderd. Jannie en Louis zullen zeker graag in een nieuwe Vauxhall willen rijden; hoewel die ou Yankee nog uitstekend goed is.

Het is in de laatste tijd hier tamelijk warm en het lijkt als of de regen spoedig zal komen. Dat spijt mij want hoe langer de regen wegblijft hoe beter en sneller zullen wij ons werk kunnen doen. Ik heb Genl. Botha gezegd ik zal mijn best doen aanstaande Maart terug te zijn in het parlement; maar het kan ook zijn dat de regen ons veel achteruit zet. Jij moet denken de rivieren hier zijn onder de grootste van Afrika. De Groot Ruaha zuid van Dodoma is wanneer vol 12 mijlen breed! En nog andere groote rivieren loopen in de Rufiji die wij moeten overgaan. En de wereld wordt een aaneenschakeling van moerassen in den regentijd. En de koorts, en de onmogelijkheid van transport, en de honger etc., etc. Neen, deze

veldtocht is geen picnic, hoor! Ik hoop maar het einde zal heerlijk zijn zooals het gezang zegt. En dan niet weer van huis, behalve naar het parlement of naar het boschveld om te zien hoe het daar gaat. Ik heb niets verder van Frank Theron gehoord over Derdepoort en concludeer dat de plaats aan iemand anders is verkocht. Ik denk meer en meer van de beste boerdery als een goede winstgevende zaak, die ons op ons oude dag een klein inkomste zal waarborgen. Ik kan toch niet altijd in het hof pleiten en met de politiek zal ik eerstdaags gedaan raken, want ik heb reeds veel daaraan gedaan en mijn werk is omtrent klaar. Ik ben niet een van hen die zal blijven aanhangen wanneer ik zie dat mijn tijd voorbij is en de lieve dankbare publiek een andere smaak heeft ontwikkeld. En dan zal er tijd zijn onze herinneringen voor onze kinderen te schrijven en zoo in de stilte te filosofeeren. Milton schreef *Paradise Lost* op zijn ouden dag in totale afstooting van zijn volk—om kleine dingen met groot te vergelijken!

Nu mamma moet ik eindigen—met veel groeten en liefde aan allen. Ik hoop jullie het [*sic*] mijn kistje met pasellas ontvangen en dat er niet te veel onaangenaamheid was over de verdeling. Troost de treurenden dat er meer nog meer zal komen. Zoentjes van Pappa aan allen.

TRANSLATION

Morogoro
[East Africa]
24 November 1916

Dearest Mamma, How the days fly! In a month it will be Christmas again and it seems as if I left Doornkloof a few months ago. You, sitting there quietly at home, have, of course, the opposite impression, but here one is so busy, here today there tomorrow, with continual happenings and difficulties that everything passes almost as in a dream. For instance, early tomorrow morning I leave on an inspection tour to Dodoma, 180 miles further west; from there to the great Ruaha River to see how Jaap van Deventer is getting on with his march to Iringa, and in five days I hope to be back here again—a journey of between 500 and 600 miles by motor-car. The back axle of the Yankee is broken and is now being repaired so Hodgson will not be able to go with me. But he is quite well.

I have ordered two other Vauxhalls from England for my use and if they are in good order at the end of the campaign, I shall try to take them over at a valuation from the War Office—one for me and one for the office. Then we can dispose of the Napier. I can now drive the Vauxhall well myself, and I am afraid that I shall not be able to dispose of the Napier if I wait too long, as the model changes too often. Jannie and Louis will very much want to drive in a new Vauxhall; although the old Yankee is still excellent.

It has been fairly hot here of late and it looks as if the rain will soon come. I regret that, for the longer the rain keeps off, the better and quicker we shall be able to do our work. I have told General Botha I shall do my best to be back in Parliament next March; but it may be that the rain will delay us considerably. You must remember the rivers here are among the biggest in Africa. The great Ruaha south of Dodoma, when full, is 12 miles broad! And other big rivers run into the Rufiji, which we must cross. And the country becomes a series of morasses in the rainy season. And fever, and the impossibility of transport, and hunger, etc. etc. No, this campaign is no picnic, believe me! I only hope the end will be joyful as the hymn says. And then, no leaving home again, except to go to Parliament or the bushveld to see how things are there. I have heard nothing further from Frank Theron about Derdepoort and conclude that the farm has been sold to someone else. More and more I consider cattle-farming to be a good profitable business, which will guarantee us a small income in our old age. I cannot always plead in court and I shall have done with politics one of these days because I have already done much there and my work is about finished. I am not one of those who will remain hanging on, when I see that my time is past and the dear, grateful public has developed another taste. And then there will be time to write our memoirs for our children and to philosophize in quietness. Milton wrote *Paradise Lost* in his old age when completely cast off from his people—to compare small things with great!

Now, Mamma, I must end—with many good wishes and much love to all. I hope you received my box of presents and that there was not too much unpleasantness about the

division. Console the wailers with more and yet more to come. Kisses from Pappa to all.

707 From N. Levi

Vol. 14, no. 109

Pretoria

5 December 1916

Geachte Genl., Biezonder verblijd was ik met uw eigenhandig schrijven van 21 Nov., dat vandaag aankwam, via Theron, maar uw eerste zin, dat U lang niet van mij gehoord hebt, doet mij denken dat er zelfs aan U brieven verloren gaan, want ik schreef toch nu en dan. Nu is er pas 'n brief van mij weg (ongeveer acht dagen geleden), maar daarvóór waren er toch ook nog 'n paar sedert ik laatst van U hoorde, per mnr. Krige. Ik heb U wel niet zo dikwijls geschreven als ik lust had, menend dat U teveel te doen zou hebben om nog op mijn brieven te letten. Maar ik heb toch geprobeerd om U telkens zo'n globaal overzicht te geven van wat er voorvalt, voor zover iemand als ik—die niet achter de schermen kan kijken—'t beoordelen kan. Ik verdenk dus mnr. Krige ervan dat hij mijn brieven, in de veelheid der dokumenten, maar heeft 'gepapiermand'—en ik kan 't hem niet kwalik nemen, als hij de Cerberus speelt! Misschien raakten ze ook weg. In elk geval zal ik graag hebben, als U kunt, dat hij of U de ontvangst van deze erkent, zodat ik weet of het nut heeft U te schrijven. Tussen twee haakjes, ik zag onlangs in 'n briefk. aan Cato dat U haar Afrikaans schrijft. Als U dat aangenamer is, zal ik 't ook doen; ik schrijf Jan Lombard en andere vrienden altijd in 't Afrikaans.

In mijn vorige meldde ik U dat Longmans mijn boek had aangenomen. Sedert verschenen er verscheiden vleiende voorlopige aankondigingen in de pers, Holl. en Engels. Zelfs *De Burger* nam 'n kort berichtje op van Grosskopf, die zijn Pretoriase korrespdt. is. Ook bereiken mij van alle kanten persoonlijke blijken van belangstelling. Dan stuurde ik U in die brief mijn lange artikel over uw gewenste terugkomst, waarover heel wat bespiegeling is geweest. De *Argus* vertaalde het hele artikel. Hierbij sluit ik 'n *Ons Vaderland*-opinie in, met verslag van 't Coen Brits-banket. Zoals U zien zult, is Z.E. altijd nog bang dat men zijn 'zware werk' en Imperiale

doorluchtigheid niet voldoende beseft als hij er zelf niet op wijst. Wat daar gezegd werd is m.i. voldoende rechtvaardiging voor mijn artikel. Wij, d.w.z. uw vrienden, beginnen ons werkelijk bang te maken dat uw lang verblijf in die ongezone streek U meer kwaad kan doen dan vergoed zou worden door uw aanwezigheid in 't huidige guerilla-stadium van operaties. Nu wil ik niet uw vertrouwen uitlokken, maar indien U 't mogelijk acht mij materiaal te zenden voor 'n *autoritaire mededeling* op dit punt zullen Dr E. en ik 't beiden zeer waarderen. Waarom laat U toe dat Engeland U zo schunnig voorsiet van kost enz., zelfs bij de kust?

Ik toonde Dr E. uw brief en hij was natuurlijk zeer ingenomen met uw waardering van De V. qua nieuwsblad. Wij kunnen veel nieuws geven omdat wij 't in beknopte vorm doen en alles van waarde kondenseren uit de ganse Zuid-Afrikaanse pers.

Er gaan hardnekkige geruchten dat men U op 16 Dec. te Paardekraal zal zien. Uw vrouw is 'musterhaft' en wil zich nooit uitlaten. Louis is tegenwoordig heel goede vrienden en heeft niet alleen opgehouden 'Levi, lillik' te zeggen, maar komt al vanzelf bij mij op schoot en maakt dan gekheidjes. Cato is kwaad op mij omdat ik haar niet gunstig genoeg had beoordeeld op 'n tentoonstelling van schetsen bij Miss Murray.

Nu wil ik U zo'n beetje inlichten op uw vraag over politiek. Er valt niet veel te voegen bij wat ik reeds zei in vorige brieven. Ik acht de kans voor de rebellen in Vic. West goed, maar hoop één dezer dagen te spreken met Mentz, die er was. Indien hij noemenswaardige private informatie geeft, zal ik 't U dadelik melden. Dr Malan heeft zich daar erg mak gehouden om toch maar zieltjes te winnen. Uw kollega Malan gaat er nu ook heen. Van hem gesproken—'t is komiek voor wie zo'n beetje ziet wat er gaande is om de wedijver tussen hem en Burton na te gaan. Hij (M) liet zich tijdens Genl. B.'s afwezigheid ijverig adverteren als senior minister, terwijl Burton inmiddels deed alsof hij (B) alleen baas was. Malan is niet populair. Burton weet zich, in weerwil van zijn airs, toch meer gewild te maken. Mentz laat zich weinig in, voor 't publiek, met hoge politiek maar wint allerwege vrienden door zijn zakelijk optreden. Van Heerden is bang dat hij zich aan koud water brandt en maakt 't de gematigde Nattes zo

naar de zin dat Raubenheimer (Nat. L.V.) enige dagen geleden te George, waar v.H. was, hem noemde 'de rechte man op de rechte plaats'. Watt heeft éérs verklaard dat de soldij-regeling 'n schandvlek was en is toen waarschijnlijk op de vingers getikt want te Onderberg (Natal) heeft hij plechtig beloofd er geen kabinetskwestie van te maken. Ook verdedigde hij daar genl. Botha's gebruik van Hollands te Maritzburg, waarover 'n orkaan (in 'n glas water) woedde in Natal. 'Ramming Dutch down our throats' etc. Waarlik, wij zijn vandaag nog niet rijp voor Unie! Kobie Graaff praatte onlangs erg verzoenend jegens de rebellen in zijn woestijn. De Engelse bladen maakten daarop aanmerking en stookten Burton op, waarna Burton weer sterk anti-rebels sprak om de indruk uit te wissen. Beck heeft 't buskruit nog altijd niet uitgevonden en brengt de neringdoenden van Pretoria sterk onder de indruk van zijn Cape lines op 't gebied van persoonlijke uitgaven. Van uw vrind Klasie horen we weinig. Hij zit blijkbaar met handdoeken om 't hoofd nieuwe drankwetten en zo op te maken. 't Wordt ook werkelijk 'n beetje erg in Johbg. Iedereen is bang voor nieuwe belasting. De dorpsleden van de ZAP zullen schoppen als de inkomstebelasting verhoogd wordt terwijl de boer feitelijk buiten schot blijft. En de boeren zullen natuurlijk dreigen rebels te worden als hun heilige grond belast wordt. Dan heeft Burton nog de provinsiale kwestie te behandelen—ook al niet makkelijk. De rebellen houden verder de kwestie van 't 'verloren miljoen' levendig, terwijl de Volksraad ook wel over de soldij-kwestie iets zal horen. Smartt en Duncan schijnen helemaal mak, maar er komen wilde Unionisten en tenzij de mise en scène achter de schermen beter is dan ik vermoed, kunnen er nog lastige toneeltjes uit voortkomen. In Natal is men trouwens gek. De Davis-pers en de *Mercury* blijven tegen de Regering razen. Papenfus, v. Hulsteyn en Co. hebben beloofd zich neer te leggen bij wat Genl. B. doet.

De *Friend* had gister 'n hoofdartikel waarin werd te kennen gegeven, natuurlijk niet zo duidelijk als ik 't zeg, dat Steyn's dood 'n invloed ten goede zal hebben daar 'behalve Genl. de Wet, niemand zulk 'n unieke positie in de OVS inneemt'. Die kan Hertzog in de zak steken. Het heeft allen getroffen dat Genl. Botha bij 't graf vrindschappelijk de hand gaf aan

Hertzog en de Wet. De *Argus*-pers maakt er aanmerking op dat Jaap Villiers de gelegenheid misbruikte om politiek te praten bij Steyn's graf, terwijl Botha en Hertzog zich stilhielden daarover. Jaap moest zeker eens stoom afblazen. In Pretoria houdt hij zich overal buiten. De Transvaalse bladen bleven alle koest over Steyn's werkelijke positie, maar de *Cape Times* en de *Argus* hebben hem, of liever zijn nabestaanden, de waarheid gezegd inzake 1914. Onder ons gezegd, uw vrouw wist niet of ze 'n krans zou sturen of niet, maar deed 't toch en ze bekende mij dat 't haar 'n beetje had begrooten er £10 aan te spenderen in deze dure tijden. Maar Reuter heeft wereldkundig gemaakt dat de kransen van de Reg., van Botha en van Smuts speciaal de aandacht trokken onder de honderde anderen. 't Trof mij dat op 't Brits-feestmaal geen enkel woord over Steyn gezegd werd—24 uur na de begrafenis. Hij was toch m.i. 'n groot Afrikaner, wat ook al zijn recente fout.

Te Paardekraal zal ik waarschijnlijk niet wezen, daar Dr E., Preller en onze junior (Hiemstra) zullen gaan. Anders zou ik U 'n indruk van de stemming daar willen geven. Preller raakt nu klaar met de film-storie en treedt weer bij De V. in dienst, na bijna 'n halfjaar vakantie. Ik zal mij nu 'n beetje op de achtergrond houden, politiek, om niet in persoonlijke of andere botsing met hem te komen. Jan Lombard 'is playing the game very well' te Bloemfontein en heeft 'n zeun. Hij is 'n groot vereerder van U en als U 'n halve minuut kunt vinden om hem geluk te wensen met zijn eersteling, die pas arriveerde, kan zulk 'n kleine attentie misschien ten bate van land en volk gedijen in lengte van dagen.

Het land heeft werkelijk sterk geleden van de droogte, terwijl hevige stormen in de laatste paar dagen alweer schade gedaan hebben. De kwestie van prijzen der levensmiddelen wordt nu ook in Z.A. ernstig. Ik zie dat de Reg. plan heeft 'n dam te bouwen voor Fitzpatrick en Co. (Sundays River Settlements) omdat Fitz al zijn mensen daar geruineerd heeft met z'n reussachtige voor, die niks waard was toen de rivier zelf ging stilstaan. Nu loopt hij daarom weer 'n beetje.

In Duits West schijnt alles kalm te gaan, tenminste men hoort niets van daar behalve dat de hand van de censor zwaar drukt.

De z.g. 'tweede rebellie' schijnt niet veel betekend te hebben en enkel door onverantwoordelijke personen te zijn bedreven. Genl. B. heeft mij daarover wel wat *veel* verteld (en ik weer aan de *Volkstem*-lezer) toen hij van U terugkwam en ik tijdelijk editeur der *Volkstem* was; Dr E. was toen drie weken op reis.

De loslating van Kemp en Wessels, terwijl 't nog oorlog is, heeft velen verbaasd; mij ook. Maar 'the proof of the pudding . . .' Er is nu zoveel ander goedjes, dat men 't al vergeten is. De toon van de rebellen-pers over deze finale loslating was, over 't algemeen, beter dan tevoren bij loslatingen. Maar *Ons Vaderland*, dat onder de Roos-van Pittius invloed staat, bleef intransigent.

Ik zou weleens achter uw voorhoofd willen kijken om na te gaan wat uw opinie is over dat geknoei in Engeland, in Roemenië enz. Maar dat zult U mij weleens mondeling vertellen.

Ik hoop dat U hier zult zijn vóórdat mijn boek arriveert (pl.m. Maart). Ik heb zo'n heilzaam respekt voor de malaria-muskiet. Nu heb ik al teveel gepraat, maar laat mij weten of ik weer iets zal schrijven. Hartelijke groeten, ook aan mnr. Krige, en beste wensen (spesiaal voor Kerstmis en 1917) van Uw dienstw.

Levi

P.S. Te Cradock is op 't Arme Blanken Kongres verbasend veel twak-met-vijgen gepraat. *De Volkstem* liet 't blauw-blauw. Geo. Hofmeyr was roerend bombasties!

TRANSLATION

Pretoria

5 December 1916

Dear General, I was particularly glad of the letter in your own hand which arrived today, via Theron, but your first sentence—that you have not heard from me for a long time—makes me think that even letters to you get lost, for I did write now and then. A letter from me left recently (about eight days ago), but there were also a few before that since I last heard from you through Mr Krige. I have not written to you as often as I felt inclined, thinking that you would have too much to do to notice my letters. But I have nevertheless tried to give you

at times a kind of general survey of what is happening, as far as I—who cannot look behind the scenes—can judge. I therefore suspect that Mr Krige has, amid the mass of documents, put my letters in the waste-paper basket—and I cannot blame him for playing Cerberus. But perhaps they went astray. In any case, I should like, if you can, either him or you to acknowledge the receipt of this, so that I know it is of use to write to you. By the way, I recently saw, on a postcard to Cato, that you write Afrikaans to her. If that is more pleasing to you, I shall do it too; I always write to Jan Lombard and other friends in Afrikaans.

In my preceding letter I informed you that Longmans had accepted my book. Since then several flattering preliminary announcements have appeared in the Press—Dutch and English. Even *De Burger* placed a short report from Grosskopf [J. F. W.], who is its Pretoria correspondent. Personal indications of interest are also reaching me from all sides. I also sent you in that letter my long article on your desired return, about which there has been considerable speculation. The *Argus* translated the whole article. I enclose herewith an *Ons Vaderland*¹ opinion, with a report of the Coen Brits banquet. As you will see, His Excellency is still afraid that people do not sufficiently appreciate his 'hard work' and imperial illustriousness if he does not draw attention to this himself. What was said there is, in my opinion, sufficient justification for my article. We, that is, your friends, are beginning to be really scared that your long sojourn in that unhealthy region may do you more harm than could be compensated for by your presence, in the existing guerilla stage of operations. Now, I do not wish to force your confidence, but if you think it possible to send me material for an *authoritative communication* on this point, Dr Engelenburg and I would both value it very much. Why do you allow England to supply you so stingily with food, etc., even at the coast?

I showed Dr Engelenburg your letter and he was, of course, very much taken with your appreciation of *De Volkstem qua* newspaper. We can give a lot of news because we do it in a shortened form and condense everything of worth from the entire South African Press.

¹ Established in Pretoria in 1915.

There are persistent rumours that you will be seen at Paardekraal on 16 December.¹ Your wife is *musterhaft*² and will never talk. Louis is quite friendly nowadays and has not only stopped saying 'Levi ugly', but already climbs into my lap of her own accord and does little silly tricks. Cato is angry with me because I had not judged her favourably enough at an exhibition of sketches at Miss Murray's.³

Now I want to give you a little information about your question on politics. I consider the rebels have a good chance at Victoria West,⁴ but hope one of these days to discuss it with Mentz, who was there. If he gives private information worth mentioning, I shall inform you of it at once. Dr Malan has put on a very mild front there in order to win souls. Your colleague Malan is also going there now. Talking of him, it is amusing for anyone who sees a little of what is going on, to observe the rivalry between him and Burton. He (M.) had himself sedulously advertised as senior minister during Botha's absence, while Burton acted as if he (B.) alone were master. Malan is not popular. Burton, in spite of his airs, knows better how to make himself popular. Mentz concerns himself little, in public, with high politics but gains friends everywhere by his matter-of-fact attitude. Van Heerden [H. C.] is afraid of burning in cold water and pleases the moderate Nationalists so much that Raubenheimer [H. P.] (Nationalist M.P.) called him 'the right man in the right place' a few days ago at George, where van Heerden was. Watt at first declared that the pay arrangements were a disgrace and was then apparently rapped over the knuckles, for at Onderberg (Natal) he solemnly promised not to make a Cabinet question of it. He also defended there General Botha's use of Dutch at Maritzburg, over which a storm (in a tea-cup) raged in Natal. 'Ramming Dutch down our throats', etc. Truly we are not ripe for Union yet! Kobie Graaff⁵ recently talked

¹ A farm near Krugersdorp where, on 16 December 1880, a large gathering of Transvaal Boers had pledged themselves to regain independence after the British annexation in 1877. It became a meeting-place of the Afrikaners on national occasions and Botha had, at this time, made a special appeal to them to gather there in large numbers and to reunite.

² Exemplary.

³ Nina Murray, a Scotswoman who taught the Smuts children drawing.

⁴ To win the by-election for the House of Assembly.

⁵ The writer evidently refers to D. P. de V. Graaff, not to his brother Sir Jacobus (Kobie), who was a Senator.

in very conciliatory fashion to the rebels in his desert.¹ The English papers commented on this and stoked up Burton, upon which Burton spoke in strong anti-rebel terms to wipe out this impression. [Sir J. H. Meiring] Beck has never set the Thames on fire and greatly impresses the tradesmen of Pretoria by his 'Cape lines' in respect of personal expenses. We hear little of your friend Klasie. Apparently he is sitting up with towels round his head composing new liquor laws and suchlike. Things are really becoming rather bad in Johannesburg. Everyone fears new taxation. The urban members of the South African Party will kick if the income-tax is raised while the farmers remain practically out of range. And the farmers will of course threaten to become rebels if their sacred land is taxed. Then Burton still has to deal with the provincial question²—also not easy. Moreover, the rebels are keeping the question of the 'lost million' alive, while Parliament will also hear something about the pay question.³ Smartt and Duncan seem quite tame but wild Unionists are coming, and unless the *mise en scène* behind the curtain is better than I suppose, awkward little scenes may be produced. In Natal people are indeed mad. The Davis Press and the *Mercury*⁴ continue to rave against the Government. Papenfus, van Hulsteyn and company have promised to abide by what General Botha does.

The *Friend* yesterday had a leading article in which it was suggested, of course not as clearly as I am saying it, that Steyn's death will have a good effect because 'except for General de Wet, no one occupies such a unique position in the Orange Free State'. Hertzog can pocket that. Everyone was struck by General Botha's shaking hands amicably with Hertzog and de Wet at the grave. The *Argus* Press comments that Jaap de Villiers misused the occasion to talk politics at Steyn's grave while Botha and Hertzog were silent about it. Jaap must

¹ His constituency, Namaqualand, is partly arid country.

² The question of the financial relations between the Provinces and the Central Government.

³ The Imperial Government proposed to pay the Overseas Contingent at the South African rates as from 1 January 1917 and the Union Government was prepared to make a free grant of £1,000,000 towards general war expenses.

⁴ The *Natal Mercury* was established in Durban in 1852. Peter Davis and Company owned the *Natal Witness* and the *Natal Advertiser*. The latter was established in 1878 and later renamed the *Natal Daily News*.

have had to let off steam. In Pretoria he remains outside everything. The Transvaal papers all keep quiet about Steyn's true position, but the *Cape Times* and the *Argus* have told him, or rather, his relatives, the truth about 1914. Between ourselves, your wife did not know whether she would send a wreath or not but did so nevertheless, and she admitted to me that she had rather begrudged spending £10 on it in these hard times. But Reuter told the world that the wreaths from the Government, from Botha and from Smuts had attracted special attention among the hundreds of others. It struck me that at the Brits banquet not a single word was said about Steyn—twenty-four hours after the funeral. He was after all, I think, a great Afrikaner, whatever his recent error.¹

I shall probably not be at Paardekraal as Dr Engelenburg, Preller and our junior (Hiemstra [L. W.]) will go. Otherwise I would have liked to give you an impression of the atmosphere there. Preller is now finishing the film story and again enters the service of *De Volkstem* after almost half a year's vacation. I shall now keep in the background a little, politically, in order not to come into personal or other conflict with him. Jan Lombard is playing the game very well in Bloemfontein and has a son. He esteems you highly and if you can find half a minute to congratulate him on his first-born, who has just arrived, this little attention might perhaps tend to the advantage of land and people for many years to come.

The country has really suffered badly from the drought, while terrific storms in the last few days have again done damage. The question of the prices of necessities of life is now becoming serious in South Africa too. I see that the Government intends to build a dam for Fitzpatrick and company (Sundays River Settlements) because Fitz has ruined all his people there with his gigantic furrow which was no use when the river itself stopped flowing. But it is now again running—slightly.

Everything seems to be going calmly in German West, at least one hears nothing from there except that the hand of the censor is heavy.

The so-called 'second rebellion' does not seem to have

¹ Steyn's critics considered that if he had openly and decisively condemned rebellion in 1914 the movement would not have developed.

meant much and seems to have been conducted only by irresponsible people. General Botha told me rather a lot about that (and I again *De Volkstem* readers) when he returned from you and I was temporarily Editor of *De Volkstem*; Dr. Engelenburg was then travelling for three weeks.

The release of Kemp and Wessels [W. J.] while the war is still on, has surprised many—me also. But the proof of the pudding . . . There are now so many other little things that people have already forgotten it. The tone of the rebel Press at this final release was, on the whole, better than before at releases. But *Ons Vaderland*, which is under the Roos–van Pittius¹ influence, remains intransigent.

I should certainly like to look into your mind to see what your opinion is over that bungling in England,² in Roumania,³ etc. But that you will surely tell me verbally.

I hope that you will be here before my book arrives (about March). I have such a healthy respect for the malaria mosquito. Now I have already talked too much, but let me know if I should write again. Sincere greetings, also to Mr Krige and best wishes (especially for Christmas and 1917) from Yours sincerely,

Levi

P.S. An astonishing amount of twaddle was talked at the Poor White Conference at Cradock. *De Volkstem* left it at that. George Hofmeyr was stirringly bombastic!

708 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 14, no. 119

Schoongezicht

Stellenbosch

16 December 1916

My dear Philosopher, I think of you amid all your worries and troubles which, if you were Marcus Aurelius instead of Cicero, would be enough to overwhelm you. I see you are sending your braves and their officers home. I hope that it will be a lesson to them that obedience and discipline are the first

¹ T. J. de V. Roos and J. H. Gey van Pittius.

² The War Committee crisis ended in the resignation of the Prime Minister, Asquith, on 5 December 1916.

³ Bucharest was captured by the Germans on 6 December 1916.

requisites for a soldier and that without them all the bravery in this world is but sounding brass. What between the climate and your allies your cup must be pretty full. It will be a stroke of luck if these Portuguese do not let the Germans get to Beira. Von Lettow must be a brave and tenacious man. Do not let them knock you out until *you* have made an end of it.

You will see that your late lieutenant, Crewe, has been orating; there is of course a good deal in what he says of the Defence Department but whether it is very wise to say it just now is another matter. Politically we are still in the same place. Steyn's death will rather remove a restraining influence than a source of inspiration. But it is not clear to whom the heritage will fall—Kemp perhaps?

I see Fichardt, who is very much to the front, has been telling the patriots who assembled at Senekal that 'the young Afrikanders are not aggressive enough'. I should have thought that recent election experiences were against this theory. Nothing will satisfy *Graeculi esurientes* of the junior bar but some vicarious bloodshed. Meanwhile all this upheaval in England will of course be an evil example to us out here. If the Mother of Parliaments can do no better than the 'Dance of Fools' that calls itself the Government where are *we* to turn for light and leading. When peace comes what problems shall we not have to solve.

They are pressing Botha about the pay for the overseas contingent and the worst pressure comes from those ardent patriots for whom he has sacrificed a good many old ties. It is most difficult to give the three or four thousand South Africans who are serving in France as South Africans 3s. *per diem* while there are an equal, if not a larger, number enlisted and serving in the ranks of the British Army at 1s. I must say that all the hubbub does detract somewhat from the fine spirit of patriotism with which we set out. At the same time, little as I like it, I should be inclined if I were Botha *after the speeches he and Burton have made* to give way as gracefully as he can before he has an unpleasant discussion and a vote. You see he has said in public that he personally is in favour of the increase and this admission is a fatal weapon in the hands of his opponents. I do not believe that the Nationalists

care what your great prototype¹ used to call a 'twopenny damn', about the whole matter; they are only using it as a stick to beat the dog with. Some weak-kneed creatures take their row as serious and with one eye on the voter oppose the concession; they will be sold. I write to you as an impartial observer. My own feeling is all for the 1s. but there are so many cross currents that I can easily see that necessity might compel Botha to take the 3s. road.

I wonder if you ever get your post. I have sent you the *Interpreter*² written by that great man Fremantle. It contains a long article³ by your old friend Poutsma, a dangerous blackguard if ever there was one. Well, my dear Smuts, I must bring this tedious epistle to an end.

Best wishes for the New Year. I hope we shall soon see the triumph wind up the *via sacra*, and that you will be back in the Senate crowned with laurels. Always yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

I have told them to send you Renan's *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*—rather an odd book for a warrior but it is a curious psychological study worthy to set beside Newman's *Apologia*—may distract your mind from the Portuguese.

709 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 14, no. 199

Morogoro

21 December 1916

Liefste Mamma, Morgen is jou lieve verjaardag, en ik wensch jou alle mogelijke geluk in verband daarmee. Nog veel daarvan met gezondheid en omringd van hen die jou liefhebben. Jammer maar dat ditmaal een van hen zoo ver weg is, maar ik wil hopen dat dit de laatste maal is, en dat wij in de toekomst niet meer zooveel van elkaar verwijderd zullen zijn als in de laatste 16 jaren. Het lijkt mij toch mogelijk dat deze de langste verwijdering van alle zal zijn; want na Juni 1900 zag ik jou weer in Juni 1901 te Standerton, en daarna in Juni 1902 te Maritzburg; maar ik twijfel of jij mij nu voor Maart 1917 zal

¹ The Duke of Wellington.

² A Nationalist weekly journal in English.

³ The article entitled 'Is Re-union Probable?' deals with the prospects of re-uniting the Afrikaners of the South African and National Parties (*Interpreter*, 14 December 1916).

zien terwijl ik 11 Feb. van huis ging. Maar houd maar moedig uit, de tijd snelt nu vinnig daarheen. Morgen vertrek ik ook naar de Mgeta front om voorbereidselen te maken voor het voortzetten van de veldtocht, en indien de regen ons niet te veel plaagt zal ik zeker anderkant de Rufiji zijn wanneer dit jou ter hand komt. Eenmaal over de Rufiji die de grootste hindernis op onze weg is meen ik dat zaken zeer zullen spoeden. Maar het heeft reeds veel geregend en tusschen Kissaki en Rufiji staat de wereld voor mijlen onder water; ja de aeroplanes zeggen het lijkt meer naar meren dan naar vasteland. En daar moeten wij door met ons motors en zwaar kanonnen! Ik hoop echter dat een week droogte de toestand zoodanig zal verbeteren dat ik zal kunnen wagen voorwaarts te gaan. Zeg vir Jannie pappa gaat nu met die vreeslijke monster Rufiji vechten die baing kwaai is als Pangani en hij moet zijn duim vir pappa vast houden! R. heeft zooveel water gedrink dat zijn bek nou vreeslijk groot is en zijn maag is vol zeekoeien en krokodillen! Gister is de mail te Dar es Salaam aangekomen maar zal misschien eerst morgen of overmorgen hier arriveeren. Het benieuwd mij te weten of de kleinen reeds de pasellas gekregen hebben die ik per Brits gezonden heb. Ik weet dat Crewe jou heeft gaan zien want Levi schrift mij dat hij Crewe daar ontmoet heeft. Levi schrijft ook dat zijn boek nu in order is en Maart zal verschijnen. Ik wonder wat er in staat want hij weet toch niets van mijn leven of privaat geschiedenis! En wat een lawaai zal er niet zijn over dit of dat in het verleden wat nu weer versch in de herinnering zal gebracht worden! Ik hoop echter dat het een goed en verstandig boek is en dit enge gezichteinder van ons jong Z.Africa wat wijder en grootscher zal maken. Want ik heb steeds een grooter Z.Afrika gezien en voor een grooter vaderland voor ons nakroost gevochten terwijl het nu de poging is alles zoo klein en kleingeestig mogelijk te maken.

De hitte hier is in de laatste tijd maar zeer erg, wat het zal zijn in de Rufiji vallei kan men schaarsch denken; want R. heeft de euvelste reputatie onder de Duitschers voor ziekte zoowel als hitte. Genl. Botha telegrafeert dat Paardekraal prachtig is afgelopen en een volslagen succes was. Ik ben zeer blij; jij was zeker niet daar? Mrs Botha lijkt maar nog altijd baing ziek; zij zal zich heelemaal aan alle politieke

bedrijvigheid onttrekken anders zal haar hart dit niet maken. De mail is heden ingekomen maar de Defence zak zal eerst morgen aankomen wanneer ik reeds vertrokken ben; dus zal ik jou brief voor een paar dagen niet krijgen. Ik heb vele papieren en boeken van Wolstenholme ontvangen; ook brief van Basson dat 42 versen veilig te Barberspan aangekomen zijn. Hij moet echter *drie* bullen hebben; spoor Jan aan ze te kopen, want anders missen wij een jaar—en de koeien ook! Ik zal vanavond ook een paar kaartjes aan de kleinen zenden. Voor de Duitsche kinderen alhier heb ik meel zuiker honing jam etc. gegeven voor koekbakken voor Xmis; zij zijn erg dankbaar, en krijgen anders maar zwaar. Tatta liefste van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Morogoro
[East Africa]
21 December 1916

Dearest Mamma, Tomorrow is you dear birthday, and I wish you all possible good fortune for it. Many more of them in health and surrounded by those who love you. A pity that this time one of them is so far away, but I hope that this is the last time, and that we shall in future not be so much separated as in the last sixteen years. Yet it looks to me possible that this will be the longest separation of all; for after June 1900 I saw you again in June 1901 at Standerton, and after that in June 1902 at Maritzburg; but I doubt if you will see me now before March 1917 whereas I left home on 11 February. But bear it bravely; time is now flying fast. Tomorrow I leave for the Mgeta front to make preparations for the continuation of the campaign, and if the rain does not bother us too much, I shall probably be beyond the Rufiji when this reaches you. Once we are over the Rufiji, which is the greatest obstacle in our way, I think that things will speed up a great deal. But it has already rained much and between Kissaki and Rufiji the country is flooded for miles; yes, the aeroplanes say it looks more like lakes than solid earth. And we have to traverse that with our motor-cars and heavy guns! But I hope that after a dry week conditions will have improved enough

for me to risk going forward. Tell Jannie Pappa is now going to fight against the terrible monster Rufiji who is much fiercer than the Pangani, and he must hold thumbs for Pappa! Rufiji has drunk so much water that his snout is now terribly big and his belly is full of hippos and crocodiles!

Yesterday the mail arrived at Dar-es-Salaam, but will perhaps reach here only tomorrow or the day after. I am curious to know whether the little ones have already got the presents which I sent by Brits. I know that Crewe has gone to see you because Levi writes me that he met Crewe there. Levi also writes that his book is now in order and will appear in March. I wonder what is in it because he really knows nothing of my life or private history! And what a row there will be over this or that in the past which will now again be brought freshly back to mind! But I hope that it is a good, sensible book, which will make the narrow horizon of our young South Africa somewhat wider and larger. For I have always envisaged a greater South Africa and fought for a greater fatherland for our offspring, whereas now the endeavour is to make everything as small and petty as possible.

The heat has lately been very bad here; what it will be in the Rufiji valley one can hardly imagine; for Rufiji has the most evil reputation among the Germans for sickness as well as heat.

General Botha telegraphs that Paardekraal went off splendidly and was a complete success. I am very glad; you were probably not there? Mrs Botha seems to remain very ill; she will withdraw entirely from all political activity or her heart will not last. The mail came in today but the Defence bag will only arrive tomorrow after I have already left; so I shall not get your letter for some days. I have received many papers and books from Wolstenholme; also a letter from Basson that forty-two heifers have arrived safely at Barberspan. But he must have *three* bulls; urge Jan to buy them, or else we shall miss a year—and the cows too! I shall send the little ones a few cards this evening. I have given flour, sugar, honey, jam, etc. for the German children here for cake-baking for Christmas; they are most grateful; they have rather a hard time. Good-bye, dearest, from

Pappa

27 December 1916

Liefste Mamma, Mijn laatste brief aan jou was in den avond geschreven bij slechte licht en te midden van duizende insekten die hier des nachts uiterst lastig zijn. Daarom was het maar zeer kort en bijna onleesbaar slecht geschreven. Veel regen is de vorige nachten gevallen en wij zitten hier bijna in zeeën van water. Om bij mijn troepen een beetje naar voren te komen moet men tot aan de navel door de moerassen en vleien water loopen. Dus kan jij zien hoe wij hier gesteld zijn. Waarlijk het is om jou het hart te breken. Het weer is ook alweer aan opsteken en de donder rolt om de bergen. Dit is een vreeslijk land om in oorlog te maken.

Mr Merriman zond mij *Mr Britling Sees it Through* van Wells. Jij moet het zeker krijgen en lezen: een boek over den oorlog dat ik zeer interessant gevonden heb. Het beschrijft toestanden in Engeland met het uitbreken van den oorlog, en hoe alles toen langzaam veranderd is. Merriman schrijft nog gedurig lange brieven aan mij. Wat zegt jij van de nieuwe regeering in Engeland met Milner and Curzon daarin? Ik denk zeer weinig van hen. Het is een 'damn the consequences' Government—en ik verwacht weinig heil van hen. En dan de half-Duitscher Milner daarin! Ik zie Hughes is weer van Australia geroepen naar een Conferentie in Engeland; ik wonder of Genl. Botha ook zal geroepen worden of zal kunnen gaan nu de parlementzitting zoo nabij is en reeds één lid van de regeering zoo ver en lang afwezig is. Maar ik zal wel één dag terug komen mamma en dan niet weer zoo gauw weg gaan! Was het niet dat weer ons zoo lastig valt zouden zaken hier veel spoediger gaan, en zou ik spoediger bij jullie terug zijn. En aanstaande winter hoop ik mijn oud plan uit te voeren en jullie almaal voor een paar weken naar 'Rooikop' te nemen en daar lekker stil en rustig tusschen de bosschen door te brengen. Tenten en kost gaan met den wagen en wij gaan met de motor. Dat zal heerlijk zijn! Hodgson is nu te Morogoro met de nieuwe Vauxhall, maar het pad is zoo onrijdbaar dat ik hem gezegd heeft daar te wachten totdat het drooger is. Ach die regen hier is waarlijk te erg! Jullie het geen idee hoe alles onder water kan staan. Ik ga namiddag

voort naar Kissaki om te zien hoe erg de doorslag is, en te zien hoe ik mijn plannen moet veranderen.

Later. Ik kon niet naar Kissaki daar alles onder water is, maar ik wil maar door drukken morgenochtend om mijne officieren aldaar te raadplegen. Gister is een tgm van Genl Botha gekomen dat hij naar de Londen Conferentie genodigd is maar niet kan gaan en voorstelt mij in zijn plaats te benoemen. Indien dit gedaan wordt zal ik einde van Januari te Pretoria zijn om begin Februari te vertrekken; dus een paar dagen bij jullie! Dit is zeer lastig en nog lastiger dat ik mijn werk hier op dit tijdstip zal moeten verlaten, maar indien Genl B. niet kan gaan is er geen ander oplossing. En wat van mijn belofte niet zoo gauw weer weg te gaan? Maar ik zal zeker maar een paar weken in Londen noodig zijn en zal er niet te lang vertoeven. Het regent nog steeds voort! Geef mijn liefste zoentjes aan al de kleinen en druk Louis en Jannie aan het hart voor mij, en voor jonzelf kan ik maar steeds de onuitsprekelijke zoete pijn der liefde voelen. Tatta liefste mamma van

Pappa.

TRANSLATION

27 December 1916

Dearest Mamma, My last letter to you was written in the evening in a bad light and amidst thousands of insects, which are most troublesome here at night. That is why it was very short and almost illegibly written. Much rain has fallen these last nights and we are stuck here almost in seas of water. To get to my troops a little way forward, one has to wade through morasses and lakes up to the navel. So you can see how we are situated here. Really, it is enough to break one's heart. The weather is again threatening and thunder rolls round the mountains. This is a terrible country in which to wage war.

Mr Merriman sent me *Mr Britling Sees it Through* by Wells. You must get it and read it—a book about the war which I have found very interesting. It describes conditions in England when war broke out and how everything then slowly changed. Merriman still writes long letters to me. What do you say of the new Government in England with

Milner and Curzon in it? I think very little of them. It is a 'damn the consequences' Government, and I expect little good of them. And then the half German Milner in it! I see Hughes has again been called from Australia to a Conference in England; I wonder if General Botha will also be called or will be able to go now the parliamentary Session is so near and one member of the Government is already so far away and so long absent. But I shall come back one day, Mamma, and then not go away so quickly again! If the weather were not such a nuisance to us, things would go much faster here and I should be back with you sooner. And next winter I hope to carry out my old plan and take you all to Rooikop to spend a few weeks quietly and peacefully in the bush. Tents and food will go by wagon and we by car. That will be lovely! Hodgson is now at Morogoro with the new Vauxhall, but the road is so impassable that I have told him to wait until it is drier. Oh, the rain here is really too bad! You have no idea how everything gets flooded. I am going forward to Kissaki this afternoon to see how bad the breakthrough is; and to see how I must change my plans.

Later. I could not go to Kissaki as everything is under water, but I want to push through tomorrow morning to consult my officers there. Yesterday a telegram came from General Botha that he has been invited to the London Conference¹ but cannot go and proposes to nominate me in his place! If this is done, I shall be in Pretoria at the end of January in order to leave at the beginning of February—so a few days with you! This is a great nuisance and still more so that I shall have to leave my work here at this moment, but if General Botha cannot go there is no other solution. And what of my promise not to go away again so quickly? But I shall probably be needed in London only for a few weeks and shall not stay there long. It continues to rain! Give my dearest kisses to all the little ones and embrace Louis and Jannie for me; and for you I can only feel the inexpressibly sweet pain of love. Good-bye, dearest Mamma, from

Pappa

¹ The Imperial War Conference of 1917

711 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 150

Dutumi

11 January 1917

Liefste Mamma, Gister avond kwam een prachtige lange brief van jou, en ook een elk van Santa en Cato—voor alle drie baing hartelijk dankie. Jou brief was zoo vol liefde en nieuws dat hij een lang antwoord verdient, maar de post vertrekt na breakfast en ik zit nu net voor breakfast deze paar regels aan jou te schrijven. Maar mijn nieuws is ook goed. Als alles wel gaat kan jij mij einde van deze maand te Doornkloof verwachten. Een telegram kwam van nacht van Genl. Botha ten effekte dat het Cabinet eenparig van opinie was dat ik naar de oorlogs conferentie in Londen moet gaan. Ik zal zeker maar een week te Doornkloof kunnen zijn en dan een week in Kaapstad met mijne collegas zaken bespreken en dan voort. Maar ik zal niet lang in Engeland blijven en in April of Mei zal ik dan voor goed thuis zijn. Ik weet niet of jij dit nu eigenlijk voor goed nieuws zal aannemen, maar ik verlang al danig baing naar jou en de kleinen en zelfs een week bij jullie zal mijn ou hart zeer verkwikken. Dus maak maar vir jou klaar vir zo'n honeymoon week! Maar ik wonder hoeveel honeymoons ons al na lange scheidingen het gehad en hoop vurig dat dit toch nou de laatste of tweede laatste zal zijn, en laatste wanneer ik van Engeland terugkeer.

Jou biltong en <sperkies> jou <hemden> en lekkergoed is alles in goede order aangekomen. Baing dankie. Wees omhelsd en gezoend, jij en de kleinen van Pappa. Tot ziens.

Theron telegrafeert dat jij van mijn terugkeer geïnformeerd is. Ik zal mogelijk 20 of 21 Jan. van Dar es Salaam vertrekken. Tatta.

TRANSLATION

Dutumi

[East Africa]

11 January 1917

Dearest Mamma, Yesterday evening there was a lovely long letter from you, and also one each from Santa and Cato—sincere thanks for all three. Your letter was so full of love and news that it deserves a long answer, but the post leaves after breakfast and I now sit writing these few lines to you before

breakfast. But my news is also good. If all goes well, you may expect me at Doornkloof at the end of this month. A telegram came from General Botha in the night to the effect that the Cabinet was unanimously of the opinion that I must go to the war conference in London. I shall probably only be able to be at Doornkloof for one week, and then a week in Cape Town discussing matters with my colleagues, and then off. But I shall not stay long in England and in April or May I shall be home for good. I do not know if you will really accept this as good news, but I long very much for you and the little ones and even a week with you will much refresh my old heart. So get ready for a sort of honeymoon week! But I wonder how many honeymoons we have already had after long separations and hope fervently that this will be the last, or the second last, and the last when I return from England.

Your *biltong*¹ and *<sparkies>*², your *<shirts>* and sweets have all arrived in good order. Thank you very much. I embrace and kiss you and the little ones, from Pappa. Good-bye. Theron telegraphs that you have been informed of my return. I shall leave from Dar es Salaam possibly on 20 or 21 January. Good-bye.

¹ Strips of sun-dried beef or venison.

² This may be a children's word for *perskes* or *perskies* meaning peaches, probably dried.

PART XI

THE WAR IN EUROPE

15 FEBRUARY 1917-10 NOVEMBER 1918

1. THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE AND THE IMPERIAL WAR CABINET

15 FEBRUARY 1917-31 MAY 1917

The papers in this group cover a period of three and a half months up to the end of May 1917. It was a time of considerable activity in Smuts's life during which he was called upon, both officially and unofficially, to perform some difficult services. The British Prime Minister sent him to make a report on the military and strategical position on the Western Front (742). Irish Nationalists tried to secure him as an advocate of their cause (730, 735, 736). He was urged to take the military command in Egypt and Palestine (741, 743, 763). The conferment of honorary degrees and the freedom of cities kept him making public speeches. About all these activities he wrote often and freely to his wife; these letters are perhaps the most valuable records in this section.

On three matters in particular he made carefully considered utterances at this time. He delivered the famous speech on the British Empire as a Commonwealth of Nations (750). He expressed his views on war aims and the nature of the peace in drafts for speeches (747, 748). And he made a first formulation of the idea of a League of Nations in a draft resolution discussed in the Imperial War Cabinet (738).

The letters of this period also record that happy association with friends which was essential to him. The Gilletts, the Clarks, Emily Hobhouse, Olive Schreiner, Wolstenholme were all in contact with him and some new friends appeared, such as Gilbert and Mary Murray. He was lionized, too. Towards the end of May he began to feel himself too much in the public eye and, having finally refused the Palestine command, he made ready to go home.

712 To J. X. Merriman

Vol. 18, no. 163

Department of Defence
Cape Town

15 February 1917

Dear Mr Merriman, Many thanks for your kind invitation (through Bourne) to come to Schoongezicht. I wish I could

do so. I have, however, suddenly had to change my plan of leaving next week by the *Walmer Castle*, and depart this evening by the *Dunvegan*, and shall not even have a chance for a talk with you to which I had been looking forward. I go with some misgiving to this Conference, and only hope I shall not be overborne by some of my colleagues to acquiesce in schemes which will be good neither for South Africa nor the Empire. With kindest regards, Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

713 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 162

Civil Service Club

Cape Town

15 Februari 1917

Liefste Mamma, Nog net een regeltje voor ik vertrek. Mijn vertrek op de *Walmer* is te bekend geworden, ook gaan er 1,800 Australiërs met dat schip; dus zal ik maar een week vroeger gaan en een rustiger tijd op zee genieten. Ik zal baing aan jullie denken en mijn hart is bij jullie achtergebleven. En geloof mij zoo gauw als ik kan zal ik weer terug keeren; misschien reeds in Mei. Schrijf mij elke week een brief en vertel mij hoe het met jullie allen gaat en mijn hart zal geruster kloppen.

Mrs Botha is veel beter en is nu goed aan herstellen. Ewald Esselen ligt in de Club, drinkt te veel en leeft in oneenigheid met zijn vrouw—zooals gewoonlijk. Kowie Graaff wil graag met mij samen gaan maar ik wil hem liever niet mee hebben. Indien Klaas of Frans kan gaan zal ik blij zijn. Het lijkt mij of Ella half lust heeft te gaan, maar Klaas zegt hij is te noodig voor de zitting van 't Parlement.

Vaatje gaat nu vast naar Maritzburg en zijn opvolger hier is reeds aangesteld. Hij lijdt hier ook aan uitslag. Ik zal Mr Louw en Prof. Marais enz. nu niet op Stellenbosch zien. George Malan zegt mij dat Prof. M. maar zwaar krijgt en veel smaad verduurt om zijn politieke opinies. Arme ou vriend, ik zou hem gaarne de hand drukken. Dr D. F. Malan is moeg van de politiek na Victoria W. en wil terug naar de kerk! Althans, zoo zeg men.

Nu zoentjes mamma; vannacht ben ik zeker weer baing zeeziek, maar ik heb weer 2 pakkies Mothersill. Groeten aan allen [two illegible names] van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Civil Service Club
Cape Town
15 February 1917

Dearest Mamma, One more line before I leave. My departure on the *Walmer* has become too well known, also 1,800 Australians are travelling on that boat; so I shall go a week earlier and enjoy a more peaceful time at sea. I shall think much of you and my heart has stayed behind with you. And, believe me, as soon as I can I shall come back; perhaps already in May. Write me a letter every week and tell me how you all are and my heart will beat more easily.

Mrs Botha is much better and is now recovering well. Ewald Esselen lies about in the Club, drinks too much and lives in discord with his wife—as usual. Kowie [J. A. C.] Graaff wants very much to go with me but I prefer not to take him. If Klaas¹ or Frans² can go I shall be glad. It seems to me Ella [de Wet] has half a mind to go, but Klaas says he is too much needed for the parliamentary Session.

Vaatje³ is now definitely going to Pietermaritzburg and his successor here has already been appointed. He also suffers from rash here also. I shall now not see Mr Louw and Professor Marais etc. at Stellenbosch. George Malan tells me Professor Marais has a difficult time and suffers much obloquy for his political opinions. Poor old friend, I should like to shake him by the hand. Dr D. F. Malan is tired of politics after Victoria West⁴ and wants to go back to the Church! At least, so people say.

Now Mamma, kisses to you. Tonight I shall probably be

¹ N. J. de Wet.

² F. S. Malan.

³ Leon van der Spuy, first husband of Ella, younger sister of Isie Smuts. The nickname means 'Little Tub' (Afrikaans).

⁴ He had been the National Party candidate in the by-election at Victoria West in December 1916 and had been narrowly defeated by the South African Party candidate, A. M. Conroy.

very seasick again, but I again have two packets of Mothersill.¹
 Good wishes to all [two illegible names] from Pappa

714 From A. C. Vlok

Vol. 18, no. 380

Pretoria

8 Februari 1917

Beste Generaal, Ik is gevra om 'n brief te skrywe, wat één van 'n reeks moet uitmaak om u 'n beetje aan boord skip te amuseer. Als 'n seun van 'n groot graan distrik zal u zeker weet dat op 'n dors vloer altyd veel meer kaf is als koren. Nou dit is met briewe ook so, die meeste daarin is maar kaf en dikwyls pure kaf.

Ik zal egter probeer om hier en daar 'n graan korreltje in myn brief te leg, al is dit dan maar drabok. Als ik onder gewone omstandigheden 'n brief over zake in algemeen aan een Minister skrywe, dan kan dit als 'cheek' beskou word, maar als ik gevra word om te skrywe dan rust die verantwoordlykheid niet op my, en ik gaat vandag van die kans gebruik maak om te zê dingen waartoe anders ik die moed niet zou hê.

Generaal! ik hoef u niet te zê hoe trots elk welgezind Afrikaner hart vandag is, dat die groote Britse Ryk in hierdie tyd van moeilykheid moet *opzien* om hulp naar twee seuns van Zuid-Afrikas bodem, zoo als u en Genl. Botha. Dit is een verbazend groot stap vooruit. En onse innige bede is dat de Heere u mag bewaren en veilig terug bring om die groot werk deur u reeds in ons geliefd land begonnen voort te zet.

Dit is vir my 'n bewys dat daar hersens moet wees in die Britse Kabinet, dat hul weet waar om die regte manne te kry, die bekwaam is om hul uit moeilykheid uit te help. Maar op hierdie punt hoop ik later terug te kom.

Ik wil eerst 'n beetje o'er die Nationaliste praat. My oudste seun is nou Nationalist geword, en werd daartoe o'er gehaal deur Hjalmar Reitz, die hom die valse leer verkondig, dat als hy ware vaderlandsliefde bezit en 'n opregte Afrikaner wil wees, dan moet hy aan hul party behoer. Ik het met hom geredeneer, en hom bewys dat die ware patriotisme daarin bestaat dat 'n man niets anders beoog en doen dan wat die vooruitgang van zyn land en volk kan bevorder, al moet hy

¹ A remedy for seasickness.

soms groote opoffering maak van zyn gevoelens. Maar hy kom altyd terug met die vraag 'Wat moet ik dan met my haat vir die Engelse maak?' Ik zeg, 'Steek dit in jou zak tot die dag wat jou land dit noodig het'. Maar die kwaad is gedaan. Tielman Roos het onlangs op Volksrust gezê dat 80 percent van die jeugd aan hul party behoort. Ik vrees hy is niet ver verkeerd. En hier wil ik vra:—'Hoe kom dit dat, zoo ver als gerapporteerd, geen enkel Minister nog een speciale woord aan die jeugd van Zuid-Afrika gerig het nie?' Genl. Botha het op geen een van zyn vergaderinge in N.W. Kaap Kolonie probeer om die jong mense te bewys dat hul een hooger vorm van patriotisme aan die dag kan leg in die Z.A.P. dan als Nattes. Die zaak is van ingrypend belang. Oom Jannie, mag ik u vra, om tog in die toekomst 'n beetje meer te laat werk onder die jong mense? Dit zal goed betaal.

Onlangs ontmoet ik 'n zeer ou vriend van my, 'n magistraat in een van die afgelegen dorpen, en na 'n lang en aangenaam gesprek, kom hy voor die dag met die belydenis dat hy nu een Nationalist was. Ik het altyd belang gestel in die redes wat zoodanige bekeerlingen opgee waarom hul die Z.A.P. verlaat het, maar het was met bizonder belangstelling dat ik hem toen vra, hoe zoo en bezadigd en welopgevoed man tot die stap is overgegaan. Hier volg zyn antwoord:—

1. 'Omdat ik overtuigd ben dat de geheele politiek van de Botha Regeering zoo aangelegd is om de Hollands sprekende element uit Zuid-Afrika te doen verdwynen. Ik kan geen Regeering ondersteunen die myn taal, en al de tradities van ons volk wil vernietigen. Ik respecteer Genl. Botha en beschouw hem als "well meaning", maar de andere Engels gezinde Heeren zyn te kras voor hem.

2. Omdat ik overtuigd ben dat de Regeering alles afwist van de Rebellie en het alles gemakkelyk had kunnen dempen, maar zy volgde de politiek van President Kruger, om die schildpad maar eerst zyn kop uit die dop te laat steken—en dan af met zyn kop—en zoo werden sommige lastige mannen uit den weg geruimd. Ik kan geen Regeering ondersteunen die moedwillig heeft toegelaten dat Afrikaner op Afrikaner schoot. Ik spreek voor de beter klas van opgevoede Nationalist, die geen politieke ambitie heeft en ook geen "office seeker" is.'

Hier is nou twee voorbeelde van die Nationaliste propo-

ganda, en beide vol doodelyk vernyn. Die een gerig om die jong man te vang, die ander om die beste klas van burger o'er te haal. Word dit nie tyd dat ons voormanne elke gelegenheid neem om beide te bestry ?

Ik wou u nog graag een verhaal vertel het van die rebellie, maar ik vrees myn brief zal 'n boek worde.

Ik wil alleen dit zê. Ik was zaam met 'n mak rebel onder byzondere omstandigheden een nacht by Warmbad, en hy het zy hart met my uitgepraat. Hy vertel my hoe die rebellie hier in Pretoria begin het en hoe dit aangekweek werd, en veel wat hy vertelde was erg intresant. Onder ander zeg hy dat hul groote moeite had om Genl. Beyers om te haal. 'Een avond egter was Genl. de la Rey by 'n vergadering tegenwoordig en zeide eindelyk: "Chrisjan ik het nie gedenk dat jy my op die tyd van die dag zou verlaat". Dit was duidelyk vir elk een om te sien dat daar 'n geweldige stryd in Beyers zyn ziel omgegaan het—maar op die end geef hy zyn hand aan Genl. de la Rey en zeg. "Oom Koos ik is met jou". Van die oogenblik het Beyers nooit omgezien, maar wonderlyk om te zê dis toe Oom Koos wat wankelmoedig word. Ons planne was achter makkaar, en als dit nie was vir daardie één koeltje dan het ons Pretoria zeker gevat. En dis daardie zelfde koeltje wat my overtuig het dat die ziel uit die rebellie uitgegaan het, an dat het vir my best was om stil by die huis te bly zit.'

Nou ik het beloof om op een zeker punt terug te kom, maar die tyd ontbreek my. Ik moet sluit met die harte wens dat u een voorspoedig en suksesvol reis mag hê. Uw D. W. Dienaar
A. C. Vlok

TRANSLATION

Pretoria
8 February 1917

Dear General, I have been asked to write a letter, which is to be one of a series to amuse you a little on board ship.¹ As a son of a large grain district² you will probably know that there is always more chaff than wheat on a threshing-floor. Well, it

¹ Isie Smuts had arranged to have several letters written to Smuts by friends and members of the family and delivered to him at intervals on board by the purser.

² The Swartland district of the South-Western Cape.

is the same with letters, most of what is in them is rubbish and often sheer rubbish.

I shall however try to put a little ear of wheat into my letter here and there, even if they are only tares. Were I under ordinary circumstances to write a letter about affairs in general to a Minister, it might be regarded as cheek, but if I am asked to write, then the responsibility does not rest on me, and today I am going to use the chance to say things for which I should otherwise not have the courage.

General, I need not tell you how proud every well-disposed Afrikaner heart is today that the great British Empire in this time of trouble must look for help to two sons of South Africa's soil like you and General Botha. It is an amazingly big step forward. And our earnest prayer is that the Lord may preserve you and bring you back safely to continue the great work already begun by you in our beloved country.

To me this is a proof that there must be brains in the British Cabinet—that they know where to get the right men, who are capable of helping them out of trouble. But I hope to return to this point later.

First I want to talk a little about the Nationalists. My eldest son has now become a Nationalist, and was persuaded to it by Hjalmar Reitz, who preaches the false doctrine to him that if he is truly patriotic and wishes to be a genuine Afrikaner, he must belong to their party. I reasoned with him and proved to him that true patriotism consists in this: that a man should aim at and do nothing but what may advance the progress of his country and people, even if he sometimes has to make a great sacrifice of his feelings. But he always came back with the question: 'Then what am I to do with my hatred of the English?' I said, 'Put that in your pocket until the day when your country needs it'. But the evil has been done. Tielman Roos said recently at Volksrust that eighty per cent of the youth belong to their party. I fear he is not far wrong. And here I want to ask: 'How is it that, as far as has been reported, no single Minister has yet addressed a special word to the youth of South Africa?' General Botha did not, at any of his meetings in the north-west Cape Colony, try to show the young people that they can display a higher form of patriotism in the South African Party than as Nationalists. The matter

is of far-reaching importance. Oom Jannie, may I ask you to have a little more done among the young people in future? It will pay well.

Recently I met a very old friend of mine, a magistrate in one of the distant towns, and after a long and pleasant talk he came out with the confession that he is now a Nationalist. I have always been interested in the reasons which such converts give for having left the South African Party, but it was with particular interest that I then asked him how such a level-headed and well-educated man had come to take this step. Here follows his answer:

1. 'Because I am convinced that the whole policy of the Botha Government is so framed as to make the Dutch-speaking element disappear from South Africa. I cannot support a Government that wishes to destroy my language and all the traditions of our people. I respect General Botha and regard him as "well-meaning", but the other English-inclined gentlemen are too strong for him.

2. Because I am convinced that the Government knew all about the rebellion and could easily have extinguished the whole thing, but they followed the policy of President Kruger of first letting the tortoise put its head out of its shell¹—and then—off with its head; and so some troublesome men were put out of the way. I cannot support a Government that deliberately allowed Afrikaners to shoot Afrikaners. I speak for the better class of educated Nationalists who have no political ambition and are not office seekers.'

Here, then, are two examples of Nationalist propaganda and both full of deadly venom. The one designed to catch the young man, the other to persuade the best type of burgher. Is it not time that our leaders took every opportunity to counter both?

I wanted to tell you a story of the rebellion, but I fear my letter will become a book.

I want to say only this: I was with a tame rebel one night at Warmbaths under unusual circumstances, and he poured out his heart to me. He told me how the rebellion began here in

¹ When Kruger was asked at a public meeting in December 1895 what the Government was doing about the threatened rising in Johannesburg, he said: 'You must give the tortoise time to put out its head before you can cut it off!'

Pretoria, and how it was fomented, and much of what he related was most interesting. Among other things he said that they had great difficulty in persuading General Beyers. 'But one evening General de la Rey was present at a meeting and said at last: "Chrisjan,¹ I did not think you would desert me at this time of day". It was clear for all to see that a terrible struggle was going on in Beyers's soul but in the end he held out his hand to General de la Rey and said: "Oom Koos, I am with you". From that moment Beyers never looked back, but, strange to say, it was Oom Koos who now became irresolute. Our plans were made, and if it had not been for that one little bullet,² we should certainly have taken Pretoria. And it was that same little bullet that convinced me that the soul had gone out of the rebellion and that it was best for me to remain quietly at home.'

Well, I promised to come back to a particular point, but I have no time. I must end with the sincerest wish that you may have a prosperous and successful journey. Yours truly,

A. C. Vlok

715 From J. X. Merriman

Vol. 17, no. 104

Private

House of Assembly
Cape Town
22 February 1917

My dear Smuts, Thank you for your note. I was *extremely* sorry not to have been able to have had a talk before you left South Africa. There is so much upon which I should like to have exchanged views. I need not tell you that we are in a critical stage, and in my more gloomy moments I sometimes think that we shall be lucky if we get off without a civil war. You must not underestimate the power of a factious minority led by politicians on the make. You have no doubt often read the story of the North American Colonies and how the Revolution was worked by patriots of the P. Henry³ and Otis⁴

¹ The name *Christiaan* is often pronounced 'Chrisjan'.

² The bullet that killed de la Rey.

³ Patrick Henry (1736-99).

⁴ James Otis (1725-83).

type with fanatics like the Adamases¹ in the background, really against the will of the indolent majority. We have their counterparts here in the Rooses, the Malans *et id genus omne*. Silly as we think them, they catch on.

Apparently we are in for a long and wearisome Session. Watt has led off well with his Registration Bill² which bores everyone to distraction and no one wants. De Wet has two 'codifying' measures.³ Botha has his Native Land Bill⁴ which will I hope not result in a Native rising. And all this time that we are languidly plapping [*sic*] along with our own little troubles, the whole world is convulsed with the death grapple of two rival civilizations. I should have thought that it was wiser to have a short Session confined to business and to leave all legislation over, till we know what our fate is to be, but *dis aliter visum*.⁵ Botha laid his proposal to give the Imperial Government £1,000,000 as a free contribution⁶ before his party; there was a good deal of opposition. Eventually it was received, without enthusiasm. There was an unpleasant feeling and the discussion seldom rose beyond the level of the ballot-box. You, my dear Smuts, are I trust having a good time and are able to enjoy it. Do, I implore you, make head against the gasbags! Do not give way to them. I was rather concerned at one passage in your letter when you seemed to me to infer that you might be forced to do so. Do not be *forced* to do anything; you can be dour enough when you choose. If you subscribe to the one essential scheme for putting our position towards the British Fleet on a proper and sufficient footing, let all the other trimmings alone; they will lead us into a sea of troubles. Do recollect that the Dominion feeling, not only in South Africa, is strongly anti-imperialist when you get beneath the gas of politicians on the make and newspaper *blague*, not only in South Africa by any means. People of the second and third generation are anti-marsupial and it is better for England that

¹ John Adams (1735-1836) and Samuel Adams (1722-1803).

² Probably a deeds registration measure.

³ To consolidate the provincial laws on criminal procedure and Justices of the Peace.

⁴ The main principle of the Bill was the strict segregation of the white and black inhabitants of South Africa as regards the ownership of land.

⁵ To the Gods it has seemed otherwise. Virgil, *Aeneid*, ii. 428.

⁶ See p. 413 *supra*, note 4.

they should be so, if she studies her own interests. I hope that you will see something of old Bryce; he has a store of real knowledge and always seems to me to be saner than most men.

I fancy I see you surrounded by the 'Kindergarten' revolving round those twin luminaries Milner and Northcliffe and joining in the bureaucratic dance that now celebrates the eclipse of Parliament. I hope you are studying the Congress of Vienna; it seems to me a warning of the struggle that lies before us. A perusal leaves one with an uneasy feeling that some very odd coalitions may take place. However much we may for the time hate the Teuton, in the long run the Slav is a much more slippery fellow. With kindest regards, Believe me,
Yours very truly,

John X. Merriman

716 From E. H. L. Gorges

Vol. 16, no. 140

Government House

Windhuk

[South West Africa]

25 February 1917

Dear General Smuts, In a letter which came to hand yesterday I learned that you had been laid up for no less than nine days at Irene with malaria, and I also hear you had a touch of it at Cape Town. I can therefore quite understand that between the sick-bed, politics and the war you must have had a very strenuous time during your brief stay in the Union after your return from East Africa, and that it was consequently impossible to pay a visit to this territory. We feel very neglected up here. Since the day General Botha left Swakopmund (18 July 1915) only one public man of any consequence has visited the Protectorate, viz. Mr [F. S.] Malan, who made a hurried trip here in July last. It has in consequence struck me that responsible people in the Union are either exceedingly indifferent about their large and important territorial acquisition, or else they repose an extraordinary amount of faith in my capacity to govern this Colony as it should be governed. Had there been a chance I should so much have liked you to see the country in its present condition. We have had a splendid season, 19 inches of rain in Windhuk so far, and in

some places in the district 25, and in the north far more. The veld is magnificent. Every dam is overflowing and all the big rivers have been 'down' several times. The Swakop lately came 'down' 1,200 yards wide at Swakopmund and carried sand-dunes, railway track, etc. before it. The Kuisib has also been 'down' at Walvis Bay, the first time, it is said, in twenty years, and has flooded the whole of the flats round the lagoon and incidentally invaded the settlement. It is as well that all the new buildings erected there by the Railways are on piles four feet in height. People in the Union have very erroneous ideas about this country, which they picture to themselves as a desert. The normal rainfall in Windhuk is 14 inches—i.e., very little less than Barberspan; and it increases as one proceeds north until at Tsumeb and Grootfontein it averages well over 20. The record in Windhuk is 30, which fell in 1909. This year the rains commenced in October, about six weeks earlier than usual, and they have been well and evenly distributed with marked benefit to the vegetation.

All the Constabulary are enthusiastic about the country and I think a good many of them would like to settle here. Colonel Kruger fancies the south, and says there are places in Keetmanshoop which cannot be surpassed in the Union as sheep veld. The south, although much drier than the centre and north, is remarkably well favoured in the matter of grasses and *schaapbossies*,¹ and there is also far less disease there owing to the drier climate. It was an eye-opener to me to see the grass in Warmbad district last season. I drove through one stretch of 25 miles with the grass everywhere standing like a corn-field as far as the eye could see, and that, too, after only four or five inches of rain. Colonel Fouché (or *ou donderkop*² as he is known by his officers and men) fancies Rehoboth, and so, I think, do a great many more. The fact that this lazy and degenerate crew of Bastards³ owns Rehoboth is gall and wormwood to the majority of the *arme* and *oprechte*⁴

¹ Low bushes cropped by sheep.

² An untranslatable Afrikaans expression meaning irascible and wrong-headed.

³ A distinctive group of Coloured people of Hottentot and white ancestry, the Rehoboth Bastards do not regard themselves as belonging to the Cape Coloured people and claim the name of Bastards with pride.

⁴ The poor and pure-bred (Afrikaans). *Oprechte* is ambiguous; it may mean 'upright'.

here. I verily believe that nothing would please them better than to precipitate a row with the Bastards with a view to dispossessing the latter of their lands. The selection of officers for the Constabulary has not been in every respect a good one. Of the Colonels, Kruger is excellent, very keen and capable. Fouché is very tactless and is much disliked by his officers. Indeed, matters came to such a pitch between him and his Adjutant Wessels, that de Jager¹ had to transfer the latter to Kruger's Regiment and hand du Preez over to Fouché. Major Uys soon got into trouble and had to leave. Captain W— has been too fond of the ladies and found it desirable to return to the Union. Captain M— has been continuously drinking and disgraced himself beyond redemption on the recent Ovamboland Expedition. He was in charge of the Constabulary Transport; but, between Otjiwarongo and Ondonga managed to get through eleven bottles of rum which he had induced the N.C.O. in charge of comforts to hand over to him, and so rendered himself incapable. De Jager bundled him back in quick time. A couple of other officers have also been sailing very close to the wind in horse and cattle transactions of a doubtful character. One R—, a Lieutenant in the Native Affairs Branch, lately embezzled £600 deferred pay of Native labourers. It was fortunately detected in time and the money recovered. Staff matters have been a terrible worry and I have been saddled with a lot of misfits. I have received on the whole very little assistance from Union Departments and it has been a most difficult matter to obtain really suitable men from them. I am fortunate in having the services of a few really tip-top men, like Herbst, but I regret to say that the tendency on the part of some Departments has been to try and pass off their bad bargains on to me. I know that they are, for the most part, shorthanded, yet I think that, from feelings of pride consequent upon the military achievements of our troops, the Union's conquered territory might have had some consideration given to its needs in the way of trained staff to carry on the administration. You will perhaps hardly credit it, but of the eighteen magistrates I have here, only three are full magistrates in the Union. The rest are

¹ S. J. de Jager, whose permanent post was that of Attorney-General of the Orange Free State.

nearly all clerks in the Union, some of them only of the second grade. From some of these juniors I have, however, had exceptional service; but others have been very weak.

The Report of the Committee on Retrenchment,¹ just published, induces me to ask your interest. According to that Report the 'Interior' has now degenerated into a second-class Department, no longer entitled to a Secretary on the first grade. I do not know what the future may hold for me, but it is full of uncertainty and I think you will not take it amiss if I speak now. It seems to me that there is always the possibility in view that I may, in due course, be asked to return to the Interior, which would, after my long absence—now two and a half years—from that Department, be very much in the nature of an Irishman's rise. On the other hand, I might be asked to remain here for a period of years and administer the Protectorate much in the same way as the Northern Territory of Australia is administered on behalf of the Commonwealth Minister of External Affairs; but here again I realize that the Government may deem it desirable to control this country through a party politician, much in the same manner as is done in the four Provinces of the Union.² I should like an appointment here well enough if the salary were commensurate with the responsibilities of the post. At present I think the Government—for what I have done and am doing in difficult circumstances and under exacting conditions—is not overpaying me. The German Governor, living a life of settled ease prior to the war, received £2,500 at a time when all luxuries and commodities were far cheaper than they are now. In addition he was, in the nature of German etiquette, very exclusive; whereas with me almost everyone of the Union community here expects to be asked to my house and to receive some form of entertainment, which means a far heavier expenditure than I ever contemplated would be the case. There is, of course, the other alternative of pension and the possibility of being able to find some occupation outside the Public Service but it is not a very alluring prospect just now.

¹ U.G. 10—1917.

² The Provincial Administrators are appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for five years.

With an eye to the future therefore would it be asking you too much to mention my name and capabilities to the Colonial Office or Foreign Office? They may at some time or the other require an official with my training and experience, and assuming that affairs do not progress here as I would hope, I should not be averse to accepting service outside the Union in a healthy climate. Please do not think I *wish* to leave you. I owe my position here to you and I am, as always, deeply grateful to you for what you have done for me. You have placed me in a very important and responsible position, and as it appears from recent indications that my efforts have found some favour, I have the desire to progress and not to stand still or move backwards. I do not desire to return to the Interior with its humdrum routine of lunatics, lepers and prohibited immigrants, and I think I would now prefer to allow the contemplated farm in Lichtenburg to look after itself.

I sincerely hope you will have a big success in your mission to England. With all good wishes, Believe me to be, Yours most sincerely,

E. H. L. Gorges

I sent a telegraphic acknowledgment on the 14th instant to your kind message of congratulation on the bestowal of the C.M.G. on me; but do not know if it reached you or whether you had already left for England. I appreciated your message very much indeed. E.H.L.G.

717 L. Botha to S. M. Smuts

Vol. 15, no. 65

Kantoor van de Eerste Minister
Kaapstad
5 Maart 1917

Lieve Mrs Smuts, Dank hartlik voor u zeer vriendelike brief die mijn vrouw en ik hoogst waardeer. Ja Mrs Smuts Jannie en mijn vriendschap is een onbreekbare band wat ons heel leefdheid zal voortbestaan, noch nooit had wij een onherstelbaar verschil, die niet oplosbaar was, en nooit was er een verschil wat na opgelost steeds een gevoel daar laten, en daarom heb ik hem net zoo lief en liever als een eigen broeder, wij hebben zaam door diepe water gegaan, en zelfs door modder

om ons volk te redden, en alhoewel er veele zijn die ons maar net wil vloek, was daar nooit twee personen wat harder en eerliker voor ons volk gewerk heb en wat ook meer gedaan heb dan Jannie en ik. Nu Mrs Smuts mijn vrouw en ik heb in de vriendschap met U en Jannie nooit iets anders gehaad dan liefde en aangenaamheid, en die band gaan vandaag banja verder door dan vriendschap, en daarom bidden wij elke avond tezamen voor zijn veilige landing aan de andere zijde en ook voor zijn veilige terugkomst, en jij kan nooit weet hoe trotsch wij waren toen jij die ou lief dochtertjie naar ons liet noemen, mijn vrouw zal later zelf schrijven, ik hoop net dat jij de telegram over Jannie heb ontvangen en zal bij zijn aankomst in England jou direct telegraveeren. Nu wil ik zoolang Jannie weg is, en daar is iets wat ik doen kan dan Mrs Smuts schrijf mij, want niets kan mij aangenaam zijn dan om iets voor U en Jannie te doen.

Mrs Botha is veel beter, en Helen die einde deze week terug gaan het mij banja gehelp ik hoop als zij zoo voort gaan, dat zij tegen einde deze maand weder menschen ontmoeten kan, zij is erg vervallen, zwak, en haaren kort afgescheer, maar toch is mijn hart veblijd en vervuld met dankbaarheid dat zij arme lieve vrouwtjie weder aan herstellen is. Ontvang ons beste groete en goede wenschen, en een zoentjie aan de klein span. Oprecht u vriend

Louis

TRANSLATION

Prime Minister's Office
Cape Town
5 March 1917

Dear Mrs Smuts, Sincere thanks for your very friendly letter which my wife and I value highly. Yes, Mrs Smuts, the friendship between Jannie and me is an unbreakable bond which will persist throughout our lives. We have never had an irreparable difference which could not be resolved, and there was never a difference which, having been resolved, left any feeling behind, and that is why I love him as much as, and more than, my own brother. We have gone through deep waters together, and even through mud, to save our people, and although there are many who only want to curse us, there never were two people

who have worked harder and more honestly for our people and who have done more than Jannie and I. Well, Mrs Smuts, my wife and I have never, in the friendship with you and Jannie, had anything but affection and pleasantness, and today the bond goes much deeper than friendship, and that is why we pray together every evening for his safe landing on the other side and also for his safe return, and you will never know how proud we were when you had the dear little daughter named after us. My wife will write later herself. I only hope that you have received the telegram about Jannie and shall telegraph you at once on his arrival in England. Now I want you, Mrs Smuts, to write to me while Jannie is away if there is anything that I can do; for nothing could please me more than to do something for you and Jannie.

Mrs Botha is much better, and Helen,¹ who returns at the end of this week, has helped me greatly. I hope, if she continues to progress, that she can see people again by the end of this month. She is very broken down and weak, her hair is cut short, but my heart is glad and filled with thankfulness that my poor dear little wife is once more recovering. Our best greetings and good wishes, and a kiss for the little ones. Your sincere friend,

Louis

718 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 16, no. 190

Maer Lake
Bude

North Cornwall
7 March [1917]

Dear Oom Jannie, The Press is stuffed with lies, but I incline to think it *is* correct in saying you are *en route* for England. So off this goes to welcome you. No doubt it is *de trop* for you will have a big reception and no time to read notes from the old and insignificant. Still it must go just to say that I hope you will keep five minutes for me some time or other to tell me all about your family and South Africa generally. I live so far away but I shall hope to come to town while you are there if only to have a glimpse of you.

¹ Helen de Waal, daughter of Louis Botha.

Years ago I prophesied to you that the day would come when your name would be seen in big print in *The Times*, that mighty organ that emulates Divinity for 'it putteth down one and setteth up another'; and I further said I should live to see you Earl of Irene and Lord of Doornkloof and lo! are not these words fulfilling themselves—in the essence if not the letter? For I know from of old that honours come showering down upon those who tread 'Imperialist' paths. Still, I hope something of the old 'Oom Jannie' yet remains, enough to enjoy association with the Pacifist and Anti-Imperialist I am prouder than ever to be.

You will, I gather, sit beside Milner and help him to govern us. He has just been to Russia and has no doubt brought back all the latest methods for 'Russianizing' our country.

Well, no more now. Let me know when you arrive and what Palace houses you. As ever yours,

Emily Hobhouse

719 From M. C. Gillett

Vol. 16, no. 122

102 Banbury Road
Oxford

8 March 1917

My dear Oom Jannie, How eagerly we are awaiting news of your safe arrival. It has been a great happiness to look forward to these weeks since we knew by the paper that you would come, and I can hardly believe that all these years have passed since last we saw you, and then there was no little Jan here, and no Tona and Nicholas eager to share in your love too.

I can't come to London to welcome you, though Arthur will when he hears you are there, as we hope before many days to have another little baby with us. So you must come here, please, dear Oom Jannie, as soon as ever you can. Send us word of your address in London as soon as you get there.

You need not be afraid of coming here, on account of the hoped-for little one, for there is a room kept for you. Yours ever affectionately,

M. C. Gillett

720 From Lord Milner

Vol. 17, no. 106

17 Great College Street, S.W.

12 March 1917

Dear General Smuts, This is very sudden, but the exigencies of the time must excuse abruptness, which under ordinary conditions might seem discourteous.

First, let me congratulate you heartily on your great achievements, political and military, since we last met, and especially on the fine work lately accomplished in East Africa.

And next, can you give me the pleasure of dining with me tomorrow (Wednesday) at 8.15 at Brooks's Club, St James's Street ?

It is not a 'party' in the social sense, but just a meeting of five or six men, mostly or all known to you, who are interested in the business of the Cabinet meetings which you have come over to attend.

Hoping very much that I may be able to secure you and with kind regards, Yours very truly,

Milner

721 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 334

Savoy Hotel

London

13 March 1917

I have once more turned up like a bad penny and have a great longing to see you and Margaret and Jan, Anthony and Nicholas. I do not know when I shall be free to run over to Oxford but the first opportunity that presents itself I shall come and spend a night with you and talk into the small hours. I hope you are all well. I left my family well but none too happy at my continual absence.

722 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 18, no. 165

Savoy Hotel

London

13 March 1917

My dear Wolstenholme, I arrived safely in London last night after an adventurous voyage from South Africa. I left my

family quite well though far from happy at my constant absences. I have to do a good deal of work the first few days but the first free opportunity I have I shall motor over to Cambridge to shake you by the hand. I hope this very cold winter has not done you too much damage. With kindest regards, Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

723 From J. H. Roskill

Vol. 18, no. 87

1 Paper Buildings
Temple, E.C.
14 March 1917

My dear General, It is about twenty-five years since it was my privilege to have you as a pupil in these chambers, and this is likely to be my only claim to historical remembrance.

Not having seen you since your last visit, I believe in 1910, I should very much like to do so again; but, inundated as you must be with visitors, and perhaps bores, I hesitate to come to see you except at such time as you may consider convenient. Perhaps you would let me know when this would be.

I should like to add that if any evening, including Sundays, you should care for rest and a quiet talk, I should be only too glad to call for you, and drive you to my home (33A Montagu Square, W.) and we would dine alone.

Believe me, with heartiest congratulations and real gratitude for what you have done for England, Yours sincerely,

John Roskill

724 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 18, no. 394

14 March 1917

My dear Smuts, I was glad and thankful to read in yesterday's paper of your safe arrival; but I had to wait for your address before I could send you my word of welcome. I am looking forward with eagerness to seeing you again once more. I am only afraid that you and your time will be so much in demand during your stay that a poor old recluse like me can have little

claim,—though I am as alive and interested in the affairs of this poor old battered world as though I were in the thick of things and had a lifetime of participation in them before me. I hope your stay will be as long as you can possibly make it, and am not merely selfish in wishing it. If I am not mistaken you will find yourself naturally taking a first place, in practical influence and consequent responsibility, among the counsellors who are coming from all quarters of the Empire to help this poor bemuddled country to a more statesmanlike, sane, clear-headed and sound-hearted view of the many momentous and perplexing questions of the present crisis. We are entirely without *any* leader to whom we can look with the respect and confidence that the Americans look to Woodrow Wilson. Of course I do not assume that your judgment will always be such as to support my own, but I am sure that so far as it is your own, firmly held, it will take a higher level of disinterested regard for world-welfare and the highest interests of civilization, freer from distorting passion and prejudice, than I can see in any of our prominent statesmen in the Western world,—except, in part, in a very few. I know that the ‘terms of reference’ of the present council are restricted in the main to the effective prosecution of the war, but other questions, especially those of the terms of a wise and just settlement, and of measures in the future for international order and peace and good government, can hardly fail to get into discussion to some extent,—the more the better, for it is of the highest moment that these vital questions should receive the fullest and most mature consideration before they come to be settled.

I enclose a letter I was writing, to send off with my weekly budget, on the day when I read of your coming to England. I thought you would perhaps come direct from East Africa, and that it was of no use to send out anything more pending your arrival here. I am sending you now the magazines, etc. that have since been accumulating. In many of them there are things that are still well worth reading, if you have the time. This is especially the case with some articles in the *New Republic*, *Nation*, and *War and Peace* I have marked a few in the *New Republic* and *Nation* with a pencil stroke at the side of the title, and on the first page of the magazine.

I have quite a pile of books accumulated which you can

inspect and select from for present use when you come. With the best of wishes and kind regards, Yours sincerely,

H. J. Wolstenholme

725 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 18, no. 167

Savoy Hotel
London

15 March 1917

My dear Wolstenholme, Many thanks for your letters, books and magazines which have just arrived. I had firmly made up my mind to spend next Sunday quietly with you at Cambridge when something else of an urgent character turned up which will make it impossible to see you before the Sunday after next. I pray you to feel sure that if it had been possible I would have preferred shaking your hand to almost anything else.

I find this world much distracted and even mystifying, and am now groping about to get my bearings. How I would love to question you to find out your views! But I must wait another week. Meantime I am seeing many of my other old friends like John Hobson, L. T. Hobhouse, Lord Bryce and many another willing to enlighten one just returned from outer barbarism.

You say nothing about your health and general fitness so I assume that is all right. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

726 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 15, no 2

15 March 1917

My dear Smuts, I enclose for your perusal in case you have a few leisure moments before the flood of official memoranda begins to descend upon you, a couple of private memoranda on the general strategical situation which I prepared in January. They are not quite up to date consequently, but still there is, I think, enough in them to make them worth your while glancing through. The arguments with regard to a

possible advance in Palestine have been, as a matter of fact, much strengthened by our Baghdad success, and personally I can't see any reason why we should not push forward there with energy at once. On the other hand, what has happened since then makes me even more sceptical about the possibility of a decisive victory on the Western front than I was two months ago. The one thing, however, that is essential if we are going to do a big thing quickly in the Palestine direction, is a more dashing General than [Sir A. J.] Murray. If I were dictator, I should ask you to do it as the only leading soldier who has had experience of mobile warfare during this war and has not got trenches dug deep into his mind.

Personally I think one of the subjects which the forthcoming Cabinet meetings ought to consider is that of the future strategy of the war. I don't mean detailed plans, nor do I suggest that anything can be done now with advantage to modify the plan of campaign already worked out for the spring and summer. But as regards what we are to do in the autumn, and what, if necessary, we should prepare during next winter for the following year, seems to me a matter well worth general discussion. After all, the matter is not wholly one of abstract military science. It is so bound up with the question of our ultimate peace objectives, of our capacity for prolonging the war, etc., that the Dominions ought to have their say in the matter, and at any rate know clearly on what grounds and with what policy in view our future strategy is to be carried out. A little later on, if you have any spare time, I should much like to talk about this question with you.

I also enclose a memorandum on the Irish question which I sent to the War Cabinet just before the Irish debate. I don't think that the policy advocated in it could with advantage have been announced at that moment. But I think it is the only right way of arriving at a settlement, and the proceedings of the other day, which definitely guaranteed to Ulster that it should not be coerced against its will, were to my mind the first step towards a settlement by consent. There is much in the Irish situation that has its analogy in South Africa before the Union. Yours sincerely,

L. S. Amery

727 To Sir M. Hankey

Vol. 18, no. 169

The document in the Smuts Collection is an unsigned typed copy.

16 March 1917

Dear Sir Maurice Hankey, Many thanks for your letter of 13 March and for notifying me of the arrangements made for my convenience at the offices of the War Cabinet.

I went down and met Colonel Dally Jones the other day, and hope to meet you very shortly.

I wish to thank you for your kind offer of assistance and shall avail myself of it in the near future. With kind regards, Believe me, Yours very truly,

728 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 16, no. 192

Maer Lake

Bude

[Cornwall]

16 March [1917]

Dear old Oom, It is sweet of you to take my chaff in such good part. Thanks for your letter.

Now, can you come down for Sunday? It's nonsense for South Africans to talk of distance; Bude is 'next door' for you.

Still, if you *can't* or *won't* appear tomorrow, if this does not find you *en route* for Waterloo either by the 11 a.m. or 1 p.m. train, *then* have you any time to see me if I come up this week? I have *in any case* to be at Bristol on the 23rd and could precede that by a couple of days in London (if I can find a cheap hotel), viz., from the 20th or 21st to the 23rd, Wednesday to Friday, and leave on the Friday.

But it's useless to do this if you have no time to talk to me, or I to you. In the event of your *not* coming here let me know by wire and I will try to be in London by the 21st.¹

There is much I want to say to you. I am frantically busy with many engagements to fit in, so come here tomorrow Saturday if you can. Yours as ever,

E.H.

¹ Smuts telegraphed that he would be 'very glad' to see her on the 21st.

729 From A. Clark

Vol. 16, no. 32

Mill Field
Street, Somerset
19 March 1917

Dear Oom Jannie, We are all rejoiced to hear of your safe arrival from your dangerous voyage. I have followed your course in East Africa with deep interest and am very glad to think of the work there as practically ended. I send you my warmest congratulations. I wonder very much what impression you are receiving now. Probably your old opinion of our rulers won't be changed greatly; though the people are many of them changed. But there seems a terrible similarity between most of the people who attain to prominence in our political life.

Is there any possibility of your coming down here? You know our house is always open to you, and we all want to see you again. You will find the Parents very much aged. The depression of these last terrible years has told heavily on them. Father can hardly walk from room to room, but he is courageous and clear-headed and still contrives to accomplish much public work. Mother is very frail with an over-tired heart and must spend most of the time on the sofa, which irks her active mind. So they cannot come to town to see you as I shall hope to do if you have any time at all to spare for personal matters. So do come here if it is at all possible; you will find it extraordinarily tranquil after the nervous excitement which, since the beginning of the war, has been so marked in London.

My family are all absorbed in the care of conscientious objectors; three of my cousins are in prison; I feel rather a black sheep among them, for the whole argument on which they base their opinions seems on the same level as the argument for Christian Science.

I won't write more for you can't have time to read letters, but I hope that I may soon see you. With affectionate greeting, I am, Yours very sincerely,

Alice Clark

I am guessing at an address.

730 From A. S. Green

Vol. 16, no. 149

36 Grosvenor Road
Westminster, S.W.1

30 March 1917

My dear Mr Smuts, May I explain to you shortly why it is that I venture to ask if you could be good enough to spare me a little of your valuable time, and honour my house with a visit. It is so near the Parliament House that it is really not very distant from any of the offices at which you are occupied.

My first plea is that, when the Generals Botha, de la Rey, and de Wet paid their first visit to England, arriving on Saturday night, they came to my house early on the Sunday morning, and spent the entire [*sic*] of their first day in London with me. Sir William Butler had come up by a night train to meet them; and I have ineffaceable recollections of that day. I have seen General Botha every time he came to England, and it has seemed to me that a connection of this kind with your country might give me an excuse for asking to make your acquaintance.

I spent a month among the Boer prisoners at St Helena, the only civilian who was ever allowed to land there during the war.

You will remember my connection with *The Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green. I brought out last summer a new edition, with a long Epilogue, giving the history of the last hundred years, from the social point of view, and that of foreign politics. In it I laid much stress on the development of the Dominions. I should be glad if you cared for it, to offer you a copy of this book. I have written also various books on Irish history which have brought me into touch with many kinds of Irish people, the sides of Irish life which are not known at all to most Englishmen, even to those who, like myself, belong to families of old settlers in Ireland.

If I could hope to see you during your stay here I should esteem it a very great honour and pleasure. Your time must be very full, but it may be that you have an occasional hour, either at the time of lunch, tea, or dinner when it is possible to relax from the claims of incessant work. With many apologies, I remain, Yours truly,

Alice Stopford Green

731 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 202

Savoy Hotel
London

31 March 1917

Liefste Mamma, Ik heb nu net gehoord dat er vandaag kans is voor een mail naar Zuid-Afrika en heb slechts tijd voor een paar regels. Eerst om jou zoo hartelijk te bedanken voor de laatste brieven per *Walmer Castle* gekomen. Het was zoet en heerlijk zooveel nieuws van jou te hooren en als het ware het warme hart bijna te hooren kloppen. Baing dankie ook voor de snaps en de brieven der kleinen. Allen hebben aan mij geschreven behalve alleen Louis. Maar zij praat zoo dikwijls van pappa dat zij zeker vergeten heeft te schrijven. Haar pappie komt spoedig naar haar terug en brengt haar een klein pasellaatje. Al jou nieuws is goed en welkom. Ik hoop jij zal de Inkomsten Staat recht krijgen. Ik heb geen verder informatie. Jan moet jullie liever niet met zijn watermeloenen lastig vallen. Hy heeft een hekel aan Jimmie die (hij denkt) naar Carlisle's plek wil gaan. Laat hem maar alleen want hy is bepaald een beetje gek van tijd tot tijd.

Met mij gaat het zeer goed. Scholl en Collyer zijn aangekomen en S. kijkt zeer goed naar mij. Ik zie mijn oude vrienden geregeld. Zondag was ik te Cambridge en heb den tijd met Wolstenholme doorgebracht. Hij was buiten zichzelf van vreugde. Het lijkt of hij naar Londen wil komen om naderbij mij te zijn, maar mijn tijd is zoo kort dat ik het idee niet heb aangemoedigd.

Ik nam Olive Schreiner met mij mede en laaide haar bij Miss Alice Green (4 mijl van Cambridge) af. Onthou jij haar nog? Zij kwam eens met Miss Molteno naar ons huis te Pretoria. Olive lijkt gelukkiger van zij mij gezien heeft. Zij heeft een buitensporige opinie van mijne bekwaamheden maar zegt ik heb te min gevoel. Maar zij is een lieve ou zuster en ik kom uitstekend met haar klaar. Zij is verbijsterd over de toestand der wereld en barst zoomaar in tranen uit als wij gezelschen; maar ik koel haar af. Miss Hobhouse wil net vrede maken ('by negotiation') en is een beetje lastig en natuurlijk zooals altoos taktloos zoodat haar geheele familie, zelfs haar broer, tegen haar is. Margaret Gillett by wie ik voorlaatste

Zondag was had den volgende Maandag een dochter! Beide zeer wel en zij natuurlijk in den hemel. Ik ga vandaag naar Street om morgen namiddag (Zondag) weer terug te keeren. Het zal my goed doen hen te zien en weg te komen uit Londen. Men maakt hier tamelijk veel van mij maar ik houd mij maar een beetje buitenkant alles om te veel attentie te vermijden. Ik wil niet de zelfde flater als Australia's Hughes hier maken. Ter zelfder tijd help ik zooveel ik kan in het Cabinet met de beraadslagingen. De toestand is ver van gezond vooral met de groote uitbreiding van de duikboot oorlog, maar in Duitschland moeten dingen zeer slecht zijn en misschien komt er vrede aan het einde van dezen zomer. Maar zulke groote dingen gebeuren in de wereld dat niemand de loop van zaken kan voorspellen. Rusland ook een republiek, en Amerika zal mogelijk aanstaande week een oorlogvoerende partij worden! Wat een tijd voor omwentelingen!

General Botha had veel moeilijkheid in het parlement en was twijfelachtig geworden, maar ik heb hem sterk getelegrafeerd vast te houden tot het einde van den oorlog, daar ik anders benouwd ben voor de gevolgen voor Zuid-Afrika. Hij zal zulks doen indien mogelijk. Nu, Mammie, baing zoentjes en groeten van

Pappa

Hodgson's moeder schreef aan mij en ik heb haar terug geschreven over haar zoon.

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel

London

31 March 1917

Dearest Mamma, I have just heard that there is a chance of a mail to South Africa today and only have time for a few lines. First, thank you most heartily for the last letters which came by the *Walmer Castle*. It was sweet and lovely to hear so much news from you and almost, as it were, to hear the warm heart beating. Many thanks also for the snap-shots and the little ones' letters. All have written to me except Louis. But she so often talks of Pappa that she must have forgotten to write. Her Pappa is soon coming back to her and is bringing her a little present. All your news is good and welcome. I hope you will

get the income-tax return right. I have no further information. Jan had better not bother you with his watermelons. He dislikes Jimmie who (he thinks) wants to go to Carlisle's place. Leave him alone for he is certainly a bit mad from time to time.

I am very well. Scholl and Collyer have arrived and Scholl looks after me very well. I see my old friends regularly. On Sunday I was at Cambridge and spent the time with Wolstenholme. He was beside himself with joy. It looks to me as if he wants to come to London to be nearer to me, but my time is so short that I have not encouraged the idea.

I took Olive Schreiner with me and dropped her at Miss Alice Green's (four miles from Cambridge). Do you still remember her? She once came with Miss Molteno to our house in Pretoria. Olive looks happier since she has seen me. She has an excessive opinion of my abilities, but says I have too little feeling. But she is a dear old girl and I get on excellently with her. She is bewildered at the condition of the world and just bursts into tears when we talk; but I cool her down. Miss Hobhouse is all for making peace ('by negotiation') and is a little troublesome and, of course, as always, tactless, so that her whole family, even her brother, is against her. Margaret Gillett, with whom I was the Sunday before last, had a daughter¹ on the following Monday! Both very well and she, of course, in heaven. I go to Street today and return tomorrow afternoon (Sunday). It will do me good to see them and to get out of London. People make rather much of me here, but I am keeping a little apart from everything to avoid too much attention. I don't want to make the same blunder here as Australia's Hughes. At the same time I help as much as I can with the deliberations in the Cabinet. The position is far from healthy, especially with the great extension of the submarine war, but things must be very bad in Germany and perhaps peace will come at the end of this summer. But such great things are happening in the world that no one can foretell the course of events. Russia also a republic, and America will possibly become a belligerent party next week! What a time for revolutions!

General Botha had much difficulty in Parliament and had become doubtful, but I have telegraphed him strongly to stand

¹ Helen Bright Gordon.

fast until the end of the war, as I should otherwise be alarmed at the consequences for South Africa. He will do so if possible. Well, Mamma, many kisses and good wishes from

Pappa

Hodgson's mother wrote to me and I have written to her about her son.

732 From O. Schreiner

Vol. 18, no. 98

19 Adam Street
Portman Square
[London]

Monday, [March 1917]

Dear Neef¹ Jan, Thank you for your kindness yesterday. Oh Jan, I wish you all good. I wish I could help you. Dear, try to act a large-hearted part. You have such gifts. I hear terrible reports this morning; it is civil war I dread so. All is so dark.

Please ask Captain [F. H.] Theron if I did not leave a yellowish water-proof coat in the motor when he drove back to Cambridge. It was not here when I got into the house and looked at my things. *So* sorry to trouble you.

My love to you and my dear brave Isie and the children if you write.

Olive

I am anxious about your going over to France. So many ships get sunk. My nephew was called up yesterday suddenly to join his regiment. I did not see him to say good-bye.

733 To G. G. A. Murray

Vol. 18, no. 206

Savoy Hotel
London
5 April 1917

Dear Professor Murray, Many thanks for your kind note and your remarks which are very much appreciated. Wilson's grand statement of our case² will do more than anything else

¹ Colloquial form of address in Afrikaans; literally 'cousin'.

² On 2 April 1917 President Wilson, in an address to Congress, defined the objects and scope of the entry of the United States into the war.

to make people realize the high issues at stake. The war is lasting very long and there is a distinct tendency to weariness which only the realization of high and inspiring ideas could effectively counteract. Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

734 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 207

Savoy Hotel
5 April 1917

Liefste Mamma, Ik vertrek over een paar uur naar Frankrijk om dingen daar te bezien en zal een week weg zijn. Dus schrijf ik nu zoodat indien er een mail intusschen is ik het niet zal overslaan. Met mij nog zeer wel, gezondheid goed. En ik meen dat ik ook goed werk alhier kan doen. Men maakt meer van mij dan ik verdien en meer dan ik zou wenschen maar dit geeft mij een gelegenheid misschien om goed werk te doen. Ik wil zeer gaarne zien dat in de toekomst onze positie in de Dominies verbeterd wordt; ik kan niet en zal nooit vergeten dat wij vrije republieken waren. En ik kan mijne collegas van de andere Dominies in de rechte richting influenceren. Dan word ik hier voor een militaire expert gehouden en kan dus advies geven waarnaar ten minste beleefd geluisterd wordt. Ik zal in Frankrijk het militaire front zien, en ook de Zuid-Afrikaners en hoop ook kennis te maken met het hooge Fransche bevel. Indien er gelegenheid is zal ik ook naar Parys gaan om de regeering te ontmoeten en zaken informeel met hen te bespreken.

Laatste Zondag was ik te Street met de Clarks en heb daar een heerlijk tijdje doorgemaakt. Ik meen ik heb jou reeds geschreven dat Margaret Gillett een dochter had den dag na ik daar was. Miss Hobhouse was gister weer hier en zal aan jou schrijven. Zij is heel lief en hare brieven zijn zeer overdreven. Maar zij is natuurlijk zooals altijd een klein beetje gek. Woensdag na mijn aankomst van Frankrijk ga ik door naar Edinburg om de Freedom der stad te ontvangen. Manchester en Londen gaan mij ook hun Freedom aanbieden, maar laatstgenoemde niet dat zwaard waarover ik bly ben daar het zwaard een nieuwe grief onder de lieve Zuid-Afrikaansche

patriotten zou zijn. De veldtocht is nog niet geheel over en ik ben er voor het einde weg.

Ik wonder hoe het op de plaats met jullie allen gaat. Volgens Jimmies laatste brief gaat alles goed. Ik hoop ik zal jullie wel en opgeruimd aantreffen wanneer ik terugkeer. Ik ben niet zeker wanneer dit zal zijn maar zal niet langer alhier blijven dan nodig is.

Mijn hart is natuurlijk op Doornkloof achter gebleven en ik verlang meer dan ooit naar mamma en de kleinen. Indien ik in de winter terug ben gaan wij allen voor een holiday naar Rooikop. Maar in elk geval zal het heerlijk zijn om weer bij eigen haard te zijn.

Lord Vivian was van ochtend weer hier over zijn jas maar ik heb hem gezegd dat jij als baas verbiedt teruggave en daarmee is hij tevreden.

Het is hier zeer koud en nat geweest maar vandaag schijnt de zon en ik hoop de lente is nu werkelijk aangebroken. Amerika is nu ingekomen maar ik voel maar niet gelukkig over onze vooruitzichten. Met zoejtjes van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
[London]
5 April 1917

Dearest Mamma, I leave in a few hours for France to see things there and shall be away for a week. I therefore write now, so that if there is a mail in the meantime, I shall not miss it. I am still very well—health good. And I think that I can also do good work here. People make more of me than I deserve and more than I should wish, but perhaps it will give me an opportunity to do good work. I want very much to see that in future our position in the Dominions is improved; I cannot and never shall forget that we were free republics. And I can influence my colleagues of the other Dominions in the right direction. Also, I am regarded here as a military expert and can therefore give advice which at least is listened to politely. In France I shall see the military front and also the South Africans and also hope to make the acquaintance of the French high command. If there is an opportunity I shall also

go to Paris to meet the Government and discuss matters informally with them.

Last Sunday I was at Street with the Clarks and had a lovely time there. I think I have already written you that Margaret Gillett had a daughter the day after I was there. Miss Hobhouse was here again yesterday and will write to you. She is quite sweet and her letters are much exaggerated. But she is, of course, as always, a little mad. On Wednesday, after my arrival from France, I go through to Edinburgh to receive the Freedom of the city. Manchester and London are also going to offer me their Freedom, but the last-named will not offer that sword—which I am glad of, as the sword would be a new grievance among the dear South African patriots. The campaign is not yet quite over and I left before the end.

I wonder how you all are on the farm. According to Jimmie's last letter all is well. I hope I shall find you well and cheerful when I return. I am not sure when that will be, but shall not stay here longer than necessary. My heart has, of course, stayed behind at Doornkloof and I long more than ever for Mamma and the little ones. If I am back in the winter we shall all go for a holiday to Rooikop. But in any case it will be lovely to be at one's own hearth again.

Lord Vivian was here again this morning about his coat but I told him that you, as master, forbid its return and he is satisfied with that.¹

It has been very cold and wet here but today the sun is shining and I hope spring has really come. America has now come in, but I do not feel happy about our prospects. With kisses from
Pappa.

735 To A. S. Green

Vol. 18, no. 220

17 April 1917

My dear Mrs Green, I shall come down and see you on Thursday at five o'clock if this will be convenient to you and

¹ On 17 September 1901, in a successful attack on the camp of the 17th Lancers by Smuts's force, Lord Vivian (q.v.) was wounded. Deneys Reitz, then wearing 'a grain-bag for my chief garment', was now able to appear 'in a handsome cavalry tunic, riding-breeches, etc.' which had belonged to Lord Vivian. Reitz must have given the tunic to Mrs Smuts as a souvenir. See D. Reitz, *Commando*, p. 261 of the *Penguin* edition.

then we shall have an opportunity of discussing old times and also I shall have the pleasure of meeting Colonel [M. G.] Moore. With kind regards, Believe me, Yours sincerely,

[J. C. Smuts]

736 From A. S. Green

Vol. 16, no. 152

36 Grosvenor Road
Westminster
S.W.1

18 April 1917

My dear General Smuts, It will be delightful to see you on Thursday at five o'clock. Colonel Moore will be here, and a couple of Irish friends who are deeply concerned in the present movement to attempt an Irish settlement. They are George Russell, an ally for many years of Sir Horace Plunkett, and Editor of the Co-operative paper *The Homestead*; and Mr [J.] Douglas, a very good representative of the young men, who ought now to be given their turn. All the counsels in Ireland have been of late years too much in the hands of the old, whose boast of forty years of service in the House of Commons ought to incline them to give a little way for the new and young spirit of the country. Yours very sincerely,

Alice Stopford Green

737 To J. A. Hobson

Vol. 18, no. 228

Savoy Hotel
London

21 April 1917

My dear Hobson, I have not been able yet to see Lord Bryce and feel it is unfair to delay my answer to your invitation any longer. I am not quite in agreement with the programme of the League of Nations Society but am in the fullest sympathy with their primary aim, viz., to seek means of peaceful settlement of international disputes. If the Society will not mind my reserving a certain freedom of speech I shall be glad to accept the invitation and to speak at the proposed meeting. Perhaps it will be found possible to arrange for the meeting

somewhere about the second week in May, which will I hope suit my other arrangements. Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

738 To T. Jones

Vol. 100, no. 11

The earliest formulation of Smuts's conception of a League of Nations is this draft of a resolution which was discussed at a meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet on 26 April 1917 and adopted in a slightly amended form. See *War Memoirs* by D. Lloyd George, Vol. IV, p. 1798. The original draft, in Smuts's handwriting, is in the Smuts Collection.

21 April 1917

Dear Mr Jones, Enclosed please find draft paragraph in regard to a *League of Nations*. Yours sincerely,

[J. C. Smuts]

ENCLOSURE

League of Nations

The Committee were deeply impressed with the grave dangers confronting the civilized world if warfare continued unrestricted in future, and with the necessity of devising means which would tend at any rate to diminish the risk of future wars. They felt, however, that any large or ambitious project to ensure world peace might prove not only impracticable but also harmful in that it might foster the false idea that any serious risk of future war had passed away. They were agreed to affirm in principle that some form of conference or conciliation among the Powers should be established to deal with international disputes not susceptible to arbitration or judicial procedure, and that the details of the scheme should be discussed with our allies and especially the U.S.A. before the conclusion of the war. In their opinion such a scheme to promote future world peace should, if possible, be embodied in the peace treaty itself.

739 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 335

London

21 April 1917

It was good to see your handwriting once more. I shall try and see your friend Baker [J. A.]. I saw another (Douglas) a few

days ago at Mrs J. R. Green's. He told me much about Irish conditions. Miss Hobhouse has now moved into town in order the more effectively to labour for the salvation of my soul. Tomorrow I go to Cambridge taking Olive Schreiner with me. The open air and the sight of God's good universe will do both of us good. The first open Sunday you will find me in Oxford.

I did spend a great week-end at Millfield, one which filled me with peace and happiness.

740 From M. C. Gillett

Vol. 16, no. 125

102 Banbury Road
Oxford

26 April 1917

My dear Oom Jannie, We were very much pleased at getting your letter. The children and I found these violets in the garden for you to smell and to remind you of us. I am glad you got away to Cambridge again and could take Olive Schreiner. We look for you here.

I feel very sad and low in mind about things outside our own circle (which has been so blessed). The business of starving one another out is so miserable. I look at our children, and then think of theirs, and the permanent damage it is all through their lives if children go short. Now that we begin to see what shortage is amongst ourselves it naturally makes one think all the more of them.

I can't see any comforting prospect in America's present step.

And now we notice the papers aren't allowed to report your words. I am afraid you have met with discouragement but you have a great spirit, and you have been my great hope and belief for help these two and a half years. Love to you always.

Margaret

741 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 235

Savoy Hotel
London

27 April 1917

Liefste Mamma, Een paar regels met deze mail waarmee Genl. Collyer terugkeert naar Z. Afrika. Ik zal hem vragen om jou

direct bij zijn aankomst te gaan zien zoodat jij veel meer nieuws kan vernemen dan ik thans de gelegenheid heb te schrijven. Ik vind waarlijk tijd voor niets dan mijn werk dat mij gaande houdt van den vroegen morgen tot den laten nacht en ik zal den Heer danken wanneer alles voorbij is en ik kan huiswaarts keeren. Hier is een sterke beweging om mij hier te houden in the War Cabinet maar er is ook objectie die ik deel en dus zal er niets van komen. Maar men maakt veel van mij hier, veel meer als ik verdien. Er is echter de romance van mijn carrière die een sterk beroep op velen maakt, en ik tracht zoover ik kan het volk op grooter einddoelen te wijzen.

Geheim. Mij is ook het opperbevel in Palestina geoffereerd en Lloyd George zegt ik moet de laatste en grootste kruistocht ondernemen. Ik heb Generaal Botha's opinie gevraagd en weet nog niet wat te doen. Wat denkt jij? Maar ik zal binnen een paar dagen moeten beslissen en jou advies, hoe gewaardeerd ook, zal te laat komen. Ik weet ook jij zal zeggen ik moet mijn plicht doen volgens mijn ingeving.

Nyssie is hier aangekomen en gaat voorloopig bij de Britsche leger aansluiten. Hij is zeer wel en fluksch en kon mij vele dingen van Doornkloof vertellen. Dezelfde mail bracht mij ook 4 brieven van jou en van de kinderen. Dank, zeer hartelijk dank mamma. Voor mij is er in jou afwezigheid geen genot zoo groot als jou lieve brieven te lezen. Ach wanneer zal ik weer mijn groote lieve brief in persoon lezen! Ik weet niet waarom wij die elkaar zoo lief hebben zoo ver en lang van elkaar gescheiden moeten zijn terwijl velen die niets voor elkaar omgeven met mekaar moeten leven. Maar onze tijd zal weer komen—alleen zooals jij zegt worden wij oud. Mijn hart is en blijft op Doornkloof waar ook het oude lichaam moge zijn.

Wat de plaats betreft lijkt het of alles zeer goed gaat. Het is best dat Jacobsz naar de beesten gaat indien hij van geen nut is. Ik word echter zeer teleurgesteld met hem, en hij verdient bijna £100 per jaar. Ik heb geen objectie tegen vermeerdering voor Andries door jou gegeven. Jimmie Roos zegt eerste maand op Kameelfontein was goed maar daarna slechter en dat er groot gevaar bestaat dat Regeering zal proclameeren, als wanneer wij niets zullen krijgen.

Het best is jullie geheel niet over Jan Krige te bekommeren. Ik heb het gevoel dat jullie een klein beetje onbillijk is en dat

hij niet zoo slecht is als geschildered. Hij zal niets tegen jou of mij doen en hij heeft de kinderen bepaald lief. Dat is mijn indruk.

Miss Hobhouse heeft nu in Londen komen wonen om nader bij mij te zijn! Zij is een pacifist van een zeer lastige soort. Olive Schreiner was Zondag weer met mij naar Miss Green te Cambridge. Cambridge heeft mij een honorair LL.D. aangeboden. Aanstaaende week Freedom of City of London en zoo gaat het voort totdat ik moeg en zat ben.

Baing zoentjes en groeten. Sylma's pop is zeker, ook de pasellas voor de anderen. Tatta Mammie.

J.C.S.

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London

27 April 1917

Dearest Mamma, A few lines by this mail-ship, on which General Collyer returns to South Africa. I shall ask him to go and see you directly he arrives so that you can hear far more news than I now have the opportunity to write. I really find time for nothing but my work, which keeps me on the go from early morning till late at night, and I shall thank the Lord when all is over and I can turn homewards. There is a strong movement to keep me here in the War Cabinet, but there are also objections—which I share, and so nothing will come of it. But people make much of me here, much more than I deserve. There is, however, the romance of my career which makes a strong appeal to many, and I try, as far as I can, to point people to greater goals.

Secret. I have also been offered the chief command in Palestine and Lloyd George says I must undertake the last and greatest crusade. I have asked General Botha's opinion and do not yet know what to do. What do you think? But I shall have to decide in a few days and your advice, however valued, will come too late. I also know you will say I must do my duty according to my convictions.

Nyssie has arrived here and will for the time being join the British Army. He is very well and lively and could tell me many things about Doornkloof. The same mail also brought

me four letters from you and the children. Thanks, very hearty thanks, Mamma. For me, in your absence, there is no enjoyment so great as to read your dear letters. Oh, when shall I read my big dear letter in person again! I do not know why we, who love one another so much, must be separated so far and so long, while many who care nothing for one another must live together. But our time will come again—only, as you say, we grow old. My heart is and remains at Doornkloof, wherever the old body may be.

As regards the farm, it looks as if everything is going very well. It is best for Jacobsz to go to the cattle if he is of no use. But I am becoming very disappointed in him, and he earns almost £100 a year. I have no objection to the increase for Andries¹ given by you. Jimmie Roos says the first month at Kameelfontein² was good, but after that worse, and that there is a great danger that the Government will proclaim,³ in which case we shall get nothing.

It is best not to worry yourselves about Jan Krige at all. I have a feeling that you are a little unfair and that he is not as bad as painted. He will not do anything against you or me and he definitely loves the children. That is my impression.

Miss Hobhouse has now come to live in London to be nearer to me! She is a pacifist of a very troublesome kind. Olive Schreiner went with me again on Sunday to Miss Green at Cambridge. Cambridge has offered me an honorary LL.D. Next week, Freedom of the City of London, and so it goes on until I am weary and sick of it.

Many kisses and good wishes. Sylma's doll is a certainty, also the presents for the others. Good-bye, Mamma.

J.C.S.

742 Memorandum (1917)

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¹ Andries Weyers, who afterwards became Smuts's son-in-law.

² A farm near Pretoria which Smuts bought, in partnership with J. de V. Roos, shortly after the Anglo-Boer War.

³ i.e., declare it an alluvial diamond diggings.

THE GENERAL STRATEGIC AND MILITARY SITUATION
and
PARTICULARLY THAT ON THE WESTERN FRONT

I. *General*

The present strategic and military situation is determined not only by the previous course of the war but to a large extent also by our conception of general policy, by the political aims we are fighting for, and the possibility of rigorously defining and limiting those aims.

A military situation which is hopeless in view of a large and ambitious political programme may yet be quite hopeful and reassuring if that programme is severely cut down to the essential minimum of our war aims and of the victory we consider necessary to realize them. Such a definition and limitation of our war aims has now become quite necessary at this very late stage of this long and exhausting struggle and has been carried out by two committees of the War Cabinet. Apart from the subsidiary recommendations of those committees our war aims are now limited to the following four:—

(a) Destruction of the German colonial system with a view to the future security of all communications vital to the British Empire. This has already been done—an achievement of enormous value which ought not to be endangered at the peace negotiations.

(b) Tearing off from the Turkish Empire all parts that may afford Germany opportunity of expansion to the Far East and of endangering our position as an Asiatic power. This has essentially been achieved, although the additional conquest of Palestine may be necessary to complete this task.

(c) Evacuation by the enemy of Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania, and compensation to Belgium and perhaps France and Serbia.

(d) A settlement of Europe which will limit or destroy the military predominance of the Germanic powers, though the actual details of such a settlement may be left open for the peace conference.

The last two aims have still to be achieved. The net result of the war so far may be stated as follows: while all other

parties have been heavy losers in territory both the German and the British Empires have been winners, the one in Central Europe, the other over the rest of the globe. While our gains have immensely strengthened our position the risk remains that the German Empire may have gained even more relatively and, unless defeated now, will become again at some future date an even more serious menace to us than it has been in the past. How has this defeat to be brought about ?

I have already told the War Cabinet and I repeat here my frank opinion that that will not be merely or even entirely a military defeat. A certain substantial measure of military success will be necessary and must be achieved, not only because it is necessary for our ends, but also as a lasting lesson to Prussian militarism.

But greater forces are fighting for us than our armies. This war will be settled largely by the imponderables—by the forces of public opinion all over the world which have been mobilized by German outrages, by fear on the part of the governing classes of Central Europe of the dark forces of revolution already gathering in the background, by the gaunt spectre of want or even starvation already stalking through the land ; and by all those consequential factors of morale to which even Napoleon attached more military importance than to the prowess of his armies. Thus the present impotence of the Russian army is almost balanced, and in the end may be more than balanced, by the dread which this example of successful revolution is inspiring in the rulers of Central Europe. And the coming in of even pacific America shows the growing force of the imponderables set free by this war in the minds of the nations.

In this connection two considerations cannot be too clearly realized by us. First, that in our diplomacy and our conduct of the war we should ever strive to keep this world opinion on our side and not be deflected by German methods of barbarism or in any other way from our true course. This affects such questions as the severer forms of reprisals, our coercion of small neutral nations, and even an added emphasis to our traditional generous policy in purely domestic affairs, and similar questions. Second, that the imponderables will continue to act beyond the duration of this war and produce

greater changes than any which we will be able to achieve or even contemplate in the peace treaty. It appears now fairly probable that the democratization of Central Europe, which will be an inevitable consequence of this war, will go further to achieve our war aim (*d*) than any measures we could devise.

But, even so, a substantial measure of military success will be necessary for the attainment of our ends (*c*) and (*d*). How is this to be achieved? And this brings me to the consideration of the present strategic and military situation.

In this connection the dominant fact that emerges is that our scope for military operations has become considerably narrowed down as the war has progressed. Possibilities of offensive action which at earlier stages of the war were open to us are no longer possible and several brilliant ideas will now not be put to the test of trial. On the contrary even our present fields of operation may have to be revised and contracted. The warnings of the First Sea Lord¹ as to the naval and shipping position have become so grave and insistent that it would be dangerous in the extreme to continue to ignore them indefinitely. The question therefore arises which of our overseas campaigns is the least promising to the attainment of our ends and makes the heaviest demands on our shipping.

2. *Salonika*

This undoubtedly is the Salonika campaign, which has failed in its original intention, and will more and more become not only a military and naval but possibly also a political embarrassment. Apart from a victorious offensive which may seriously threaten Sofia I can see only two advantages arising from this campaign: (*a*) it may support our diplomacy in endeavouring to detach Bulgaria from the Central Powers, (*b*) it may serve as a cover to Greece and prevent the Germans from reaching it and gathering fresh resources in men and submarine bases and lairs on the Greek coast and islands.

With our present forces on that front I consider a real threat to Bulgaria out of the question. The strategic geographical position in Central Europe is such that the Balkan front should either be one of our most formidable in men and guns

¹ Admiral Sir John Jellicoe.

or should be left alone altogether. Any middle course such as we have adopted is either futile or dangerous.

As regards the detachment of Bulgaria from the Germans by adequate territorial baits, that is a question for our diplomacy to decide; if there is no real prospect of such detachment we have no military reason to linger on this front except for the purpose of covering Greece. And the covering of Greece might well be left to the French, Serbians and Italians on a contracted front. In this way we would secure several clear advantages: we would ease the shipping situation, we would extricate ourselves from what promises to become a most embarrassing political entanglement in Greece for which French diplomacy with purely French aims in view is responsible; and we would be enabled to reinforce our front in Palestine, which will require heavy reinforcing before the conquest of Palestine and Syria is completed.

The question for immediate consideration of the Foreign Office is whether the detachment of Bulgaria is possible: if it can be and is brought about the Salonika campaign would not remain as a further addition to our list of failures. And a Bulgaria which is not only powerful and nationally satisfied but which has played Germany false at the most critical stage of the war will be a great factor in the future settlement of the Balkans, quite apart from the immediate military advantages. If possible, the effort should be made. If not, then I can only advise a change of our plans, and our retirement from this front in such stages as will not endanger the position of our allies who will remain on the contracted front. The Balkan situation has now become primarily a diplomatic one, and our military policy should be revised accordingly.

Next in importance to the detachment of Bulgaria from Central Europe would be the detachment of Turkey, which might become feasible if the Russian Government would definitely waive their rights under the Bosphorus agreement.¹ The danger, however, of Russia going out of the war on some pretext or other is so serious and would have such far-reaching consequences that I do not think we should moot the question

¹ In March–April 1915 Great Britain and France had made a secret agreement with Russia by which the Straits and Constantinople would be included in the Russian Empire after the war.

with her at present, but leave the situation to clear up of itself in the course of events. Nagging is the worst form of dealing with a patient. I therefore proceed on the assumption that our campaign against the Turkish Empire will continue in full vigour.

3. *Mesopotamia*

As regards Mesopotamia, we have achieved all that we were aiming at and can now consolidate our position and make it impregnable to any future counter-attacks. General [Sir F. S.] Maude should at the most convenient point on this front select and prepare a strong defensive position for any future emergency, while continuing the pressure against the enemy further afield. If we could ration portion of the Russian army on this front we could attach them more closely to us and thus increase our offensive power and tighten our hold on Russian co-operation in our future moves in this theatre. But essentially our ends here have been attained for the present, and it will depend on the progress of the Palestine army whether the more ambitious effort of a junction of our forces from the Euphrates with those in Syria should be made thereafter. Any large reserves from India, instead of being locked up on this front, might be held back until we see how the Palestine campaign progresses and how its requirements develop.

4. *Palestine*

This Palestine campaign presents very interesting military and even political possibilities. As it progresses to Jerusalem and Damascus, it will threaten the Turkish Empire far more gravely than anything we have so far undertaken except the Dardanelles and Gallipoli campaign. We should therefore be prepared for the most obstinate resistance, and it is essential for us to contemplate the gradual but complete withdrawal of our forces from Salonika to this front. This transfer will also have the effect of our making less use of the dangerous Mediterranean for our oversea operations, as the Palestine army could be largely supplied from the East, Australia and South Africa, and the ships now used in East Africa will also soon be set free for this purpose. The contraction of the Salonika front and the increasing pressure in Palestine must obviously have the effect of bringing the whole of the Turkish forces to

the Asiatic fronts of the Turkish Empire. It must be clearly realized that unless the Russians are made to pull their full weight in Armenia and General Maude continues to threaten the enemy on his front the Palestine force is certain to meet with the most formidable opposition even before it reaches Jerusalem. In any case, if we adopt a vigorous offensive we must be prepared to face the fact that this front will in all probability assume an importance eventually second only to that of the Western Front. The coming campaign must be judged and appreciated from that point of view to prevent future surprises or disappointments.

5. *Western Front*

There remains for consideration the far more important and complicated question of the Western Front. I have always looked upon it as a misfortune, no doubt inevitable under the circumstances, that the British forces have become so entirely absorbed by this front. The result now is that in a theatre mainly of the enemy's choosing, the two most important armies of the Entente are locked up in front of almost impregnable positions. It is essential to our ends that we should keep the initiative and offensive, but both are enormously difficult in the situation in which we are placed on this front. I have no confidence that we can break through the enemy line on any large scale. No doubt with our predominance of heavy artillery we can batter in any selected portion of the enemy line, but in every case so far we have been unable to advance for more than a comparatively short distance, and there is no reason to think that this state of affairs will materially alter in the near future unless some unforeseen calamity overtakes the enemy. I found the spirit of both our officers and men on this front magnificent in its confidence and determination. But my visit has only strengthened my impression that a decision on this front can only be reached by a process of remorselessly wearing down the enemy. And that is a very slow, costly and even dangerous process for us no less than for the enemy and threatening both with exhaustion of man-power as the process of attrition goes on. Victory in this kind of warfare is the costliest possible to the victor.

My visit to this front has also impressed me with the

undesirability of the present position both as regards the supreme military direction and the state of our strategic reserves. On both these points I wrote my views immediately after my return to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and they have been largely incorporated into his important Memorandum of 17 April to the War Cabinet (O.I-95/274) which has no doubt received the most careful consideration. These views I shall briefly repeat here.

We entered the War in a very small way with a small military force and not as a principal combatant but rather as an auxiliary to France. This fact was reflected in our general military policy which was of necessity one of great modesty and almost complete subordination to that of France. Our Army took its position side by side with the French Army in defence of French soil and as our forces continued to grow, we proceeded to take over more and more of the French line. The modesty of our policy and the subordination of our role to that of France have continued notwithstanding the fact that during the last two years the whole situation has been transformed and we are now the principal opponent of the Central Empires and the financial, naval, and, to a large extent, the military mainstay of the Entente. This anomalous situation is now reflected in three curious respects.

1. While our Army is defending the soil of France as if it were part of the French Forces, the French have taken the military and diplomatic lead in the Balkans and Greece and are either making mistakes which are seriously embarrassing the success of the War in those parts, or, if success is achieved, are after the War going to enjoy all the prestige in the Balkans which should legitimately have gone to the most powerful and disinterested member of the Entente.

2. The strategy of our Army on the Western Front has to conform to French direction, although such direction may, from a review of the military situation as a whole, not be a sound one and may pay an undue regard to merely French considerations. There is also the danger with an unstable Government such as France constantly has, that there may be vacillation in this direction and that rivalries between French commanders may impair its efficiency, while we are bound to conform and obey.

3. But the most serious result of all is that our whole Army (with the exception of the Forces conducting campaigns elsewhere) has been locked up on the Western Front and we have no great strategic reserve left for any unforeseen contingencies. For no doubt good and sufficient reasons we have gradually shouldered more and more of the burden of defending France and so both the French and English Armies have

become pinned down along the present Western Front. The Germans probably have great reserve forces which they could fling either against one of the existing fronts or into some new diversion into which they may be driven in order to achieve success.

If any such diversion is made by the enemy where is our force to meet it? If, again, any great diversion planned by us may, at some later stage of the War present the promise of decisive success, we shall be impotent to execute it because we shall have left no reserve force in our hands to play with. It is fair that any such reserve force should be found by us and that to the French should be left their legitimate task of defending French soil as far as their power permits.

I consider the time has come for us to aim resolutely at the removal of these three anomalies. We should endeavour to recover the diplomatic lead, especially in the Balkans; we should, after the present offensive, resume the independence of our military direction; and, above all, we should aim at the liberation from the Western Front at an early date, of at least one of our armies which should remain in the north of France, or the neighbourhood of the Belgian border as a strategic reserve to be used only when necessary in the case of grave contingencies. A great force, such as ours, which has no strategic reserve, is running grave risks. The German strategic reserve last December could deal with Roumania as soon as the danger of her invading Transylvania arose, and we should be in a similar position of security against unforeseen developments.

These impressions which I brought from the front have since been reinforced by the rumour that several important members of the French Government do not approve of General [R. G.] Nivelle's present offensive and consider a defensive policy the wisest one for the French army to pursue. If this policy is carried out and is applied also to the British Army, it means that towards the end of the third year of the war, the enemy has still succeeded in reducing us to the defensive. This, coupled with the fact that the enemy forces are now more numerous than ever before, that they have conquered large parts of Entente territory, which they are still holding, and that the submarine campaign, already so grave, is growing in violence, would look very much like our defeat, would dishearten all the Entente nations whose discouragement might precipitate serious peace movements among one or more

of them. And once the rot sets in, it might be difficult to stop it. No doubt, the weight of America would be felt in 1918, but the danger is that we may not get there, unless active operations are prosecuted and a continuance of military success buoys up the spirit of the nations to fight on till America can come in as a decisive factor. I feel the danger of a purely defensive policy so gravely that I would make the following suggestions in case the French carry out such a policy. In that case we should make them take back a substantial part of their line now occupied by us. As they would require no great reserve for offensive purposes, they would be in a position to do so. Our forces should then be concentrated towards the north, and part should go to the rear as a strategic reserve, while the rest should endeavour to recover the northern coast of Belgium and drive the enemy from Zeebrugge and Ostend. This task will be most formidable, especially if both the Russian and French lines remain passive, and every pressure should be exerted to induce them to be as aggressive as possible, even if they cannot actually assume the offensive. But, however difficult the task, something will have to be done to continue our offensive and I see more advantage in an offensive intended to recover the Belgian coast and deprive the enemy of two advanced submarine bases, than in the present offensive, which in proportion as it succeeds in driving the enemy out of France, will make the French less eager to continue the struggle beyond that goal. If the French are determined to go on the defensive, our (British) task on the Western Front may become so difficult that the Cabinet may decide to abandon the further prosecution of the Palestine campaign and to bring our Salonika troops as reinforcements to our Western Front.

I mention this here because I consider the time is now rapidly approaching when the military situation as a whole will have to be most carefully reviewed by the War Cabinet and circumstances may force them to contract their military fronts even more than was above suggested. We are approaching the final stages of this long-drawn out struggle, when we cannot afford to make any more mistakes, and when any false move made by either side may well prove decisive and fatal to it.

6. *Contingencies*

And this is the reason why I am so anxious to see a proper strategic reserve established. The chapter of accidents in war is a long and curious one and many a struggle has been settled by something unforeseen happening near the end. We want a reserve force to provide against surprises and accidents and also to be in a position to make use of any good opportunity which may present itself for offensive action on our part. Are there any probable contingencies to provide against? I understand the liability of this Island to an invasion has been carefully considered and provided against. In any case, any such desperate attempt would only be made at the very end, when Germany does no longer mind risking the destruction of her navy in a pitched naval battle and the cutting off and capture of any large landing force. But another contingency which also requires careful consideration is the enemy invasion of Holland in order to secure food, new submarine bases at Antwerp and Rotterdam, and new counters to bargain with when peace comes. The Dutch army is not a formidable factor, the Dutch artillery is known to the Germans to be contemptible, and after driving America into the war, they are not likely to boggle over Holland. Our capture of Ostend and Zeebrugge may make it even more imperative for them to seek new submarine bases for their expanding submarine activities. If the Dutch territory along the Scheldt is violated and Holland appeals to us for help, we must have the necessary reserve to do so. At present we have not, and in any disaster to her we shall have to abandon Holland to her fate and look on while the enemy acquires new bases for his attacks against us. I could even conceive circumstances which may compel us to drag Holland, however unwillingly, into the war in order to achieve victory; but it means a large reserve being ready and prepared for use either in that or any other emergency. I do not say these things are very likely, but in war the improbable also requires careful consideration. And the position of Holland as affecting the present strategic situation does call for the most minute expert consideration, which I trust is being given it. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Scandinavian states to say whether that also requires consideration. All I wish to emphasize is the necessity for a large

reserve force and its possible uses. If victory is unfortunately impossible for us this year—and it may be, in view of the fact that the Germans must strain every nerve to obtain a decision before the weight of America can be felt next year—such a reserve will be an insurance against any serious accident and may thus help us to hold out till America could come effectively to our aid. And if victory is possible this year, such a reserve may well prove the decisive factor. It will mean much for our future prestige if (as at Waterloo) we are in a position to strike the final blows.

7. *Review of Policy Necessary*

The point I would emphasize finally for the attention of the War Cabinet is that the time has come, or is coming soon, when the strategic situation, both military and naval, in relation to our resources and diplomacy, should be reviewed as a whole and, so far as is possible, definite policy should be laid down on the points raised in this memorandum as well as on others which I have refrained from referring to. Unless the First Sea Lord and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff¹ have the clear guidance of the War Cabinet on general questions of policy, it is impossible for them to obtain the highest and most efficient power out of the war machine they are directing.

J.C.S.

29 April 1917

743 L. Botha to S. M. Smuts

Vol. 15, no. 67

Volksraad

Kaapstad

4 Mei 1917

Lieve Mrs Smuts, Van ou Jannie hoor ik weekliks hij is vrisch, en maak een groote indruk onder de Englander, aan hem werd een hooge eer bewezen in de vorm van Palestina Command, dit lijken of de gevechten op alle vronten onmogelik worden, en van daar de nieuwe vront, ik sluit hierin voor uwe strict confidentieele informatie lste telegram A van Jannie ditto B telegram van mij en C van Jannie. Deze telegrammen spreek

¹ Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson.

voor zich zelf, ik heb geen tijd om te schrijf, en dacht best U op deze wijze op hoogte te houden, behandel dit s.v.p. geheel privaat, maar zal toch graag uwe inzichten daaromtrent willen hooren, want zou ook dat aan Jannie wil overbrengen.

Mrs Botha is veel beter en Francie het een groot dochter, ik stuur U een van Jannie en mijn Statuette. Beste groete, Van uw oude Vriend

Louis Botha

TRANSLATION

House of Assembly
Cape Town
4 May 1917

Dear Mrs Smuts, I hear from old Jannie every week. He is well and is making a big impression on the English. A high honour was shown him in the form of the Palestine command. It looks as if the battles on all fronts are becoming impossible, hence the new front. I enclose herewith for your strictly confidential information a first telegram A, from Jannie, a telegram B from me, and C, from Jannie. These telegrams speak for themselves. I have no time to write, and thought it best to keep you informed in this way. Please treat them as entirely private, but I should like to hear your views about them, for I should also want to transmit that to Jannie.

Mrs Botha is much better and Francie has a big daughter. I send you one of Jannie and my statuettes. Best wishes from your old friend,

Louis Botha

ENCLOSURE A

To General Botha, Cape Town
B.19. 24 April. [1917]

Geheim

Britse Regering heeft mij bevel van Palestina leger geoffereerd en dringt sterk aan voor aanname. Vooruitgang op andere fronten bijna onmogelijk en men wil Palestina en Syria veldtocht derhalve krachtig voortzetten. Vijand wordt daar zeer sterk. Hoe gaarne ik mijn plicht wil doen komt Zuid-Afrika eerste en vrees ik iets te doen wat zaken voor U moeielik zou maken en mijn toekomst en nut voor mijn land benadelen.

Wat is uw raad waarbij ik zal berusten. Blij dat tweede lezing Naturellen Wet door is en hoop alles zal nu beter gaan.

Smuts

TRANSLATION

General Botha, Cape Town

B.19. 24 April [1917]

Secret

British Government has offered me command of Palestine army and strongly urges acceptance. Advance on other fronts almost impossible and it is therefore desired to proceed strongly with Palestine and Syria campaign. Enemy is becoming very strong there. However much I wish to do my duty South Africa comes first and I fear to do anything that would make matters difficult for you and injure my future and usefulness to my country. What is your advice by which I shall abide. Glad that second reading Native Bill is through and hope everything will now go better.

Smuts

ENCLOSURE B

Telegram from Botha to Smuts.

[26? April 1917]

Your B. 19

I regard the offer by the Imperial Government of the Palestine command as a great honour, not only to you but also to the people of South Africa. Please accept our congratulations. As regards the wisdom or advisability to accept this offer, this will depend upon the scale on which the operations there are to be carried on. If on a large scale it would be very difficult to refuse the offer. I have no doubt that South Africa will appreciate with thankfulness this personal sacrifice by you. It is true that your colleagues will miss you greatly but we are anxious to give you all facilities. If you should accept the offer what would be your position in the Cabinet. Will you draw a salary from the Imperial Government or will you remain in the Cabinet without Portfolio. What is your view. I do not think that your continuing in the Ministry as Minister without Portfolio will embarrass our position and we would not like to

see you leave us altogether. Of course on your return you immediately take up Portfolio. The criticism against one Minister holding a Portfolio of Finance and Railways¹ is becoming so strong that I must separate them. Burton and van Heerden have been in bed for the last ten days but they are better. The Unionists are easier. The Nationalists much more bitter and inimical in their speeches in Parliament. As regards the command, tell me straight out what your own feeling is because you know I shall support you in everything.

ENCLOSURE C

Telegram from Smuts to Botha.

B. 25. 1 May [1917]

Secret

Van Deventer's appointment² will be dealt with officially through Colonial Office. Hope you will impress on him desirability of finishing campaign as soon as possible as ships badly wanted elsewhere. I have not yet accepted Palestine appointment but thank you most sincerely for your telegram. In view of general unsatisfactory position I have asked Government to review whole military position and simplify their programme. Only after that has been done shall I make up my mind whether it is worth while to go to Palestine. I can only go if it will be treated as first-class campaign in men and guns. Strong movement here to put me in War Cabinet which I shall however not accept in view of jealousy of other Dominions. Collyer sailed *Walmer* last week. Good luck.

Smuts

744 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 249

Savoy Hotel

5 Mei 1917

Liefste Mamma, Het is Zaterdag ochtend en over een paar uur vertrek weer een mail zoodat ik eenige regels aan jou moet

¹ H. Burton was holding both these offices at this time.

² Lieutenant-General J. L. van Deventer succeeded Smuts as Commander of the forces in German East Africa.

schrijven. De Z.A. mail kwam gister aan met een heerlijke lange brief van jou, een ander van Santa en een langen over plaatsaangelegenheden van Jimmie. Dank hem er voor. Ik kan het niet genoeg waardeeren dat hij zoo goed naar alles kijkt en vooral naar jullie. Santa schrijft dat May er ook was, dus hoop ik dat Jimmie een beetje gelukkiger zal voelen. Ik ben blij dat jij hoofd van het Roodekruis is daar ik zeker ben dat jij reeds verbazend veel goed gedaan heeft en nog meer zal doen en ik waardeer het dat jij beter bekend wordt zoodat anderen ook mijn ou vrouwtje kunnen leeren kennen hoewel natuurlijk niemand haar kan kennen zooals ikzelf. En hoe beter zij jou kennen hoe meer zullen zij zien hoe wel ik mijn vrouw gekozen heb! De Voortrekkers film is aangekomen en gister namiddag was er een privaate vertoning waarop ik ook tegenwoordig was. Ik heb het zeer genoten. Roderick Jones was er ook en zeer ingenomen. Hij zendt baing groeten. Hij is en blijft een groote voorstander van mij—en hier in Engeland heb ik vele voorstanders op dit oogenblik. Een groote beweging om mij in het Cabinet te nemen, maar ik zal liever naar mijn ou landje en volkje terug keeren, want anders vergeet men mij geheel en zal ik misschien naderhand voor Engelsch beschouwd worden. Ik zeg het volk hier steeds de waarheid omtrent den boerenoorlog en waarschuw hen tegen dergelijke flaters voor de toekomst. Het Britsche rijk moet of op vryheid gebaseerd zijn of ten gronde gaan. Te Edinburg waren de Z.A. studenten bijna allen Nationalisten, maar na zij mijn toespraak aan de Schotte gehoord hadden zijn zij allen bekeerd. Een zei in de gallerij aan zijn maat: 'Hoor wat zeg hij hul daar'! En een beetje later hard genoeg om door het geheele zaal van duizenden menschen gehoord te worden: 'Mooi zoo Jannie!' Zij dachten dat ik Engelsch geworden was! Alsof ik ooit iets anders kan worden dan wat ik ben, en God mijn land en mijn vrouw mij gemaakt hebben!

Ik zie dat het volk meer en meer begrijpt wat ik over vryheid zeg en dat ik dus veel goed doe. De regeering heb ik gezegd dat wij niet meer ondergeschikte deelen van de Britsche rijk willen blijven, maar gelijke naties willen beschouwd worden gelijkstaande met de Engelsche natie. 'Dat vrije volk zijn wij' zal nog gezongen worden en misschien zal men dan zachter over mij oordeelen. Ik ga net nou naar een painter om

geschilderd te worden voor de Johburg gallerij. Eenige vrienden alhier (waaronder asjeblijf Lady Lionel Phillips) hebben een subscriptie bijmekaar gemaakt voor dat doel en dus zal ik maar de zooveelste gebod overtreden en een beeld laten maken! Dat zal mij zeker ook weer ten kwade geduid worden door de goden der Nationale Party! Ik zie Hertzog heeft net weer een verbitterden aanval op de regeering gemaakt omdat wij niet buiten de Europeesche complicaties gebleven zijn! Hij is waarlijk baing gek hoewel er velen zijn die zamen met hem gek zijn. Wilson wou ook, o zoo graag, eruit blijven, en wat is gebeurd? Per slot van rekening zal bijna geen volk ter wereld eruit blijven. Ik heb net een telegram van gelukwensching van Generaal Botha ontvangen en ook telegram van een Reuter onderhoud waarin hij mij prijst. Dis darem goed van de lieve ou maat. Ik heb hem ook geprezen in mijn Guild-hall speech en overal. Hij is en blijft de populairste naam in Engeland. Ik weet niet of jij nog brieven van mij ontvangt, want schepen gaan maar zelden. Collyer is omtrent 8 of 9 dagen geleden weg naar zijn schip en zoo net een brief van hem aangekomen dat hij nog in haven ligt. Die submarines! Maar ik moet jou niet bang maken. Baing groeten en zoentjes aan mamma en de lieve kinderen van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
[London]
5 May 1917

Dearest Mamma, It is Saturday morning and a mail leaves again in a few hours so I must write a few lines to you. The South African mail arrived yesterday with a lovely long letter from you, another from Santa and a long one about farm matters from Jimmie. Thank him for it. I value it highly that he looks so well after everything and especially you. Santa writes that May¹ was there too, so I hope Jimmie will feel a little happier. I am glad you are head of the Red Cross for I am sure that you have already done astonishingly much good and will do more, and I value it that you are becoming better known, so that others also may learn to know my little wife,

¹ Wife of J. D. (Jimmie) Krige.

although of course no one can know her as I do. And the better they know you, the more they will see how well I have chosen my wife! The Voortrekkers film has arrived and yesterday afternoon there was a private showing at which I was present. I enjoyed it very much. Roderick Jones was there too and was very pleased. He sends many good wishes. He is and remains a great supporter of mine—and here in England I have at the moment many supporters. A big movement to take me into the Cabinet, but I shall prefer to return to my little country and nation, otherwise people will entirely forget me and I shall perhaps presently be regarded as English. I always tell the people here the truth about the Boer War and warn them against similar blunders in the future. The British Empire must be based on freedom or go down. At Edinburgh¹ the South African students were nearly all Nationalists, but after having heard my speech to the Scots they are all converted.² One said to his friend in the gallery: 'Listen to what he is telling them!' And a little later, loud enough to be heard throughout the entire hall of thousands of people: 'That's the way, Jannie!' They thought that I had become English! As if I can ever become anything different from what I am, and from what God, my country and my wife have made me!

I see that people understand more and more what I am saying about freedom and that I am therefore doing much good. I have told the Government that we no longer want to remain subordinate parts of the British Empire, but wish to be regarded as equal nations on a level with the English nation. *Dat vrije volk zijn wij*³ will yet be sung and perhaps I shall then be judged more kindly. I am just off to an artist to be painted for the Johannesburg gallery.⁴ Some friends here (among them, if you please, Lady Lionel Phillips) have collected subscriptions for that purpose, and so I shall break the commandment and have an image made! For that also I shall no doubt be blamed by the gods of the Nationalist Party. I see Hertzog has just made another embittered attack

¹ Smuts received the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh on 11 April 1917.

² See 749.

³ We are that free people (Dutch)—part of the national anthem of the South African Republic.

⁴ This portrait was painted by Sir William Nicholson.

on the Government because we have not stayed out of the European complications! He is really quite mad, although there are many who are mad with him. Wilson also wanted, oh so much, to stay out of it, and what has happened? In the end almost no nation in the world will stay out of it. I have just received a telegram of congratulation from General Botha and also a telegram of a Reuter interview in which he praises me. It is really good of the dear old friend. I have praised him too in my Guild-hall speech¹ and everywhere. He is and remains the most popular name in England. I do not know if you still receive letters from me, for ships sail seldom. Collyer went away about eight or nine days ago to his ship and a letter has just arrived from him that he is still in harbour. These submarines! But I must not frighten you. Many good wishes and kisses to Mamma and the dear children from

Pappa

745 G. Brebner to S. M. Smuts

Vol. 15, no. 76

Kantoor van de Eerste Minister
Kaapstad
10 Mei 1917

Geachte Mevrouw Smuts, General Botha wenst mij ontvangst te erkennen van uw jongste schrijven en voor uwe konfidentiele informatie in te sluiten het jongste telegram van Oom Jannie in verband met zijn aanstelling in Palestina.

Verder wenst de Generaal U in kennis te stellen dat het Kabinet besloten heeft Oom Jannie aan te raden het aanbod van de Britse Regering aan te nemen.

Het is niet nodig om U te vragen dit schrijven geheim en konfidentieel te houden.

Het gaat zeer goed met de gezondheid van Mevrouw Botha, maar ongelukkig lijdt de Generaal zeer veel aan rumatiek. Met de meeste hoogachting,

George Brebner
Privaat Sekretaris

¹ Delivered on 1 May 1917 when Smuts received the Freedom of the City of London.

TRANSLATION

Prime Minister's Office
Cape Town
10 May 1917

Dear Mrs Smuts, General Botha wishes me to acknowledge receipt of your last letter and to enclose for your confidential information the latest telegram from Oom Jannie in connection with his appointment in Palestine.

The General also wishes to let you know that the Cabinet has decided to advise Oom Jannie to accept the offer of the British Government.

It is not necessary to ask you to keep this letter secret and confidential.

Mrs Botha's health is very good, but unfortunately the General is suffering very much from rheumatism. With the best regards,

George Brebner
Private Secretary

ENCLOSURE

To General Botha
Cape Town
B. 27. 10 May [1917]

After receiving your T.17 I declined offer Palestine. Cabinet yesterday sent for me and pressed in strongest terms for reconsideration. Position on other fronts most difficult and Palestine is only one where perhaps with great push it is possible to achieve considerable success. Turks have four hundred thousand men in Asia Minor under [August von] Mackensen but Cabinet will do best to see me through with troops and guns. Am now in greatest perplexity what to do.

Smuts

746 From A. E. Shipley

Vol. 18, no. 162

Christ's College Lodge
Cambridge
11 May 1917

My dear General, Many thanks for your letter.

I gather you will be at Christ's College Lodge about 1.30

on Wednesday, in time to have a wash before getting to Queens' at 2. The lunch there will be the formal and public affair. Our little dinner in the evening is a domestic thing, confined to Christ's men and there will be no speeches then.

I suggest that after the Ceremony,¹ which will be over about 4, that I have a tea here, so that some of the Staff, Officers and others, whom it will be impossible to ask to the lunch or the dinner, may be able to meet you. I think that would meet a felt want. We have 2,000 Cadets here and some of the Colonels would, I think, expect to be asked to meet you. Then you and I and Theron, and perhaps one or two of my wounded Officers, would motor out to the two Hospitals. If this meets with your approval just send me the merest line.

I think it would be well if your car waited at Christ's on your arrival to take us round to Queens'. Your chauffeur could get some lunch whilst we were lunching in the Hall and possibly take you afterwards to the Senate House. You must be prepared for a bit of an enthusiastic reception. Therefore I think if I were you I should ride in the car instead of walking, though the distance is short. What with the Cadets and the townspeople (all that is left of this poor ruined University) I fear you may be rather overwhelmed unless precautions are taken, and the last thing I know you want is to be overdone by kindly but over-enthusiastic admirers. Yours very sincerely,

A. E. Shipley

747 Notes for Speech (1917)

Box N, no. 65

747 and 748 are Smuts's notes for speeches on war aims, made during March–May 1917.

Heartily agree to resolution. If not success in 1917, then 1918 or 1919. But fear I did not make myself *quite* plain; some points are to be *further discussed* before we get to details.

1. Our *maximum effort* in 1917. Enemy his in *numbers and submarines* and if in spite of his max[imum] effort he loses ground substantially, this together with *internal conditions* may lead to fresh overtures. *Overtures* must come from enemy but

¹ The ceremony of conferring on Smuts the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

enemy may not *wait for very end*, with *starvation and revolution threatening*.

2. Hence all important question *what overtures can we accept*. What *minimum terms* which must be conceded before even peace concluded. Our *whole programme is not possible*, unless absolute and *total defeat* of enemy. This possible, but not wise to build on. *Moderation* is part of wise men even in victory.

Some points essential, others basis of negotiation. Difficult and dangerous, but within certain limits we shall be clear in our minds. Allies at *Athens*¹ now. What are essential terms, what negotiable terms. This *Cabinet should settle*.

3. At proper stage our *diplomacy must supplement* our military effort. If enemy is reduced to condition where he is willing to offer terms, we should be able to *help him over stile*.

4. *Central Europe v. British Empire* will be real issue at peace. Empire founded on *sea power, communications, submarine bases*.

5. Settlement of essential and real objects will *influence our strategy*. Lorraine. Turkish Empire. Minor campaigns.

Hope not presumptuous.

748 Notes for Speech (1917)

Box N, no. 66

Great privilege. Much clearer. Main burden on you. But invitation. Not presumption if opinion is frankly expressed. Most critical stage of war now. War lasted long time. *Germany's object* to win early victory. We wanted time for preparation and coalition. But time factor not always in our favour—only up to point. Foundations of Europe loosened in this convulsion. Future incalculable and development may not be always in our favour. *Russia. America* (Monroe) may well prove diplomatic embarrassment at end. Her objects not ours. Unless our case fair and moderate she will not support us. Other dangers may arise if war continued too long. *Weak members* of Coalition may succumb. *Spirit of nation* even more magnificent than her military effort but in 1918 *submarine campaign* may produce great effect.

¹ Athens had been occupied by the Allied forces in December 1916.

We may therefore not drift but time has come to consider closely our real essential objects and to define best means to realize them in shortest time. This perhaps road to early victorious peace.

Our essential objects

A. *Military victory.* This essential. Foundations. Drawn game unthinkable. Essential for our higher aims and for future of world. World must see that aggression does not pay, violation of public law entails utmost penalty.

What is military situation. What if peace tomorrow. Victorious Germany in military sense, large allied territory, successful offensives. But Germany must be beaten this summer. My conviction complete military victory no longer possible for us. (1) Staff statement, (2) power of defence (Verdun and Somme), (3) power of national defence enormous. Cf. Boers and 7 years' war.¹ If Germans think their existence at stake they will prolong defence until everybody exhausted and what may happen. No purely military victory still possible. All we may fairly expect is such measure of military success this summer as to convince Germany and world. If that position reached and moral factors have been properly used in meantime peace may be possible at end of summer.

Victory = 25% naval + 25% military + 50% moral factors (Napoleon). That is first point: only limited military victory now obtainable.

B. *Moral factors:*

1. blockade (physical and moral depression).
2. moral weakening, through neutral opinion and Allied cohesion (U.S.A.).
3. Germany must not believe she is fighting for national existence.

{	Crushing Prussian militarism	Effect must be disastrous
	Partition and dismemberment	for peace. Frightens neu-
	Economic isolation and ruin	trals, etc.

I feel sure destruction of Germany not our aim.

Whatever our horror and indignation, dominant facts must not be forgotten. Germany cannot be crushed. Nor desirable.

¹ A land and naval war between England and France, 1755-63.

Into vacuum 7 worse *devils* may enter. Our policy traditionally based on *balance in Europe*.

If end is to come this summer, our ends must be clearly defined and our whole policy directed to their early attainment. My idea is substantial military success this summer and in meantime our policy so shaped as to induce Germany to make new real offer of peace.

What is essential for us ? I am not clear yet on all points.

A. *Some points are essential* and should be conditions of peace.

Belgium Servia Rumania Montenegro France and Courland restored. *Compensation* to small ones. *Lorraine* restored. *Italia irredenta* to Italy but clear seaway to Austria. *Constantinople* perhaps internationalized.

B. *Some matters should be settled at peace conference.*

Poland, (Russia and Germany must remain facing each other)

<i>Austria and Balkans</i> for conference	{	Bohemia Transylvania Bosnia Macedonia Dalmatia
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Turkey must lose Armenia Mesopotamia. Arabia *Palestine*.

Establishment of *small states* not desirable. Balkans. Autonomy enough. *German Colonies*

C. *International arrangements for future peace and armament* (Grey).

Steps to be taken to gain above ends

A. Military	{	Smashing of Turkey Pressure against Bulgaria + diplomacy Courland and Rumania freed Western front steady pressure. But here danger.
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B. Our agreement against separate peace. But allies differently situated.	{	Belgium Servia France Italy and Rumania Russia Japan
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Get adhesion of France to minimum policy and then approach others.

As military pressure increases Germany is made to understand

our aims moderate and her economic ruin not aimed at, and she be encouraged to make genuine peace offer.

Peace on above lines may be feasible and not at all bad from our point of view. We would have vindicated public law, safeguarded the route to the East and our Empire over the seas; we would secure limitation of armaments.

749 Speech

Box H, no. 5

Excerpt from a speech by Smuts at Edinburgh on 11 April 1917 when he received the Freedom of the City. The speech is printed in full in his *War-time Speeches*, published in 1917, pp. 41-5.

11 April 1917

The cause I fought for fifteen years ago is the cause for which I am fighting today. I fought for freedom and for liberty then, and I am fighting for them today. You are a large-hearted people, and I am sure you will forgive me if I express my view that fifteen years ago, eighteen years ago, you were wrong. For a brief moment in your long national history you got off the track and you came to grips with a very small people, and in that struggle I did my best. I fought with whatever strength I had in me, just as my little people did, in order to conserve our self-existence and our liberty. I am sometimes proud to think that, according to the old Apostolic injunction, we have heaped coals of fire upon your heads. The Boer people, perhaps in the wisdom of Providence, have been an instrument in bringing you back to the right track, to your old traditions of liberty—back to the old ideal of standing by small peoples and back to that consciousness of right which has guided you in the past and ought to guide you in the dark future before us. You, as soon as you came to wiser counsels, handed back to us, so far as it was possible, the liberty we thought would be jeopardized under the British flag. You made us a free community, and in that way you laid the foundation of a large and great State in South Africa. And as the result of that policy which you adopted after the Boer War, what do you see today? You see today that a nation which fought against you not so many years ago with vigour and persistence seldom seen in the history of the world, has been fighting and is still fighting in a common cause with you. That

result has been brought about, and could only have been brought about, by your reversion to the old ideals which have inspired you, to the spirit of liberty which has been the guiding principle of British history, and I am sure that in the future, when we see great changes coming over the world, as no doubt after this cataclysm are sure to come, you will find that spirit the only sure foundation to continue to build on in the future.

Sir Robert Borden has told you that in the discussions we have had among ourselves—he and I privately—about the future of the British Empire, there is no great difference of opinion between us, and the reason is simple. We see clearly that it is only on a basis of freedom and the completest autonomy that the British Empire will continue to exist and will become stronger in the future. You are not a State; you are half a world. You comprise nations, old nations, some of the oldest in the world. You comprise young nations now growing up into virile nations that will be great Powers in a few generations more. You have to keep together all these vast congeries of States, different in blood and every other respect, and you have to keep them together in the future, and you can only do that on the basis of liberty I have referred to, and I am sure that when the final settlement comes to be made of the constitutional arrangements of the British Empire, that will be found to be the only solution, and that a solution will be found I have not the least doubt. The great spirit is there. The spirit of comradeship which is the only basis of union, is there, and on that basis I am sure we shall find a solution of our constitutional relations in future. I do not want to say much about that.

Of course, in these times we are living under an enormous shadow which overclouds everything else. Yesterday afternoon I was in France.

750 Speech

Box H, no. 10

Verbatim press report of Smuts's speech at a banquet in his honour given by both Houses of Parliament on 15 May 1917. Printed in his *War-time Speeches* in revised form, pp. 25-38.

I cannot express to you how deeply I appreciate the honour which you have done me. Ever since I have come to this

country, about two months ago, I have received nothing but the most profound and charming kindness and hospitality, which has culminated in this unique banquet tonight. I appreciate it all the more because I know it is given at a time when the greatest storm in the world's history is raging, and when nobody in this country or great city feels inclined to indulge in any festivities or banquets. When I return home I shall be able to tell the people of South Africa that I have been received by you not as a guest, not as a stranger, but simply as one of yourselves. Speaking with a somewhat different accent, and laying a different emphasis on many things, as no doubt becomes a barbarian from the outer marches of the Empire and one whose mind is not yet deeply furrowed with trenches and dug-outs, I would like first of all to say how profoundly thankful I am to Lord French for the words that have fallen from his lips. Your expressions in regard to myself are largely, I feel, undeserved. At any rate, I accept them as coming from an old opponent and comrade in arms. I know they are meant in the best spirit, and I accept them as such.

Your words recall to my mind many an incident of those stirring times when we were opposing commanders in the Boer War. I may refer to two. On one occasion I was surrounded by Lord French and I was practically face to face with disaster. Nothing was left me but, by the most diligent scouting, to find a way out. I ventured into a place which bore the very appropriate name of Murderers' Gap and I was the only man who came out alive. One account of that stated that one Boer escaped, but he probably had so many bullets in him that he would be no further danger. I survived to be your guest tonight. Two days after I broke through—blessed words in these times—and on a very dark night, I came to a railway, which I was just on the point of crossing, when we heard a train. Some of us felt inclined to wreck and capture that train, but for some reason or other I said 'No, let it pass'. You can imagine my feelings when some time afterwards I learned that the only freight on that train was Sir John French with one or two A.D.C.'s, moving round from one part of his front to another to find out how I had broken through. If I had not missed that chance he would have been

my guest, no doubt very welcome, though no doubt embarrassing. Fate has willed otherwise. I am his guest.

Those were very difficult and strenuous days in which one learned many a valuable lesson, good for all life. One of those lessons was that under stress of great difficulty practically everything breaks down ultimately, and the only things that survive are really the simple human feelings of loyalty and comradeship to your fellows, and patriotism which can stand any strain and bear you through all difficulty and privation. We soldiers know the extraordinary value of these simple feelings, how far they go, and what strain they can bear, and how ultimately they support the whole weight of civilization. That war was carried on by both sides in a sportsmanlike spirit, and in a clean, chivalrous way and out of that calamity has been produced the happy state of affairs that you see today in South Africa, and which led to a new basis on which to build the larger and happier South Africa which is arising today.

I am sure in the present great struggle now being waged you will see some cause leading to lasting results. Here you have from all parts of the British Empire young men gathering on the battlefields of Europe, and whilst your statesmen keep planning a great scheme of union for the future of the Empire my feeling is that very largely the work is already done. The spirit of comradeship has been born in this campaign on the battlefields of Europe, and many of the men from the various parts of the Empire will be far more powerful than any instrument of government that you can elect in the future. I feel sure that in after days, when our successors come to sum up what has happened and draw up a balance-sheet, there will be a good credit balance due to this common feeling of comradeship which will have been built up. Now once more, as many ages ago during the Roman Empire, the Germanic volcano is in eruption, and the whole world is shaking. No doubt in this great evolution you are faced in this country with the most difficult and enormous problems which any Government or people have ever been called upon to face—problems of world-wide strategy, of man-power, communications, food supply, of every imaginable kind and magnitude, so large that it is almost beyond the wit of man to solve them,

and it is intelligible that where you have so many difficulties to face one forgets to keep before one's eye the situation as a whole. And yet that is very necessary.

It is most essential that even in this bitter struggle, even when Europe is looming so large before our eyes, we should keep before us the whole situation. We should see it steadily, and see it whole. I would ask you not to forget in these times the British Commonwealth of nations. Do not forget that larger world which is made up of all the nations that belong to the Empire. Bear in mind that after all Europe is not so large, and will not always continue to loom so large as at present. Even now in the struggle the pace of Europe is being permanently slowed down. Your Empire is spread all over the world, and even where the pace is slowed down in one portion it is accelerated in another, and you have to keep the whole before you in order to judge fairly and sanely of the factors which affect the whole.

I wish to say a few words tonight on this subject, because I think there is a tendency sometimes to forget certain aspects of the great questions with which we are now confronted. That is one of the reasons why I am glad the Imperial Conference was called at this time, apparently a very opportune moment, and yet the calling of this Conference at this time has already directed attention once more to that other aspect of the whole situation which is so important to us. Remember, it is not only Europe that we have to consider, but also the future of this great commonwealth to which we all belong. It is peculiarly situated; it is scattered over the whole world; it is not a compact territory; it is dependent for its very existence on world-wide communications, which must be maintained or this Empire goes to pieces. In the past thirty years you see what has happened. Everywhere on your communications Germany has settled down; everywhere upon your communications of the whole globe you will find a German colony here and there, and the day would have come when your Empire would have been in very great jeopardy from your lines of communication being cut.

Now, one of the by-products of this war has been that the whole world outside Europe has been cleared of the enemy. Germany has been swept from the seas, and from all conti-

nents except Central Europe. Whilst Germany has been gaining ground in Central Europe, from the rest of the world she has been swept clean; and, therefore, you are now in this position—almost providentially brought to this position—that once more you can consider the problem of your future as a whole. When peace comes to be made you have all these parts in your hand, and you can go carefully into the question of what is necessary for your future security and your future safety as an Empire, and you can say, so far as it is possible under war circumstances, what you are going to keep and what you are going to give away.

That is a very important precedent. I hope when the time comes—I am speaking for myself, and expressing nobody's opinion but my own—I feel when the time comes for peace we should not bear only Central Europe in mind, but the whole British Empire. As far as we are concerned, we do not wish this war to have been fought in vain. We have not fought for material gain, or for territory; we have fought for security in the future. If we attach any value to this group of nations which compose the British Empire, then we, in settling peace, will have to look carefully at our future safety and security, and I hope that will be done, and that no arrangement will be made which will jeopardize the very valuable and lasting results which have been attained.

That is the geographical question. There remains the other question—a very difficult question—of the future constitutional relations and readjustments of the British Empire. At a luncheon given recently by the Empire Parliamentary Association I said, rather cryptically, that I did not think this was a matter in which we should follow precedents, and I hope you will bear with me if I say a few words on that theme, and develop more fully what I meant. I think we are inclined to make mistakes in thinking about this group of nations to which we belong, because too often we think of it merely as one State. The British Empire is much more than a State. I think the very expression 'Empire' is misleading, because it makes people think as if we are one single entity, one unity, to which that term 'Empire' can be applied. We are not an Empire. Germany is an empire, so was Rome, and so is India, but we are a system of nations, a community of States and of

nations far greater than any empire which has ever existed; and by using this ancient expression we really obscure the real fact that we are larger and that our whole position is different, and that we are not one nation, or state, or empire, but we are a whole world by ourselves, consisting of many nations and states, and all sorts of communities under one flag. We are a system of states, not only a static system, a stationary system, but a dynamic system, growing, evolving all the time towards new destinies. Here you have a kingdom with a number of Crown colonies; besides that you have large protectorates like Egypt, which is an empire in itself, which was one of the greatest empires in the world. Besides that you have great dependencies like India—an empire in itself, one of the oldest civilizations in the world, and we are busy there trying to see how East and West can work together, how the forces that have kept the East going can be worked in conjunction with the ideas we have evolved in Western civilization for enormous problems within that State. But beyond that we come to the so-called Dominions, a number of nations and States almost sovereign, almost independent, who govern themselves, who have been evolved on the principles of your constitutional system, now almost independent States, and who all belong to this group, to this community of nations, which I prefer to call the British Commonwealth of nations. Now, you see that no political ideas that we evolved in the past, no nomenclature will apply to this world which is comprised in the British Empire; any expression, any name which we have found so far for this group has been insufficient, and I think the man who would discover the real appropriate name for this vast system of entities would be doing a great service not only to this country, but to constitutional theory.

The question is, how are you going to provide for the future government of this group of nations? It is an entirely new problem. If you want to see how great it is, you must take the United States in comparison. There you find what is essential—one nation, not perhaps in the fullest sense, but more and more growing into one; one big State, consisting of subordinate parts, but whatever the nomenclature of the United States Constitution, you have one national State, over one big, contiguous area. That is the problem presented by the United

States, and for which they discovered this federal solution, which means subordinate governments for the subordinate parts, but one national Federal Parliament for the whole.

Compare with that state of facts [*sic*] this enormous system comprised in the British Empire of nations all over the world, some independent, living under diverse conditions, and all growing towards greater nations than they are at present. You can see at once that the solution which has been found practicable in the case of the United States probably never will work under our system. That is what I feel in all the empires of the past, and even in the United States—the effort has been towards forming one nation. All the empires that we have known in the past and that exist today are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force different human material through one mould so as to form one nation. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. You do not want to standardize the nations of the British Empire. You want to develop them into greater nationhood. These younger communities, the offspring of the Mother Country, or territories like that of my own people, which have been annexed after various vicissitudes of war—all these you want not to mould on any common pattern, but you want them to develop according to the principles of self-government and freedom and liberty. Therefore your whole basic idea is different from anything that has ever existed before, either in the empires of the past or even in the United States.

I think that this is the fundamental fact which we have to bear in mind—that the British Empire, or this British Commonwealth of Nations, does not stand for unity, standardization, or assimilation, or denationalization; but it stands for a fuller, a richer, and more various life among all the nations that compose it. And even nations who have fought against you, like my own, must feel that they and their interests, their language, their religions, and all their cultural interests are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your household and your own blood. It is only in proportion as that is realized that you will fulfil the true mission which you have undertaken. Therefore, it seems, speaking my own individual opinion, that there is only one solution, that is the solution supplied by our past traditions

of freedom, self-government, and the fullest development. We are not going to force common governments, federal or otherwise, but we are going to extend liberty, freedom, and nationhood more and more in every part of the Empire.

The question arises, how are you going to keep this world together if there is going to be all this enormous development towards a more varied and richer life among all its parts? It seems to me that you have two potent factors that you must rely on for the future. The first is your hereditary kingship. I have seen some speculations recently in the papers of this country upon the position of the kingship of this country; speculations by people who, I am sure, have never thought of the wider issues that are at stake. You cannot make a republic in this country. You cannot make a republic of the British Commonwealth of Nations, because if you have to elect a President not only in these islands, but all over the British Empire, who will be the ruler and representative of all these peoples, you are facing an absolutely insoluble problem. Now, you know the theory of our Constitution is that the King is not merely your King, but he is the King of all of us. He represents every part of the whole Commonwealth of Nations. If his place is to be taken by anybody else, then that somebody will have to be elected by a process which, I think, will pass the wit of man to devise. Therefore let us be thankful for the mercies we have. We have a kingship here which is really not very different from a hereditary republic, and I am sure that more and more in the future the trend will be in that direction, and I shall not be surprised to see the time when our Royal princes, instead of getting their Consorts among the princelings of Central Europe, will go to the Dominions and the outlying portions of the Empire.

I think that in the theory of the future of this great Empire it is impossible to attach too much importance to this institution which we have existing, and which can be developed, in my opinion, to the greatest uses possible for its future preservation and development. It will, of course, be necessary to go further than that. It is not only the symbol of unity which you have in the Royal ruler, but you will have to develop further common institutions.

Everybody admits that it would be necessary to devise

better machinery for common consultation than we have had hitherto. So far we have relied upon the Imperial Conference which meets every four years, and which, however useful for the work it has done hitherto, has not, in my opinion, been a complete success. It will be necessary to devise better means for achieving our ends. A certain precedent has been laid down of calling the Prime Ministers and representatives from the Empire of India to the Imperial Cabinet, and we have seen the statement made by Lord Curzon that it is the intention of the Government to perpetuate that practice in future. Although we have not yet the details of the scheme, and we have to wait for a complete exposition of the subject from His Majesty's Government, yet it is clear that in an institution like that you have a far better instrument of common consultation than you have in the old Imperial Conference, which was called only every four years, and which discussed a number of subjects which were not really of first-rate importance. After all, what you want is to call together the most important statesmen in the Empire from time to time—say once a year, or as often as may be found necessary—to discuss matters which concern all parts of the Empire in common, and in order that causes of friction and misunderstanding may be removed. A common policy should be laid down to determine the true orientation of our Imperial policy.

Take foreign policy, for instance, on which the fate of the Empire may from time to time depend. I think it is highly desirable that at least once a year the most important leaders of the Empire should be called together to discuss these matters, and to determine a common policy, which would then be carried out in detail by the various executive Governments of the Commonwealth Nations. This Imperial Council or Cabinet will not themselves exercise executive functions, but they will lay down the policy which will be carried out by the Governments of the various parts of the Empire. A system like that, although it looks small, must in the end lead to very important results and very great changes. You cannot settle a common policy for the whole of the British Empire without changing that policy very considerably from what it has been in the past, because the policy will have to be, for one thing, far simpler. We do not understand diplomatic finesse in other

parts of the Empire. We go by large principles, and things which can be easily understood by our undeveloped democracies. If your foreign policy is going to rest, not only on the basis of your Cabinet here, but finally on the whole of the British Empire, it will have to be a simpler and more intelligible policy, which will, I am sure, lead in the end to less friction, and the greater safety of the Empire.

Of course, no one will ever dispute the primacy of the Imperial Government in these matters. Whatever changes and developments come about, we shall always look upon the British Government as the senior partner in this concern. When this Council is not sitting the Imperial Government will conduct the foreign affairs of the Empire. But it will always be subject to the principles and policy which have been laid down in these common conferences from time to time, and which, I think, will be a simpler and probably, in the long run, a saner and safer policy for the Empire as a whole. Naturally, it will lead to greater publicity. There is no doubt that, after the catastrophe that has overtaken Europe, nations in future will want to know more about the way their affairs are conducted. And you can understand that, once it is no longer an affair of one Government, but of a large number of Governments who are responsible ultimately to their Parliaments for the action they have taken, you may be sure there will be a great deal more publicity and discussion of foreign affairs than there has ever been.

I am sure that the after effects of a change like this, although it looks a simple change, are going to be very important, not only for this community of nations, but for the world as a whole. Far too much stress is laid upon the instruments of government. People are inclined to forget that the world is getting more democratic, and that forces which find expression in public opinion are going to be far more powerful in the future than they have been in the past. You will find that you have built up a spirit of comradeship and a common feeling of patriotism, and that the instrument of government will not be the thing that matters so much as the spirit that actuates the whole system of all its parts. That seems to me to be your mission. You talk about an Imperial mission. It seems to me this British Empire has only one mission, and that is a mission

for greater liberty and freedom and self-development. Yours is the only system that has ever worked in history where a large number of nations have been living in unity. Talk about the League of Nations—you are the only league of nations that has ever existed; and if the line that I am sketching here is correct you are going to be an even greater league of nations in the future; and if you are true to your old traditions of self-government and freedom, and to this vision of your future and your mission, who knows that you may not exercise far greater and more beneficent influence on the history of mankind than you have ever done before?

In the welter of confusion which is probably going to follow the war in Europe you will stand as the one system where liberty to work successfully has kept together divers communities. You may be sure the world such as will be surrounding you in the times that are coming will be very likely to follow your example. You may become the real nucleus for the world-government for the future. There is no doubt that is the way things will go in the future. You have made a successful start; and if you keep on the right track your Empire will be a solution of the whole problem.

I hope I have given no offence. When I look around this brilliant gathering, and see before me the most important men in the Government of the United Kingdom, I am rather anxious that we should discuss this matter, which concerns our future so very vitally—a matter which should never be forgotten even in this awful struggle, in which all our energies are engaged. Memories of the past keep crowding in upon me. I think of all the difficulties which have surrounded us in the past, and I am truly filled with gratitude for the reception which you have given me, and with gratitude to Time, the great and merciful judge, which has healed many wounds, and gratitude to that Divinity which ‘shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will’. I think of the difficulties that still lie ahead of us, which are going to test all the nations fighting for liberty far more than they have ever been tested in the past, and I hope and pray that they all may have clearness of vision and purpose, and especially that strength of soul in the coming days which will be more necessary than strength of arm. I verily believe that we are within reach of priceless and im-

measurable good, not only for this United Kingdom and group of nations to which we belong, but also for the whole world. But, of course, it will depend largely upon us whether the great prize is achieved now in this struggle, or whether the world will be doomed to long, weary waiting in the future. The prize is within our grasp, if we have strength, especially the strength of soul which I hope we shall have, to see this thing through without getting tired of waiting until victory crowns the efforts of our brave men in the field.

751 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 15, no. 5

5 Embankment Gardens
Chelsea, S.W

15 May 1917

My dear Smuts, I thought your speech tonight magnificent. So much of it was on lines akin to those on which my own mind has travelled that I venture to send you a copy of a paper I once read on the same subject. You may think some of the earlier part of it too insistent in its demand for a definite constitutional partnership, and you may not like the phrase 'Imperial Unity' so well as 'Commonwealth of Nations', but I believe you will sympathize with much of the attempt made in the latter part to analyse the meaning and real purpose of the ideal aimed at.

I am not sure the 'United Nations of the British Commonwealth' doesn't express the facts best as regards the self-governing Empire and brings out the contrast with the United *States*, which are really only an extra large Dominion gone adrift. The trouble is that no title which brings out the aspect of the relations between the free nations in the Commonwealth, quite covers Nigeria or India, or Malta. 'The British World' is the only title that describes it. Failing that 'British Empire', used not with any sense of the derivation of the word, but taking its meaning from the thing as it exists, puts the case well enough for most of us. However time, which solves many things, may even find a more appropriate name. Yours sincerely,

L. S. Amery

752 From Lord Harcourt

Vol. 16, no. 172

14 Berkeley Square, W.

15 May 1917

My dear General Smuts, I would sooner have made your speech of tonight than anything I have ever done or attained in my life!¹ My warmest congratulations and gratitude.

Your argument for the hereditary Kingship of the British Commonwealth was unanswerable and of incalculable value. Your policy of consultation and co-operation *plus* complete autonomy is so absolutely the policy I have always pursued and propounded (at and after the Imperial Conference of 1911) that I am naturally delighted. Tonight was the funeral of the *Round Table*.² Yours always sincerely,

Harcourt

Come to Nuneham³ if you can!

753 To W. H. Dickinson

Vol. 18, no. 263

An unsigned typed copy of a letter from Smuts in reply to one from the League of Nations Society thanking him for his speech on 14 May 1917 and inviting him to become a Vice-President (Vol. 16, no. 89).

18 May 1917

Dear Mr. Dickinson, I am grateful to you for what you write and glad to think that my words have been an encouragement to those who, in spite of indifference and misunderstanding, are continuing their labours in a great cause. You may make any use you like of my speech which unfortunately had to be delivered from some short jottings and was therefore very formless. But I do not like to become a Vice-President as I prefer not to be formally associated with bodies whose activities may possibly assume a political complexion hereafter. I hope to be able to help the cause from my more detached independent standpoint. With every good wish for the success of your Society, Yours very truly,

¹ This praise pleased Smuts. He quoted it in a letter to his wife written on 17 May 1917.

² A group which favoured Imperial federation and an Imperial Parliament and had founded, in November 1910, a quarterly journal called *The Round Table*.

³ Harcourt's country estate.

754 From A. Clark

Vol. 16, no. 35

Mill Field
Street, Somerset
19 May 1917

My dear Oom Jannie, I was very grateful for the ticket for the meeting last Monday and I liked your speech very much. But I should not inflict a letter on you for the purpose of saying that. The meeting I felt was not quite what it should have been. Someone spoke of the earthquake which came so near that we felt the ground trembling beneath us. I am afraid that the promoters of that meeting are not very sensitive to these signs. The meeting was so exclusively representing the Intellectuals and the gulf is so vast between them and the workers. This gulf was always dangerous and appalling, but since the war, through the censorship and Defence of the Realm Regulations¹ it has become wider and deeper.

I suppose Lloyd George thought he had bridged it when he put Henderson [A.] in the War Council and the other Labour men in the Cabinet.² Before the war I was engaged in political work which gave me considerable insight into the methods and difficulties and psychology of the Labour movement in this country. It isn't difficult to understand when you once come into direct contact with it. Unfortunately none of our rulers, of either party, have taken any trouble to understand it. They get hold of the representatives in Parliament and talk them round, they intimidate them with the sharpness of their lawyers' wits. But those representatives aren't leaders of the Labour movement, they are only trade-union officials, being pushed on by a blind and not very intelligent force which feels the shoe that is pinching it and is stung into energy, often quite mis-directed.

I am thoroughly afraid of the way this Government will handle labour difficulties. Men have made immense sacrifices. But many question if democracy as they understand it, is being fought for by a Government composed of Curzon and

¹ The Defence of the Realm Act (1914) gave the Government virtually unlimited power to make regulations 'for the public safety'.

² The Cabinet at this time consisted of five members. It was known as the War Cabinet. The other Ministers were not of Cabinet rank. The other Labour men in the Ministry were G. N. Barnes and J. Hodge.

Milner. When they know that Milner was speaking in Russia, encouraging the old autocracy to put down any signs of revolution with a firm hand, they will question no longer.

I fancy the Government have put themselves in a very bad position in this strike¹ by refusing to see the leaders or anyone except the Union officials. I believe the position of the trade-unions has been completely undermined by the changes introduced by the war. The Government has not been able to act always on trade-union advice and the unions could not adjust themselves to the new conditions forced on the workers. Former strikes have been fought because the employers would not negotiate with union officials. Now the men insist that they shall have the right to choose their own representatives, and the Government refuse.

It's altogether a bad job. I wish you could really get a confidential talk with some of these men. It won't be easy, for they are frightfully suspicious and they won't easily believe that you aren't trying to do them down. I don't suppose it's any good trying to get hold of them through Henderson. Anderson² might help you, if you convinced him that you were really friendly. He is quite a good sort. But Smillie [R.] has much more influence and is a much bigger man. Smillie is a pacifist.

I am so anxious for you to see them because I think if you could once get into friendly relations with them you might be able to interpret their needs to our rulers. You see, I look upon you as having a much larger share in our common humanity than these people who have been drowned for years in London society life. England is still two nations, alas. I could get you introductions to Smillie and some others, but I expect you could do it through Anderson.

I doubt you ever having time to read so long a letter. It might be the best way for the war to end if all the countries concerned were engaged in domestic revolutions. But one can't be sure that this would happen in Germany, and I fancy it would be about the worst possible end for Germany to

¹ A strike of engineers in south Lancashire which affected the production of munitions.

² William C. Anderson was Labour Member of the House of Commons for Attercliffe, 1914-19. Died 25 February 1919.

emerge with order and victory while Russia and England were dissolved in anarchy.

Well, good-bye, with all good wishes. Of course I don't expect an answer. Yours affectionately,

Alice Clark

755 From J. A. F. Gregg, Bishop of Ossory Vol. 16, no. 155A

The Palace
Kilkenny
[Ireland]

19 May 1917

My dear General, I wonder whether you remember me in our lodging-house at 13 Victoria Street, Cambridge¹—Gregg. I had hoped to see you when you came over to get your Honorary Degree at Trinity College, Dublin, and was much disappointed to learn you could not come. But I see that you express the hope that on your next visit to these countries you will be able to visit Ireland.

Some, as you have seen, have suggested that you should take a hand in finding a solution for the Irish problem²—a task which has broken many hearts and reputations, and one which no one will succeed in till he has lived in Ireland, North and South, and drunk in some of its spiritual atmosphere.

Gladly as I would see you try your hand when the time comes, I would ask you to remember this—abysmal ignorance of Ireland is the secret of the failure of all prescriptions hitherto offered from outside. If you want to do what everyone in British politics has hitherto failed to do, here is an opportunity. But the essential prerequisite is—come and live amongst us for a little, and then you will learn the nature of the problem.

A great deal has happened since we last met, and I have, through it all, watched your career with sympathy and gladness.

Since I left Cambridge in 1896, I have lived in Ireland as

¹ During their student years.

² Lloyd George had suggested in May that an Irish Convention should meet to frame a scheme of self-government for Ireland. There was talk of Smuts becoming Chairman of such a Convention.

a clergyman. Near Belfast till 1899 (so that I know a very little about Ulster and its point of view), and in Cork till 1911. In that year I became Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, where I held office till the end of 1915. I then became Bishop of Ossory, and now live in Kilkenny, two hours south of Dublin. I am married and have a family of two boys and two girls.

You can well imagine that the position of Irish Protestants at the present moment is an anxious one. It is Ireland's greatest misfortune that for the past thirty-five years it has been the sport of political parties.

If you have time, amid all your numerous duties, to send me a line for old acquaintance sake, it will be a great pleasure to Yours very sincerely,

John A. F. Ossory

756 From H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 18, no. 398

5 Oxford Road

Cambridge

23 May 1917

My dear Smuts, Thanks for the cheque for £50, which reached me yesterday. I suppose it will not be needful to acknowledge it to your secretary also; indeed I cannot decipher his signature; it looks like Heron, but might be Meron.¹

A friend coming from London tells me that there are serious possibilities in the suggestion that you should be asked to take the presidency of the projected Conference to frame a Constitution for Ireland, and settle the troublesome Irish questions. I do not think there is a man in Britain who could do this work better, or with a better chance of success, than you; and I hope that so far as depends on yourself, you will give all your trained powers and experience and your great *human* as well as statesmanlike gifts, to the final settlement of this tangled affair. You will certainly earn the eternal gratitude of the whole British people, and establish more firmly still the position you are making, which may place you in the history of these sad times as the greatest and wisest force at work for the honour, for the beneficent influence in the world, and for

¹ F. H. Theron.

the true welfare of the British Commonwealth. I am sure you and the Irish people would get on together admirably; you would appeal to them humanly and temperamentally as hardly any Briton could. Yours sincerely,

H. J. Wolstenholme

757 To D. Lloyd George

Vol. 100, no. 14

The documents in the Smuts Collection are a draft in Smuts's handwriting and an unsigned typed copy.

Savoy Hotel
London
24 May 1917

Dear Mr Lloyd George, Two suggestions for your consideration.

1. If the Palestine idea is to bear fruit, it would be very desirable to have a sub-committee examine the whole question as regards strategy, men, guns and ships required, landing places, etc. A scheme carefully worked out and prepared in advance might then be put into operation at the right moment, if and when our resources permit.
2. If the war goes on till America can come in in 1918, she will become a factor of decisive military importance. The most careful forethought should therefore be given as to the form her military effort should take and where her army, which will be our fresh strategical reserve, could be utilized to best advantage. For this it may be necessary to review our whole military and naval strategy for the future, as it may be found that none of the existing fronts should be allowed to absorb this our final reserve force.

This is simply for your consideration and requires no answer. Yours sincerely,

758 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 1026

Savoy Hotel
[London]
24 May 1917

Thank you very much for your letter of the 19th so full of sanity and wisdom. What you say I feel to be profoundly true,

and the truth is fraught with grave dangers to this country in this war and thereafter. I shall quietly try to get into touch with Labour leaders when a good opportunity comes round. But in view of the past great caution is required to overcome the suspicions which still exist.

I had thought to come to Millfield for the holidays to gather fresh strength from my Friends. But Margaret has willed otherwise. Good-bye. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

759 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 271

Savoy Hotel
London
26 Mei 1917

Liefste Mammie, Hoe heerlijk was het na drie weken zwijgen drie heerlijke lange brieven van jou te ontvangen! Vol nieuws, vol liefde, en o, ze deden mij zoo veel verlangen naar mijn hart ver weg over de wateren. Wanneer zullen wij elkaar weer zien? Ik begin soms zeer te twijfelen of ik weer zal terugkomen voor het einde van den oorlog. Meer en meer begin ik te voelen dat er meer opoffering van mij en van jou zal geeischt worden voor alles voorbij is. Ik geloof niet ik zal naar Ierland gaan als voorzitter der Conventie, maar in militair werk hier of in Palestina of elders zal ik misschien nog het einde moeten zien. Ik voel werkelijk hartzeer wanneer ik aan dit alles denk, en hoe zwaar dit voor jou moet zijn want voor mij is dit al zwaar genoeg. Ik voel soms zoo in het donker, niet wetend wat mijn plicht is, en waarom van mij die reeds zooveel gedaan heb nog zoo veel vereischt wordt, en of het de moeite werd is. Maar zoodra mijn plicht mij duidelijk wordt zal ik handelen.

Ik heb vele speeches in den laatsten tijd afgestoken en mijn ontvangst is waarlijk een Romeinsch triomf geweest. Steeds heb ik op het hoogere gewezen, op de geestelijke idealen van vrijheid en een beter toekomst waarvoor wij vechten. Nu word ik gepresseerd die speeches in pamflet vorm uit te geven en ik hoop zulks te doen. Jij zal misschien ook graag die speeches in een gecorrigeerde vorm willen hebben in plaats van de verkorte nieuws bladen rapporten.

Gister kwamen heerlijke telegrammen voor mijn verjaars-

dag—een van jou en Kriges, een van Park, een van Ben Bouwer en een van liefde en volste vertrouwen van de Z.A.P. parlamentsleden. God zegen jullie allen voor die verkwikkende woorden. 24 Mei was mijn hart en gedachte gedurig bij mamma. Ik moest drie speeches maken en nog drie troep [one illegible word] bezoeken. Vandaag (Zaterdag) ga ik naar Oxford naar de Gilletts om daar tot Maandag te blijven voor een rustje. Zoentjes aan mijn liefste.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London
26 May 1917

Dearest Mamma, How lovely it was after three weeks of silence to receive three delightful long letters from you! Full of news, full of love, and oh, they made me long so much for my heart far away across the sea. When shall we see each other again? I begin to doubt very much whether I shall return before the end of the war. More and more I begin to feel that more sacrifice will be demanded of you and of me before all is over. I do not think I shall go to Ireland as chairman of the Convention, but in military work here or in Palestine or elsewhere I shall perhaps have to see out the end. I feel really heart-broken when I think of all this, and how hard it must be for you, for it is hard enough for me. I sometimes feel so much in the dark, not knowing what my duty is, and why so much is demanded of me who have already done so much, and whether it is worth while. But as soon as my duty becomes clear to me, I shall act.

I have made a lot of speeches of late and my reception has really been a Roman triumph. I have always stressed the higher things, the spiritual ideals of freedom and a better future for which we fight. Now I am being urged to publish these speeches in pamphlet form and I hope to do this. You also would perhaps like to have these speeches in a corrected form instead of the shortened newspaper reports.

Yesterday lovely telegrams came for my birthday—one from you and the Kriges, one from Park, one from Ben Bouwer and one of affection and fullest confidence from the South African Party Members of Parliament. God bless you all for

the refreshing words. On 24 May my heart and thoughts were constantly with Mamma. I had to make three speeches and also visit three troop [one illegible word]. Today (Saturday) I go to Oxford to the Gilletts to stay there until Monday for a little rest. Kisses to my dearest.

Pappa

760 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 18, no. 272

Savoy Hotel
London
29 May 1917

My dear Wolstenholme, I found your nice long letter here last night on my return from Oxford where I had spent the day on a farm among a herd of dairy cattle. Halley Bullough's letter¹ I have answered direct by a small letter.

I generally agree with your views about possible terms of peace. The Russian Socialists are coming round apparently to the view that to the formula 'peace without annexations and indemnities'² should be added the right of nations to dispose over their own fate. With that I think we can generally agree. And you will see the formula would apply also to the aboriginal population of the German colonies. Alsace-Lorraine would be only partly recovered on that principle, and that is perhaps as well.

The Government keep pressing me very strongly to go to command in Palestine and I shall have to decide almost immediately. My feeling is against going, but that is perhaps not the proper criterion. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

761 From Lord Monteaale

Vol. 17, no. 113

Kildare Street Club
Dublin
29 May 1917

Dear General Smuts, I must allow myself the pleasure of telling you what an uplifting as well as illuminating effect my

¹ The young son of Wolstenholme's neighbours. He had written to Smuts and Wolstenholme had enclosed the letter with his own.

² This was the demand of the Russian revolutionaries.

talk with you had on my heart and mind, absorbed as both are in this crisis of my country. It was indeed a privilege to be given such a chance, and I can assure you that effect will extend to my friends though I shall of course treat the conversation as confidential.

I expect to be in London again in a fortnight and if you are still there perhaps you will kindly spare me a quarter of an hour. Again thanking you, I am, Yours very truly,

Monteagle

762 To J. Buchan

Vol. 18, no. 274

The document in the Smuts Collection is an unsigned typed copy.

30 May 1917

My dear Colonel, It was a great pleasure for me to say a few words in regard to the Russian position today,¹ and I was given a very cordial reception by those who were present.

I do not think it will be necessary for you to send an interviewer to see me to discuss the gallantry of the Belgians who were fighting in East Africa, as all I have got to say on this subject at the present time I included in my few remarks today. I did not say anything as regards the future of Central Africa. I do not think it is necessary to make a particular statement on this² and I should much prefer not to make any more speeches as I am now becoming rather like a talking machine. With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

763 To D. Lloyd George

Vol. 18, no. 277

Personal

31 May 1917

Dear Mr Lloyd George, I have already sent in my answer to your most kind and flattering offer of the Egyptian Command. Though I have had to decline the offer, I wish to assure you that nothing in the world could have been a greater honour to me than this offer and the way you have pressed it on me. I shall ever remain deeply grateful to you.

¹ This speech, delivered at the Russian Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries, is printed in *War-time Speeches*, pp. 97-105.

² On 22 May 1917 Smuts had spoken on the future of South and Central Africa at a 'South African Dinner' in his honour at the Savoy Hotel. See *War-time Speeches*, pp. 79-94.

The newspapers are beginning to devote a somewhat embarrassing attention to me, and I think I should now return to South Africa. It has been a great privilege to me to work for a short while with you, and as you are the soul of the war on the allied side I pray that you may achieve success. Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

764 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 336

London

31 May 1917

Thank you for your dear letter. It was very helpful to me in a great crisis. I have today declined the Palestine command. I was taken on a high hill and shown the kingdoms of the world.¹ And I have renounced them. My position is however becoming embarrassing and I think I should go back to South Africa, where I shall be on the reserve, to be called up in case of need.

I am now revising my speeches in pamphlet form. Perhaps they will do some good after I am gone.

I shall probably leave end of next week. Good-bye, my dear, to you and Arthur and the little ones.

¹ 'The devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.' *St. Matthew* iv. 8.

2. THE BRITISH WAR CABINET

5 JUNE 1917—10 NOVEMBER 1918

The documents in this section deal with the period of Smuts's membership of the British War Cabinet up to the Armistice. Urged by Lloyd George, encouraged by Botha, moved by his own inclination, he accepted membership although conscious of his 'anomalous position' (765-766). This Cabinet life was intense; he was faced with a series of important tasks into which he threw himself. The record of that life lies mainly in official papers. Even Smuts's letters to his wife and his close friends contain only discreet and brief allusions to it. Nevertheless they provide an outline of his war activities—of his visit to South Wales (789-791), his attendance at the Rapallo meeting, his talks with Mensdorff (804), his second visit to France, his visit to Egypt and Palestine (816). To some extent the outline can be filled in from a few private letters to and from his colleagues, for example, L. S. Amery. At times his attitude to major questions of policy can be gathered from his public speeches (829, 830).

The general biographical picture that emerges from these documents is vivid and full. They show the deepening of his friendship with Arthur and Margaret Gillett and Alice Clark, whose company both in London and on walks and camps in the country gave him physical exercise and spiritual refreshment. They record the death of Wolstenholme and the pain of separation from home and family. They are, besides, of great historical interest because Smuts's correspondence with his friends is largely concerned with the most critical questions of the time—the course of the war, the criteria of peace, the open sore of Ireland, the Russian Revolution.

765 To H. J. Wolstenholme

Vol. 18, no. 280

Savoy Hotel
London

5 June 1917

Dear Wolstenholme, Since seeing you I thought the proper course was to speak to Lloyd George himself as he was the

party most concerned except myself. I did so and he has told me I must not think of going away at present; that he is aware of certain manoeuvres in the Press but is not in the least influenced thereby and that I am at present wanted here to help and advise the Cabinet. My position will continue to be somewhat anomalous, but time might show the proper footing on which to arrange matters.

Do not therefore speak to Hobson and Ward. Yours sincerely,
J. C. Smuts

766 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 281

Savoy Hotel
9 Juni 1917

Liefste Mamma, Heden of morgen vertrekt weer een mail, dus een paar regels om jou op hoogte te houden. Laatste week was er geen mail en kon ik dus niet schrijven, en in de laatste 2 of 3 weken is geen mail van Z. Afrika gearriveerd; er is sprake dat een mail op zee verloren is, maar ik heb geen zekerheid. De couranten houden jou gedeeltelijk op hoogte van mijn werkzaamheden en ik vertrouw dat Tottie jou op hoogte houdt van mijne kabels aan Genl. Botha zoover zij van privaten aard zijn. Nu nog net een paar puntjes die jij al zeker weet. Jou laatste drie brieven kwamen net voor 24 Mei aan en waren o zoo welkom en dierbaar. Ik bracht dien dag door door vrouwen en gewonden op 4 vergaderingen toe te spreken. Ik heb gister avond weer die heerlijke brieven doorgelezen en verkwikt gevoeld. Zoo dan is Michiel weg. Moet jou niet dood werken met publiek werk maar ik ben blij dat jij nu hoofd van de Roode Kruis en onze organisatie in mijn kiesafdeling is. Ik denk jij moet soms de vrouwen in Pretoria West bezoeken, jou werk zal veel bekeering onder onze menschen maken. Het grieft mij baing dat zoovelen onzen menschen afvallig zijn van hun oude historische voormannen die toch nog dag en nacht voor hen werken en waken. Geef mijn groete aan Ludorf en Jooste wanneer jij hulle zien. Ik hoop de provinciale electies zullen goed afloopen. Te Doornkloof en Barberspan gaat het beide goed. Is mijn Napier verkocht of nog niet?

Ik was geamuseerd door jou vraag in den laatsten brief of

die nu waarlijk de laatste was. Jij weet men heeft mij gevraagd geregeld de War Cabinet bij te wonen en met Genl. Botha's toestemming heb ik daarin bewilligd. Dit betekent dat ik dit jaar niet terug zal keeren. Dit is baing hard op jou en mij, maar ik reken zoo—nooit in ons leven of in de geschiedenis zal er weer een tijd komen zoo kritiek voor de menschheid, en het zou lafhartig en zelfzuchtig zijn indien ik alle aanvraag om hulp en medewerking weiger. Ik heb voor de voorzitterschap van de Iersche Conventie zoowel als het bevel in Palestina bedankt; maar lid van de War Cabinet is veel beter dan beide en geeft mij juist de positie om goed werk te doen in verband met onze 'war policy'. De regeering heeft zeer hierop aangedrongen en ik kon niet weigeren. Men zegt mij dat ik een verbazende indruk gemaakt heb onder het publiek met mijn optreden. Lord Wimborne, Viceroy van Ierland, zegt dat niemand kan zich een dergelijk indruk door een vreemdeling gemaakt herinneren. Mijn speeches worden nu in pamflet vorm gedrukt. Oude parlamentsleden verzekeren mij dat mijn speech bij de House of Lords dinner een grooter sensatie verwekt heeft dan eenig ander speech van hun leven. Ik hoop al dit applaus zal niet mijn klein koppie verwarren, maar mij de kans geven goed werk beide voor oorlog en vrede en mijn evenmensch te verrichten. En hoe diep ik ook naar mamma en de kleinen verlang, moeten wij maar uithouden. De les van 'weary waiting' hebben wij reeds lang en dikwijls geleerd, en de mensheid verkeert in een vreeslijke toestand en strekt de handen uit om hulp en redding. God alleen kan redden maar allen kunnen helpen.

Tatta, mijn liefste en zoetste. Mijn hart is in jou bewaring voor eeuwig. Zoentjes aan allen van Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
[London]
9 June 1917

Dearest Mamma, A mail leaves again today or tomorrow, so a few lines to keep you informed. Last week there was no mail and so I could not write, and in the last two or three weeks no mail has arrived from South Africa; there is talk that a mail has been lost at sea, but I have no certainty. The papers keep you

to some extent informed of my activities, and I trust that Tottie keeps you informed of my cables to General Botha, in so far as they are of a private nature. Now just a few more points which you probably already know. Your last three letters arrived just before 24 May and were oh, so welcome and precious. I spent that day addressing women and wounded at four meetings. Last night I read these lovely letters through again and felt refreshed. So Michiel¹ has gone. Do not work yourself to death on public work, but I am glad that you are now head of the Red Cross and of our organization in my constituency. I think you must sometimes visit the women in Pretoria West; your work will bring about much conversion among our people. It grieves me much that so many of our people have deserted the iroid historic leaders, who still work and watch for them night and day. Give my regards to Ludorf and Jooste when you see them. I hope the provincial elections will go off well. At both Doornkloof and Barberspan all goes well. Has my Napier been sold or not yet ?

I was amused at your question in the last letter: whether this was really the last. You know I have been asked to attend the War Cabinet regularly and, with General Botha's permission, I have agreed. This means that I shall not return this year. This is very hard on you and me, but this is how I see it—never in our life or in history will there again come a time so critical for mankind, and it would be cowardly and selfish if I were to refuse all requests for help and co-operation. I have refused the chairmanship of the Irish Convention as well as the command in Palestine; but membership of the War Cabinet is much better than either and gives me the right position to do good work in connection with our war policy. The Government was very insistent on this and I could not refuse. I am told that I have made an amazing impression on the public by my activities. Lord Wimborne, Viceroy of Ireland, says that no one can recall a comparable impression made by a foreigner. My speeches are now being printed in pamphlet form. Old Members of Parliament assure me that my speech at the House of Lords dinner has made a greater sensation than any other speech of their lives. I hope all this applause

¹ Perhaps Michiel Nicolaas, half-brother of Smuts, born 1904, died 20 December 1963.

will not turn my little head, but will give me a chance to accomplish good work both for war and peace and for my fellow-men. And however deeply I long for Mamma and the little ones, we must hold out. We learned the lesson of 'weary waiting' long ago and often, and mankind is in a terrible state and stretches out its hands for help and rescue. God alone can rescue, but all can help.

Good-bye, my dearest and sweetest. My heart is in your keeping for ever. Kisses to all from
Pappa

767 From E. M. Brown

Vol. 15, no. 84

The Orchard
Belper
Derbyshire
19 June 1917

Dear Mr Smuts, By an unknown spirit I am moved today to write a note and send you my congratulations, do you remember our compact? We were not to write, unless something of importance happened, it certainly has done. I am not surprised about all I read but oh! so glad, you said it is one thing to make a reputation but another to keep it up. You must be satisfied that you have made the name long ago, also equally satisfied, that you are keeping it up, may you be able to help our country in its terrible time of need.

Surely there never was a time like this for stirring up all one's very best powers, it is good of you to come from your own country and give advice to ours. Just at first the weather did not welcome you, I wondered whether the cold tried you, but since then it has made up, and lovely sunshine would soon put all well again. I should dearly like to hear you when making a speech, why is Belper so far away?

One or two little items about home. Mother left us just five years ago, how we still miss her, but we are thankful she was spared these years of trouble. Gertie¹ was obliged to give up school two years ago. She has very bad attacks, between them she is fairly well sometimes, but never strong, so you see we were obliged to keep a home and we still live on in the old

¹ Sister of Ethel Brown.

place. There is nothing interesting to tell you about myself, after Mother's death I wanted work—the only thing I could do, and remain at home, was to let rooms. This I did, and a gentleman has been here nearly five years. I do not mind it, but Gertie does not like a stranger in the home.

Gertie joins me in my congratulations and we both send you every good wish for the future. From your sincere friend,

Ethel M. Brown

768 From M. Asquith

Vol. 15, no. 27

20 Cavendish Square, W.1

19 June 1917

Our Dear General Smuts, In the *Westminster Gazette* tonight it says on the first page (the only article to read!) that you have 'special qualifications' for membership of the War Cabinet. I hope you will not let this statement remain uncontradicted. All the Lloyd Georgites—anti-Asquithites—and Tories are *overjoyed* and say to me 'There, you see *how* wrong you were! He *has joined Lloyd George* after all!!' You might write a short note to *The Times* saying you are only doing what you and all the Imperial Conference Premiers and representatives do—go to the War Cabinet when you are asked to, but that you have *not* joined it. This would delight my husband and as he is being deserted by another of his Ministers (a secret which I will tell you later). I do think he has every reason to believe you will *never* desert him.

You have a fine loyal nature and everything Henry could do for your people he has done. He is the *most* loyal man in the world as you all know. One or two of our friends were very sad today and said 'To think of a fine man like Smuts joining the War Cabinet sitting with a man like Lloyd George and men as foolish as Milner and above all Curzon'. Dear friend do make your position *clear*. It is so humiliating to have men say that everyone does what the Press tells them to do and are afraid of the Press. Forgive your unhappy

Margot Asquith

Forgive this rough sketch of what you might send to *all* the papers.

Dear Sir, I see mis-statements are being made as to my position. I am not a member of the War Cabinet. I did not see my way to joining the Government. I attend, as others attend, the War Cabinet when I am asked to do so. Yours truly, etc.

769 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 338

London

2 July 1917

Not going to Millfield¹ was a great disappointment. But the country was too wet and the wind too cold to make it worth while. Instead I went in the afternoon with Olive Schreiner to Cambridge. We enjoyed the drive through the beautiful wheat-fields and Wolstenholme's wise talk at the other end.

My fever is quiet now, but a doctor friend orders me to restart the quinine treatment which I fear and detest.

Yes, we shall have to walk the moors yet and dream of the veld. But my plans are somewhat unsettled and I don't think I could come for the next few weeks.

I have seen the paragraph in the *Manchester Guardian* about the Conscientious Objector and shall raise the point.

770 To M. Hobhouse

Vol. 18, no. 289

Mrs Margaret Hobhouse's son, Stephen, had been imprisoned as a conscientious objector.

3 July 1917

Dear Mrs Hobhouse, Yours of 1 July.

In the relation which I occupy to the Cabinet it would be improper for me to comply with your request and to condemn the official attitude towards Conscientious Objectors. I can be of better service in other ways to the cause which you have at heart and hope to be of some service in those ways. Yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

¹ Margaret Gillett and her children were staying there.

771 From Aftab Ahmad

Vol. 15, no. 1

Central Office of
The All India Mohammeden Educational Conference
Aligarh
18 July 1917

My dear Smuts, It was a real pleasure with which I received your very kind message of congratulations, through my brother, upon my appointment to the India Council for which please accept my very best thanks.

I am glad to learn that you still remember me, and I am looking forward to the time when I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you in England before long. I am proud to think that my old Cambridge friend is now taking such a prominent part in shaping the future destiny of the great British Empire.

I suppose you remember that at Cambridge we used to discuss so many problems of world politics and it is a quite unexpected dispensation of Providence that we may now have an opportunity of tackling some of these problems in real earnest.

I have so much to tell you and so much to hear from you that I must wait till we meet. I intend, God willing, to leave for England on 26 August and hope to reach there some time in September. Till then good-bye. With kind regards,
Yours very sincerely,

Aftab Ahmad

772 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 339

London
6 August 1917

Your letter came to hand just now and was like a ray of light through the surrounding gloom. I never ask you to agree with me. Truth is made up of a great synthesis of differences and in that house of many mansions there is room for all.

I stopped indoors the whole of Saturday and Sunday, working out a number of Air Service conundrums, and thinking, thinking. The fourth of August will ever remain the saddest anniversary in the story of man, and I felt no inclination to go anywhere and refused to speak at the Queen's Hall.

I felt much like the old prophet—was it Elijah?—who was eating out his own heart until the whirlwind and the fire raged round, and the still small voice of the Lord came.¹ But it may not come to me. The great reinforcement of the silent Good is long in coming; perhaps it will never come. And in the meantime life is ebbing away and Faith alone enables me to hold on. If I had not this Faith in the ultimate Good of the universe, I would indeed be of all men most miserable.

Don't think anything depends on me. I shall work on quietly at certain tasks and when they are done I hope to slip away as quietly to the dear household in the South.

I was all ready packed yesterday afternoon for Oxford when it began to rain once more. And so I took the dear Auntie² to her brother instead. I would have loved to have been with you and felt the warmth of your presence, and of Arthur, and of Mrs Clark, and the dear little ones for whose future peace we are struggling so hard. . . .

773 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 15, no. 18

Carlton Club
[London]

21 August 1917

My dear Smuts, I see the Cabinet are considering sending someone out to Salonika to see what is really happening, and are undecided as to whether it should be a soldier or a politician. It should be *both* and you, my friend, are the man. Given proper facilities in the way of a destroyer or light cruiser to travel on you could do Salonika (spending five or six days there), Athens, Egypt, and all in three weeks or a month and come back with a real grip of things, and with the power to make the Cabinet fall into line. I could come with you as staff, and tell you who the difficult people are out there, and we could work out some real plans while travelling. Get your Air thing through first and your Air Minister appointed (someone who can appreciate what General Staff work means and will see to it that a good General Staff for the Air is created at once on an *adequate* scale), and then, say about 1–8 September,

¹ 1 *Kings* xix. 9–13.

² Emily Hobhouse.

hey presto for the blue Mediterranean, size up Salonika, see how [General Sir E. H.] Allenby is doing and come back with a clear plan.

There is plenty of precedent. Lord Kitchener went round that way in October 1915, and General [Pierre-August] Roques, then French Minister for War, came out in 1916.

What about sending General Henry Wilson to America to have a good talk with the President, who is after all a distant cousin of his, and who apparently needs some leading soldier to talk to him about things at large? I should like to give him the Salonika Command, but I dare say it will take some months of discussion before [General M. P. E.] Sarrail is finally disposed of, and meanwhile Wilson might be doing a lot of good across the Atlantic.

Meanwhile think seriously of the little Salonika, Athens, Crete, Cyprus, Egypt expedition. It would be in lieu of holiday, and now is the psychological time for doing it. Yours sincerely,

L. S. Amery

774 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 300

Savoy Hotel

London, W.C.2

29 Augustus 1917

Liefste Mamma, Jou laatste brief van 17 Juli kwam Maandag aan en was zooals altoos meer dan welkom. Ik ben blij te zien dat jij zeer bezig is met allerhande publiek werk, want dit trekt jou aandacht van onze langdurige verwijdering en maakt dat de tijd korter schijnt. Want ik weet hoe jij naar jou liefste verlangt. Ach, die liefde is de grootste en beste op aarde, maar hoe grooter zij is hoe grooter pijn geeft zij ook. Ik versta niet hoe sommige menschen meenen dat plezier het hoogste geluk is, want er is een punt waar de grootste plezier ook de grootste smart is en dat is de liefde. En op dat punt staan onze beiden zielen nu voor 30 jaren. Ja, de goden zijn ons zeer goed geweest. Te midden van alle smart, verwijdering, smaad, en onafgebroken arbeid voor anderen, hebben wij steeds in het binnenste tempel der liefde gewoond en het zoetste en heiligste zielsgenot gesmaakt dat sterflingen ooit te beurt kan

vallen. Als deze oorlog eenmaal over is hoop ik dat wij voor eeuwig by elkaar zullen zijn en dat er vergoeding zal zijn voor al die scheiding die ons ten deel is geweest in de bittere jaren achter ons. Het spijt mij te zeggen dat ik twijfel of ik in October bij jullie kan zijn of zelfs hier weggkomen. Ik heb Genl. Botha gevraagd of hij tevreden zal zijn om mij hier te laten tot onze parlamentszitting. Mijn werk hier is werkelijk zeer belangrijk en ik zie niet hoe ik in de onmiddellijke toekomst hier kan gemist worden. De Engelsche Regeering zal zeer hard tegen mijn weggaan vechten. De leger autoriteiten smeken mij ook hier te blijven. Indien de vrede spoedig komt is het zeer noodzakelijk dat ik hier blijf want ik verwacht de grootste bakklj over de Duitsche koloniën waarin wij in Z.A. zoo'n ingrijpend belang hebben. Ik weet niet wat te doen. Van de Regeering in Amerika krijg ik gedurige invitaties om daarheen te komen daar zij meenen dat ik zeer veel goed daar kan doen. Men vraagt mij zelfs naar Rusland. Jou hartzeer zal dus niet met October eindigen. Maar wat zijn wij beter dan millioenen anderen in hunne bittere verwijdering in dezen oorlog, dan die velen die ter wille van land en volk hun dierbaarste panden voor altoos hebben afgestaan? Wij maken door een tijdperk dat zeker voor altoos in de geschiedenis zal gekenmerkt blijven als het grootste en kritiekste in de geschiedenis der menschheid. En wat weegt ons persoonlijk hartzeer op tegen al die onmetelijke pijn en verdriet van millioenen en millioenen. Laten wij dus maar dapper en geduldig ons plicht doen, wetende dat de goden ons zeer goed geweest zijn en dat wij onze dankbaarheid best kunnen toonen in onbepaalde opoffering voor de heilige einddoelen waarvoor wij vechten. Ik weet jij is zeer dapper en dat, hoe zeer het hart ook, jou lief aangezicht licht zal geven voor zeer vele zwaarbeproefde harten. Lees Carlyle's versjes, eindigende 'Work and Despair Not': Zij zijn vol betekenis voor ons in deze beproevingsijd. En dan hebben wij lieve zoete kinderen die meer dan een troost zijn voor alles door ons geleden. Zoo, dan wil Japie engineer worden. Wel, laat hem maar begaan. In elk geval is dat nu een onschuldig vermaak. En Jannie maakt ook zijn bruggie over een gaatje water!

Van Jan Krige had ik een langen brief, meestal over kleinigheden. Ik zou jou aanraden hem geheel alleen te laten. Hij is

baing eccentric, haat Jimmie, en heeft denkbeeldige grieven. Hij heeft echter goede hoedanigheden en behoort tot onze familie, en ik zou hem niet geheel verstooten. Ik zou de kinderen soms naar hem opzenden daar hij mij dikwijls gezegd heeft dat hij ze lief heeft als zijn eigen kinderen. Het leven is te kort om bitterheid te voelen of haat te dragen, en gewoonlijk spruit alle twist meer uit misverstand en achterdocht dan boosheid. Ja, houd jou oogen op mijne constituenten, beide Hollandsch en Engelsch. Ik ben zeer begeerig de Nattes over te winnen of ten minsten de goeden onder hen. Hoe zeer zij nog nu haten hoop ik dat de dag zal komen wanneer zij of hunne kinderen zullen erkennen dat ik hun beste kampioen was en alles voor hen had gedaan. Ik werk niet voor populariteit maar ik voel dat al die miskennis is een bewijs dat ik niet geheel geslaagd ben en dat er aan mijn kant ook maar veel gefouteerd is.

Nu liefste en dierbaarste, een hartekus en goeien dag. God zij met U tot wij wederzien.

Pappa

7 September. De mail is nooit weggegaan en dus zend ik dit een week later. Ik heb vele andere brieven te schrijven—dus niet meer. De laatste air raid heeft groote gaten hier nabij gelaten. Tatta. Pappa.

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
29 August 1917

Dearest Mamma, Your last letter of 17 July arrived on Monday and was, as always, more than welcome. I am glad to see that you are busy with all sorts of public work, because that takes your mind off our long separation and makes the time seem shorter. For I know how you long for your dearest. Oh, love is the greatest and best thing on earth, but the greater it is, the more pain it gives. I do not understand how some people think that pleasure is the greatest happiness, for there is a point where the greatest pleasure is also the greatest pain and that is love. And at that point our two souls have now been for thirty years. Yes, the gods have been very good to us. In the midst of all sorrow, separation, obloquy and ceaseless labour for

others, we have always inhabited the inner temple of love and tasted the sweetest and holiest spiritual joy that can ever fall to the lot of mortals. Once this war is over I hope that we shall be together for ever and that there will be amends for all the separation that has been our portion in the bitter years behind us. I am sorry to say that I doubt if I can be with you in October, or even get away from here. I have asked General Botha if he will be satisfied to leave me here until our parliamentary Session.¹ My work here is really very important and I do not see how I can be spared here in the immediate future. The English Government will fight very hard against my going away. The army authorities also plead with me to stay here. If peace comes quickly, it is very necessary that I stay here, for I expect a great row over the German colonies, in which we in South Africa have such a radical interest. I do not know what to do. I get constant invitations from the American Government to go there, as they think I can do a great deal of good there. I am even asked to Russia. So your heart-ache will not end in October. But we are no better than millions of others in their bitter separation in this war, and the many who have given up their most precious treasures for ever for the sake of country and people. We are going through a period which will probably always be marked in history as the greatest and most critical in the story of mankind. And how can our personal heartaches be balanced against the immeasurable pain and sorrow of millions and millions? So let us do our duty bravely and patiently, knowing that the gods have been very good to us and that we can best show our gratitude in unlimited sacrifice for the sacred ends for which we fight. I know you are very brave and that, however sore the heart, your dear face will give light to many sorely-tried hearts. Read Carlyle's verses ending 'Work and Despair Not'²—they are full of meaning for us in this time of trial. And then we have dear, sweet children, who are more than a solace for all we have suffered. And so Japie wants to be an engineer. Well, let him be. In any case that is an innocent amusement now. And Jannie also makes his little bridge over a hole full of water!

¹ 18 January 1918.

² A translation of a poem by Goethe with which Carlyle closes Book Three of *Past and Present*.

I had a long letter from Jan Krige, mostly about trifles. I would advise you to leave him entirely alone. He is very eccentric, hates Jimmie and has imaginary grievances. But he has good qualities and belongs to our family and I should not repudiate him altogether. I should sometimes send the children up to him, for he has often told me that he loves them as his own children. Life is too short to feel bitterness or cherish hatred and usually quarrels arise more from misunderstanding and suspicion than from anger. Yes, keep your eye on my constituents, both Dutch and English. I am very anxious to win over the Nats.,¹ or at least the good ones among them. However much they still hate now, I hope the day will come when they or their children will admit that I was their best champion and had done everything for them. I do not work for popularity, but I feel that all this misjudging is a proof that I have not altogether succeeded, and that there have been many faults on my side as well.

Well, dearest and most precious, a kiss from the heart and good-bye. God be with you till we see one another again.

Pappa

7 September. The mail did not go and so I send this a week later. I have many other letters to write—so no more. The last air raid has left big holes near here. Good-bye. Pappa.

775 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 342

London

4 September 1917

Please tell Arthur that the above date is the anniversary of my crossing the Orange River sixteen years ago.² Arthur has more than once evinced some interest in that event.

This, however, merely by way of Kaffir [*sic*] introduction. My real business in writing is much more important. I have been commanded to spend the next week-end with the Royal Family at Windsor. From Saturday to Monday, the order reads, signed by the Lord High Steward.

¹ i.e., Nationalists. The two main political parties in South Africa were, and still are, colloquially called 'Nats' and 'Saps' in English, *Natte* and *Sappe* in Afrikaans.

² To Smuts anniversaries were always interesting and significant.

So my hope for a good time next week-end has been torpedoed as the new phrase goes, and I am a sadder man, and after a Sunday with the King I shall be a more religious man, alas!

It remains for you and Arthur to devise the necessary compensations to indemnify me against this disappointment, and to make fresh proposals as to what you intend doing under these painful circumstances. The fine weather only adds to the gloom of the new situation for me.

776 From Sir T. Watt

Vol. 18, no. 385

Office of the Minister of Public Works
Pretoria

5 September 1917

My dear Smuts, Many thanks for your interesting letter of 11 July and also for sending me the reprint of your speeches. I enjoyed reading them when they appeared in the *London Times Weekly Edition* and have again dipped into them. You have caught and held the attention of the British public and I sincerely congratulate you. You have approached questions of the war and the future governance of the Empire from a point of view that is new to the public and you have also given expression to what most of us in the Dominions were thinking in a nebulous way. At any rate you have put the lid on Messrs. Lionel Curtis and Company.¹

I received your cable regarding Phillips and shall certainly do all I can to place him elsewhere. Shawe [H. B.] had already informed the Public Service Commission about the matter and since your cable was received he has circularized each Department. You will no doubt have heard that Judge Gregorowski endorsed the recommendations of the Commission and the Government in consequence had no option but to carry them out. It is a pity that some of Phillips's friends are putting it about that Shawe and others in authority have been 'down' on him and want to hound him out of the Service. I am convinced that these reports are unfounded.

Robinson² having retired from the Public Service Com-

¹ The advocates of Imperial federation.

² V. G. M. Robinson entered the Natal Civil Service in 1890 and was Public Service Commissioner of the Union, 1912-17, when he retired.

mission we have appointed Lonsdale [E. G.], formerly joint Secretary of Justice, in his place until August next year in terms of the Public Service Amendment Act. Unless we enlarge the scope of the Commission or keep them busy with enquiries into the working of Departments we ought to reduce the number to one, as there is little work for them. Their present special job is to enquire whether those members of the Public Service who have been released from their usual work in order to go on active service, but who are doing defence work within the Union, cannot be better employed in the Departments to which they belong and their present work taken by discharged soldiers, many of whom are fit for clerical work.

A good deal has been said in public during the last six weeks about the desirability of a coalition between the South African Party and the Unionists. Leuchars started it, some English papers took it up and Abe Bailey has given the movement—idea I ought to call it because it hasn't moved—his blessing. Maitland Park is anxious to write it up but before beginning wanted to know what General Botha's views are. Park had consulted Burton and the latter wrote to Botha on the subject and favoured the idea, but the General and the rest of us were against it. I should be very pleased to see it if it were practicable but I feel quite sure that the bulk of the party are not prepared for such a radical departure. I had a trip to the Protectorate¹ last month with nineteen other Senators and Members of the Legislative Assembly and hardly a day passed but one or other of the Unionists talked about coalition to me. I always advised them to put their country before their party and join the South African Party as some of the Natal men did six years ago.

They said that there were two things that stood in the way i.e., immigration and a land-tax, to both of which they were committed and we were opposed. My reply was that during the recent successive 'English' ministries at the Cape under Sprigg, Rhodes and Jameson no policy of state-aided immigration was embarked on and the same could be said about 'loyal little Natal'; therefore why expect the present Government, with its admitted difficulties, to do what these good Imperialists

¹ South West Africa.

never did? As for the land-tax, it is surely defective political vision that will place it in greater prominence than union for the purpose of fighting Republicanism which the Unionists say we must oppose. Besides all that, if the Unionists were to enter our fold they could help to influence the party in favour of these things more than by remaining outside. All the same I am afraid they will remain outside. Their leaders have natural ambitions and none of the back-benchers have backbone enough to break away, or if they did, they have not sufficient influence to carry others across the floor with them.

If the Nationalists are ever to come into power I hope it will be during the period of depression that will follow the war. Money will be difficult to borrow and they will find it much harder to increase the wages of the white labourer and to start every *arme blank*¹ on a farm than to promise these things. They will, like all Governments, wish to stand well with the public generally and attract supporters and to do so they will not risk outraging public opinion by talking about republicanism. They will work the Constitution very much as we are doing and will tell the extremists among them that now that they (the Nationalists) are in power the will of the people is being obeyed as it never was under the wicked Botha Government—and republicanism, having served its purpose, will disappear. I give a Nationalist Government a life of two or at the outside three years even if it started with a substantial majority.

The parliamentary party were on the whole favourably impressed with the Protectorate, the fat cattle and horses that had subsisted solely on the veld during the winter appealing to the farmers among us. In view of the avowed intention of the allies to consult the wishes of the inhabitants of the territories that are now the bones of contention as to their future governance, I have asked Gorges to put some capable man to compile an historical account of the treatment of the Natives in the Protectorate by the Germans² and to get affidavits from Natives and if possible from Europeans also in support of the most striking incidents in the narrative. He is intending to

¹ poor white (Afrikaans).

² Such a report was later published as a British Government blue-book, Cd. 9146—1919.

instruct O'Reilly [T. L.], Magistrate at Omaruru, to do this as soon as we can send someone to relieve O'Reilly. We know that the Natives don't want to be under the Germans at any price but it is well to have their case with proofs in readiness for the end of the war.

When that will be, no one can foresee. I was surprised at your remark that the end may come during the approaching winter. I have been looking forward to another year or eighteen months but you have better means of forming an opinion.

I note what you say about South African timber for the University Buildings at Groote Schuur¹ and have spoken to Murray² Public Works Department about it and will also see Oom Harry.³

My wife and I paid our first visit to Mrs Smuts on Sunday afternoon, and found her well. We both think she is very brave in resigning herself to doing without you while you are doing your duty, and in keeping such a smiling face through it all. We were disappointed in not seeing the children, who were enjoying themselves some distance away.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am, Yours very truly,
T. Watt

P.S. I forgot to mention that poor old Smythe went on three months' leave from 1 August as his health has given way and he said that if he was not well enough at the end of that time to resume duty he would resign. I hear that he is very ill. Don't you think it would be well to try to persuade him to take leave for three months more if necessary instead of resigning? Plowman [G. T.] is acting for him. T.W.

777 From Lord Loreburn

Vol. 17, no. 74

Kingsdown House
Deal
[England]

9 September 1917

My dear General Smuts, Will you excuse my using such large paper for so short a letter and indeed excuse my troubling you

¹ The Rhodes Trustees had made part of the Groote Schuur estate available as the site of the University of Cape Town.

² C. Murray, then Secretary for Public Works.

³ H. C. van Heerden, then Minister of Agriculture and Forestry.

at all. I have no right to do so and can only say that I am deeply anxious about the whole war situation and believe that you could do much to remove anxiety.

I am neither an optimist nor a pessimist but I have from the first believed that, if the British Fleet holds the seas, as I hope we may feel confident it will, the war will be a continuous deadlock till it ends in revolution and bankruptcy. Scores of millions of vigorous populations cannot crush one another conclusively.

I share to the full the sense of horror and wonder and indignation at the crimes of the German military party. I ask myself if that spirit is really to be finally destroyed by anything except the German people themselves after peace has come. We must of course have some essentials in any peace, e.g. Belgium to be fully restored, France to be restored, etc. If we are to carry out the claims of [Baron S.] Sonnino, Ribot [A. F. J.], Pashich [N.] and others, the war cannot possibly be ended till famine and epidemics and anarchy have half destroyed civilization.

Let me offer a suggestion, viz., that in some private way, preferably through the U.S.A. and Austria, or by informal direct communications, we should find out what the Central Powers are ready to do, with the concurrence of France and other Allies. (I have learned in years of official life to distrust the accuracy of Foreign Office estimates). If you and another, such as Lord Bryce, could meet face to face someone on the enemy side, with the concurrence of our Allies, ostensibly to discuss some minor question such as Lord Newton lately discussed with them, and then were authorized to enter on the larger field quite informally and *ad referendum* we might in that way learn if there is a way which might open the prospect of peace. It might thus be done without exciting a sensation.

As it is I think that the human forces in Europe may get out of control. There must be a limit to the passivity of their attitude, and not only in Russia but in France also there are possibilities which might upset all calculation. Our own people are true and patriotic, but I believe they are deeply moved by the apparently endless continuance of conditions which banish all chance of happiness while they last. And the lamentable feature of it seems to be that the nations seem to

be all fighting in a fog without knowing what it is that hinders the desire for peace, which is now universally proclaimed, from being realized before the youth of Europe is still further destroyed with quite incalculable consequences.

You know much more than I can know and I would not presume to offer more than quite general suggestions, because we are all kept in the dark. But I believe that a step in the right direction, toward recognizing by some overt act the need of peace which everyone must feel would very likely hasten the end of the horror.

Lady Loreburn and I are here till 1 October and quite alone except for occasional visitors. If you would do us the honour, and also confer on us the favour, of coming to stay with us at *any* time we would do our best to make you comfortable and give you a very hearty welcome. We are about three to three and a half hours from London by train, and about four hours by motor (78 miles). It would be a great pleasure to see you. I am, Yours sincerely,

Loreburn

778 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 343

Windsor Castle
9 September 1917

Sunday afternoon, and as Achilles' heel is not in perfect order, I have stayed in, occupied with correspondence. It is a dull day here, with an occasional drizzle, but for me the sunshine of yesterday continues to shine on the green hills of memory. This morning in chapel my mind kept roving over those hills, in spite of the droning of the parson—up Fair Mile, and by the Wood of Ham,¹ through the magic circles traced by the mushrooms, and by the grass knots which symbolize the blending of spirits. And then the parson's voice would recall me again to my uninspiring surroundings, and off my mind would pass . . . and I would sit up with fair-smiling little Helen on my knee, her father on my left, her mother at my feet. Then some remark of the parson on the water which quenches thirst for ever sends me to the hills once more, and

¹ Places on the Downs near Moulsoford where Smuts walked with the Gilletts.

I drink the water which never quenches the thirst of the spirit but only serves to make it more intense, the joy which never satisfies but only serves to increase the soul hunger. And I see by the little wood on the hill a temple of white columns with figures dancing round it in ecstasy and singing:

*Wir betreten freudetrunken
Himmlische, dein Heiligtum.*¹

And far below shimmer the waters, better than that of Jordan, better than those of Pharpar and Habana [*sic*], for which we are making.² And through it all, and over it all, assimilating, transforming, transfusing, tranfiguring everything to the radiancy of the spirit, the Holistic Impulse! And then the parson intervenes again, and I see a woman drying a man's feet with her black hair in a cottage in the cup of the hills, and again I see farther back on one of the hills the man hanging on a cross and the woman standing weeping below. And I read from Habakkuk of the soul moving over the high places as on hind's feet,³ and, Margaret, of the man of sorrows who poured out his soul in sacrifice. Then the little congregation sings a final hymn, and an inexpressible longing carries me back to the small family at Breach House,⁴ to the small family at Doornkloof. God bless them all. And so to lunch and diplomatic talks.

779 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 303

Windsor Castle
9 September 1917

Liefste Mammie, Zooals jij ziet ben ik vandaag weer bij de koninklijke familie thuis. Gister (Zaterdag) was ik bij de Gilletts om oefening te krijgen, en Arthur en Margaret en ik hebben over de Downs (hooge randen, meestal landen en open

¹ Drunk with joy celestial, we tread thy shrine. Schiller, *An die Freude* (Hymn to Joy).

² 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?' 2 *Kings* v. 12.

³ 'He will make my feet like hinds' feet and he will make me to walk upon mine high places.' *Habakkuk* iii. 19.

⁴ The house on the Downs above Moulsoford, rented by the Gilletts for the summer holidays. (Note by M. C. Gillett.)

veld maar met kleine bosschen overal) den geheelen dag tot 4 uur gewandeld. Toen een lekker zwem in de Thames en daarna ben ik per motor naar Windsor gekomen alwaar ik 7 uur arriveerde. De koning en ik hadden toen een lang gesprek over den oorlog en hij ried mij aan niet de uitnoodiging naar Amerika aan te nemen, maar hier te blijven helpen tot het einde. Wij zullen zien! Ik voel eenzaam en alleen hier in Engeland en zou veel liever bij jullie zijn in het geliefde Zuid-Afrika. Mijn beste vrienden zijn de Gilletts en beter kan niemand hebben. Haar kent jij wel als een juweel, maar hij is ook baing fluksch en aan mij gehecht als een broeder. Zij zijn beide onnoodig bezorgd over mij en willen zelfs in Londen tijdelijk komen wonen zoodat ik bij hen kan komen en niet zoo eenzaam in een hotel wonen! Hij zegt mij dat hij ook aan jou geschreven heeft om hier heen te komen en mij op te passen. Maar dit is natuurlijk alles onnoodig. Ik hoop het zal niet meer zoo lang zijn voor ik bij jullie ben. De kinderen aldaar zijn zeer aan mij gehecht, en het is een gehuil wanneer ik moet weggaan. Bizonder zoete lieve kinderen, vooral de kleine Helen nu omtrent 6 maanden oud. Ik hoop zij zal ons schoondochter worden. Ik schrijf jou dit alles om jou te toonen dat het toch niet zoo slecht met mij gaat, dat er hier zijn die mij liefhebben. Maar het oude hart is maar waar de koppies en randjes afzien naar de geliefde Hennops. Baing harte zoentjes aan mamma en liefde aan de kinderen en groeten aan de vrienden van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Windsor Castle
9 September 1917

Dearest Mamma, As you see I am staying with the Royal Family today. Yesterday (Saturday) I was at the Gilletts to have some exercise, and Arthur and Margaret and I walked all day until four o'clock over the Downs (high ridges, mostly fields and open veld but with small bushes all over). Then a nice swim in the Thames and after that I came by car to Windsor where I arrived at seven o'clock. The King and I then had a long talk about the war and he advised me not to accept the invitation to America, but to remain helping here to the end. We shall see! I feel lonely and alone here in England

and would much rather be with you in beloved South Africa. My best friends are the Gilletts and no one could have better. She you know well as a jewel, but he is also very able and attached to me like a brother. They are both unnecessarily worried about me, and even want to come and live in London temporarily so that I can come to them and not live so much alone in an hotel! He tells me that he has also written to you to come here and look after me. But that is all unnecessary of course. I hope it will not be long before I am with you. The children there are very much attached to me and there is crying when I must leave. Particularly good, dear children, especially little Helen, now about six months old. I hope she will become our daughter-in-law. I write you all this to show you that things are not so bad with me, that there are some here who love me. But the old heart is where the hills and ridges look down to the beloved Hennops.¹ Many dear kisses to Mamma and love to the children and good wishes to the friends from

Pappa

780 To Lord Loreburn

Vol. 18, no. 307

12 September 1917

Dear Lord Loreburn, I am very much obliged to you for the very important letter you have written me. While I largely agree with what you say I am at the same time profoundly impressed with the enormous difficulties and perplexities surrounding the whole subject of peace. Difficult as it has been to wage this terrible war, I am not sure that the making of peace will not be an even more difficult business, requiring greater courage and statesmanship and far-sightedness.

Germany is manoeuvring in order to get all the belligerent Governments round a conference table, as she knows that that motley crowd is sure to disagree among themselves and perhaps to break up, and that she will win at the conference table more than she has won in the field. Perhaps the reply to the Pope² will afford some clue on which to work. I know vague, informal feelers have been put out to one of the enemy

¹ Hennops River, one of the two streams bounding Doornkloof.

² On 1 August 1917 a Papal Note suggesting a basis on which peace might be made was presented to the belligerent Powers.

Governments by one of the Allied Governments.¹ Beyond that I doubt whether anything could be usefully done before the fighting season closes in the winter.

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to Kingsdown. I shall, however, not be able to come. Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

781 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 12

Savoy Hotel
[London]

24 September 1917

Yes, please come on Friday afternoon and if possible be my guest; dine with me, sleep in my bedroom which I shall give to you while I go to one of my A.D.C.'s rooms, and we shall talk, and if possible walk, on Saturday. And stay on till Monday. You will come to me like cool, broad, palm leaves on an intolerably hot day. One's spirit gets very lonely in this sort of work in which I am engaged. Give Hilda² my blessing and remind her of a promise to stay with me when she is well enough. Ever yours,

J.C.S.

782 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 345

London

25 September 1917

. . . We had an air raid here last night which I watched curiously from my window. I expect one now every moonlight night. I am sure you will enjoy this excitement almost as much as the lonely raptures of the moon.

Let me hear from you again. It is some small compensation, and it makes me feel less lonely in this over-populated place.

Will Marion³ and her husband never come to look me up in London? You must tell them that they will be most welcome.

¹ Tentative peace negotiations between France and Austria-Hungary were taking place, but Austria had made the first approach.

² Hilda Clark, younger sister of Alice Clark.

³ Marion Wilkinson, born Rowntree.

Lord Buxton has wired to me that I should now return to South Africa in view of the local situation.¹ Lloyd George and Bonar Law tell me in reply that it will be a 'disaster' if I go at the present juncture. And you are too far away to consult on these weighty issues. And I have nobody else whom I could consult on such an issue. . . .

783 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 346

London
29 September 1917

. . . The Prime Minister² says it is impossible for me to go to South Africa before peace is concluded and wants me to be elected to the House of Commons in the meanwhile.

784 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 13

Savoy Hotel
[London]
2 October 1917

Last night we had another raid, but I did not enjoy it, partly because I had a small recurrence of malaria, partly because you were not there. The memory of your visit still is strong with me and still suffuses me with a holistic glow. The Upper Powers have been very kind to me. Just at a time when loneliness and almost desolation was beginning to encompass me, I was joined in the darkness by another Great Companion, and in a form which was not selfish or exclusive and did no injustice to the other loyalties in one's life and one's soul. I am very grateful and continue my firm faith in the Friendly Universe. I think the ideal universe is one in which this Holy Spirit of Comradeship will knit together all life in forms and unions which are ever rising above the mere animal life and flower into infinite beauty and truth. In that way the Holy Spirit, the Holistic Spirit, will gradually transform and cleanse and transfigure all individual lives and souls and redeem them from their littlenesses and exclusivenesses inherent in the

¹ See 786 and enclosures.

² D. Lloyd George.

merely individual. That Spirit has been very close to us on those perfect sun-filled days of 29 to 30 September. Bless God and you for them. Ever yours,

J. C. Smuts

785 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 318

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
5 October, 1917

Dierbaarste Mamma, Morgen vertrekt weer een mail en nu voor breakfast schrijf ik jou een paar regels daar al mijn tijd nu zeer in beslag genomen is. Heden namiddag komt Margaret Gillett van Oxford om mij daarheen te nemen, maar ik heb te veel werk en ik zal haar maar met leege hand terug zenden zoodat ik van avond en morgen meer van mijn werk en correspondentie kan afdoen. Het is voor mij echter een groote ontspanning Zaterdags of Zondags weg te komen uit Londen naar Oxford of Cambridge en in de open lucht herstel voor gemoed en zenuwen te krijgen. Hier in Londen is er min tijd en minder gelegenheid tot oefening en jij weet hoe noodzakelijk ze voor mij is. Laatste Zaterdag en Zondag kwam Alice Clark van Street bij mij doorbrengen en wij hebben de namiddag gaan wandelen in heerlijke zonneshijn in de Richmond Park en op Epsom Downs. Zij is 43, een lief en schoon karakter—wat Goethe noemt *eine Schöne Seele*. Haar gezelschap was mij zeer veel werd. Maar ach, op die dagen brandt mijn hart van een onuitsprekelijk verlangen naar mijn liefste, mijn eenige met wie ik één ben in ziel en lichaam. En nu lijkt het alsof ik nog langer hier zal blijven. De gezondheid van Genl. Botha schijnt zooveel beter dat het niet meer noodig is voor mij de parlamentszitting bij te wonen, en hier is er de grootste aanvraag voor mijne diensten. Het is wonderlijk hoe de beste elementen in het Engelsche volk meer en meer op my leunen en naar mij zien voor raad en hulp. En van Amerika hooren wij gedurig dat mijne diensten daar zeer dringend noodig zijn en de regeering daar vraagt gedurig dat ik moet overkomen. Genl. Botha en het Cabinet hebben nu toegestemd dat ik maar hier kan blijven, en het lijkt mij baing of ik hier ben tot het einde van den oorlog. Dit is zwaar op mij, dit is veel zwaarder

op jou, mijn harteliefste, maar wij zijn beide op de actieve dienst den menschheid en wij zullen onze harten maar sterk maken om al deze verwijdering door te zien tot het einde toe. De wereld verkeert in bittere lijding en smart, de menschheid smacht naar verlossing uit al dit bittere wee, en laten wij ons maar gewillig opofferen en het onze bijdragen tot beëindiging van al deze ellende. Ik was zoo blij een paragraaf van waardeering te zien in een van de couranten alhier van al jou zelfopofferende werk te Roberts Heights en elders. Ik weet jij werk zeer hard en offert veel op en vertrouw alleen, Mamma, dat jij niet jou lieve gezondheid zal benadelen. Ik weet wanneer eendag alles over en voorbij is wij geruster en tevredener zullen voelen in het bewustzijn dat wij ons niet onttrokken hebben, dat wij ook ons last gedragen hebben, 'al weenende' zooals het vers zegt, en dat wij de zoete vrucht des vredes en de hereeniging dus te heviger zullen genieten.

De laatste mail bracht heerlijke brieven van jou en steeds onafgebroken goed nieuws. Dit is wat mijn hart nog laat lekker voelen, dat alles bij jullie wel gaat en dat allen voorspoedig en gelukkig zijn. Moge dit zoo voortduren tot het einde en ik alles in welstand en welvarend vinden. Mamma, laat de kinderen met jou in een groep afgenomen worden en zend het mij, daar ik zeer verlangend ben dit in mijn slaapkamer op te zetten als een gedurige herinnering aan al wat schoon en heilig en onuitsprekelijk lief en zoet is in mijn leven.

Gister heb ik een toespraak over de militaire situatie en vooral de lucht oorlog gehouden die veel aandacht trekt en *verbatim* over de geheele wereld gekabeld is. Roderick Jones zegt hij herinnert zich niet een ander toespraak in den oorlog die zulk een onderscheiding is te beurt gevallen. Jij is zeker nu bezig dit in Zuid-Afrika te lezen. Mijn standbeeld wordt nu gemaakt door Tweed (een bust en uitstekend goed). Het gaat naar Z. Afrika. Tweed is de auteur van de van Riebeek onder op het einde van Adderley Straat, van de frescoes te Groote Schuur en veel ander fameuse werk. Hij zegt hij wil iets goeds van mij maken, en het lijkt zeer goed. De portret door Nicholson is ook goed en gaat naar de Johburg Art Gallery, een copie ervan gaat naar Cambridge University. Jij moet nu niet te grootsch worden op jou ou boertje en gedenk dat grootheid komt tot een val. Maar terwille van Mamma en

de kinders en ons lief en stout ou volk ben ik blij over de onderscheding mij te beurt gevallen. Met duizend zoenjtes druk ik jou en de kleinen aan mijn smachtend hart.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
5 October 1917

Dearest Mamma, Another mail leaves tomorrow and now, before breakfast, I write you a few lines as all my time is now very much taken up. This afternoon Margaret Gillett is coming from Oxford to take me there, but I have too much work and I shall send her back empty-handed so that I can dispose of more of my work and correspondence this evening and tomorrow. But it is a great relaxation for me to get away from London to Oxford or Cambridge on Saturdays and Sundays and find recovery for mind and nerves in the open air. Here in London there is little time and less opportunity for exercise and you know how necessary it is for me. Alice Clark came from Street to spend last Saturday and Sunday with me and we went walking in the afternoons in lovely sunshine in Richmond Park and on Epsom Downs. She is 43, of a dear and beautiful character—what Goethe calls *eine Schöne Seele*.¹ Her company meant much to me. But oh, on such days my heart burns with inexpressible longing for my dearest, my only one, with whom I am one in soul and body. And now it seems as if I shall stay here still longer. General Botha's health seems so much better that it is no longer necessary for me to attend the parliamentary Session, and there is the greatest demand for my services here. It is remarkable how the best elements among the English people lean on me more and more and look to me for advice and help. And we hear continually from America that my services are very urgently needed there, and the Government there is continually asking me to come over. General Botha and the Cabinet have now agreed that I may stay here, and it looks to me very much as if I shall be here until the end of the war. This is hard on me; it is much harder on you, my dearest heart, but we are

¹ A beautiful soul.

both on active service for humanity and we shall strengthen our hearts to see all this separation through to the end. The world is in a state of bitter suffering and pain, mankind thirsts for release from all this bitter grief, so let us sacrifice ourselves willingly and contribute our share towards the ending of all this misery. I was so glad to see in one of the papers here a paragraph of appreciation of all your self-sacrificing work at Roberts Heights¹ and elsewhere. I know you work very hard and give up much and only trust, Mamma, that you will not damage your dear health. I know that when one day everything is over and past, we shall feel easier and more content in the knowledge that we have not stood aside, that we also have carried our burden, 'while weeping' as the verse says, and that we shall therefore enjoy all the more intensely the sweet fruits of peace and reunion.

The last mail brought lovely letters from you and continuing good news. That is what still comforts my heart—that all goes well with you and that all are prospering and happy. May it continue so to the end and may I find everything thriving and in good condition. Mamma, have the children photographed with you in a group and send it to me, as I very much want to have it in my bedroom as a constant remembrance of all that is beautiful and sacred and inexpressibly dear and sweet in my life.

Yesterday I made a speech about the military situation, and particularly the air war, which is attracting much attention and has been cabled verbatim throughout the world. Roderick Jones says he does not remember any other speech during the war which has gained such a distinction. You are probably busy reading it now in South Africa. A sculpture of me is now being made by Tweed [J.] (a bust and excellent). It is going to South Africa. Tweed is the author of the van Riebeeck at the bottom of Adderley Street,² of the frescoes at Groote Schuur³ and much other famous work. He says he wants to make something good of me, and it looks very good. The portrait by Nicholson is also good and goes to the Johannes-

¹ A military training centre in the Transvaal.

² A statue of Jan van Riebeeck, founder of the settlement at the Cape, at the sea end of the principal street in Cape Town.

³ Sculptured bronze friezes decorating the front façade of the house.

burg Art Gallery; a copy of it goes to Cambridge University. Now, you must not become too proud of your little Boer and remember that pride goes before a fall. But for Mamma's sake and the children's and the sake of our dear and naughty little people, I am glad of the distinction that has fallen to me. With a thousand kisses I press you and the little ones to my longing heart.

Pappa

786 From Lord Buxton

Vol. 15, no. 109

Pretoria

Secret

5 October 1917

My dear Smuts, I should like you to know exactly why I sent you that rather alarming telegram on 16 September, which I feared, indeed knew, would greatly disturb and perplex you. For this I was very sorry, and especially that you should be worried in the middle of all the splendid work you are doing either *on* a Committee or *as* a Committee!

But after grave consideration I thought it my duty to send you the telegram.

The best thing I can do, I think, is to enclose a copy of a memorandum I made at the time, strictly and solely for my own satisfaction and subsequent recollection; and which will show you the genesis of the affair.

My further telegrams explained shortly the subsequent developments. I did not see Botha again till Sunday the 30th. I enclose the Note I also made at the time; and my telegrams of 30 September and 4 October explain the rest.

I have never seen such a wonderful change for the better in anyone in so short a time; and I am glad to say that Botha has, in spite of the heavy physical and mental strain involved in attending the South African Party Conference for three days, continued to improve.

Apart from Wolmarans,¹ Wool² and Conference, he is also relieved in his mind that a definite decision has been arrived

¹ See notes to enclosures.

² An agreement between the British and the Union Governments for the purchase of the wool clip at a fixed price was strongly criticized by the Nationalists as a subordination of the farmers' interests to those of the Empire.

at in regard to your remaining in England. He was a good deal worried as to what was best; and he is very glad now that it is definitely settled that you should remain as he immensely appreciates all you are doing there.

Mrs Botha was delighted and relieved at his improvement; I hope and think that the improvement will be maintained, but of course he is *not by any means well* and will have to be careful. He will remain on the farm at present and only come up occasionally. Her Excellency and I are going to stay with him at the beginning of November—which we shall much enjoy.

The sudden death of his brother¹ was rather a shock to him.

After it had been decided to send you the telegram of Cabinet of 2 (or 3) October agreeing to your remaining in England, I thought it well to tell Botha that I had telegraphed to you at the time I was anxious about his health. I did not show him the telegram itself.

I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs Smuts the other day. She came to an 'At Home' of Her Excellency's. She has been doing wonderful work at Roberts Heights.

I like very much your recent courageous and optimistic speeches.

Many thanks for sending me the little volume of the earlier speeches which I shall much value. I thought them perfectly admirable. Yours very sincerely,

Buxton

'Secret' letters and memorandums like these are *always* typed for me by my daughter.

ENCLOSURES

Memorandum by Lord Buxton.

Pretoria

14 September 1917

After the rising of Parliament on [3 July] I made a tour of the Transkei after which I went to Durban. I then went on a visit to the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

On my way from Durban to Bechuanaland I spent two days (20 and 21 August) at Pretoria in order to see Botha and other Ministers (especially Van Heerden about wool) to hold an Executive and transact other business.

¹ Gerrit Renier Botha.

I had not seen Botha since the rising of Parliament (though I had had correspondence with him). He had been for a short time at Maritzburg, but chiefly on the farm. He seemed a good deal better in health and a better colour. The wet and cold weather had been much against him.

His leg however was still somewhat swelled and hurt him, and the worst of it was that it prevented him getting any exercise.

However he said he felt much better and a good deal rested; and that he intended to go to Warmbaths to see if it would do his rheumatism good—though as I found on interrogation, without any consultation with a Doctor, which I told him I thought rather rash!

However, on the whole, he seemed better, and after Hugh Smith's examination and report at Cape Town—that there was nothing organically wrong, and that the symptoms were probably due to worry and overwork which a good rest would almost certainly cure—I did not feel anxious about him.

I returned from Bechuanaland on 9 September.

On the 14th Botha, who had come from his farm the previous evening, came to see me.

He looked very unwell and was worried and depressed; and his general condition perturbed me greatly.

His leg was greatly swelled, puffy, stiff and painful. Apart also from his bodily health he was much worried—

1. About the wool question—the proposed purchase by the Imperial Government of the South African clip—which has been greatly mishandled by Van Heerden, and of which the Nationalists have made much successful capital among the farmers.
2. By letters from Abe Bailey and others of a gloomy character as regards the outlook. They ought to be shot for writing such letters—pure pessimism without suggestions—to him just now.
3. By an action just about to come on brought by him against Senator Wolmarans¹ (Nationalist) for publishing libels about

¹ A. D. W. Wolmarans's alleged libels were that Botha had falsified the map of the north-western border in order to prove that the Germans had first violated Union territory; that he had boasted of killing rebels; that he had been connected with corruption when a member of the Volksraad of the South African Republic.

Botha's action when the War broke out—the stock in trade of the Nationalists. They are proposing to bring up many witnesses from Hertzog downwards, and to rake up all the past.

Botha said he thought the visit to Warmbaths had done him good; but that he had to leave the place after a fortnight because the people pestered him so; they came into the place in dozens to see him and talk to him, and actually sat outside the bath waiting for him to come out! Perfectly intolerable.

After leaving Warmbaths he had seen a doctor whom he did not know before, but who had been recommended to him by a friend, a Dr Knight of Pinetown.

This doctor's diagnosis is that Botha is suffering from heart (a diagnosis confirmed I fear by various previous symptoms, but contrary to Hugh Smith's diagnosis) and he fears moreover that there are dropsical tendencies.

He takes a serious view of the case; and says that Botha must take great care and carry out a proper and regular treatment, otherwise he may not last more than four or five years. On the other hand if he is careful he may get over it more or less.

This diagnosis naturally had greatly disturbed Botha, and he had become nervous about himself—for this I am not sorry, as he will perhaps be more likely to look after himself.

I very strongly pressed on him the absolute necessity of a consultation with another doctor. He said he would like to try Knight's treatment (which seems a sensible one) first; but that as Knight was going away to East Africa, he would have to see someone else before then, who could continue to attend to him.

It was evident to me that it would be an immense relief to Botha if Smuts did come back; but he realizes how very useful Smuts is in Europe, and does not like to suggest his coming back.

Mrs Botha and Mrs de Waal (their daughter) came to dinner that evening to meet the Drummond Chaplins who were staying with us. Botha had accepted, but I said (evidently to his great relief, he was feeling so seedy and worried), that he was not to come.

I talked over his condition with Mrs Botha and Mrs de Waal. They are both very anxious about him.

He has evidently been in a bad state of health and spirits (and his spirits greatly affect his health) for some time past, and they both think his heart is affected. Mrs Botha, who up till now has always been on the side of his sticking to his post however dark the clouds, told me she thought he ought to retire, or he would break down.

They both much wish that Smuts would come back, as it would be such a relief to Botha, mentally and bodily. He often, Mrs Botha told me, said 'I wish Jannie were here'.

The following morning I asked de Wet, whom I consulted as to Smuts's return at the end of the Session, to come and see me. I wanted to consult him as to whether I should not myself let Smuts know the position, both as regards Botha's health and the possibilities it involved; and the unsatisfactory political outlook.

De Wet said he also was anxious about Botha's health; doubted if he would be able to go on much longer if he did not get better; and that in his opinion he could not face another Session unless his health recovered.

He thought on the whole it would be a good thing if Smuts came back; and that in any case it would be an advantage if I let Smuts know the position. He had not communicated with him since the end of the Session.

Subsequently Botha came to see me, first with van Heerden about wool, and afterwards alone.

He was less depressed and was feeling better, but was evidently very unwell.

I again pressed the question of a consultation and he said he had made up his mind (I know Mrs Botha had urged it also) to have a consultation when he returned from the farm, to which he was going in a few days.

He admitted that he felt very seedy, and hinted that he might not be able to go on.

After very careful consideration I came to the conclusion that I would take the responsibility of telegraphing to Smuts.

The following reasons weighed with me:—

(A) That Smuts's return would, I was quite certain, greatly

relieve Botha in mind and body—and any heart trouble is much affected by the mind and by worry. Further it would actually relieve him of much work and responsibility.

(B) That unless his health improved, I doubt if he can go on much longer—and certainly not if he gets worse; and as de Wet said, unless he greatly improves in health, he could hardly face another session if he had again to take a labouring oar.

(C) This would mean, and probably at short notice and unexpectedly, a reconstruction of the Government; either a continuation as a 'Dutch' Government, or a coalition with the Unionists. In either case it is quite clear that Smuts's presence here would be essential.

(D) The Government have, for various reasons, lost ground lately not only among the Dutch section, but among the British section as well. The Nationalists have been very active, and the wool question and other matters have played into their hands. The British section (or some of it) are somewhat dissatisfied with the inefficiency of administration and the weakness of the Government. Moreover there is an agitation getting up to press coalition (in my opinion this would be a great mistake just now under Botha).

I was clear in my mind therefore that from the South African point of view (and therefore to that extent from the Empire point of view) it was essential that Smuts should return.

I was however in this great difficulty. I knew full well what invaluable assistance Smuts had given, and was giving to the War Cabinet etc.; and that his views would carry great weight in any discussion of peace terms.

It was impossible therefore for me to be sure whether I was properly balancing the one essential with the other, and how far the help Smuts was giving in Europe did, or should, outweigh the obvious advantage of his presence here.

It was therefore with some misgivings that I sent my telegram to Smuts on 16 September; but I felt that he ought to know the position as it struck me.

Memorandum by Lord Buxton.

Pretoria
30 September 1917

Botha who arrived last night came to see me this morning, and we had a long talk.

He looked very distinctly better in colour and face; his leg was far less swelled and pitted, and scarcely pained him at all, and he had been walking about a little at the farm, though I think he's rather overdone this.

He was in much better spirits in every way, both as regards his own health and affairs generally (especially with the Wolmarans case so satisfactorily settled).¹ He said he had been sleeping well, and that his breath was much less short than it had been, and that he did not feel his heart.

He was altogether quite a different person to last week.

He had not seen his doctor as he had expected to do at Potchefstroom, for Mr Knight had already left for East Africa.

He said he proposed to have a consultation with a doctor in a day or two, when he had decided whom to call in.

I was able therefore to telegraph a much more satisfactory account to Smuts.

787 From Lord Buxton

Vol. 15, no. 109 A

Telegram

Government House
Pretoria

From: Lord Buxton

To: General Smuts

Dated 12 October [1917]

Very Secret. I am sure that the decision you finally came to will be right, for it is impossible to estimate all the circumstances over here.

But my own view (though I really am not entitled to express it) coincides with Botha's, and is against your going into the House of Commons and thus definitely joining the British Government.

¹ Wolmarans had instituted a claim in reconvention, alleging that Botha had accused him of cowardice. During the hearing of the case both parties withdrew all libels and costs were awarded to Botha.

788 To D. Lloyd George

Vol. 100, no. 77

The document in the Smuts Collection is a draft in Smuts's handwriting.

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
28 October 1917

My dear Prime Minister, I regret that my going to South Wales¹ tomorrow will prevent me from attending the War Cabinet and raising the question of the situation in Italy.² I therefore write you this brief note to put my views before you in the earnest hope that you will yourself raise the matter tomorrow.

The extent of the Italian disaster is not quite clear to me from the telegrams which I have seen but must in any case be great and may yet assume dimensions which may well frighten the Italians out of the war, with very far-reaching results for the whole Allied cause. We have not appreciated the danger in time and it is clear now that [L.] Cadorna's fears were justified and that our General Staff was not properly informed about the troop movements from the Russian to the Italian front. But late as it is, I think we should do our duty and not let the Italians entertain the despairing feeling that they are left alone to bear the onslaught of both the Austrian and German armies. The Italians will hold on more firmly if they are assured in time that we stand by them, not only on the Western, but also on the Italian front. I suggest that we declare at once to the Italian Government our readiness to send four or five divisions (if they are required) with a great proportion of heavy artillery to their assistance as fast as the movement can be effected, and that if our offer is accepted, the French Government be asked not to press for our taking over any of their front line while these divisions are in Italy. The French might prefer to join in our Italian undertaking but in view of the continual friction between French and Italians I consider it important that the reinforcements should be under British command.

The transportation arrangements should be pushed with the

¹ The purpose of this visit was to investigate a strike among the coal miners.

² Between 23 and 27 October 1917 the Italians were routed at Caporetto and Tolmino, their northern line collapsed and they retreated to the Piave River.

greatest energy so as to bring our reinforcements to Italy before the disaster has become too great. We must not add Italy to our Serbian¹ and Roumanian disasters.

I hope to be back in Cabinet on Tuesday morning.

789 Report of South Wales visit

Box H, no. 15

The text of three speeches made by Smuts during his visit to South Wales are in the Smuts Collection (Box H, nos. 13, 14, 15). In all these speeches he declared that the war was being fought to safeguard individual freedom and self-government, which were the basis of the British Empire but did not exist in Germany. He said that Germany would be beaten, and that peace must be followed by disarmament and the establishment of small nations. At an overflow meeting at Tonypany he thanked the audience for the hymns they had sung and said that he had found 'a beautiful spirit' in Wales.

REPORT ON GENERAL SMUTS'S VISIT TO SOUTH WALES

[29 October 1917]

In every respect the visit was a success. The General himself described his motor-car journey to Tonypany from Penygraig as one of the greatest demonstrations that he had ever seen in his life. His reception in Cardiff and in Tonypany was marked by very pronounced enthusiasm, and at no moment of his speech was there any hostility manifested, although his Tonypany audiences consisted to some extent of pacifists, syndicalists and other opponents of the Government. Their presence was manifested by whistling instead of cheering, when he entered the Empire Pavilion, but, as soon as he had started his address, friendliness was the only symptom to be identified in the reception of his words.

Disorder had been expected and had characterized several other meetings in the mining area. Even at Tonypany there was loud opposition to portions of the speech by Mr William Brace, who followed General Smuts.

The cordiality shown throughout to the General must be attributed in large measure to the natural effects of his personality, but it was enhanced by the work done before the

¹ Belgrade had fallen to the German-Austrian forces on 7 October 1915.

meeting in calling the attention of the Welsh people to the distinguished record of their visitor.

About 250,000 reprints of General Smuts's speeches had been distributed. His portrait was placarded in a very large number of shops, chiefly tea-shops, drapers and bootmakers. Articles dealing with his achievements and character appeared in seven journals, illustrated, in some cases, by blocks supplied from London. The editors of the Cardiff dailies published editorials and other references to the visit, and locally the Tonypany meeting was advertised on the hoardings.

As regards the prevalent disaffection, there are two policies recommended by public men in the district. One is that the ring-leaders should be arrested. The other is that the Government should leave the trouble to be dealt with by the well-affected miners themselves, the majority being trusted to keep the minority in check. In any case, a third policy has much to be said for it; that steps should be taken in London to acquaint the inhabitants of the mining valleys more systematically with the position of affairs on the various fronts, with the policy of the Allied Governments, and the bad faith of German peaceschemes.

One shop in Tonypany placarded quotations from the Press relating to the Italian temporary reverse, the visit of General Smuts and the 'down tools' project. This window was surrounded, when I passed, with an interested crowd. I suggest that arrangements should be made from London for these placards to be put up in every town of any size—somewhat on the lines adopted by Selfridge's establishment in Oxford Street. It might be well, however, to ask editors of local papers, in the first instance, whether they would suffer by this competition in the supply of news. I think that their circulation would be so triflingly affected, if at all, that they would feel no resentment.

Mr T. Richards, M.P., requested me to ask that, when literature was sent to Wales, he should be given a quantity for distribution. He is the secretary of the South Wales Miners Federation, the offices of which are at 31, Ninian Street, Cardiff. His attitude to the 'down tools' issue is entirely satisfactory, and he is more to be relied upon than the President of the Federation, Mr J. Winstone.

s. R. Wherry Anderson

790 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 350

London

30 October 1917

. . . Cardiff and Rhondda Valley passed off very well; huge demonstrations all the way which surprised most of all the local leaders who should have known better. Result, very little voice left, but good spirits in plenty. . . .

791 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 19

Savoy Hotel

[London]

3 November 1917

Your dear letter has just come to hand. The great moments of life come when Personality blends with the Whole, the small whole with the great whole, with a sense of healing and pacifying and blessedness which is too great for words. That is the higher Mysticism, the mountain tops far up above the level plains, to which we sometimes ascend. You will find it, I believe, in my MS.¹

I am just now off to Italy² instead of 102. Margaret and Hilda have remained over for the night and are leaving about noon for 102. Hilda's plans are as usual still nebulous. I shall be away for ten days or a fortnight and no letters will reach me. But you can jot down some of your mystic thoughts and send or bring them to me when I return.

Good-bye, my child. Good be with you till we meet again.
Ever yours,

Jan

792 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 16, no. 227

1 St Dunstan's Road

Barons Court, W.6

13 November 1917

Dear Oom, I am now back from Cornwall and see that your Italian trip is over, so I write to tell you that the above is my

¹ Alice Clark was reading the MS. of *Inquiry into the Whole*, which she refers to as 'Considerations on the Whole'. (See 793 and 794.)

² To attend the Rapallo Conference between leading members of the British, French and Italian Governments.

new and permanent address. I am *close* to the Barons Court Station, and a whole mile nearer to Charing Cross.

What did you think of my beloved Italy? Did you go on to Rome?

You see, the Invasion I have for six months warned you of has come true. Step by step I saw and watched it preparing. From your military point of view you would have been wise had you taken steps to prevent it before 'too late'.

As to your defence of London by this infernal Barrage¹ I do trust you will stop it, as it is a remedy worse than the disease. We have lived under showers of this odious shrapnel (purely home-made) and it is costly in life and property. A woman close to me was killed in bed thereby! The German bombs will be fewer and more local, and if you must shoot at them pray do so *only* as they cross the coast line, so that this mischievous shrapnel (which all criticize) may fall only into the sea.

I have insured my house, as all do, but people can't replace limbs and lives.

The Italian soldiers have shown the world a 'more excellent way'. Yours,

E. Hobhouse

793 From A. Clark

Vol. 99, no. 101

Mill Field
Street, Somerset
14 Nov. 1917

My dear Oom Jannie, I am not feeling at all reconciled to the idea of waiting so long before I see you, and this Agricultural Meeting seems a great sacrifice to lay on the Altar of Patriotism.

There is so much I want to hear from you and so much to talk of to you. I hope you will get a very nice visit to Oxford this week-end. And don't get another cold before Sunday week. We must have a whole day's tramp this time.

Your 'Considerations on the Whole' have been a great delight to me. Perhaps this has been increased by the fact that they were written a good while ago, because thus they illu-

¹ As Chairman of various Air Committees of the War Cabinet Smuts was concerned in the defence of London against air raids.

minate your mind the better, when I compare them with our conversations. Expression is never quite complete and never purely personal. In conversation there is always a mixture of the person to whom one is talking. One never does express anything the same way to two different people. And so there is always a special interest in a conversation one overhears by accident—sometimes one finds there a curious sense of revealed personality. It isn't quite that which I feel now; perhaps it is my historic sense which has been gratified.

The argument seems a little fantastic, as argument always does about things which really exist. One can't explain the existence of a dog in any convincing way; but you explain yourself the essential absurdity of argument.

A real difficulty in the 'Considerations' seems to me your double use of the word *Whole*. The term is only useful where it signifies everything in time and space, subjective and objective. When you speak of 'lesser wholes', it is a contradiction in terms, and you confuse the relation of these parts to each other and to the whole and prepare the way for various pernicious heresies. I don't suggest that this confusion exists in your mind, but when you employ this expression 'lesser whole' it begins to confuse my mind. I should like to keep the term *Whole* for the whole, on the old notion that thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, and for the organism which partakes of the nature of the whole another name must be found.

To speak of Personality as a lesser whole suggests a self-containedness, a tightness which should not characterize it. For not only does Personality seek the whole inwardly, but also extensively. Personality cannot truly exist only in an ecstasy of mystical union with the whole. That is more possible of satisfaction than its other craving for union with all the outward manifestation of the whole. Through its outer shell of physical form and mental habit the soul is ever pushing its sensitive feelers, touching the souls which are its neighbours, identifying itself with them with an inexhaustible passion for unity and wholeness. This is the foundation of organic society of which the family has been the most developed type. But the highly developed Soul is not satisfied with the family, it feels some measure of unity with humanity, with the animals,

even with flowers and the inorganic universe. Sometimes, as the soul withdraws from the passion and excitement of its human intercourse, it may find in the wide spaces and slow movement of nature a tranquillity and peace which seem to it the more essential character of the whole.

This external holization should be given a chapter to itself if you want to give the true balance of the activity of the Whole. Truth, Freedom, Purity, should be completed by Love. Love is hardly a bond; it is rather a channel through which we attain true unity. Discipline, Duty, Fear may bind individuals together into a company, creating efficiency in the pursuit of a common purpose. But there is nothing vital in such an association. Love creates an organic whole. Love breaks down the walls of partition between us.

I am not sure that we can, properly speaking, love the Whole; there is no choice for us there because whether we realize our unity with the Whole or not, the unity remains unimpaired. Our sins and our virtues are equally part of the whole and cannot separate us from it. But we have a choice in our relations to the other outward manifestations of the Whole. We can occupy ourselves with our own development, making use of God's other creatures for that end, or we can merge our life in theirs. Love is the only power that can save us from egoism. Good-bye, dear friend. Take care of yourself.
Yours ever,

A.C.

How gladly one thinks of Love in these dark days. Hate destroys itself. Love is the creator.

794 From A. Clark

Vol. 99, no. 102

This undated letter was probably written immediately after 793.

Mill Field
Street, Somerset
Sunday evening

My dearest Oom Jannie, The family have all gone to bed and I am just staying to write a few lines to you and wishing that

we could be talking instead. I feel very rich when I get a letter from you.

The 'Considerations' were very illuminating to me. I particularly enjoyed the way in which you put abstractions in their proper place. You have a very womanly point of view; what higher praise can I give you?

Of course it is impossible ever to explain perfectly the relation of the part to the Whole, because the part can't comprehend the Whole. The most we can do is to realize that there is the whole and to maintain our sense of unity at a vital level. To feel the force and life of the whole pulsing through us.

But though we can't completely know the relation of the part to the whole it seems to me that the truthfulness of such partial understanding as is permitted to us is of great practical importance.

Does the Whole exist for the Part, or the Part exist for the Whole? I don't think either statement is true. I suppose the latter is the foundation of the Ascetic Ideal and the former is the basis of the religion of the majority of mankind. Not of yours, I think.

Life is a better word to use than the *Whole* when one is speaking of the parts—but it has the disadvantage that we don't naturally use it in connection with rocks and what is commonly called inert matter. Then too it is accepted as the opposite of death, and if we use it in the sense of life universal, death is merely a process in its transformation with birth as its antithesis. When words are all divested of accustomed vague contents and used as strictly defined, limited, scientific terms, their synthetic, imaginative power is lost and the argument drops to abstractions.

I hope to arrive on Friday afternoon either at Waterloo 2.20 or Paddington 4.15. If I get up by the earlier train I shall be able to amuse myself till tea-time and after tea you may like to go for a walk, or if you are busy I can find means of amusing myself.

Unless you are really tied to town, I think it might be a good plan to go to Oxford for Saturday night. But we need not decide that yet. My love to you.

A.C.

795 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 21

Savoy Hotel
[London]

17 November 1917

Your last, long, beautiful letter was welcome indeed. I much appreciate your loving criticism of Holism and most of your remarks are just and to the point. In the chapter on Personality there is too much individualism, and throughout the real problem of whole and part (not merely the nomenclature which you criticize) is very inadequately dealt with. *That* I have from the beginning felt as the real flaw in the book, and that is largely the reason why the bantling has been as good as bandoned by its ungrateful parent. But there is something in the book, and there is much more in the idea. And perhaps some day beyond these noises I shall return to the theme. Perhaps.

I shall not go to Oxford this week-end, as I have had Margaret and Arthur here for a couple of days. And you will be missed indeed. But I console myself with the prospect of having you here next week, when the full moon will be in greater splendour than even on the last two or three occasions. I am in splendid form and shall enjoy our walks and talks and silences of content and satisfaction to the full. Let it be a full week-end and come on Friday afternoon or evening. Margaret wants us to come there for Sunday. But I am doubtful about that part of the plan, as I prefer during the full moon to be in London—for duty¹ no less than for pleasure. We have had the most splendid weather recently and it is just possible that next week-end may be rainy. But even so we can occupy our time usefully even if the long walks are ruled out.

There is a great deal of political talk, but I listen to it with an almost amused unconcern. It is curious how human we all are and how we turn lovingly to our littlenesses and pettinesses in times of the most tremendous and fateful crisis. In such a world one does feel isolated indeed. All the more fervently therefore I pray for the full moon to bring you. Ever yours,

J.C.S.

¹ To watch the air raids which usually took place at full moon.

796 From J. Tweed

Vol. 18, no. 371

8 The Avenue Studios
76 Fulham Road, S.W.
18 November 1917

My dear General, Just a line not to bother you with letters. I do want you to know how much I value your kind gift of *The Golden Bough* with your beautiful inscription; your kindness and sympathy have touched me deeply and given me courage to go on.

I never told you I had a message the other day from Rodin. I sent him a snapshot photo of your bust; he liked it. I had hoped to see him in life again, now he is gone. He was to me a great friend as well as great artist. I have arranged to have a service at St Margaret's, Westminster to his memory.

Tomorrow I come to you and can tell you more; excuse this hurried note. Yours sincerely,

John Tweed

797 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 356

London
[5] December 1917

. . . Thanks for what you write. I feel you and Arthur near me in my doubts and perplexities, and the children's blessings¹ go a long way. The world is very dark. But it is conceivable that in this darkness a simplification of our whole problem is being effected. . . . Ever yours,

J.C.S.

I saw Wolstenholme yesterday—very bad and scarcely able to speak.

798 To G. G. A. Murray

Vol. 18, no. 330

Savoy Hotel
London
7 December 1917

Dear Professor Murray, Arthur Gillett brought me the most acceptable gift of your *Way Forward* which I value greatly, not

¹ The Gillett children were taught prayers in the form of asking blessings on their friends. (Note by M. C. Gillett.)

only because it comes from you, but because it carries out the ideas which we discussed at our first meeting. Unless there is some great ideal uplift to carry us through this ordeal, the people may find the burden and the darkness too heavy to endure. And your letters do raise the issue to its proper high level. I have found the people very sound wherever I have gone, but everywhere hungering for the truth which they feel is not being told them, everywhere filled with heart-searchings and misgivings. In this atmosphere great seed could be sown by the spiritual and intellectual leaders and I am glad you point the way so well.

I sometimes see your daughter Agnes, who is a truly noble, high-spirited girl, doing her duty in a way which deeply appeals to me. Yours very sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

799 From E. W. Hobson

Vol. 16, no. 243A

Telegram

From: E. W. Hobson, Cambridge

To: General Smuts, Savoy Hotel, London

Dated 10 December 1917

Wolstenholme died in sleep in night.

800 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 16, no. 228

1 St Dunstan's Road
Hammersmith, W.6

11 December 1917

Dear Angel that openeth Prison Doors, I fled to Stephen's mother¹ with that news which she had but just heard and with the sudden relaxation of the great strain was shaken to her foundations. She looked twenty years older than when I saw her two months ago. Poor Maggie! She had seen Stephen last week and felt that either his mind or his body must give way. She was fully alive to the danger of his refusal to come out *unless* others came too, and both she and I wrote to Rosa, the little wife, who was staying close to the gaol at Exeter as her mere proximity was a source of comfort. I have offered them my

¹ See 770.

house at Bude to honeymoon in and rest, as beautiful Hadspen is perhaps unsuitable in his weak state because of his father's presence there. So, though I have not heard of his actually being *out*, rest assured everything has been done to urge him to do so.

As my duties call me to Bude I am leaving on Monday and may as well take this opportunity of wishing you—shall I say a South African New Year? I imagine that would be the happiest.

E.H.

I am leaving *Common Sense* with some of the views on the Lansdowne letter. See also *Nation*.

801 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 18, no. 357

London

12 December 1917

Dear old Wolstenholme passed away peacefully Sunday night in his sleep. God bless him. He was a true friend to me but very trying to other people. I learnt much from him. But considering his great intellectual power, his life was essentially wasted. A don is a risky business.

I have been very hard at work since Sunday night. Very hard indeed. My movements depend on a telegram which has not yet arrived and which I pray may not arrive soon, as I have so much to do. . . .

802 From P. H. Kerr

Vol. 17, no. 77

10 Downing Street

Whitehall, S.W.

14 December 1917

My dear General, With reference to your paper on Peace Conversations, there is one point I think you ought to alter. It is absolutely fatal to suggest that the German colonies must be retained because they are essential to British communications. The U.S.A. won't look at that for a moment, for this argument leads us at once to the proposition that every coaling station and port in the world must belong to us for the same

reason. Personally I am against handing back the colonies, but I am of this opinion because I am sure it is contrary to the best interest both of the inhabitants and of the world that they should be given back to a nation inspired by Prussian ideals, and because I think it is better in every way that they should be attached to a neighbouring free power, e.g. German South West Africa to South Africa, or to a power which has a great colonial experience, e.g., Britain or France, or be internationalized. I believe this argument will prevail, where the purely British argument would not. Yours sincerely,

P. H. Kerr

P.S. I should like to talk to you some time about the larger question.

803 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 18, no. 332

Savoy Hotel

London, W.C.2

15 December 1917

Liefste Mamma, Het is nu 4 uur in den ochtend en daar ik niet slapen kan ben ik opgestaan om met jou te gezelsen. Ik ben wakker geworden wegens een geraas in de straat en ik zal voor een uur omtrent niet slapen. En wat beter dan een paar minuten met mijn liefste doorbrengen, al is het op papier! Ach mamma, ik heb de liefste en heerlijkste brieven in de laatste tijd van jou ontvangen; welk man heeft ooit zulke brieven van zijne vrouw ontvangen. En mijn hart overvloedt van liefde en tederheid wanneer ik die lange lieve brieven lees. Ik zie dat alles op de plaats zeer wel gaat, dat de kinderen wel zijn, dat het goed regent, dat jij steeds bezig is met goede werken. Ja, mamma, een indruk die ik krijg is dat jij te hard werkt en te min rust en slaap krijgt. En jij moet jou liefste ou man beloven genoeg slaap en rust te krijgen. Anders zal jij mijn hart breken. De oorlog zal niet meer eeuwig duren, en een deze dagen ziet jij mij terug te Doornkloof, en dan wil ik mijn dierbaarste in den besten welstand aantreffen. Ik pas voor mijzelf zeer goed op, ook terwille van jou, en jij moet hetzelfde doen.

Laatste Zondag is Wolstenholme zacht ontslapen. Hij had een toeval een paar weken tevoren en werd de Maandag namiddag in zijn kamer op den grond gevonden door zijne

zuster en had daar van Zondag nacht reeds in de koude gelegen. Hij kon schaars praten en is nooit weer hersteld. Ik zag hem omtrent 4 of 5 dagen voor zijn dood en nam in den geest afscheid daar ik wist dat ik hem nooit weer zou zien. Zijn 'cremation' vond eergister plaats te Hampstead en zijn zuster en andere vrienden waren daar met mij,—ik sprak een paar woorden ter gedachtenis van onzen ontslapen vriend. Toen ik aan het einde van November een Zondag namiddag bij hem was (na Rapallo) vond ik hem zeer achteruit gegaan. Hij zei dat hij voelde dat het einde niet meer zoover was. Ik was zijn beste vriend geweest en hij verwachtte dat ik nog veel groot werk zou doen, maar hij was blij uit deze kwade wereld te gaan, en niemand voelde den oorlog meer dan hij. Hij sprak veel van jou en de kinderen, en had jullie boeken in een groot parcel, en die zal nu door zijne zuster aangezonden worden. Zijne ziel ruste nu in vrede.

De oorlogstoestand is ver van gunstig maar ook even ver van wanhoop. De val van Rusland beteekent dat wij langer en harder zullen moeten vechten; en de nederlaag van Italië was een groote teleurstelling. De volken worden dood moede en geven een na het ander in. Ik hoop de Turken zullen nu na de val van Jerusalem ingeven; maar het is moeilijk zekerheid te hebben. De Oostenrijkers zijn ook zeer uitgeput. De wereld zal een zucht van tevredenheid slaken wanneer deze bittere slachting voor goed voorbij is. Ik voel soms alsof het einde niet meer ver is en alsof deze winter of de lente het einde zal zien. Maar dit is maar een gevoel en misschien ben ik verkeerd. Zoodra ik hier kan weg komen, zal ik zulks doen, en zeker niet een dag hier blijven wanneer eenmaal de oorlog voorbij is.

Gister avond toen ik van een diner terug kwam vond ik een heerlijke brief van jou, Bourne, Brink, en andere zijn met hetzelfde schip gekomen, maar ik heb hen nog niet gezien. Zij zullen mij zeker veel nieuws kunnen brengen van alles in Transvaal en vooral Pretoria. Ik zal Charlie Brink goed uitvragen over alles. Zoo, dan is mijn inkomsten belasting berekening in order. Ik zal in vervolg al deze netelige bezigheidskwesties maar aan jou overlaten, daar ik vind dat jij een eerste klas hoofd voor bezigheid heeft. Indien mijn overdraft nu afgegaan is tot £4,000 dan heeft jij reeds omtrent £1,000 uit mijn salaris bespaard, want het was £5,000 toen ik in Februari

vertrok. Ik spandeer zoo goed als niets hier uit mijn salaris, daar ik een allowance van de Kaapsche regeering en lozies van de Imperiale regeering ontvang. Neen, laat het huis maar blijven zooals het is; ik had vergeten dat er geen fondamente waren voor een steen gebouw. En met zulk een overdraft moeten wij liever geen groote onkosten maken.

Hedenavond is een diner voor Dingaansdag van de Zuid-Afrikaansche studenten alhier en ik been daarheen uitgenoodigd en zal een genoeglijke avond aldaar doorbrengen. Arthur en Margaret Gillett gaan met mij zamen. Zij is gisteravond overgekomen en hij komt hedennamiddag. Ik heb een vrije-kamer in het hotel en kan dus soms een gast lozeeren. Ach hoe ik wensch dat jij hier was, maar ik zal jou niet in vrije kamer plaatsen!

Ik heb fraaie brieven van Santa, Cato en Sylma ontvangen. Geef mijn hartelijkste dank aan die liefsten. Ik ben zeer trotsch op de kleinspan en hoor van alle kanten hoe fluksch zij zijn. Kan jullie nou vir Jannie aan de muur zooals een schilderij ophangen? Probeer, misschien zal dit gaan.

Geef mijn groeten ook aan Jimmie (van wie ik een langen brief ontving) en Mrs Whyte en [one illegible name]. Met duizend zoentjes van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
15 December 1917

Dearest Mamma, It is now four o'clock in the morning and as I cannot sleep, I have got up to talk to you. I woke because of a noise in the street and I shall not sleep for about an hour. And what better than spending a few minutes with my dearest, even if it is on paper! Ah Mamma, I have had the dearest and most delightful letters from you of late; what man has ever received such letters from his wife. And my heart overflows with love and tenderness when I read these long, dear letters. I see that everything is going very well on the farm, that the children are well, that there are good rains, that you are still busy with good works. Yes, Mamma, I have an impression that you work too hard and get too little rest and sleep. And you must promise your dearest old husband to get enough

sleep and rest. Or you will break my heart. The war will not last for ever, and one of these days you will see me back at Doornkloof, and then I want to find my most precious one in the best health. I take very good care of myself, for your sake too, and you must do the same.

Last Sunday Wolstenholme passed peacefully away. He had a stroke a few weeks before and was found on the Monday afternoon by his sister in his room on the floor, and had lain there in the cold since Sunday night. He could hardly speak and never recovered. I saw him about four or five days before his death and took leave of him in spirit as I knew that I should never see him again. His cremation took place yesterday at Hampstead and his sister and other friends were there with me. I spoke a few words in memory of our dead friend. When I was with him one Sunday afternoon at the end of November (after Rapallo), I found him greatly fallen off in health. He said that he felt the end was no longer far off. I had been his best friend and he expected that I would still do much great work, but he was glad to leave this evil world, and no one felt the war more than he. He talked much of you and the children, and had your books in a big parcel, and this will now be sent on by his sister. May his soul now rest in peace.

The war situation is far from favourable but equally far from despair. The fall of Russia¹ means that we shall have to fight longer and harder; and the defeat of Italy was a great disappointment. The nations are becoming dead tired and are giving in one after the other. I hope the Turks will give in now after the fall of Jerusalem;² but it is difficult to be sure. The Austrians are also very exhausted. The world will heave a sigh of satisfaction when this bitter slaughter is over for good. I sometimes feel as if the end is no longer far and as if this winter or spring will see it come. But this is a feeling and perhaps I am wrong. As soon as I can get away I shall do so, and certainly not stay here a day when once the war is over.

Yesterday evening when I returned from a dinner I found a

¹ Following the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in November 1917, an armistice was concluded between Russia and the Central Powers on 15 December 1917 at Brest-Litovsk.

² It was occupied by Allenby on 9 December 1917.

lovely letter from you. Bourne, Brink and others have come by the same ship, but I have not yet seen them. They will probably be able to bring me much news about everything in the Transvaal and especially Pretoria. I shall make thorough enquiries from Charlie Brink¹ about everything. So my income-tax is in order. I shall in future leave all these thorny business matters to you, as I find that you have a first-class head for business. If my overdraft has now gone down to £4,000 then you have already saved about £1,000 out of my salary, for it was £5,000 when I left in February. I spend almost nothing here out of my salary, as I receive an allowance from the Government in the Cape and lodging from the Imperial Government. No, leave the house as it is; I had forgotten that there were no foundations for a stone building. And with such an overdraft we had better not have big expenses.

This evening there is a Dingaan's Day dinner for the South African students here and I am invited to it and shall spend an enjoyable evening there. Arthur and Margaret Gillett are going with me. She came yesterday evening and he comes this afternoon. I have a spare room in the hotel and so can sometimes lodge a guest. How I wish you were here, but I should not put you in the spare room!

I have received beautiful letters from Santa, Cato and Sylma. Give my best thanks to the darlings. I am very proud of the youngsters and hear on all sides how lively they are. Can you now hang Jannie up on the wall like a picture? Try; perhaps it will work.

Also give my regards to Jimmie (from whom I had a long letter) and Mrs Whyte and [one illegible name]. With a thousand kisses from

Pappa

804 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 26

Savoy Hotel
[London]

16 December 1917

Margaret has been here since Friday night and Arthur since Saturday night. Both have just left. We spent a beautiful

¹ Major C. Brink, a staff officer of the Permanent Force, Union Defence Force.

morning in Richmond Park walking the way you and I have several times walked, and you were never far from my thoughts. Margaret repeated one of the Psalms and 'The Blessed Damosel' from Rossetti and Arthur some 'Daffodil' verses from Wordsworth while I recounted some great doings from Boer history. (This is Dingaan's Day on which the power of the Zulu army was crushed by the heroic band of Boer emigrants in 1838.) Arthur's birthday was also duly kept.

I am leaving on very urgent business tomorrow for France¹ and the date of my return is quite uncertain so that you need not come to fetch me for Christmas. But if I can be back in time you will still see me at Millfield this Christmas and only the gravest difficulty could prevent me from coming.

So good-bye for the present and remember me to all the dear ones who are to me as parents and brothers and sisters. Ever yours,

J.C.S.

Don't write to me in the meantime.

805 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 27

Savoy Hotel
[London]

2 January 1918

Two dear letters from you and I have not written to you since leaving Millfield.² I wish you all that is Good. I pray that Heaven may be kind to thee,³ and hear thy prayers. There is only one prayer rising today from tens of millions of human hearts, and if, as I believe, there is creative power in intense longing or praying, then there is no doubt that the end is drawing near. How long, O Lord? I do believe the Lord is really on the move. I only hope that in moving to meet him we may not make the wrong moves. For Satan is also on the move.

¹ The business was a meeting in Geneva with Count Mensdorff to explore the possibility of making peace with Austria-Hungary. Smuts's own notes of their talks on 18 and 19 December 1917 are in the Smuts Collection (Box N, no. 78). They are, however, disjointed and partly illegible. His report to the War Cabinet is printed in *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, 1938 Edition, Vol. II, pp. 1478-89.

² Smuts went to the Clarks at Street for 29 to 31 December.

³ Quaker usage.

My thoughts have continually run back to Millfield, and my soul has been saturated there with the Blessedness of which Spinoza speaks. I have drafted a War Aims statement in answer to the Brest negotiations.¹ If published next week without too much mangling it will produce a great sensation. Keep this to yourself. Ever yours,

Jan

806 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 217

Savoy Hotel

London

2 January 1918

Many thanks for your dear letter written on the first. May Good be with us during this year. After the storms and tempests may it come silently but irresistibly like a tide from a better world. Often and often those lines of Shelley run through my mind:

‘The world is weary of the past,
Oh, might it die or rest at last!’²

Certainly to many (as to dear old Wolstenholme) death—‘gentle and soothing death’—would seem preferable to this measureless agony which is convulsing the world today. But I feel in my soul that the end is coming. May the peace be, not a German peace or an English peace, but God’s peace enveloping all the erring nations as with the arms of an Everlasting Mercy. To that sort of peace I would contribute my last scrap of strength. Ever yours,

Jan

(Things are on the move so far as I am concerned.)

807 From A. Clark

Vol. 99, no. 107

Millfield, Street

7 January 1918

My dearest Oom Jannie, You have indeed achieved success so far, to have secured the approval of M. Clemenceau and Philip

¹ The peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk between Russia and the Central Powers opened up the possibility of a general Peace Conference.

² *Hellas*, I. 1100.

Snowdon for your draft of war aims. It gave me a quite peculiar pleasure when I opened *The Times* this morning to find the column of friendly comment beginning with one and ending with the other, and I send you my warmest congratulations.

No intelligent person can doubt that a peace on those lines will be a heavy defeat for the German military party, and this comes to the trouble which has been the source of all this misery. Are they willing to accept defeat ?

It is a very great comfort to think that you are going to have the chance of marshalling and uniting the moral forces of the world against them; and what strange and unimaginable working of Destiny has brought you here.

The individual is so helpless, who with the greatest gifts seeks to bend the universe to his idea and impose his will upon it; but the personality who works in harmony with the intention of the whole, bears immortal fruit. Very often in the history of the world I think that the divine and living intention has been thwarted and lost because no personality was found ready to interpret the glad tidings.

I wonder what the next step will be. My own selfish wishes make me hope that it will not take you from London this week, but you know that I cannot want one day's delay. My love to you dear Friend, and my prayers for the work which you have in hand. Yours as always,

Alice Clark

808 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 29

Savoy Hotel
8 January 1918

I shall be here this week-end and shall certainly expect you Friday night and in fact shall fetch you myself at Waterloo at 8.7 or whenever thereafter the train arrives.

Thanks very much for your letters. They do me good. But your presence will be ever so much better and I hope you will not go away on Monday. You will be free to work on Saturday and Sunday afternoons and we shall take our exercise at other times.

The speech¹ is based partly on my draft,² partly on Lord Robert Cecil's draft. Ever yours,

Jan

809 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 170

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
9 Januari 1918

Liefste Mamma, De mail is nu zoo ongeregeld dat ik dezen brief per Sir A. Bailey zend, die met een troepschip morgen vertrekt. Ik vrees jij hebt in geen weken van mij gehoord en mijn laatste briefv an jou was omtrent 20 November. Het lijkt mij of onze correspondentie steeds minder zal worden totdat de oorlog over is. Ik had de hoop gekoesterd dat deze winter het einde zou zien maar van die hoop blijft nu maar min over en het lijkt mij meer naar aanstaande winter wanneer wij naar den vrede kunnen uitzien. Maar niemand kan zeggen en heel mogelijk komt de goede tijding op ons onverwachts als een dief in der nacht. De verlenging van den oorlog is totaal te wijten aan den afval van Rusland en gedeeltelijk aan de verslapping van Italie, en in zekere mate aan de groote vertraging van Amerika die veel praat en schrijft maar tot dusver niet te veel doet. De volkeren zijn echter zoo moede en uitgeput dat het onverwachte kan gebeuren en een plotselinge val van Oostenrijk of Turkije kan verre gevolgen hebben. Maar daarop kunnen wij vooral nog niet bouden.

Ik zou de Nieuwjaarsdag bij de Clarks te Street doorbrengen en ging daarheen de vorigen Zaterdag en had een heerlijken tijd beide Zaterdag en Zondag. De Gilletts waren ook daar en wij hadden veel pret met al de kinderen. Alice heeft een paardje genaamd Santa waarop allen rijden. Nu heeft zij een kleine wilde pony gekocht genaamd Louis en die wordt nu mak gemaakt en geleerd. De kleine Gilletts hebben de naam Cato voorgesteld, maar het algemeene gevoelen was dat Cato te groot was voor zoo'n klein pony (zoo groot als een Shetland). Wij hebben veel gewandeld en den tijd zeer genoten; maar ongelukkig moest ik al weer Oujaarsdag naar Londen en de Cabinet had zittingen beide op Oujaarsdag en

¹ A speech by Lloyd George on 5 January 1918.

² His memorandum on War Aims.

Nieuwjaarsdag. Dus geen rust voor de goddeloozen. Ik ben zeer bezig en werkt aanhoudend en ben zeer blij wanneer een of ander van de Clarks of Gilletts bij mij komt kuieren. Arthur G. was hier Zondag, en Zaterdag komt Alice op bezigheid naar Londen. Maar mijn hart is in Zuid-Afrika en bij name te Doornkloof en dikwijls roep ik uit: hoe lang O Heer! En nu dat het zoo mooi regent en alles er zoo lief uitziet wensch ik maar te vurig bij liefste Mamma en de kleinen te kunnen zijn. Dat is iets om naar uit te zien! Ik ben blij om den regen en zal mijn hart niet breken over de schade aan den koren. Koren is nu zoo goed op prijs dat zelfs een kleiner oogst ons goed zal betalen. Ik ben ook blij dat Andries weer mielies zaait. Hoe meer voedsel hoe beter. Boomplanten moet ook dit jaar goed gedaan worden daar laatste jaar zoo min gedaan werd. Ik hoop het gaat goed met de beesten en dat onze bullen ook zeer goed naar gezien worden want zij zijn zeer kostbaar. Is het niet mogelijk van Jacobs ontslagen te worden? Hij is zoo duur en zoo nutteloos. Spreek s.v.p. weer met Ludorf. Ik wil gaarne de beestboerdery uitbreiden maar vrees dat Jacobs te doodsch en lui is om er naar om te zien. Geef mijn beste groeten en wenschen aan de oude vrienden, de Romyns, Giovanettis, van Zwieten, Ludorf en de huisgenoten te Doornkloof, ook aan Jan die ik hoop nu minder verkeerd en norsch is. Frank Theron is aan het front waar hij reeds herhaalde malen in groot gevaar geweest is. Nysie is weer uit het hospitaal en gaat terug naar het front in Frankrijk. Brink en zijn partij genieten zich goed alhier. Groete ook aan Jimmie, Col. Rose en Major Snow, en aan allen die naar mij vragen. Het lijkt mij of Doornkloof de populairste plek te Pretoria wordt. Ik wil net niet hebben dat jij jou overwerkt. Ik krijg brieven van vrienden die vreezen dat jou gezondheid eronder gaat lijden. Doe alles met matigheid zooals de apostel zegt. Is Leo al aangekomen?

Met duizend zoentjes en omhelzingen in den geest,

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
9 January 1918

Dearest Mamma, The mail is now so irregular that I send this letter by Sir A. Bailey, who leaves tomorrow on a troopship.

I fear you have not heard from me for weeks and my last letter from you was about 20 November. It looks to me as if our correspondence will get less and less until the war is over. I had cherished the hope that this winter would see the end, but little remains now of this hope and it looks to me more like next winter that we may expect peace. But no one can say and quite possibly the good tidings will come upon us unexpectedly like a thief in the night. The prolongation of the war is entirely due to the defection of Russia and partly to the flagging of Italy, and in a certain degree to the great delay of America which talks and writes much but so far does not do much. But the nations are so tired and exhausted that the unexpected may happen and a sudden fall of Austria or Turkey may have far-reaching results. But we cannot yet build on that.

I was to spend New Year's Day with the Clarks at Street and went there the Saturday before and had a delightful time both on Saturday and Sunday. The Gilletts were there too and we had a lot of fun with all the children. Alice has a little horse named Santa, which everyone rides. Now she has bought a small wild pony named Louis, which is being tamed and trained. The young Gilletts suggested the name Cato, but the general feeling was that Cato was too big for such a small pony (as big as a Shetland). We walked a lot and very much enjoyed the time; but unfortunately I had to return to London on New Year's eve and the Cabinet sat both on New Year's eve and New Year's Day. So no rest for the wicked. I am very busy and work continuously and am very glad when one or other of the Clarks or Gilletts comes to see me. Arthur Gillett was here on Sunday and on Saturday Alice comes to London on business. But my heart is in South Africa and particularly at Doornkloof and I often exclaim: How long, O Lord! And now that it is raining so nicely and everything looks so pretty, I ardently wish to be with dearest Mamma and the little ones. That is something to look forward to! I am glad of the rain and shall not break my heart over damage to the wheat. The price of wheat is now so high that even a smaller crop will pay us well. I am also glad that Andries is planting maize again. The more food the better. Tree-planting must also be done well this year as so little was done last year. I hope the cattle

are doing well and that our bulls are also looked after very well because they are very valuable. Is it not possible to get rid of Jacobs ?¹ He is so expensive and so useless. Please talk to Ludorf again. I should like to expand the cattle farming but fear Jacobs is too dead alive and lazy to attend to it. Give my greetings and best wishes to the old friends, the Romyns,² Giovanettis,³ van Zwieten,⁴ Ludorf and the household at Doornkloof—also to Jan, who I hope is less captious and surly. Frank Theron is at the front where he has been in great danger several times. Nysie is out of hospital again and goes back to the front in France. Brink and his party are enjoying themselves here. Regards also to Jimmie, Colonel [J. G.] Rose and Major [C. S. H.] Snow, and to all who ask after me. It looks to me as if Doornkloof is becoming the most popular place in Pretoria. I only do not want you to overwork. I get letters from friends who fear that your health will suffer. Do everything in moderation, as the apostle says.⁵ Has Leo [Krige] arrived yet ?

With a thousand kisses and embraces in spirit,

Pappa

810 E. F. C. Lane to S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 48

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.
9 January 1918

My dear Mrs Smuts, Although the High Commissioner's Office inform us that a mail is not going out until 17 January, we have heard from several South African notabilities that they are proceeding to South Africa in two days' time, and so we are going to entrust letters to them for South Africa in the hope that they will arrive safely. I shall not send anything else except letters because people do hate having parcels. Actually there are a good many newspaper-cuttings and books to send to you, but they will come later.

Since writing to you on 19 December, about the most important thing that has happened has been the return of the

¹ Probably a labourer at Doornkloof.

² The family of Dr Romyn.

³ The family of C. W. Giovanetti, then Mayor of Pretoria.

⁴ Not identified.

⁵ *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians* iv. 5.

General from his lightning-like trip¹, which I mentioned in my last letter, and the advent of Christmas. The General, I am very glad to say, is none the worse for having been away, although the weather was not at all the kind one wanted to be travelling in. Christmas came round and fortunately Miss Clark came up here and spent it with the General. The General gave a large number of Christmas presents, larger than usual perhaps because we could not tip the housekeepers, the detective and the chauffeur, and therefore gave those people presents. Most of them had a silver photograph frame with a picture of the General, and they were fearfully bucked up because they did not expect anything of the kind. I am sorry I have torn up the letters from one or two of the housekeepers. They wrote extraordinarily enthusiastically. On Christmas Day the General went for a long walk with Miss Clark in the morning and afternoon, and then the four of us dined in solemn state in the evening; and the same thing happened on Bank Holiday. Beyond that there is very little to recount.

There have been big changes here of late in the Navy, and Sir Eric Geddes, who has his counterpart in Mr Hoy, has got rid of Jellicoe and several others, and there have been rumours of late of a 'great Naval scrap'. I think this originated really by someone in authority referring to what was going on in the Admiralty with the new broom, and was of course repeated in a sarcastic way to someone else who immediately originated the rumour that there had been a fight at sea!! No doubt, however, the new personnel will carry on the same policy that has been observed hitherto in regard to the Grand Fleet, although they may take some other measures in regard to more aggressive fighting on the part of the cruiser squadrons. There does not seem to be very much option when you are dealing with the Grand Fleet, because you cannot gamble with units which cost millions of pounds and have many hundreds of lives on board. The General will, I know, be very sorry that old Jellicoe has gone as he likes him very much; he has always promised that he will go and be a South African landlord when taxation gets too high in England for him to live.

¹ To Switzerland for the meeting with Count Mensdorff.

We had Messrs Brink, Nussey [A. H. M.], Klerck,¹ McHardy¹ and Reitz to dine on New Year's night. We drank to 'Absent Friends' and talked 'South Africa' all the evening. Reitz was just out of hospital after having been there for about six weeks for a damaged knee, which was caused by his horse having fallen with him when the battalion were marching back to a rest camp. Of course he got subjected to a great deal of chaff as being a South African who could not ride a simple English horse! He is quite well again, and will be going out at the end of this month.

One of the most important things that the General has done is, as a member of a sub-committee, to draw up a statement of the British war aims. The report of the sub-committee was considered by the War Cabinet, and Mr Lloyd George's speech of three or four days ago was the result. I expect you will have seen all about it in the papers, but it will interest you now even more than it did when you know that the man responsible for most of the frame was the General. Three of them were on the sub-committee, and the General's effort was taken as the main frame on which to build the statement.

We have not had a mail for some time and therefore do not know how you are getting on. The last time that we heard of you you were busy trying to reap corn despite the fact that it was raining all day and every day. That was rather a disheartening performance, but I hope you were able to get some satisfactory results.

The New Year's Honours have just been published and Roderick Jones is now 'Sir Roderick'. I am quite certain that it will assist him very much in his business as the Managing Director of Reuter's, and also when he enters the matrimonial market!!!

10 January 1918. Since writing we have heard from the High Commissioner's Office that a proper mail is going out today and so we are sending out the various oddments in the shape of newspaper-cuttings to you. These, I hope, will be retained by you so that when Santa is big enough to write the General's biography she will know what the current thought was at the time he was here during the war. We have roughly

¹ Not identified.

sub-divided them into (1) Personal, (2) Air, (3) War Cabinet, and (4) Miscellaneous, divisions. This is only very roughly done, and I expect you will alter it by and by.

I am also sending out a complete set of the edition of the General's speeches. This is particularly valuable, and I hope that you will be able to keep them together. They consist of the speeches as published in England, America and Denmark. I do not think that very many colonial statesmen will ever be able to boast that the speeches they made in England have had such a world market as these speeches. The four clean copies will be for your record purposes.

In addition I am sending out some photographs for you. I personally think they are too terrible for words—that is, the ones you haven't seen before—but they were taken by a friend of the Gilletts, who is supposed to be a great photographer. The Gilletts have particularly good judgment in a lot of things, but I cannot see at all eye to eye with them in regard to these photographs. They do not appear to me to be done particularly well, and I should think that this is why the artist-photographer, Mr Hollyer, puts in his spare time as a supervisor of women's labour in the Department of Munitions, for the reason that once he has had a customer he is not likely to have a repeat order. However, one must not be too hard, I suppose, as perhaps you might like them.

I should so like to hear how things are going in South Africa and whether the wool business was really so badly handled as people make out; also who all get the various 'Honours'. We hear very secretly—don't pass it on—that Bourne is not satisfied that he has received due recognition and that he evidently wants a *Sirschap*.¹ Louis Marks, old Sammy's son, dined here last Sunday; quite a South African gathering and I must say I didn't know he was over here; he is in the Field Artillery and has two wound stripes. If you see old Sammy you can say how well his son was.

No more news. I enclose Captain Theron's last two letters to me in case you haven't heard from him. He is seeing a lot of service and I hope will be careful. With warm regards, Yours sincerely,

E. F. C. Lane

¹ Ironic Afrikaans term for a knighthood.

The newspaper opinions on the Prime Minister's speech are interesting; it shows really that the General is performing wonders here when he by his work can get such unity. Talk of Hindenburg, why, he can't compare with the General!!!

811 From Lord Loreburn

Vol. 20, no. 62

14 Whitehall Court

London, S.W.

20 January 1918

Dear General Smuts, Will you forgive me for again troubling you with a letter and please do not think that I shall be at all hurt if you do not answer, for I know how pressed you must be for time.

But I hope you will allow me to press on your attention certain points. You know better than I can the condition of the country. There is the difficulty of men, of ships, of food. I hear that a very serious state of feeling is growing up. And there is Ireland. In Germany and in Austria things must be very serious. And there seems to be danger of famine with its attendant diseases in various parts of the Continent simply because the earth has not been allowed to produce her fruits. What is the truth as regards France and Italy we are not told, but when human nature is tried as it has been, anyone who knows history must see the possible dangers in store.

Now it is more than likely, looking at probabilities, that the German Government, who are very able, look a little beyond the narrow outlook of the military men and see the incalculable evils to which a continuance of this war may lead. It is not from any sense of justice or humane feeling that such men at such a time will desire peace, but because, however confirmed rogues they may be, they certainly are not fools in their forecasts of the future. It is my belief that their ostensible desire for peace is based not so much on the fear of military disaster or even upon apprehension of internal discord but upon the belief that if this goes on much longer it will leave in Germany, when the war ends, such a state of feeling as will make revolution a certainty and bring into being there the same spirit of anarchy as has prevailed in Russia, so that their conquests or victories, if they attain them, will not be worth having but will be super-

seded by a perfectly new frame of mind in Europe. Some very far-reaching internal changes in Germany and elsewhere will come even if peace is declared tomorrow. That is all to the good. What I fear is that, if all this goes on as it has for three and a half years, the outcome, not only in Germany but also elsewhere, will be far beyond reform, however large, and will be what no wise man can desire, a sort of *novae tabulae* for the European race. It is not money or property I am thinking about but a replacement of salutary customs and hitherto accepted axioms of moral and social principle by a wholesale revulsion which will take generations to work itself out, and on a scale so huge that no nation can escape its contagion. Some apprehensions of this kind, though not perhaps in a shape so alarming as they appear to me, cannot fail to have impressed themselves on the minds of the civil rulers of Germany and to have alarmed the thoughtful and observant men in that country.

I have dwelt on that because it leads me to believe that the German Government are in reality anxious for peace and would prove, on close scrutiny, prepared to go a very long way in order to get it. At all events it is in itself probable.

It seems to me that at all events there ought not to be any hesitation in trying to get a somewhat close scrutiny. I do not mean a full-fledged Conference. I can understand that use might be made of that to disintegrate the Entente. But surely there can be no inherent difficulty in a meeting at a wayside inn. An opportunity was given by [Count Ottokar] Czernin in December. No one could have accepted his crude generalities in their crudeness, but he might have been asked further to explain himself. When everyone is challenging everyone else and each side isolated from communication with the other the young men are dying in battle. I entreat of you to consider whether it is not right that we should informally learn from our principal enemies what their real meaning is. Also I beg of you to consider whether there is really any visible prospect of our attaining all the results, including a crushing military victory, which have been announced as the things we are fighting for. If you are satisfied all this is possible, well and good so far as the objects themselves are concerned. If it is not possible, even at the frightful price we should have to pay,

I am sure you could not entertain the thought that our men are set to fight for an impossibility. We know the prediction of General Haig and what came of it.

One other thing I desire to mention. It is said, with some truth I feel sure, that the main difficulty is Alsace-Lorraine. Now the Treaty of September 1914 provided against a separate peace, but also provided against any of the Allies that signed it putting forward any claim without agreement of the others. That was a necessary counterpoise to the proviso about separate peace, for otherwise any of us might be bled to death for the ambition of another nation. I know of course about the subsequent secret engagements with France as to Alsace-Lorraine. My sympathies are warmly with France. We must act loyally. But what sort of an effect will it be when our people realize that reconquest of those provinces pursuant to a secret engagement has been an important element in prolonging the war? Surely it is possible to get our American Allies to place all this very strongly before the French Government. America is not so bound. People will say that we are engaged on a war of conquest for another nation. So with Italy, Servia, Rumania.

But my letter is too long already. Believe me, Sincerely yours,

Loreburn

812 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 172

Savoy Hotel

London, W.C.2

1 Februari 1918

Liefste Mamma, Wat een vreugde net nu twee heerlijke lange brieven van Mamma te ontvangen! Ach hoe het mijn hart geklop toen ik ze las. Mijn hart is in Mamma's hart verborgen en mijn verlangen naar haar en de kleinen is grooter dan woorden kunnen uitspreken. Alice Clark heeft mij eenige versjes uitgeschreven van Christina Rossetti waarvan de eerste vraagt:

'Does the road wind up-hill all the way?
Yes, to the very end.'

En voor ons lijkt het ook alsof het maar tot het einde opdraande zal gaan. Mamma schrijft zoo mismoedig over den oorlog en den langèn duur daarvan. Ja, en toch voel ik alsof het einde niet meer zoover is. En wie weet hoe spoedig ik mijn liefste aan mijn hart zal kunnen drukken met vuriger liefde als ooit te voren. Het einde nadert; de volkeren worden dood moede; geen zenuwen kunnen deze spanning veel langer staan. En ik zal niet verwonderd zijn indien deze zomer een einde maakt aan de bittere smart der wereld. Ik ben zeer achter de gordijnen en kan natuurlijk niet over zulke geheime dingen schrijven, maar ik voel het einde nadert.

Ik ben zoo blij dat de mail eerst vanavond vertrekt (in plaats van eergister) zoodat ik dit kan voegan bij wat ik reeds geschreven heb. Ik zal omtrent een maand weg zijn in Egypte en Palestina en was reeds over de geheele Fransche front. Dit alles om dingen te regelen en plannen voor de toekomst te verbeteren.

Ik geef niet om over de kleine verliezen op de plaats. Alles gaat goed en ten beste. Ik verheug mij over de regen die blijvend goed zullen doen aan het land. En de kinderen zijn gezond en fluksch en Mamma's hart blijft vol, overvloeiend vol van liefde. Ik ben dus tevreden. Ik zend Mamma een paar drukzoentjes en een elk aan de lieve kinderen. Mijn hart is in jou hart eeuwig en altoos.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
1 February 1918

Dearest Mamma, What a joy to receive just now two lovely long letters from Mamma! Oh, how my heart beat when I read them. My heart is hidden in Mamma's heart and my longing for her and the little ones is greater than words can say. Alice Clark has written out for me some verses of Christina Rossetti of which the first asks:

'Does the road wind up-hill all the way?
Yes, to the very end.'

And for us it looks as if it will be uphill to the end. Mamma writes so dispondently of the war and its long duration. Yes,

and yet I feel as if the end is no longer far off. And who knows how soon I shall press my dearest to my heart with more ardent love than ever before. The end approaches; the nations are becoming dead tired; no nerves can stand this tension much longer. And I shall not be surprised if this summer puts an end to the bitter sorrow of the world. I am very much behind the scenes and can of course not write about such secret matters, but I feel the end approaches.

I am so glad the mail only leaves this evening (instead of the day before yesterday) so that I can add this to what I have already written. I shall be away in Egypt and Palestine for about a month and have already been over the whole front in France. All this to arrange things and improve plans for the future.

I do not mind the small losses on the farm. All goes well and for the best. I rejoice about the rain which will do lasting good to the soil. And the children are healthy and lively and Mamma's heart remains full, full to overflowing, of love. So I am satisfied. I send Mamma a few hearty kisses and one each for the dear children. My heart is in your heart for ever and always.

Pappa

813 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 219

London

4 February 1918

I have delayed my departure till tomorrow in order to discuss with the Prime Minister certain matters connected with that side of my work with which you are in sympathy and which might require action in my absence. The peace offensive goes with the military offensive as President Kruger's two cheeks¹ go together. So here I am still tonight and can drop you a line. And I do so to repair a grave omission of yesterday. I was so happy with you and Arthur and the little family that I quite forgot to thank you for the *Spirit of Man*² and your MS.

¹ When Smuts was Attorney-General Kruger had told him that the way to deal with an opponent was to smack him hard on one cheek and rub him gently on the other.

² Robert Bridges's anthology of poems.

excerpts which I shall specially treasure. . . . '102' has kept me to that heart of things which is goodness, simplicity, and loyalty. Blessings on '102'. Tomorrow I go and shall be away for at least a month unless developments of the other side of my work cut this mission short. I hope Tona will soon be well and that Helen will not suffer too much if the cough overtakes her.

I did enjoy the visit to you yesterday and so did Alice. She does not know that my departure has been postponed.

I enclose a cutting which will reveal my wife to you as an orator. With adieux to you all.

814 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 174

The Residency
Cairo

12 Februari 1918

Liefste Mamma, Net een jaar (nee, 2 jaar!) geleden* van daag verliet ik Durban op weg naar Oost Afrika. Wie zou gezegd hebben dat ik heden in Egypte zou zijn, bezig om onze veldtochten in Palestina en Mesopotamia voor 1918 te regelen? Maar het afgelopen jaar is zoo wonderlijk in mijne geschiedenis dat het moeilijk zou geweest zijn zelfs voor den meest verzienden om het te voorspellen. Ik vertrek morgen ochtend naar Palestina en hoop er eenige dagen door te brengen en het front te bezoeken en ook Jerusalem te gaan zien. Ik zal er kaarten voor de kinderen posten als een aandenken van een heuglijke visite. Ik ben hier gister aangekomen en ben thuis bij Sir Reginald Wingate, den Hoogen Commissaris van Egypte, was heden bij den Sultan en hedennamiddag ben ik naar den groote pyramide van Cheops geweest zoowel als de wonderlijke sphinx daarnaast. Dit zijn dingen die men nooit weer vergeet indien eenmaal gezien. Wanneer de Cape-to-Cairo voltooit is, zal Mamma zeker met de kinderen overland naar Europa reizen en ook deze wonderen der wereld zien.

Heb ik jou verteld in mijn laatsten brief van mijne voorlezing bij de Geographical Society over Oost Afrika terwijl een air-raid aan gang was en de bommen overal barsten en de kanonnen overal bulderen? Een zeer groote bom verpletterde het gebouw naas de Savoy Hotel dat heen en weer zwank

gelijk een tak van een boom; en een tweede barstte in de Thames net voor mijn venster. Een derde bom doodde en wondde over 100 personen in de nabijheid van het hotel—alle drie door een speciale machine geworpen. Ik verneem dat er misschien morgen een gelegenheid naar Oost Afrika is; daarom schrijf ik in de hoop dat deze paar regelen jou langs dien weg zullen bereiken.

Ach, hoe verlang ik naar Mamma en de liefste kleinen! Maar in deze de donkerste ure der wereld mag men niet over private gevoelens uitwijden. Gister is er aparte vrede tusschen Duitschland en Rusland gesloten en alles lijkt uiterst duister. Toch wanhoop ik niet, en houd niet op alles in mijn vermogen voor onze zaak te doen. De grootste dingen zijn dikwijls in de donkerste tijden geboren. En op onverklaarbare wijze werken alle groote dingen samen voor groote doeleinden. 'Work and Despair Not'.

Mijn zoetste zoentjes aan de lieve kleinen en mijn ziel aan lieve mamma, bij wie mijne liefde verborgen is in der eeuwigheid.

Egypte is groen; de delta onafzienbaar groen; ik het nooit in mijn leven zulke beplanting gezien. Maar jij zal dit eenmaal zelf zien.

Met hartekussen van

Pappa

* Wonderlijk! { 12 Februari 1916 van Durban naar Oost Afrika.
12 Februari 1917 van Kaapstad naar Engeland.
12 Februari 1918 in Cairo naar Palestina.

TRANSLATION

The Residency

Cairo

12 February 1918

Dearest Mamma, Exactly a year (no, two years!) ago* today I left Durban *en route* to East Africa. Who would ever have said that I would be in Egypt today, busy arranging our campaign in Palestine and Mesopotamia for 1918? But the past year is so remarkable in my history that it would have been difficult even for the most far-seeing to foretell it. I leave tomorrow morning for Palestine and hope to spend some days there and visit the front, and also to go and see Jerusalem. I shall post

cards for the children there as a souvenir of a memorable visit. I arrived here yesterday and am staying with Sir Reginald Wingate, the High Commissioner of Egypt; was with the Sultan today and this afternoon I went to the Great Pyramid of Cheops and also the wonderful Sphinx next to it. These are things one never forgets when once seen. When the Cape-to-Cairo¹ is completed, Mamma and the children will probably travel overland to Europe and also see these wonders of the world.

Have I told you in my last letter of my lecture on East Africa to the Geographical Society while an air-raid was going on and the bombs burst and the guns roared all over? A very big bomb shattered the building next to the Savoy Hotel which swayed back and forth like the branch of a tree; and a second burst in the Thames just in front of my window. A third bomb killed and wounded over a hundred people in the neighbourhood of the hotel—all three dropped by a special machine. I hear that there may be a post to East Africa; so I write in the hope that these few lines will reach you by this means.

Oh, how I long for Mamma and the dearest little ones! But in these darkest hours of the world one may not expatiate on private feelings. Yesterday a separate peace was concluded between Germany and Russia² and everything looks extremely black. But I do not despair, and do not cease to do everything in my power for our cause. The greatest things are often born in the darkest times. And in an inexplicable way all great things work together for great ends. 'Work and Despair Not.'

My sweetest kisses to the dear children and my soul to dear Mamma, in whom my love is hidden for ever.

Egypt is green; the delta interminably green; I have never seen such cultivation in my life. But you will see it yourself sometime.

With best kisses from

Pappa

* Remarkable! { 12 February 1916 from Durban to East Africa.
12 February 1917 from Cape Town to
England.
12 February 1918 in Cairo, for Palestine.

¹ The Cape to Cairo railway.

² The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Kantoor van de Eerste Minister
Kaapstad
26 Februarie 1918

Lieve Jannie, Ten laatste het ik mij losgeruk om aan jou wat volledig te skrywe. Sedert laatste zitting het ons één moeielikheid op die ander gehad. Eerst over die mielies en toen weer over die wol. En het is juist hierover dat ik wil begin om te skrywe want ik wil graag voor jou daarop wijs dat die moeielikheden gemaklik over zou gewees het als Engelse voormannen in Engeland net wou luister het naar ons raad.

Neem die mielies, toen zij nog met ons in onderhandelinge was om al ons surplus mielies over te nemen, gaat die Food-controller daar en die gee een kontrakt aan die Jode winkeliers hier voor 2 miljoen 500 duizend zak mielies tegen diezelfde prijs dat ons die hele surplus offereerde; maar wat verder gebeur het is dit—dat zij gaf een uitsluitend voorkeur aan die winkeliers om die mielies voor die eerste zes maanden met die skepe te vervoer; met die gevolg dat geen enkele ander persoon mielies kon uitvoer naar Engeland. Die monopolie zou dus daarop uitloop dat die winkeliers die mielies kon hier opkoop voor hulle eigen prijs en dat kan jij wel verstaan zou die opening geef dat die Britse Regering hier in die land zeer ernstig gevloek wordt terwyl zij er niets van wist. Na maanden lang ze gevech slaagde ik erin om die helfte van die freight voor die boeren te krijg die die mielies direkt aan die Britse Regering wil verkoop zonder om die aan een winkelier te verkoop, maar bij die tijd had de spekulant en winkeliers drie miljoen zakken mielies van die publiek opgekoop zodat de kogel feitelik door die dak was, maar die mielie-kwestie het tot goede tevredenheid uiteindelik afgeloop.

Maar toe kom die wolkwestie en die het ons Lands partij oneindig veel kwaad gedaan. Zoveel kwaad dat van ons distrikten, zoals Standerton zelfs, ons geen meerderheid kan krijgen om in deze zaak te helpen. Ons het van die begin af voorgestel om ons diezelfde prijs te gee als die in Australie gegee is. Dit is om ons wol ook op die basis van 15d vast gesteld wordt en dan de 55% daarop; dit meen dus dat ons 25d voor ons beste wol zal krijgen en naar mate van kwaliteit

zal dit daarvan afgaan naar 8 pennies. Dit was zelfs die Nationalisten genegen om aan te nemen, maar ten ene maal werd geweigerd van Engeland om dit te doen, met het gevolg dat America en Japan kwam in een ope mark en kochten in die dagen van onderhandelingen. Zodra die offer van de Engelse Regering beter was kwam zij in die ope mark en betaal voor de beste klas wol van 20 tot 32 pennies. Nu kan jij wel verstaan dat wegens ons positie is een massa van mensen uiteindelijk besloten hun wol aan ons te geven, omdat die Britse Regering gezegd het dat er geen schepen voor vervoer zou zijn, en toen haar wol later gewaardeerd was maar op 11, 12 tot 13 pennies, toen was die mensdom onhoudbaar. Ik het toen mij uiterste best gedaan om te keer maar daar was geen mogelijke kans en wij waren zeer dankbaar dat die Britse Regering uiteindelijk ons voorstel aangeneem het om een grote deel van wol haar toegezegd weer terug te kunnen nemen. Dit het veel bijgedraag om die situatie te red. Hertzog's motie van wantrouw in die zaak het toen helemaal platgeval maar ik zeg jou nogmaals die positie is net daaraan te wijten dat kommissies aan die ander kant niet genoegzame rekenschap hou met ons moeielikheden hier, had zij ons advies gevolgd dan was er geen verdeeldheid en dan het al die wol aan die Britse Rijk behoer. Die mark vandaag is nog goed behalve voor die zware vetterige wol en daarvan zal waarschijnlijk 100 duizend balen wol hier blijven liggen. Die Nationale Partij met al hunne voormannen het hun best gedurende die tijd gedaan om die war en ontevredenheid onder ons volk te vergroot, maar ik is zeer dankbaar om te zeg dat ons tegenwicht het die positie weer teruggebreng naar wat dit was toen jij hier vertrek het.

Ons eigen organisatie staat nu op beter voet maar ik is jammer om voor jou te zeg Jooste lijk voor mij is moeg voor die werk gewordt. Wat denk jij kan ons, die aan hem veel verschuldigd is, hem laat krijg ? En wie is daar in jou gedachte wat ons in zijn plek neem kan ?

De zitting van Parlement zal waarschijnlijk tegen 15 April over wees want ons haast dit en ook schijn alle partijen verlangend te zijn voor een korte Sessie. Dat die Nationalisten bitter is toon hun houding in die huis duidelijk aan. Nog gister op jou verlot hebben zij een bitsige aanval tegen jou gemaak, maar bij het verdelen het slechts hun partij daar tegen gestem.

Ik denk zij zien dat zij wat grond verloor en dit maak hen nog bitterder en dan, zoals jij weet, Steyn's invloed, die door zijn dood vervallen is, is bij hen baing gewichtig geweest.

Zekere deel van die Predikanten begin zich nu stiller te gedraag omdat ons partij geweiger het bijdragen te geef voor salarissen en in sommige gevallen werden die Gemeentes verdeeld, zoals die te Potchefstroom, zodat zij daar met een kleine minderheid bij die Nationalisten zitten.

De Unioniste Partij het ook begin een tamelike parmantige en stijve houding in te neem, maar zij schijn nu weer tot hun verstand gekomen te zijn. Ik heb een groote gepakte vergadering in Stadszaal Johannesburg gehouden en de publiek het daar een prachtige geest van ondersteuning geopenbaard, de Unioniste voormannen is nu net beziel met een ding en dit is coalitie wat m.i. totaal onprakties is; ik had met hun voormannen een ernstige gesprek en ik denk dat het veel bijgedragen het om in die omstandigheden te helpen. Nou denk ik dat zaken gemakkeliker zal voortgaan.

Daar leg voor ons twee grote werken en daarvoor moet de volgende Zitting wetgeving ingevoerd word.

Die eerste is:—Die Provinciale Raad. Die lichaam word, mijns inziens, alle dagen meer onbekwaam met verkeerde Wetgevens. Die hele lichaam word voor partij doeleinden gebruik en alhoewel de Administrateurs hun uiterste best doen geef de uitwerking in die Raden mij veel kommer en zorg voor die toekomst. Die onderwijs moet, mijns inziens, weggenem word van die Provinciale Raden en onder die Unie Parlement geplaatst word.

Dan het ons weer die Senaat. Zoals die Senaat nu saamgestel wordt, is dit slechts bijwijze van partij lijnen en die is ook baing ongewenst. Ook hierin zal ons voorziening moet maak, en ik zou baing graag jou opinie over die twee onderwerpen hebben.

Nou dan krijg ons die kwestie van Konsolidatie van Stemrecht. De Vrouwenstemrecht zal ons hier niet meer kan uithouden, die zal moeten bijkomen. Persoonlik voel ik dat ons min of meer die Belgiese stemrecht moet volg, en een tweede stem geef aan iemand wat eigendom bezit en zelfs een derde stem voor geleerdheid. Ook hierover zal ik jou graag hoor.

Nou wil ik terugkom naar die Prime Ministers Konferentie waarvoor al die Prime Ministers uitgenodigd is om in begin Junie in Engeland te kom. Nou Jannie, jij ken mij gevoel over al die Konferenties. Die hele ding geef net praatjes af en ik twyfel of zij zal kan bijdraag om die toestand in die oorlog te verbeter en te versterk. Ik geloof veel meer in een goede oorlogs raad waarin jij die beste oorlogs mensen zet zoals nu het geval is, en dat die Raad dan die initiatief en alle verantwoordelikheid neem.

Mijn Kollegas en ik is eerlik tevrede met jou werk, neen meer, ik is trots op die wijze wat jij ons daar verdedig en vertegenwoordig. En nou lijk dit voor mij als ik nou daar kom dan kan dit slechts een effek hebben en dit is om jou positie te verzwak of mogelijk onzeker te maken. Ik verstaat iets van oorlog en van jullie werk daar, en beaam ten volle wat jullie daar doen, en dan Jannie ik ziet ook verdere bezwaar om te gaan, maar als zij daarop aandringen zal ik kom. Maar in Engeland zal zij mij nie hou nie om daar te zit en praatjes te maak. Zij moet, mijns inziens, hen spreekwoord toepas dat zeg 'leave well alone'. Ik het slechts één begeerte en dat is om daar te wees wanneer vrede bespreek word want dan zal ik in persoon jou bijstaan met baing dinge te krijgen en moeielikheid opgelost te zien waarvoor ons mogelijk nooit weer een kans zal hebben. Vooral die kwestie van Mozambique—Jannie daar is geen twyfel aan—d'is een kwestie wat ons moet opbreng en wat ons moet afhandel in ons faveure. Die landstreek moet uitgekoop word en wij moeten ervoor betalen. Dan is daar Duits West, die moet ons behou want ons en die Duitsers zal niet meer saam woon op vriendschappelijke voet als zij Duits West behouden. Dit is een natie wat nooit vergeet en wat die hoogste organiserende kwalifikaties bezit en hulle verblijf in Duits West is die zwaarste gevaar dat die Afrikaner natie kan erf uit die oorlog, en ik was baing blij om te zien dat jij zo sterk stand gemaak het dat die twee Duitse Kolonies niet moet word teruggeef nie aan die Duitsers.

Dit bring mij nou op die oorlogs terrein, en ik moet jou zeg sommige van die nuws dat ons hier krijg maak mij soms baing mismoeedig en schrikkerig vooral die noodlottige gebeurtenissen van Rusland en Roemaniam en die lafhartige terugval van die Italianers, ja, het maak mij somtijds bang dat mogelijk

nog meer dan dit kan gebeur en daarom het ik aan jou gezeg is het nou niet die tijd om die beervel van andere te verdelen waardoor die oorlog tot een eind kan gebracht worden. Ik zag vanmorre in die kourant dat Duitsland van die Russen 800 miljoen pond en nog zowat een half dozijn staten of provinsies eist. Rusland het zo'n verradelike houding aangeneem dat mijn sympathie is van hulle weg, maar ik is baing jammer voor Roemania. Nu mijn gedachte was als iets van die aard gedaan kan worden dan kan vrede mogelijk kom, anders weet ik niet hoe tot vrede te gaan, want om die zaak nu uit te vech zal mogelijk baing jaren nemen, en naties wordt zo uitgeput en verarmd dat zij zich zelf kwalik zal kan regeren. En de Revolutionaire sekties zal overal opstaan en de toestand ondragelik maken. Als die Amerikaners eerst een paar grote bloedslagen geleverd het dan zal dit ook baing zwaarder wees om vrede te krijgen. Maar ik praat hier veraf waar jij niet die kommer en zorg en honger het en waar jij nooit een kanonschoot hoor of een vliegmaschine ziet nie, en ik is ook nou nie in die beste positie nie om te kan oordeel. Ik ken jou beoordelingen en weet die is goed en daarbij berust ik mij. Ik vertrouwd net—moet niet die wereld ruineer en zo verarm dat zij haarzelf niet kan helpen, want dan zal andere gevaren ontstaan.

Ons het in Zuid-Afrika een verbazende voorspoedige tijd gehad vandat jij weg is en die boeren het nog nooit zo'n volop tijd zoals nu gehad. Boerderijen en gezaaide kan jij in alle opzichten zien vooruit gaan. Met jou boerderij gaat het goed, behalve dat ik denk dat Krige maak dit onnodig moeilik en zwaar voor Mrs Smuts—dan is ik zeker daarvan dit is beter dat hij niet meer jou bestuurder is, en van wat ik zien denk ik jij behoort zelf die kontrakt voor boomplanterij en enig ander kontrakt tussen jullie te laat opzeg. Dan kan die kontrakt op die eind van die jaar niet weer hernieuwd word. Ik wil mij niet graag in jou bezigheid steek nie, maar als een vriend en wegens jou afwezigheid het ik stellig tot die konklussie gekom—maak een einde daaraan. Voor 't overige, gaan dit daar goed. Mijn eigen boerderij heeft ook prachtig gevorderd behalve dat er dit jaar ver te veel bij ons het geregen. Bij mij het dit al over 60 duim in die zomer geregen on mij mielies en die van die gehele hogeveld is dit jaar verzuip en een totale mislukking.

Die Westelike delen van die Transvaal die krijg genoegsame water en niet te veel en daar is die mielies verbazend veel belovend. In Natal was daar ook een grote verspoeling en ons het een grote schade bij Empangeni en andere plekken gehad waar vele bruggen weggespoeld is.

Schape wegens die reentjaar is baing dood en gaat steeds terug. Maar al die ander boerderij gaat biezonder vooruit.

Die aanwerving van mensen voor Frankrijk gaat maar baing stadig.

Leisk neem deze brief met zich. Zijn weggaan van ons is bepaald een groot verlies. Maar ik heb alle argumenten gebruik om hem hier te hou maar te vergeefs.

Gorges maak maar een baing zwak Administrateur uit en ik heb veel moeite met Duits West.

Die verschillende Departementen wat ik gehou het was voor mijn gezondheid te veel en het is daarom dat ik Mentz nu bij Defence het. Die Defence Departement is maar een baing moeilike want die Administratieve afdeling laat veel te wensen over. Die Auditeurs rapport nou weer maak allerlei aanmerkingen. Collyer het ik gevraag om een minute op to stel voor mij hoe dit best zou wees om reorganisatie in die Defence te krijg en wat meer tevredenheid te verschaf en meer bekwaamheid. Ik het die minute nou net gelees en ik stem met Collyer helemaal saam dat die Departement moet in twee afgedeel word. Die Sekretaris van die Departement die moet die hele Administratie vat en hij moet zij handen meer op die geldbeursjes hou, terwijl die Militaire werk moet meer onder die Adjutant-Generaal staan. Nou ons werk nou om al die dingen wat nie bevredigend is nie recht te maak, en ik hoop jij zal Bourne daar hou totdat hij helemaal gezond is. Moet nie dat Bourne terugkom en dat als hij hier een paar dagen op kantoor is weer diezelfde blijken geef als vroeger, want dan zal het zeker verkeerd gaan.

Ik was baing blij om te zien dat jij naar daardie wereld in Egypte enz., gegaan is en jij moet mij zeker skrijwe hoe die wereld daar is en wat jij denk.

Ik ben baing blij om jou te zeg dat beide mijn gezondheid en die van mijn vrouw baing beter is, alhoewel beide van ons nie zo sterk is dat ons enige biezonder zwaar kan deurstaan nie maar ons kan daarom weer met gemak en gerief ons plichten verrich.

Ik wil jou graag beetje een gunst vra. En dit is om voor mij te skrijwe of Louis nou daar goede werk doet en om, als jij hem ziet hem toch die beste advies gee—hij is jong en als jij hem advies gee zal hij dit baing apprecieer. Laatste week het ik van die oorlog Departement een telegram gekrij die zeg dat hij ziek is, ik heb toen aan Schreiner alsook aan die War Departement getelegrafeer maar het is al acht dagen en ik het geen antwoord gekrij. Natuurlik beide mijn vrouw en ik is baing ontsteld daarover. Veale se seun en Giovanetti se seun van Pretoria is albei in Frankrijk gestorven.

Ontvang dus mijn vriendelike groeten en mijn beste wensen. Altoos jou ou vriend,

[Signature excised]

TRANSLATION

Prime Minister's Office
Cape Town
26 February 1918

Dear Jannie, At last I have freed myself to write to you rather fully. Since last Session we have had one difficulty after another. First about maize and then about wool. And it is about this that I want to begin writing, for I should like to point out to you that these troubles could easily have been over if only English leaders in England had listened to our advice.

Take maize. When they were still negotiating with us to take over all our surplus maize, the Food Controller there gave a contract to the Jewish dealers here for 2,500,000 bags of maize at the same price we offered for the whole surplus; but what also happened is this—that he gave an exclusive preference to the dealers to transport the maize by ship for the first six months; with the result that no other person whatever could export maize to England. So the monopoly would have come to this—that the dealers could buy up the maize here at their own price; and that, you will well understand, would have given an opening for hearty cursing of the British Government in this country, while they knew nothing about it. After months of fighting I succeeded in getting half the freight for the farmers who wish to sell maize direct to the British Government without selling it to a dealer, but by that time the

speculators and dealers had bought up three million bags of maize from the public so that the die was really cast; but finally the maize question came to a satisfactory end.

But then came the wool question and this has done infinite harm to our rural party—so much harm that we cannot get a majority from our districts, even Standerton, to help us in this matter. We proposed, from the start, that we be given the same price as was given in Australia, that is, that our wool should also be fixed on the basis of 15d. and 55% in addition; this means that we shall get 25d. for our best wool and it will go down to 8d. according to quality. Even the Nationalists were disposed to accept this, but England refused absolutely to do this, with the result that America and Japan bought in an open market while the negotiations were going on. As soon as the British Government offer improved, they paid from 20d. to 32d. in the open market for the best class of wool. Now, you can well understand that, on account of our position, numbers of people finally decided to give their wool to us because the British Government had said there would be no ships for transport; and when its wool was later valued at only 11d. to 12d. to 13d. these people became impossible. I did my utmost to cope with the matter, but there was no possible chance, and we were very thankful that the British Government finally accepted our proposal to take back a large amount of the wool assigned to it. This did much to save the situation. Consequently Hertzog's motion of no confidence on the question fell flat. But I tell you again that the position is solely due to the fact that commissions on the other side do not reckon sufficiently with our difficulties here. If they had taken our advice there would have been no dissension and all the wool would have belonged to the British Empire. The market is at present still good except for the heavy, greasy wool, and about 100,000 bales of that will probably remain lying here. The Nationalist Party and all their leaders have done their best during this time to exaggerate the confusion and dissatisfaction among our people, but I am very thankful to say that our counter-influence has restored the position to what it was when you left here.

Our own organization is now on a better footing, but I am sorry to tell you that it looks to me as if Jooste [J. P.] has become

tired of the work. What do you think we, who are much indebted to him, can let him have? And whom have you in mind that we can put in his place?

The parliamentary Session will probably be over towards 15 April, for we are hurrying it and all parties seem to be longing for a short Session. The Nationalists' attitude in the House shows clearly that they are embittered. Only yesterday, in connection with your leave, they made a sharp attack on you, but in the division only their party voted against it. I think they see that they are losing some ground and that makes them still more bitter and then, as you know, Steyn's influence, which has declined with his death, had been very important to them.

A certain section of the parsons is now beginning to behave more quietly because our party has refused to give contributions towards salaries, and in some cases the congregations were divided, like that of Potchefstroom, so that they have a small Nationalist minority there.

The Unionist Party had also begun to take up a rather bold and stiff attitude, but they seem now to have come to their senses again. I held a big crowded meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall and the public showed a fine spirit of support there. The Unionist leaders are now animated by only one thing and that is coalition, which, to my mind, is quite impracticable. I had a serious talk with their leaders and I think it has done much to help in these circumstances. I think that things will now go on more easily.

There are two great tasks before us for which legislation will have to be introduced in the next session. The first is: the Provincial Councils. These bodies with their mistaken legislation are becoming more incapable every day in my opinion. They are used entirely for political ends, and, although the Administrators do their utmost, the result in the Councils gives me much anxiety and worry about the future. Education must, I think, be taken away from the Provincial Councils and put under the Union Parliament.

Then we have the Senate. As the Senate is now constituted, it is purely on party lines and this is most undesirable. We shall have to provide for this also, and I should very much like to have your opinion on these two matters.

Then we have the question of consolidation of the franchise. We shall no longer be able to keep the women's franchise out—this will have to be added. Personally I feel that we should follow more or less the Belgian franchise, and give a second vote to anyone who owns property and even a third vote for learning. On this also I should like to hear your views.

Now I want to return to the Prime Ministers' Conference, for which all the Prime Ministers have been invited to go to England at the beginning of June. Now, Jannie, you know my feeling about all these conferences. The whole thing merely results in talk and I doubt whether they will be able to contribute anything to improve and strengthen the war position. I believe much more in a good war council upon which the best Defence people have been put, as is now the case, and that this council should then take the initiative and all responsibility.

My colleagues and I are truly satisfied with your work, nay more, I am proud of the way you are defending and representing us there. And it seems to me that, if I go there now, it can have only one effect and that is to weaken your position or possibly to make it uncertain. I understand something of war and of your work there, and fully confirm what you are doing there. And then, Jannie, I see other objections to going, but if they insist I shall come. But they won't keep me in England to sit there talking. They should, in my opinion, apply their proverb which says 'leave well alone'. I have only one desire and that is to be there when peace is discussed, for then I shall support you in person in getting many things and seeing difficulties solved for which we shall perhaps never have another chance—especially the question of Mozambique. Jannie, there is no doubt about it, this is a matter which we must bring up and settle in our favour. The region must be bought out and we must pay for it. Then there is German West—we must keep this, for we and the Germans will not again live together on a friendly footing if they keep German West. They are a nation who never forget and who possess the highest organizing capabilities, and their remaining in German West is the greatest danger that the Afrikaner people could inherit from the war; and I was very glad to see that you took so strong a stand that the two German Colonies must not be given back to the Germans.

This brings me to the war, and I must tell you that some of the news we get here sometimes makes me very despondent and alarmed, especially the disastrous happenings in Russia and Roumania and the cowardly retreat of the Italians. Yes, I sometimes fear that possibly more than this may happen, and that is why I told you that this is not the time to divide the bearskins of others as a means of bringing the war to an end. I saw in the paper this morning that Germany is demanding 800 million pounds from the Russians and also about half a dozen states or provinces. Russia has taken up such a treacherous attitude that she has lost my sympathy, but I am very sorry for Roumania. Now, my idea was that if something of this sort can be done, then possibly peace may come; otherwise I do not know how peace can be approached, for to fight out the matter now will possibly take many years, and nations are becoming so exhausted and impoverished that they will barely be able to govern themselves. And the revolutionary groups will revolt everywhere and make the position intolerable. It will also be much harder to get peace once the Americans have fought a few big and bloody battles. But I am talking from afar, where one does not have anxiety and care and hunger, and where one never hears a cannon-shot or sees an aeroplane, and I am not in the best position to judge. I know your judgments and know they are good and I abide by them. I only hope this: do not ruin the world and so impoverish it that it cannot help itself, for then other dangers will arise.

We have had an amazingly prosperous period in South Africa since you left and the farmers have never had so plentiful a time as now. Farms and crops can be seen progressing in every way. Your farming is also doing well, except that I think Krige makes it unnecessarily difficult and hard for Mrs Smuts. I am sure it would be better if he were no longer your manager; and, from what I see, I think you should even cancel the contract for tree-planting and any other contract between you. Then the contract cannot be renewed at the end of the year. I do not much want to intrude upon your affairs, but as a friend, and in view of your absence, I have definitely come to this conclusion—put an end to it. For the rest things are going well there. My own farming has also

progressed beautifully, except that we have had far too much rain this year. I have had over 60 inches of rain already during the summer, and my maize and that of the whole highveld has been swamped this year and is a total failure. The western parts of the Transvaal are getting enough, but not too much, water and there the maize is surprisingly promising. There was also a big flood in Natal and we had much damage at Empangeni and other places where many bridges have been washed away. Because of the rainy year many sheep have died and continue to fall off. But all other farming is progressing particularly well.

Recruiting for France is going very slowly.

Leisk is taking this letter with him. His leaving us is definitely a great loss. I have used every argument to keep him here but in vain.

Gorges is making a very poor Administrator and I have much trouble with German West.

The various Departments held by me were too much for my health, and that is why I now have Mentz at Defence. The Defence Department is a difficult one because the administrative section leaves much to be desired. The Auditor's report again makes all kinds of comments. I asked Collyer to compose a minute for me on how best to reorganize Defence to provide more satisfaction and competence. I have just read this minute and I quite agree with Collyer that the Department must be divided into two. The Secretary of the Department must take over the whole administration and he must keep a better hold of the purse-strings, while the military work must fall more to the Adjutant-General. We are now working to put right all the things that are not satisfactory, and I hope you will keep Bourne there until he is quite well. Do not let Bourne come back to show the same traits as before after he has been in the office for a few days, for then things are bound to go wrong.

I was very glad to see that you had gone to Egypt and those parts and you really must write to me how things are there and what you think.

I am very glad to tell you that both my health and that of my wife is much better, although neither of us is so strong as to be able to stand any exceptionally heavy strain. But we can nevertheless again carry out our duties with ease and comfort.

I should like to ask you a favour. This is to write to me whether Louis is now doing good work there and to give him the best advice if you see him; he is young and if you advise him, he will appreciate it very much. Last week I had a telegram from the War Department saying he was ill. I then telegraphed both to Schreiner and the War Department, but this was already eight days ago and I have had no answer. Of course both my wife and I are very upset about it. Veale's¹ son and Giovanetti's son, of Pretoria, have both died in France.

With friendly greetings and best wishes, Always your old friend,

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Vol. 20, no. 49 (encl.)

This account was written by Smuts's private secretary, Captain E. F. C. Lane, and enclosed in his letter of 11 March 1918 to Mrs Smuts.

GENERAL SMUTS'S MISSION TO EGYPT

February 1918

The party consisted of General Smuts, Brigadier-General Stewart² of Field-Marshal Haig's Headquarters, Colonel [W. M. St. G.] Kirke of the General Staff, War Office, Lieutenant-Colonel Amery, of the Staff of the Supreme War Council and Captain Lane, War Cabinet Staff, and left London on 5 February, and proceeded to Egypt and eventually Palestine, with the object of ascertaining how far it was possible to co-ordinate the efforts that were being made against the Turkish Government, it having been decided by the Supreme War Council at Versailles³ that the efforts should no longer be haphazard as they had hitherto been, but should now be co-ordinated with the view to seeing how far it was possible to force this ally of the Central Powers out of the war.

We left London on 5 February and proceeded to

¹ Dr Herbert Prior Veale was educated at the Diocesan College, Cape Town and Christ's college, Cambridge; studied medicine in Edinburgh and London, and began to practice in Pretoria in 1890.

² John William Stewart of the Canadian Railway Troops.

³ Set up at the instance of Lloyd George at the close of 1917 to secure greater unity of command. It consisted of the Prime Minister and one other senior Minister of each of the main Allied Powers and was aided by a technical military committee.

Boulogne meeting numerous friends on board and at Boulogne. There is no particular incident to report until Paris, which was reached on 6 February. The General spent the day at Versailles discussing matters fully with Sir Henry Wilson, the Senior Representative of the British Government, and the various departments. The whole party met there, Brigadier-General Stewart having come down from General Headquarters. We left Paris that night at 8.30 journeying to Modane as the first stage. At Modane the whole party took a walk through the hills, while I was left behind to settle with the local customs authorities and the officials, there being considerable difficulty in regard to luggage matters at this place owing to the jealousy of the Italians and the French. The jealousy of these two nations is most marked and is likely to be lasting after the declaration of peace when both sides will be disappointed in not achieving that which they set out to win, and are both likely to blame each other for not receiving enough support.

Leaving Modane we went to Turin and thoroughly enjoyed the journey through the mountains where one was able to get a beautiful view of the snow-capped Alps and at the same time to sit in the sun and see the successful agricultural efforts of the Northern Italians. It was interesting to see the country at this later stage, we having seen it last just when all the leaves were beginning to turn when we went down to the Rapallo Conference.

At Turin we had four hours' wait before leaving for Rome and took a bird's-eye view of the town, which is really a very fine one, having wonderfully good buildings. Leaving there for Rome we reached our destination at noon and went to the Hotel Excelsior, an extraordinarily fine building, which, though actually full for the moment, is, as a rule, very empty. There was, to account for its prosperity, an International Naval Conference sitting there. It is a very cold building owing to the fact that they cannot have their central heating on for any time as the scarcity of coal in Italy is chronic, and it is difficult to obtain enough to cook by let alone to heat a public place. There were a few Romans as a matter of fact who had found the difficulties of housekeeping so great that they had migrated to this hotel.

The General at this place lunched with the Ambassador, and Colonel Kirke and I went off to the Forum where we had four hours under the guidance of a rather good bear leader who picked us up when we had just arrived and marched us round the historic Forum, the Palatine Hill and the Colosseum discoursing most volubly the whole time on matters of interest, until at six o'clock we had to call a halt and return home. Towards the end we felt that we were getting too much detail and suggested skipping certain things, but our guide, having got a settled programme, was not to be deflected and marched manfully forward through all details.

That evening Sir Guy Granet, General [W. H.] Grey and a few other railway experts met the General and discussed railway traffic problems.

Leaving Rome on 8 February we arrived at Taranto at 11.45 a.m. on the 9th and were met there by the Railway Transport Officer and by the Naval Authorities and were taken straight on board H.M.S. *Queen*, the guardship of the port, one of the old style of Dreadnoughts which are not sent to sea. On this ship the General inspected one of those strikingly smart guards that are furnished by the Marines, in this particular case by the Royal Marine Light Infantry, and after it had dismissed we lunched with the Commodore, Commodore [A. W.] Heneage, and after that the General and some of the party went to the rest camp which has been formed there and through which all troops passing to and from the Salonika and Palestine fronts have to pass. This rest camp, after having been a byword in the way of malaria, is now being reorganized and made fairly comfortable. It is interesting to note that all the Asiatics who have come to France for the Labour Corps have passed through Taranto, and although the accommodation has been very primitive, no serious disease has been imported or has broken out at the camp.

I proceeded to H.M.S. *Liverpool* which was to take us over to Alexandria and saw all our cabins and accommodation. The reception that we got on board this ship during the whole time was extraordinarily kind, and they showed five sick landlubbers the greatest consideration and kindness. We went from Taranto after tea, leaving the very fine inner harbour and proceeding to the outer harbour through the swept channel

into the Mediterranean. The whole party were rather piano on the voyage over but they used to appear at odd times and venture on to the bridge to see what was doing, because it became so uncomfortable lying in a bunk with one's 'Gieves waistcoat' on wondering whether there were any submarines about.

We reached Alexandria in 41 hours from Taranto, an extraordinarily quick passage, and not having any escort to think about we were able to trust to our own speed for our safety.

At Alexandria the really serious business began and we heard that the Brigadier-General, General Staff, lately with General [F. S.] Maude in Mesopotamia was passing through. He was immediately got hold of and taken half-way to Cairo, so that his views could be got and answers obtained to very burning questions. This was the beginning of the typical, quick and up-to-date methods adopted by the Mission, and our actions I think, were likely to cause people to think that we were an extraordinary crowd, because to seize a man suddenly at Alexandria and take him half-way up to Cairo, and then to put him off the train just as another express was returning to Alexandria, and so getting the most out of him with the minimum of inconvenience, was quite a new idea.

We arrived at Cairo to find an aide-de-camp to the High Commissioner with a number of red-jacketed Egyptian natives to meet us and drove in the High Commissioner's cars to the Residency. We were put up in one wing and were very comfortable there although it was rather a task always being there and not being quite so free as we should have been otherwise at an hotel, but the very kind spirit that prompted the High Commissioner and Lady Wingate to put us up made it impossible for us to refuse. The next morning we got to work and saw various officers from Palestine Command and the Arab Bureau and made our arrangements to visit Palestine where we were to be the guests of General Allenby. In the afternoon we went up the Pyramids with Colonel [R.] Storrs as 'bear leader' and we were shown round by the head Sheik of the village, who happened to [be] such a high man that he could not be tipped, which was a most remarkable thing because everywhere one went 'backsheesh' seemed to be the great cry.

After having spent a very interesting afternoon at the Pyramids we returned to the Residency, where, the same night, there was a formal state dinner to which several of the important Egyptians came to meet the General. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the High Commissioner has, in so far as liquor is concerned, followed the example of the King.¹

The next day (13 February), after more work in the morning, we went out to the Cairo Zoo in the afternoon. The zoo is very good, and so far has not been compelled to sacrifice any of its inmates to obtain food for other inmates, so that we saw a very interesting collection of Egyptian and Sudanese animals.

We left that night for General Allenby's General Headquarters at a place called Bir Salem (Beautiful Water) which we reached on 14 February. Our arrival here was typical, in that it was unexpected and very unostentatious; no motor-cars or anything to meet the party and the General walked up from the railhead to the Headquarters house, which is a part of some old school planted in the middle of a very fine orange grove, and which is, I believe, owned by one of the Rothschilds, who likes to feel that he is the owner of property in the Holy Land. There were, as a matter of fact, a large number of German texts in the rooms so that one could see that they had made the most of their 'peaceful penetration'. The morning was devoted to discussing plans with General Allenby and in the afternoon General Allenby, General Smuts, an officer of General Allenby's staff and myself motored, first to Jaffa, and then to a further point where we took horses and went still further on. It was a fairly clear day and one was able to see far into the country adjacent to the coast. Actually around Jaffa there was a good deal of cultivation going on, and as they had just had good rains there was a greenness everywhere that made the country look rather pleasant. During the whole of our visit Palestine was seen under the happiest conditions, and our views may therefore be rather optimistic because everything was seen under the most advantageous circumstances.

¹ At the instance of Lloyd George, the King had prohibited the consumption of alcoholic liquor by the Royal Family and Household in order to discourage drunkenness among munition workers.

The next day the General and General Allenby, with General Stewart and Colonel Amery all went up to Jerusalem and beyond, but Kirke and I remained behind as there were some very secret telegrams¹ to be sent off which it was not thought desirable to have coded by anybody locally. This meant a complete day's work at a rather complicated code, and so on that day we did not see much of Palestine. The next day, however, we had our chance and had a most interesting day going up to Jerusalem by car, and then going on towards Jericho to a point where we tried to see the front. We first picked up some Brigadier in Jerusalem, who is living in the German School which has been erected on the Mount of Olives. This is a remarkably fine building, very much European in style, and hardly what one had in mind as suitable for the Holy City, and one might note here that of all the ugly buildings in Jerusalem the Germans were the greatest offenders. This building however, is a very remarkable one and most solidly built and has in it all kinds of class-rooms, reception rooms and so on and in addition has a very beautiful chapel with a fine organ. We were there on a Saturday and the chapel was being got ready for service on the Sunday. The Chaplain said that, although the building was extraordinarily good, the acoustic properties were terrible and once he began, his voice simply passed round from corner to corner and reverberated round back again into the pulpit in a most bewildering manner. The organ was being played by a man who had been organist of a church at Clapham. So much for the composition of the British Army; they had simply sent out a circular in the 20th Corps to say that a man was wanted who could play a first-class organ and in no time they had several applications from real experts. The most remarkable thing in this chapel was, however, a very fine mosaic, showing the Lord surrounded by the Twelve Apostles in a very beautiful design. This is on top of one portion of the chantrey where the Kaiser sat and on the top of the other portion, the Kaiser and his wife are depicted with a replica of their school on their knees, with a gesture to suppose that they had just presented the building to the Almighty and would no doubt get due con-

¹ Printed as a Cabinet Paper.

sideration therefor! It was very extraordinary, after the fine design embodying the Lord and His Disciples, that one should see the Kaiser with his proverbially upturned moustache and his modern face crowned with a halo and draped in flowing robes.

After leaving this place we drove to try and see the front line but the road was very bad and it was not possible. Coming back we unexpectedly had rather a good drive round Jerusalem as the driver lost his way, and had a great many turns to make before he could reach the Jaffa gate, close to which place there is a large American curio shop which all British Officers designate as the least ruinous. While we were passing through we saw a large number of troops going up to take part in the capture of Jericho,¹ and also large numbers of troops labouring on the roads in order to make such troop movements possible, and yet one saw able-bodied Russians and all sorts and conditions of Jews loafing round Jerusalem in their best clothes, doing not a hand's turn of work and apparently very prosperous and well fed. It is very extraordinary that this should be the case when the Turks have just been driven out of the city and the greatest Christian power in the world has come in their place. One would have thought that every effort would have been made by these people to facilitate the successes of the troops but they appeared sublimely indifferent. Going to and from Jerusalem one passed numerous places of great historical interest, both as regards the early Israelites and at a later stage the Crusaders, and there is no doubt that, going as we did, we passed through battle-fields on which have died more brave men than have been lost on the field of the Somme in France. The Crusaders Tower, at Ramleh, just outside the General Headquarters, is a most remarkable place on high commanding ground, and one could imagine encamped there all the splendid English knights and squires, who had come out with the Crusaders, with their retainers, all of whom had come to free the Holy Land from the menace of the infidel. During the sea journey to and from the Holy Land, one wondered, how, with the primitive sea arrangements in those days, they ever got there safely with all their war impedimenta.

¹ On 20 February 1918.

It is close to this place that Lord Rosebery's son, Neil Primrose,¹ lies buried.

Leaving Bir Salem that night we reached Kantara the next morning (17 February) and were welcomed there by the operating staff, amongst whom was a man named Read, who was lately station-master at Welverdiend and later at Jeppes-town.² This representative of the South African Railways was most useful and informative and it was very gratifying to see how he had kept up the reputation of the South African Railways for efficiency. We went round the whole of the depot there which is a very large one, having been dumped right down in the desert on the side of the Suez Canal and which has now grown into the most important base on the line of communications, situated as it is in the middle of the Canal; ships come through from the East and West and are unloaded and returned to their respective destinations. The unloading arrangements were inspected most carefully and one saw that if there was only shipping enough available how much South Africa could help in the way of supplies. The mealies which were sent through from India would disgrace any South African farmer, and the grass for the cavalry horses, if sent from the Union, would have caused a war store scandal to say the least of it. But the Army has to be content with this owing to the fact that the ships were bringing railway material from India and the mealies and grass were carried as additional cargo. If only ships could be diverted to bring up South African coal they could then bring our South African mealies and lucerne for the troops who would thus be very much better off and it would of course give us a good cash market. Just outside of Kantara a railway bridge is being built over the canal in order to enable trains to be run right through from Cairo to Jerusalem on the same gauge. There is no doubt that this will form a most important line after the war.

Leaving Kantara we motored through the desert to Ismalia, another important place on the Canal, which is situated in some small oasis. Ismalia owes its reputation to the fact that it is

¹ After serving in France he held junior ministerial posts in the Foreign Office and the Treasury but rejoined the army and was killed at Gaza in Palestine on 18 November 1917 and buried there.

² Both places are near Johannesburg.

where all the headquarters of the Canal used to be centred, and, I believe, still are. The famous French engineer, De Lesseps [F.], who built the Canal, made his headquarters there and all the officials connected with it still live there. We left Ismalia after lunch for Cairo, from whence we proceeded the same evening to Luxor arriving there on the morning of 18 February. Here our party grew considerably as we were joined by Lady Allenby and two or three members of General Allenby's Staff who had made all arrangements for our reception. Immediately after breakfast we proceeded to visit the Tombs of the Kings, and later of the Queens, and had a most interesting day. We were shown round by experts who told us all about the carvings, the paints and the various symbols one saw in the Tombs. We returned after a good day in the open air and slept at Luxor. The next day we went round the Temples of Karnak and here it was very interesting, but the man who took us round was a French Professor, and although he spoke fluent French and could be easily understood by those who were able to follow him fully, those who were not so fortunate could not follow in detail all his discourses, but they heard enough to know how extremely interesting he was. Coming back we saw the Temple at Luxor itself. It is rather remarkable that the Egyptian Government have taken no steps to foster public interest in these old Egyptian memorials by establishing better roads and communications to them, seeing that they are of special interest and even with the primitive arrangements that now exist attract many thousands of visitors. If they were better catered for it is almost certain that many more thousands would come and thus be a source of revenue to the railways.

Leaving Luxor on 19 February we arrived at Cairo on the 20th and expected to find General [W.] Gillman, who was coming post-haste from Mesopotamia to bring General Smuts the latest views from that front and all information that he was likely to require to help him to decide, one way or the other, on the task the War Cabinet had asked him to undertake. As a matter of fact General Gillman did not turn up until the night of the 20th and really only saw the General for the whole of 21 February. It seemed, at first, that he had come an extraordinarily long way from Mesopotamia via Bombay to

Cairo for only one day's chat, but he had investigated the matter independently on his journey over, and had come to certain conclusions, very much in accordance to those General Smuts had come to, and which helped very considerably when it came to actual details, and when he left he expressed himself thoroughly in agreement with the report as put forward.

On the 21st before we left Cairo we went to a large reception at the Sultan's Palace to which all the important civilian and military officials were asked and which was rather a formal and dull affair. Everything so far as the Sultan was concerned was extremely well done. The guard of honour consisted of fifty Sudanese, all approximately six feet high, who were standing in the hall when we arrived, and after putting away our kit we were ushered into a large central room and were gradually singled out and our party were all presented to His Royal Highness. As soon as everybody was supposed to be present we adjourned to a beautifully decorated hall, which is arranged as a private theatre, and all the ladies and such men as wanted to, watched a French play. The rest of the men drifted off into the smoking-rooms, bar, etc., all awaiting the conclusion of the play when the real business of the show began, viz., a large champagne supper. We unfortunately had to leave before this happened, as we were leaving by ordinary night train for Alexandria where we arrived the next morning. Our kit was sent off to the *Liverpool*—as we were going back by her—and we proceeded with General [J. M.] Salmond out to one of the flying-grounds to see the progress that had been made there. Unfortunately there was too much wind for actual flying so we had to be content with an inspection of the shops and other arrangements. There is no doubt that the flying-grounds at Alexandria will be one of the taking-off places for flying round the world, and as far as South Africa is concerned, will be the centre to which people flying from Europe will arrive on the evening of the first day. The other stages would be the top of the Nile, a suitable point in Central Africa, Pretoria and Cape Town.

After having seen everything at Alexandria we embarked on the *Liverpool* at one o'clock on 22 February and knew that we were in for a bad time as we could see the waves breaking over the harbour wall just outside. The Captain very kindly did not move out to sea till 2.30 in order to give the party

time to settle down. While in Alexandria it was very pathetic to see the number of ships that were lying in harbour crippled by enemy torpedoes. There is no doubt about it that the Mediterranean is very 'unhealthy' and only about ten days before we arrived at Alexandria two troop ships had been sunk. We saw both the wrecks. There was, I fear, a considerable loss of life although the ships were torpedoed while well within sight of land. To say anything about the sea voyage is impossible, except that it was very rough and that all the party were placed *hors de combat* and only gradually began to creep up during the last hours of the voyage. A good deal of damage was done to the ship by the violence of the storm, and the Japanese destroyers that were acting as escort had to signal several times that it was impossible for them to keep up the pace at which we were going. Although built to do 28 knots, they could not do 21 in such a heavy sea, and even at a slower rate they were taking water down their funnels, and eventually they had to be told to get what cover they could to shelter from the storm and not to worry about us and we would trust to our own speed for safety. We eventually arrived at Taranto on 25 February. We had intended to go to Brindisi but at nine o'clock on Sunday night a wireless was received to the effect that there were many floating mines in the Adriatic and it was thought safer to divert to Taranto instead. This meant a considerable amount of tossing, as being bound for Brindisi, we happened to be in a course which took us fairly well in the trough of the sea and we did not roll very badly, but when we were suddenly diverted we had to run cross-wise so that the ship got a terrible buffeting. However everything was well when we arrived at Taranto and most of the party put off to rather a nice-looking olive grove, which was not very far away, and tried to recover themselves. After lunch two or three of us played tennis with the skipper of the ship.

We took the train on our return journey at six o'clock and arrived in Rome the next day (26 February) at 10 a.m. where we began again to get in touch with things in England. We only heard in Cairo that there had been trouble about the resignation of the Chief of the General Staff¹ and had been

¹ General Sir William Robertson had resigned on 16 February 1918, following differences of opinion between him and the Government about the status of the British Permanent Military Adviser on the Supreme War Council at Versailles.

wondering all the time what had occurred to bring this about and how the Government had fared in the debates in Parliament. This time one did not get the opportunity of looking about as there was the report of the results of the Mission to get into proper form so that immediately on our arrival it could be handed in.

We left Rome on the 26th and eventually arrived in Paris on the 28th having done the journey in a rather comfortable private saloon belonging to the General Manager of the Italian Railways. This was arranged through the Railway Transport Officer at Rome, who happened, amongst his many other qualifications, to be a Wykehamist, and so had perhaps, a more than passing interest in seeing to our comfort!

In Paris we were taken to a very quaint little restaurant by General Stewart where we had a most remarkable lunch. In this most unpretentious place we had the very celebrated dish of Paris duck, stewed in its own juice, also brandy of over a hundred years old, to say nothing of vintage burgundy, and we all left there, some to go to Versailles and some to return to other duties, seeing everything absolutely *couleur de rose*.

We left Paris that night and arrived at Boulogne at six o'clock the next morning. We just had a wash and brush-up before we breakfasted and then went on board the leave-boat. The crossing over was extremely rough, but all now considered themselves experienced sailors and did not fail to do justice to the schooling they had on the *Liverpool* and so were not materially inconvenienced by the sea.

On arrival in London at 3.15 the Mission broke up and the General was called off immediately to the War Cabinet to help to decide some very important point.

It is remarkable what a cheery party the Mission was. In Colonel Kirke we had a typical representative of the old Army and the War Office as it is understood by the public, and he only began to thaw after three or four days and even then did not allow himself to thaw too much, always feeling that he was the regular old soldier and wanted people to know it. He turned out to be a very amusing companion but was at any moment prepared to leap back into his shell.

Brigadier-General Stewart, a Canadian railway engineer who is popularly supposed to be the first man in the civilized

world at railway construction, was a most charming companion. A man who was born in Sutherland and went to Canada with very few pence in his pocket and worked himself up, first as a minor official on the railway and then as a railway contractor on his own and now a partner in one of the biggest firms in Canada, a firm which thinks nothing of taking on a contract to build 800 miles of railway and docks in proportion, and yet so unassuming in his way that one would think he had no such qualifications. He was gently chaffed the whole time in regard to his love for Scotland and Canada and took it always in the best part and thoroughly endeared himself to everybody.

The satisfactory part of the whole thing is that when the report of the Mission¹ was discussed by the Cabinet it was accepted without reservation and the General Staff instructed to carry it out; therefore one considers that the work done must have been good because all the recommendations were investigated very thoroughly and the minutest details were discussed by experts and all concerned to see that what was recommended was possible.

It is another feather in the cap, already considerably full, of the head of the Mission—General Smuts.

817 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 222

London

11 March 1918

. . . Tomorrow a year ago I landed in England. What a year! And the war shows no signs of an end. Will March 1919 still find me here ?

818 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 223

London

18 March 1918

I hope you are much better today and that in future you will moderate the demands on your time and strength. Otherwise I shall have to tell the recruiting people to have you called up and posted to me for special service.

¹ Report on Mission to Egypt, dated 1 March 1918.

When you receive this, little Helen will be a year old. You and Margaret must be very proud of her, and I send you my most affectionate congratulations. She is very dear to me, and could not be dearer if she were my own child. Indeed I sometimes suffer from an illusion which makes or promises to make her my own. However, in the meantime I join you in looking upon her and saying, like the Lord, that she is very good. God bless her and her parents, and her brothers, and make her a joy to you for ever. I send her a little brooch with her initials thereon.

819 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 225

London

26 March 1918

Your welcome newsy letter has just arrived, many thanks for it. I have not had the time or the heart to write to you. It is undoubtedly a dark hour for this country and the world. The Germans are within sight of victory¹ but the little distance between them and their desires may be large enough for the Miracle once more to be wrought. If not, then in our day anyhow the Devil triumphs, and this generation will drill and prepare and scheme for the greater wars which will engulf the next generation. The Spirit ever resides in a body, and the spiritual, which you cherish, is conserved in the material which is now being tested to the uttermost. May it not break! A German victory which will mean for the West what it has meant for Russia will be horrible to contemplate. May God give strength to our boys who are standing in the breach.

No, I shall not get to York now, as I can only go to receive their Freedom, and that must wait a bit. I am sorry, but it would be a mistake to visit Uncle Joseph² except on such an occasion.

I doubt whether I shall get to Street, and maybe I shall visit you with or without Alice. I hope you will get the house

¹ The last great German offensive on the Western Front had begun on 21 March 1918 with an attack which forced the British armies into rapid retreat with heavy losses of men and guns. By 25 March the Germans had advanced 15 miles.

² Joseph Rowntree, uncle of A. B. Gillett.

you saw for, apart from me, Arthur requires a change badly.

. . . I had very sweet letters from home. Jannie is becoming a regular engineer and whenever he has done anything with which he is specially pleased he exclaims: Who now is the best engineer? Of course he has no doubt about the answer. He is very much afraid of a big red Lincoln bull I have and asked somebody the other day, 'Which is more powerful, the big red bull or God?' The answer is not recorded. Happy, happy, happy children. God bless them all.

820 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 19, no. 4

Supreme War Council

British Section

Versailles

27 March 1918

My dear Smuts, If you have half an hour to spare one of these days you might read through the opening article in the enclosed *Mercure de France*. It is an account of the Russian Revolution by an old collaborator of Lenin's, and full of insight.

A very excellent fellow called Phillip Millet who is Sous-Chef de Cabinet to Leygues [J. C. G.], Minister of Marine and Member of the French War Council, has been asked by the French Committee on Peace Terms to draw up a confidential report for them on the Anglo-French aspect of the settlement. With this in view he is shortly going over to London to try and get, quite informally and unofficially, at the British, and more particularly the Dominion, point of view on these matters. I think it would certainly be a good thing if you could have a talk with him, and I shall give him a letter of introduction to you. He is not only a very nice fellow, but very friendly, in fact very English in ideas and outlook, and I think he can do a great deal of good by bringing home to his countrymen the real nature of what our demands will be. I gave him a broad general line the other day by saying that Great Britain as such wanted nothing but that all our demands would be the outcome of the necessary insistence of the Dominions and of India and Egypt for security, a security which postulated free inter-communication between the different parts of the British

Empire, and keeping away the German sphere of power at a sufficient distance from them.

Things are looking better here this morning, and I think there is a good hope of stopping them before they can get to Amiens. If so no irretrievable harm will have been done. The only thing in any case is for the Government now to take the whole problem of the conduct of the war firmly in hand. It must take whatever measures are required, including Irish conscription, without flinching, and get rid of its own dead-heads. And in the excitement about the West it must not lose sight of the situation in the East. The last telegram to [Sir C. M.] Marling asking him whether he mightn't reconsider his previous views, are enough to make one despair. Why can't he be told straight out that these things have got to be done, and that it is his business to make them as palatable to the Persians as he can? I also trust that the Cabinet and Chief of the Imperial General Staff will not make the mistake now of weakening Allenby and destroying his chances of getting to Damascus. After all, nothing that he can send can affect the immediate issue, while as for the situation three or four months hence, the real relief is to be sought in the measures to be taken at home and not in scraping a couple of Divisions from Palestine.

So please get rid of A. J. Balfour and Derby:¹ there are a good many others who could be spared, but these are the two most dangerous sources of weakness. Yours ever,

L. S. Amery

821 To Lady Mary Murray²

Vol. 20, no. 180

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
10 April 1918

Dear Lady Mary, Many thanks for your letter. I can understand and sympathize most fully with all you say and feel. I had a talk with Agnes yesterday and on Monday she comes again to see me, and in the meantime I am making certain

¹ The Earl of Derby ceased to be Secretary of State for War on 19 April 1918 when he was appointed Ambassador to France.

² Wife of G. G. A. Murray.

inquiries. I shall do what I can to be helpful to her. She is full of character and personality, and can in the end be trusted to work out her own salvation. The trouble is to find an outlet for her energy and ability within the scope of her own wishes—to be as near as possible to the front and to be engaged in direct war work. However, all we can do is to try to be helpful and sympathetic to her. Ever yours sincerely,

J. C. Smuts

822 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 35

Savoy Hotel

[London]

13 April 1918

It wrung my heart to get your letter and to see from it that your cough is once more becoming troublesome. I sincerely hope it is only a chill and that no serious reaction will follow. If not I shall have to send you to Doornkloof, where among the blessed hills and dales there is healing beyond any I have met elsewhere in this life. Please send me a truthful bulletin as often as possible. And remember I am even better than the Christian Scientist!

Yes, things are bad—very bad, but just not too bad. I believe that Ireland's hour has struck and that with some wisdom and restraint on the part of her spokesmen the goal is in sight. *Home Rule before conscription is applied.* In France the enemy, by concentrating against the British Army at points where it is not possible for the French to help, is having great success and putting an intolerable strain on us. But if we succeed (as I hope we shall) in bringing his progress to a stop his position after his colossal losses will be very hopeless. . . .

823 From R. C. Maclaurin

Vol. 20, no. 69

Office of the President
Institute of Technology

Massachusetts

1 May 1918

My dear Smuts, I have just taken down Seeley's book on Goethe¹ from my shelves and looked at the inscription from

¹ John Robert Seeley, *Goethe; reviewed after sixty years*, published 1894.

you to me 'In memory of Cambridge days'. Those days must be a very distant memory to you with your crowded life of action in the intervening years. In most respects they seem far off even to me in the relative quiet of academic life (although the presidency of such a college as this involves in this country a participation in public life almost unthinkable in England). However one of the memories that I have kept ever fresh has been that of our intimate associations in those youthful days—memories that have enabled me to watch with sympathetic interest the great career that you have marked out for yourself. I am a poor correspondent and have assumed that you are too busy with great affairs to have time for mere friendly writing. Still, I was constrained to write to you several months ago, venturing the suggestion that if it could possibly be arranged you should come to this country, if only for a very brief time, to stimulate it to more strenuous endeavour in the prosecution of the war. I have met many of the agents (official and otherwise) who have been sent to this country for that great purpose, but there are many reasons why you would make a more effective appeal to the popular imagination than any of them. What is perhaps more important is that you would, I believe, be specially well fitted by temperament and capacity to make an impression on the President, who controls affairs to a quite extraordinary degree. Progress in various vital matters has, as you know, been painfully slow in this country since our entry into the war, and although the country is for the moment fairly well aroused to its shortcomings by the critical condition on the Western Front, there is danger of a relapse into self-satisfaction. More serious still is the danger due to the lack of steadfastness of a large section of our people, and the possibility that without the right stimulus they may not be ready to make the sacrifices needed to see the thing through. There are some careful observers who doubt the President's determination to continue the struggle as long as may be necessary, and although he takes counsel with very few, he is greatly influenced by those that know how to deal with him.

It seems to me that, in view of all the circumstances, the action or inaction of the United States may prove to be the absolutely critical thing in determining the momentous issues

of the war, so that in spite of the great need of your services in Europe it might be worth while spending a short time at some strategic centres on this side of the Atlantic.

I realize of course that all this may be quite impossible. As from this distance things seem to be going in the sphere of politics in England, you may be called upon soon to direct the affairs of the Empire. If so—and if you will forgive a playful ending to an otherwise serious letter—I shall be happy to serve as a member of your Cabinet, even as Secretary for Ireland. With warm personal regards, I am, Yours sincerely,

Richard C. Maclaurin

824 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 231

London

8 May 1918

. . . It is much to know that where you are struggling in the night loving spirits encircle you and embrace you. For the path is very dark indeed. I have never in all my life been so perplexed as to the right thing to do. Always in the darkness there has been the clear, steady light of duty to guide one. But now I am not clear even as to that. But I am in no worse plight than millions today.

‘O lonely grave in Moab’s land, O dark Beth-Peor Hill
Speak to our troubled hearts and teach them to be still.’¹

. . . Hilda wants me to take her to visit you on Whit Sunday when I arrive back from Scotland. We shall see about that.

825 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 184

Savoy Hotel

London, W.C.2

8 Mei 1918

Liefste Mamma, Morgen vertrekt een Japaneesch boot en ik geef deze brief aan een vriend die daarmee naar Z.A. zeilt. Ik

¹ This line from ‘The Burial of Moses’ by Mrs Cecil Frances Alexander (1818–95) reads:

‘Speak to these curious hearts of ours,
And teach them to be still.’

geloof niet dat er een zeepost is deze maand. Van jou hoor ik nog geregeld, maar ik weet niet of jij mijne brieven krijgt want de laatste twee of drie zijn gegaan zonder zeepost. Jou laatste brieven brachten mij steeds goed nieuws en ik hoop het gaat jullie nog steeds wel. Burton is nu op pad hierheen naar de Imperiale Conferentie. Ik zal weer mijn best doen zoodra de Conferentie in Junie over is ontslag van de Cabinet te krijgen en naar Z.A. terug te keeren. Ik verlang baing naar jullie en ik ben waarlijk moede van dit land en al zijn moeilijkheid. Ik voel zooals Odysseus op Kalypso's eiland en kijk gedurig in de richting van het verre zuiden waar mijn hart is en steeds henen trekt.

Een week geleden had ik een ongeluk met de motor terwijl ik van Oxford terugkeerde. Een meisje van 17 jaren kwam per ongeluk onder de kar en werd doodgetrapt. Ik moest haar naar het hospitaal nemen en daarna moest ik de moeder, een arme weduwe met een groote familie, de treurmare gaan doen. Ik heb haar £100 gegeven hoewel ik geen aansprakelijkheid erken. Gelukkig was Alice Clark bij mij en op haar getuigenis vond het hof dat het een pure ongeluk was. Het was waarlijk een groote treurigheid. Gister zijn twee personen in de straat onder mijn venster door motors gedood. Hier gebeuren vele zulke ongelukken en in Londen moet men zeer voorzichtig zijn.

Aanstaande week ga ik naar Glasgow voor eenige vergaderingen. Ik krijg daar dan ook weer de Freedom zoowel als en LL.D. In twee dagen moet ik 10 speeches maken. Dat is het ergste, die vervelende speeches. Iemand zond mij jou speech bij de Police sports en het was waarlijk zeer goed. Rechter Curlewis schreef mij dat jij zoo fraai had gesproken, maar eerst toen ik het las kon ik zien dat het zeer goed was. Hartelijk geluk mamma. Jij zal mij misschien nog baing moeten helpen in mijne electies en het spijt mij alleen dat ik niet eerder het verborgen talent had opgegraven! Jong Curlewis keer deze week naar Z.A. terug en zal jou komen zien.

Zoo, dan is Cato nu op kostschool. Ik hoop het gaat haar daar wel. Ik hoop de kinderen gaan allen zeer goed aan met hunne studies. Ik wil hen allen een goede opvoeding geven want ik twijfel erg of zij meer van ons zullen krijgen. Wanneer gaat Jannie school toe? Of zal hij de beginselen tehuis van

zijne zusters leeren ? Ik wil hebben dat hij ook fluksch moet aanleeren zoodat hij spoedig brieven aan pappa kan schrijven.

Hier wordt nog zwaar gevochten en ik denk het ergste zal nog komen. Nog nooit in de geschiedenis is er bloed op zoo'n schaal gevloeid. God geve dat erg spoedig een einde aan deze smart komen. De Z.A. brigade werd eerst te Bouchavesnes vernield en toen weer te Messines, en nog blijven de overblijfselen voortvechten. Hun roem is ongeëvenaard, maar de verliezen zijn bitter zwaar. Hoe lang, O Heer!

Nyssie is nu veel beter en hoewel hij nog niet kan loopen, gaat hij elken dag uitrijden met mijn motor. Ik hoop hij zal spoedig geheel hersteld zijn. Frank Theron is nog aan het front, geheel ongeschonden en vol moed.

Ik weet niet of jij mijn draft (First Sight) voor £166.18.8. ontvangen hebt. Indien zoo dan kan jij het ingesloten Second Sight opscheuren. Het is de opbrengst van mijn *War Time Speeches*.

Ik hoop dat het met onze boomen en vee goed gaat. Mattie Basson houdt jou hoop ik op de hoogte wat Barberspan betreft. Ik wil gaarne mijn veeteelt aandrukken daar ik meen dat vleesch na den oorlog een goede markt over de geheele wereld zal vinden. Indien Mattie zijn koeien en versen billijk aan mij wil verkoopen kan jij ze koopen. Ik zou gaarne een paar honderd kalfers elk jaar willen teelen want daarop meen ik dat wij profijtelijk kunnen boeren. Anders moet ik terug naar de balie zoodra ik uit de regeering ga, wat natuurlijk eenigen tijd kan gebeuren.

Nu Mamma, zoentjes aan jou en de kleinen. God zij met U tot wij weder zien.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
8 May 1918

Dearest Mamma, A Japanese ship leaves tomorrow and I give this letter to a friend who is sailing on it to South Africa. I do not think there is a sea mail this month. From you I still hear regularly, but I do not know if you get my letters, for the last two or three went without a sea mail. Your last letters brought me continuing good news and I hope you are still

well. Burton is now on his way here to the Imperial Conference. I shall again do my best, as soon as the Conference is over in June, to get release from the Cabinet and return to South Africa. I long much for you and I am really tired of this country and all its trouble. I feel like Odysseus on Calypso's island and look constantly in the direction of the far south where my heart is and is always drawn.

A week ago I had a motor-car accident while I was returning from Oxford. A girl of 17 accidentally fell under the car and was killed. I had to take her to hospital and afterwards I had to condole with the mother, a poor widow with a large family. I gave her £100, although I do not admit responsibility. Fortunately Alice Clark was with me and on her evidence the court found that it was a sheer accident. It was really most sad. Yesterday two people were killed by motor-cars in the street under my window. Many such accidents happen here and in London one has to be very careful.

Next week I go to Glasgow for some meetings. I am also to get the Freedom there, as well as an LL.D. In two days I must make ten speeches. That is the worst, these boring speeches. Someone sent me your speech at the Police sports and it was really very good. Judge [J. S.] Curlewis wrote me that you had spoken so beautifully, but only when I read it could I see that it was very good. Hearty congratulations, Mamma. You will probably have to help me a great deal in my elections and I am only sorry that I did not dig up the hidden talent sooner! Young Curlewis returns to South Africa this week and will come and see you.

So Cato is now at boarding-school. I hope it will go well with her there. I hope the children are all going on very well with their studies. I want to give them all a good education for I doubt very much whether they will get more from us. When does Jannie go to school? Or will he learn the elements at home from his sisters? I want him to learn quickly so that he can soon write letters to Pappa.

Here there is still heavy fighting but I think the worst is still to come. Never in history has blood flowed on such a scale. May God speedily grant an end to this anguish. The South African Brigade was first crushed at Bouchavesnes and then again at Messines, and still the remnants continue

to fight on. Their fame is unequalled, but the losses are bitterly heavy. How long, O Lord!

Nyssie is now much better and although he cannot yet walk, he goes out driving in my motor-car every day. I hope he will soon be quite recovered. Frank Theron is still at the front, quite unscathed and full of courage.

I do not know if you have received my draft (First Sight) for £166. 18s. 8d. If so, you can tear up the enclosed Second Sight. It is the proceeds of my *War Time Speeches*.

I hope all is well with our trees and cattle. Mattie Basson¹ keeps you informed, I hope, about Barberspan. I should like to press on with my cattle-raising, as I think that meat will find a good market all over the world after the war. If Mattie wishes to sell his cows and heifers to me reasonably, you can buy them. I should like to breed a few hundred calves each year as I think we can farm profitably on that. Otherwise I must go back to the Bar as soon as I go out of the Government, which, of course, may happen at any time.

Now, Mamma, kisses to you and the little ones. God be with you till we see one another again.

Pappa

826 To D. Lloyd George

Vol. 100, no. 101

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
9 May 1918

My dear Prime Minister, I feel very much perturbed over the Home Rule Bill, and I look upon it as the most dangerous snag on the path of the Government.

At a time of supreme crisis in our military fortunes, I do not think the Government are justified in throwing this apple of discord in front of the people and undermining their confidence in the judgment and wisdom of their rulers. Home Rule after all is a trifling matter compared to the war situation, which requires the undivided attention of the Government and Parliament and the nation, and yet Home Rule may lead to a first-class crisis in this country.

¹ Tenant of Barberspan, one of Smuts's farms in the western Transvaal.

Your dilemma is that while the Government are pledged to conscription for Ireland,¹ a condition precedent to its enforcement is the passage of a fair Home Rule Bill.² But it would be indecent, and in fact impossible, to pass such a Bill against the wishes of Ulster with the Ulster volunteers actually away at the front fighting the enemy. And I fear Carson's two letters³ have only one meaning, and that is that Ulster will fight any Home Rule Bill satisfactory to the Nationalists to the bitter end. On the other hand again I do not think it possible for this Government to introduce a Bill which will reasonably satisfy the Nationalists; [W. H.] Long's draft is far more likely to inflame their anger. Besides, there is the danger that the Government may not agree on the terms of a Bill.

Under all these circumstances a Home Rule Bill is almost certain to fail, and its failure will involve the downfall of the Government. Why start on a journey which must inevitably lead to ruin? Surely the present situation is one of unspeakable gravity. The existence of this country and the British Empire is at stake, and Home Rule in such a crisis leaves me stone cold, and I daresay all prudent citizens of this Empire, whatever their origin or party.

My advice in regard to this matter was not followed before, viz: not to touch conscription in Ireland until Home Rule was an accomplished fact. Even so, I would again tender you advice. Inform Parliament that before introducing the Home Rule Bill which the Government have prepared, you are trying to obtain the adhesion of both Irish parties to it, as at such a time you do not feel justified in asking Parliament to divert their attention from the war to a Home Rule Bill which does not meet with a substantial measure of agreement from the people of Ireland as a whole. Inform Parliament also that this is a question on which you are anxious to consult the Imperial War Conference meeting next month. You will then have the

¹ By the Military Service Act, which became law on 18 April 1918, its provisions might be extended to Ireland by Order in Council.

² The proposed Home Rule Bill was to be based on the recommendations of the Irish Convention. These included an Irish Parliament and an Executive responsible to it with jurisdiction over the whole of Ireland, forty-two Irish seats in the British House of Commons, and the reservation of certain powers to the British Parliament.

³ Two statements by Sir Edward Carson on the Home Rule Bill were published in *The Times* on 20 and 24 April 1918.

opportunity (supposing the Irish do not accept the Bill) to escape from the dilemma of having to press forward a Bill which both Irish parties will fight from their respective points of view. In the meantime conscription would not be enforced; but that will be no unmixed evil, as I do not consider the enforcement of conscription a practical measure in the present temper of Ireland; and I doubt whether, when its real inwardness is realized, the British people will allow it to be done. You remember the sensation produced by the shooting of a few rebels in the last rebellion.¹ In respect of man-power the Americans must make good the failure of the Irish.

My warning to the Government is not to proceed too far towards an impossible situation from which steps could no longer be retraced, and which may involve the Government in ruin and seriously weaken the war effort of the nation. Believe me, Yours sincerely,

s. J. C. Smuts

827 From L. T. Hobhouse

Vol. 20, no. 25

Limpsfield

Surrey

13 May 1918

My dear Smuts, Forgive my asking you to consider whether it is not possible for you to do anything to avert the impending tragedy in Ireland. I know that you have rightly kept apart from our domestic politics. But this is equally an imperial matter, not without its analogies to the case of the Transvaal nineteen years ago. Moreover it gravely affects that moral position on which you, pre-eminently among Ministers, have laid so much public stress. The disaster with which we are threatened is in its way quite comparable with a German occupation of the Channel ports. There is no Leader of Opposition in England and I can think of no one who can make an effective stand but yourself. Yours ever,

L. T. Hobhouse

¹ After the Easter Rebellion in 1916 sixteen rebels were shot and one was hanged.

828 From Sir G. R. Parkin

Vol. 20, no. 108

The Rhodes Scholarship Trust
Upper Canada College
Toronto
15 May 1918

Dear General Smuts, You may remember that you were good enough to give me an interview last spring before I left England for a tour in America. Since that time I have visited more than thirty states of the Union, paying special attention to the universities, with which my scholarship business has put me in close touch, and addressing faculties and large bodies of students on war questions. I have also been asked to address many of the Chambers of Commerce clubs, and other similar organizations both in the United States and Canada. In nearly all of these I have specially referred to the views which you then expressed to me about the German colonies in South Africa, and nothing I had to say attracted more general interest. During the last month or two I have been mainly in the Eastern States, and have discussed these questions with leading thinkers.

Among the men for instance, who have much influence on American thought are Dr [C. W.] Eliot, ex-President of Harvard University and Dr [A. L.] Lowell, the actual President of the same University. A few days ago I had long conversations with them both. President Eliot is urgent that the Allies should at once make a public and positive statement that they will not under any conditions return the German colonies. He believes that this is an absolutely necessary safeguard for the future, and he thinks that a definite statement will clear the air and will be well received in America. This view rather surprised me, as I had myself thought that anything working towards territorial expansion of our Empire would awaken suspicion in America about the unselfishness of our aims. He authorized me, however, to quote his opinion on the matter to any American audience.

President Lowell would not perhaps go as far as this in the matter of immediate policy, but he lays great stress upon having the American public made aware of the South African, Australian, and New Zealand point of view, and attaches great

importance to anything that you can say to the public on the matter.

No doubt you have already been approached with the suggestion that you should yourself come to America and place your views before the American public in person. This may be quite impossible, but nothing can well be more certain than that such a step would have an overwhelming influence on opinion in the United States; you would receive a public ovation everywhere. Failing this I am quite sure that there is no other way in which you can serve the interests of South Africa and the Empire more than by using any other channel open to you for getting in touch with American opinion.

When I was in Boston lately the Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* spoke to me very urgently about this, and wished me when I return to England, as I hope to do within a few weeks, to see you and talk over the matter of writing an article for that magazine, which offers about the best channel I know of for reaching the educated classes of the United States, through whom a wider audience will rapidly be reached. It seems well to write to you at once without waiting for my return.

I was in New York after being in Boston and there I learned indirectly from someone who seemed to have knowledge about it, that the *Century Magazine* expected to publish something that you had written. I hope that this is correct, and yet I cannot but think that the other opening should not be left untried. The *Century* has not of late years held the place it once did, and the *Atlantic* reaches in my judgement a much more important circle of readers. I do not think that the one need necessarily exclude the other. I was assured that the more that was written on the question the greater would be the advantage.

An illustration was pointed out to me from American history which furnishes an interesting parallel. The people of New England in 1744 took a chief hand in conquering Louisbourg from the French.¹ Its restoration by Great Britain in the next treaty of peace² produced a feeling of distrust of the mother-

¹ During the War of the Austrian Succession (1745-8), known in North America as 'King George's War', Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island was besieged and captured in 1745.

² The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

country among the colonists which had much influence on the American mind at the period of the Revolution.¹ All that I have felt and said about South Africa's retention of the German colonies has been strengthened by a letter I have just had from Bishop [W. T.] Gaul at Cape Town. He tells me how strong South African feeling—Dutch and English—is on the matter. No one can question the danger that would hang over South Africa from aggressive German bases in close neighbourhood. So, too, with Australia and New Zealand. In regard to these latter Senator [H. C.] Lodge said to me at Washington that Americans did not wish to see Germany anywhere in the Pacific again.

But no one can put the case for retention with such effect as you can here in America, and I hope you will keep it steadily in mind. The Monroe doctrine² has prepared for you a sympathetic hearing.

I have always held that practically three new Monroe doctrines would be the outcome of this war—one each for South Africa, Australia and New Zealand—and each with as full a justification as the original one, or even stronger.

I hope that I may have an opportunity to talk all this over with you when I get back to England, as I hope to do early in July. Believe me, Yours most sincerely,

George R. Parkin

829 Speech (1918)

Box H, no. 21

This speech was made by Smuts on 17 May 1918 in Glasgow when he received the Freedom of the City. It was fully reported in Glasgow but not in the London papers. Thus *The Times* report stressed the passages on the need to achieve victory and the dangers of pacifism, but omitted those on the impossibility of delivering a knock-out blow and the undesirability of smashing Germany and imposing a dictated peace.

I appreciate most deeply the honour which has today been done to me by the Corporation of Glasgow. I know it is an honour very rarely given, and in looking over the list of your distinguished burgesses of the past I see some of the most

¹ i.e., the War of American Independence (1775–83).

² The declaration by President Monroe in 1821 that any intervention by a foreign Power on the American continent would be regarded by the United States as an unfriendly act.

notable names of the British Empire today. If anything could add to that honour it is the language which you have used today in referring not only to me personally but to South Africa, to South Africans, and to their services in this war. As regards myself personally, my Lord Provost, I accept the honour that the Corporation has conferred on me, however undeserving I am of it, as a token of your good will and of your recognition of one who from the first days of this war has been a fighter and a worker in many lands, in the field and in the council chamber, and I hope so to continue to the very end. I count myself happy, as I am sure most of you do, that our lot has fallen on days which are among the great historic times of the world. However hard our lot, however great the burdens and responsibilities resting on us, we know that we are living in times which are of decisive importance for the future of the world, and that the work that we are doing, however hard, will not be in vain, but will bear fruit in great improvements for the future lot of mankind. This honour you conferred on me about a year ago, and I have always been waiting for a quiet time to come and accept it at your hands. Well, the longer I have waited the stormier the time has become. I decided, now that the greatest storm of all is raging that I could no longer delay, that I would come here, for it is good for us to meet at times like these when we are passing through the deepest waters, when we feel that seeing each other eye to eye goes a long way to meet difficulties and to enable us to bear the trial that is cast upon us.

I have been this morning through a number of your principal shipyards here. This is my sixth speech today. I have had the opportunity of meeting a large number of the workers of this city, and I am sure that the association has proved useful and of public service. I think it is good for us to meet and to turn away from the centre of our troubles to the outer parts where much work of a very important character is done. Now, as I say, we meet today in probably the greatest, the most troublesome, the most arduous time of the war. The very climax of the whole accumulated effort of four years of warfare is now on us, the enemy is at last making the great effort for which he has been preparing. He thinks that his time has come now, that his chance has come. The breakdown

of Russia and Roumania has enabled the enemy to concentrate on the Western front an enormous preponderance of troops such as he had never before collected in this war. He is fighting now for decisive victory. He is delivering now the great blow of the war. It may be continued for months, but he is determined to see this to an end, and he thinks that this will be the end, and that this will secure the great victory which he set out to achieve.

These are the days that more than ever bulk in your history, and you will be called upon to show what stuff the manhood and the womanhood of this country is made of. The enemy has specially singled you out. You know in general outline what his plan is. It is to cut off the British Army from the French and sever their connection; to get hold of the Channel ports, and in that way to contract the area of the British Army; to single them out and fight them to a finish. You have been honoured by the enemy in this way; you have been singled out, and why? You are standing more than any other army and nation in the breach, not only for ourselves but for the whole of mankind. Why has the enemy done you this honour? Why is he trying to cut you off from the other Allies and surround you and isolate you and to fight the war to a finish with you? It is because you are the decisive factor. He thinks if he can beat the British Army the war is over. And he knows that you are not only the military but the moral, economic, and industrial mainstay of the whole Alliance, and therefore if you are broken the rest will break of itself. That is the particular reason for singling you out, and he knows that from last year you have been bearing in full the enormous burden.

The year 1917 will remain for the British Army especially the year of the most uninterrupted and arduous fighting that it has ever seen in its history. That great battle of Flanders against powers stronger than the enemy—against mud, against weather conditions, against the forces of nature, will ever remain one of the greatest records in the history of the British Army. The enemy knows—or the enemy thinks—that the British Army gets tired. He thinks that the British people will get tired, but what you have to prove to him in this struggle is that you never get tired. We have to prove to the enemy that neither as an Army nor as a nation nor as the British

Empire shall we be tired until we have done our duty and finished our work. Well, he is keenest to cut you off from the English Channel, and in these days he has got a new incentive. Zeebrugge and Ostend were his principal submarine bases in the English Channel. He has lost these without our Army advancing to free Belgium. Our Navy, equal once more to its incomparable traditions, has taken these places, sealed them up and finished them. And so the enemy has all the more reason, as these places have now become useless to him, to make every effort to get other Channel ports—Calais and Dunkirk—in order that he may have new submarine bases. Well, he will get no such bases in the English Channel. You will see that you are not cut off from the French Army in the South. And when the enemy sees that his most gigantic efforts lead only to failure I think the war may then assume a very different form from that which the enemy is expecting.

We have suffered very hard in this great battle which has been raging mostly against the British Army, but certain results have been secured which to my mind compensate us for all the losses and sacrifices which have been incurred. We have secured unity of command in our armies. Of all things that was the most difficult, but also the most necessary in order that we might have victory in the end. It was the most difficult thing to secure, because such a thing had never been heard of before. You had against this idea of unity of command the most inveterate obstacles and prejudices that human nature is capable of. You have grave national difficulties, grave State difficulties, you have grave professional difficulties, because it is very difficult to put one army under the leaders of another army, and you have seen the trouble that we have had as a Cabinet over the questions of Army Commands. It was the most difficult, but, however difficult, it was the most necessary thing for us to achieve. If you count on our side the actual combatants, if you take into consideration all the resources that we as an enormous alliance wield, the enemy is no better or stronger than we are, but the enemy has all through had this incomparable advantage of unity of command. The Germans have controlled not only their own armies, the German staff has controlled the armies of Austria, Turkey, and of Bulgaria. With the unity of command which we have now

secured I feel sure that the most important step has been taken by us on the road to victory. And I think that this country is indebted to the present Prime Minister in the highest degree for his unceasing labours for a long time now to bring about that result and to have unity of command among our forces. I am specially glad to mention him here today not only because of his vast and imperishable services to this country, but because I see his name just above mine on your list of burgesses. He has his faults. But remember they are the faults of genius—and when at a time of supreme crisis a man comes forward, a real man of genius, to guide the affairs of the nation, then, I pray you, do not look on the little mistakes, but look on the big works. About twelve months ago when I came to this country to the Imperial Conference which was sitting then, the Prime Minister asked me to pay a visit to the front and to give the Government my impression of the situation there.

I visited the front and looked into things there according to the best of my ability, and the report that I brought back to the Government was this, that the most necessary thing for us in France was to have a big free army of manoeuvre, a general strategic reserve which could be used for such contingencies as have happened now or may conceivably happen before the end of this war. We should have a big free army, not locked up by any particular force, but which could be used in case of these contingencies. That was the recommendation which I made then. The Prime Minister took the matter up, and you know he has been fighting all these last twelve months in order to secure that free army of reserve. He had the greatest difficulty. He travelled a long road. He went to Versailles. There was only one solution of the question in the end, that was to have unity of command. If you have unity of command you can constitute your general reserve, you can constitute it of British troops, of French troops or of Italian troops, and you have your army ready to use in any great emergency, and not wait until the emergency comes to you. Twelve months ago this was pointed out. It has been a hard struggle. I have had my share in it, I am glad to say, and the result has been achieved. As the Commander of our Allied Armies now in France we have a man in whom the British Army have com-

plete confidence. General [F.] Foch is a Frenchman—but General Foch is the officer who all through had been specially associated with the British Army, and whose record is such that he, at any rate, will have our fullest support. He is known as the hero of the Marne more than any General that took part in that great battle. He is the man who fought next door to us in the first battle of Ypres, and again the man who fought next door to us a little later on the Lorette after the battle of Festubert, where we suffered enormous losses. He has been associated with our great war effort, and those British troops and officers who fought with him know he is the man to be trusted. He is a strategist of consummate genius, and he probably more than any man will lead our armies to victory, if victory is to be achieved. That is one good result of this offensive of [E. von] Ludendorff.

The Great German blow had an unexpected initial success which made the people of this country realize more than ever before the danger ahead of them. All that you want—all that the people of the British Empire want—is to know the truth and realize the danger. As a rule you are an optimistic people; you have always had successes, unfortunately—and you believe that you never can fail. Well, Ludendorff has been an eye-opener to you. Ludendorff's offensive has been like a blinding flash of lightning on a dark night. In that way he has done this people the greatest service possible. I have been astonished a long time now at the curious perspective of many people in this country. Their attitude—many of them quite sincere, patriotic people—their attitude has been this—'Oh, don't be too hard on the Boche, don't be too rough on the Germans, don't try to secure an immoderate victory, an impossible victory. It will do you no good and it will do the Germans no good. Be moderate.' Of course they all the time assume that we have victory already. They look upon victory as absolutely sure, and they only don't want us to go too far. Well, this Ludendorff offensive has shown them the danger of the situation, that these things are by no means achieved yet, and that if we are to win the war, if we are even to stave off defeat and disaster, we will have to exert ourselves as we have never exerted ourselves before, not only in the three years that are behind us, but in our whole history. The German

Army and the German General Staff are fighting for victory. Make no mistake about it. And they are not going to sacrifice, as they are now doing, hundreds of thousands of lives, perhaps a million lives, in a few months, without having a definite object in view and without very strong confidence on their part that they are going to achieve that object. I am glad that as the result of this offensive the people of this country are thoroughly awakened. There has never been any defeatist policy in this country—at all events I do not know of any—but there has been a good deal of unhealthy and unwholesome pacifism. But now, ever since this offensive of the Germans started in March, you hear only one voice in this country—the voice of absolute determination. I knew it would be so. I often meet my pacifist friends and talk to them, and I can see they are very good, patriotic people. But they are misled by false sentiment, by false judgment of German ends, and they misread the whole situation, and it only required some flash of lightning such as Ludendorff has thrown on the situation to make them realise the dangers and make them feel just as patriotically as the rest of us. Well, Ludendorff has done that, and now you see today that all classes of the community are prepared to sink their differences, to talk less of their grievances, to bend their energies to this great effort, and to do whatever they can to achieve victory. This spirit which the nation is showing in this hour of its greatest trial is to me the best pledge of the victory which is coming. The blow which has been struck against the British Empire has not shattered it as the Germans expected, but it has only laid bare the soul of the nation in all its heroic fibre, and as long as that is the case I have no doubt what the result will be, and I think in after times, when we come to take stock of the situation, we will remember that Ludendorff has been one of its greatest benefactors.

Now there is a third advantage which has come to us. Ludendorff has not only awakened the British people, but he has awakened the Americans. Not only are you speeding up as you never speeded up before, but the American Army is speeding up, and that is a very important factor. I look upon the entry of the Americans in this war as not only an act of great courage and statesmanship on the part of President

Wilson and his Government, but as the real turning-point of this war. It is really, when you come to look at it, one of those providential events which on many occasions have turned the scales of history. The power that America can bring into this war is enormous, and it is all wanted. Every ounce of it is wanted before we will win this war. But the Americans are far off across the seas, and if you do not realize in every respect the danger in this country, how can you expect them to realize the danger in its full character? And they were forming their armies—enormous, gigantic armies—and they were making preparations on a scale of truly American character, and with the result that time was being lost. But at last Ludendorff has awakened them too. The Americans are coming to this country, no longer in their thousands or in their tens of thousands, but they are coming in their hundreds of thousands every month. Our heroic veterans at the front there, who have been standing in the breach these last four years, will no longer look in vain towards the western sky. The champions are coming. The American Army is coming, and I am sure that they will add enormous weight to the blows which we will be able to strike in the future. And not only do they come as a separate Army of their own, but you know arrangements have been made by which a very large proportion of the American Army will be trained and incorporated with the British troops. I am sure that that is going to be not only of great military value both to the British and American Armies, but it is going to be of the most far-reaching moral value, because now you will see growing up on the battlefields of France not only new armies but a new spirit of comradeship between the English-speaking peoples, and links which were snapped 150 years ago owing to the stupidity and narrow-mindedness of people will be reforged in the school of war and of suffering. They will be reforged never to break again, and when this war is over, and we can look forward on the future paths of history, we will go forward hand in hand—the American and the British people—and I look forward to their combination as the most suitable basis, the most permanent basis, for the future progress of mankind. I say this is a providential thing, the coming in of America, not only from the point of view of this war but of the greater historic events

in the centuries that will follow the war. Ludendorff has done it. It was [A. P. F. von] Tirpitz of the submarine who started with the *Lusitania*. Tirpitz began and Ludendorff has completed the work of cementing the people. Is it not the irony of fate for the German Empire that now that the American Army is coming over by hundreds of thousands every month the German submarine can do nothing to their transports? The submarine campaign was undertaken by the German Government because they felt certain of their technical naval advice and that the American Army never could get to Europe. And so it will be to the end of the chapter. Germany will come within an ace of victory and not achieve victory. They will make the most gigantic efforts to succeed, and ultimately they will fail, because their cause is wrong.

What about the future? These great results have accrued to us from the great German offensive, and with a thoroughly awakened British Empire and a thoroughly awakened America now speeding up as fast as possible, what is going to happen in France in the coming days and months? I am not a prophet and I am not going to prophesy today. You can all feel and appreciate the enormous and unspeakable gravity of the situation, and that gravity will continue. The German Army, massed in many millions, mostly against the British Army in France, will continue to constitute for us a position of the gravest anxiety for many a day to come. The German plan, as I have said, is a very big one, no less than the entire defeat and capture or extinction of the British Army in France. In these great matters, greater than any we have ever had to deal with before in the history of mankind, no wise man undertakes to prophesy. The wise man will only undertake to do his duty, and all that we can undertake is to exert ourselves to the utmost, as a nation and as individuals, at the front and here in the rear, to stave off the danger and to secure the defeat of the enemy. Of course you must have heard often in this country people talking as if this war is lasting too long, as if it is impossible for us to secure victory. These people are getting tired. They say victory is no longer possible for us, nor is victory possible for anybody. They say this war is drifting on aimlessly; nobody can win any more; it simply means the slaughter and exhaustion of mankind, and it means

in the end the greatest dangers to the world. Well, I am persuaded that that is a wrong view. I am persuaded that this war will end in decisive results one way or the other, and not merely in a stalemate; but of course when you talk about victory—victory is a very vague term—you must understand what you mean. There are people who mean by an Allied victory that we must completely smash the German Army, that we must smash Germany, that we must march to Berlin, occupy the capital of the enemy, and dictate terms of peace there. Well, I am not of that opinion. The people who think that this is the sort of victory that we are fighting for are in my opinion wrong. We are not fighting for that victory, and we shall not achieve that victory so far as I can see. That is not our view of victory. That is the German view of victory. That is what the Germans are fighting for. The German view has been long before this war, to be the great dominant military power of the world, to beat down all other nations, to become the future nation of the world, and to spread their *Kultur*. For that they have worked and schemed. For that they declared war.

The Germans were getting on very well before the war were they not? Even I, living in a distant part of the British Empire, saw day by day what was happening. I saw how the German tentacles were penetrating into every channel of British trade, how they were gradually permeating the whole world with their industries and their commerce. But they were not satisfied with peaceful penetration of the world; they wanted to become the dominant military power; they wanted to smash other nations, to finish other countries and to stand out as the final arbiter. That plan they have adhered to all through this war. That plan is now culminating in this great offensive which they are waging against the British Army today in France, that offensive is intended to smash our Army, to smash us, to smash the Empire, to smash the world. That is the German view of victory. Will they achieve it? No, they will never achieve it.

Suppose for the sake of argument—I do not for a moment look upon it as a possibility—that they do succeed in their present offensive, and they do take the Channel ports, and they do sever our connections with the French Army, and they

do encircle us there, would that be the end for us ? No, if the last British soldier is driven from France the Germans will be in no better position than Napoleon was in the day of his pride and glory. If the Germans want to win in this war, to achieve the victory they are after, they have to win not only on land, but they have to win on the seas. That is the bed-rock of the situation. They will have to beat our Navy on the seas, and they will have to get control of the seas. As long as we stand with our Navy intact, with America on our side, in command of all the communications of the world, in command of all the raw materials which are required for the modern industries of the world, so long it is impossible for Germany to win—even, I say, if they have that measure of success of driving us out of France. But they will not even have that measure of success, because we shall stand in the breach, and against that iron wall which we have formed in France they will dash themselves to pieces. No, the Germans cannot win in any sense. Our view of victory is an entirely different one. We have not gone into this war with any aggressive or offensive spirit. When this nation made its great choice in August 1914, it went into the war as a war of defence, of defence of the liberties of mankind, of the rights of small nations, and of the public law of Europe. That is what we are out for. That is our idea of victory. That is our war aim, and for that we shall fight until we have succeeded and until we have won. We are not out to smash any country or Government. We are not making this war drag on uselessly in order to attain some impossible victory. We have a limited object, but that object stands with us impregably secure, and we shall fight until that defence has become victorious. After that happens what will the result be ? Supposing our Army stands all over the world as a wall against which the Germans dash themselves to pieces ? The result will be that the Germans will see that victory for them is impossible, the road on which they set out on future world domination is impossible, German militarism will become bankrupt; that the German military leaders, Ludendorff, the Kaiser, and the rest of them, will be discredited in their own country. Militarism will become bankrupt in Germany, and we hope over the whole world, and on that basis—the bankruptcy of militarism—you will be

able to build a new world, with free institutions, which we were aiming at in this war.

When we talk of victory, we don't mean marching to the Rhine, we don't mean marching to Berlin, we don't mean going on with this war until we have smashed Germany and the German Empire, and are able to dictate peace to the enemy in his capital. We shall continue the war until the objects for which we set out are achieved, and we will continue on a defensive basis to the very end. I don't think that an out-and-out victory is possible any more for any group of nations in this war, because it will mean an interminable campaign. It will mean that decimated nations will be called upon to wage war for many years to come, and what would the result be? The result may be that the civilization we are out to save and to safeguard may be jeopardized itself. It may be that in the end you will have the universal bankruptcy of government, and you let loose the forces of revolution, which may engulf what we have so far built up in Europe, because civilization is not an indestructible entity. Civilization is a structure built up by the generations before us, slowly built up for hundreds of years, and as it has been built up, so can it be broken down, and you revert to barbarism just as after the Roman Empire the world reverted to barbarism. If Germany wins, we have had a very good object-lesson of what is going to happen to us. That is another of the great eye-openers of history, the Russian peace. In spite of all their peace resolutions in the Reichstag against annexations and indemnities, in spite of all that democratic camouflage which they have put up, when they got their chance what did they do? The temptation proved too strong for them. In spite of all their protests and of all their resolutions they forced at the point of the bayonet on Russia the most abject and humiliating and disgraceful and impossible peace which history has ever recorded. They have torn off from Russia huge chunks of land which they have constituted so-called independent States. They have remained in occupation with their armies in these so-called independent States, and they are forcing now self-determination at the point of the bayonet on these independent States. That is an impossible situation. And so they are continuing on in spite of the Brest peace treaty, and so they will continue to the end.

They have carved Russia up, and 150,000,000 Russians they have cut off from all exit to the outside world—cut them off from the Black Sea, cut them off from the Baltic Sea, and I suppose if there were any other seas they could cut them off from they would do it too. Have you ever heard of such a peace? I think there is nothing which proves more conclusively how absolutely bankrupt the Germans are in statesmanship than this Russian peace. However distinguished their military leadership may have been in this war, in statesmanship they have been utterly bankrupt, and they have got this peace of Russia which is in many respects the saddest thing in the whole war. We have seen what the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine has meant for a generation to Europe. Now, here you have a case, not of Alsace-Lorraine, but of a whole Empire being torn to pieces and being enslaved and treated in a way which must perpetuate future wars on a much larger scale than in the past. For the future peace of Europe and of the world we cannot allow such a state of affairs to become permanent. I hope that our statesmen when they go to the conference table will insist that the peace treaty with Roumania shall be laid on the conference table, and shall be subject to the revision of that conference. If that is not done, then the future is very dark indeed. But I hope that if we stand firm we shall be able not only to save ourselves, but we shall also save the weary Russians, who are a great object-lesson to us in how not to do things. I do not wish to occupy your time further, but there is one very important and difficult subject which I think should be referred to.

You have heard recently a great deal about peace overtures and peace negotiations, and you have seen disclosures made which have raised a very great sensation all over the world.¹ I deeply regret these disclosures, because it seems to me that if this war is to come to an end ultimately, it will be necessary from time to time for the combatants to try informally to get into touch with each other. It seems to me essential to do that. If you do not do that, the only alternative is to fight the war

¹ In early April 1918 Count Czernin had said publicly that, before the German offensive, he had received offers of peace from Clemenceau—a statement described by the latter as 'a lie'. In the controversy that followed much of the story of the Austrian attempts to obtain peace in December 1917 was revealed.

out to a complete finish and smash up one side or the other. But if you are not going to fight the war out to a smash-up, then surely it is necessary sometimes formally to find out how things are going and what your opponent is thinking, and what advantage you may take of the situation as it is looked at by him. I remember a very wise thing said to me many years ago by President Kruger when I was his Attorney-General. In those days I was very young and inclined, of course, to be very aggressive. He said to me one day, 'That is not the way to deal with your opponent. The way to deal with him is to smack him hard on the one cheek and to rub him gently on the other.' Well, this war is much more than a military war. It goes much deeper, and touches deeper forces. It grips people in their lives far beyond anything that we have seen in the history of the world. We will not have a peace secured merely by the unaided effort of armies in this war. We will have to use all our diplomacy and all the forces at our disposal in order to bring it to a victorious end. Now, how are you going to bring it there? I can conceive that you have fought up to a stage when the enemy is prepared to concede your principal terms, the terms you consider essential. But if there is no informal conference, how are you to know that he is going to concede them? It seems to me to go to a peace conference is one of the most dangerous things you can do before you know your principal terms are going to be conceded. You cannot go to a peace conference and talk about differences round about a table whilst Europe has millions of men marshalled up in the various countries. In that way you may secure peace; but it would be disgraceful, and it would be a mistake. You will not secure the peace you are after.

The conference that will ultimately be called will be a conference that will settle details when the principal combatants are agreed on the main issues. How are you going to find that out unless you talk to each other, and how are you going to talk to each other if disclaimers are made and charges flung at you? I am sure the highest object of peace will be secured not only by the gallantry of our Armies, but by the weapons of our diplomacy used when the time is ripe for a good, satisfactory peace for ourselves and our Allies. If we don't do that I don't know how this war is going to end, except with the

smash-up of one side or the other—which I don't expect—and the war may drift on until all the Governments become bankrupt and statesmanship becomes bankrupt, until a bleeding people lies in agony, and the forces of Bolshevism and revolution are let loose on society. Would that be in your interest? No. The people are entitled to look to their Government and say, 'We are bleeding away. We are doing our best for the cause, but we expect you as our leaders to do your part of the work. We cannot go to Stockholm, because these things are far too dangerous.' Therefore when you see disclosures made that A. has been talking to B., or that C. has been talking to D. don't trouble about that. It is the duty of Governments to talk. There is no other way that you can achieve the results you are after. They must talk to find whether a point has been reached at any time where there is concord and agreement on fundamentals, because, as soon as there is that concord, we should not continue to fight a day longer for non-essentials or things that don't matter. I do not wish to depress you, but I do not think this peace is very near. I have spoken to you with the greatest frankness about our deepest war aims because these things have to be spoken about. We ought to make up our minds what we are fighting for, the measure of victory that we are fighting for, what are the real objects that we wish to secure, and whether to secure these objects we intend to allow our armies to bleed to death, or whether we shall also bring into the field all the resources of our industrial and economic power, which we can wield successfully. These are very difficult subjects which are not usually discussed on the platform, but I think the time has come when we should discuss and compare notes on them with each other. I anticipate that as we are nearing the end of the war it will become harder and harder.

You have already made an enormous effort in this war. There is not a home, I think, that has not been visited in this nation. There is not a house, there is not a family that is not in mourning. Your own little nation of Scotland has sent to the front, I believe, between a sixth and a seventh of its total population—an unheard-of effort. And besides that, the spirit of the nation is unbroken. The voice of the 'hands-upper' is not heard in this country and therefore, where you are so

absolutely determined, I am sure the end will be all right. The victory for us is secure. We are not fighting like the Germans for empire. We are not fighting to carve up countries and to annex this or that portion. We are fighting for the higher interests of humanity. And today, after all we have suffered and gone through, if the choice were once more presented to us, would you have chosen differently in August 1914? I say no, we would not have chosen differently. We would not stand aside where the highest is at stake. We shall do our duty, and, knowing what we are fighting for, knowing that we do so with clean hands and clean consciences, we shall go forward with calm confidence to the future, with that calm and confidence that only come to those who know they are fighting for the highest of causes, and who know they are upborne in their struggles by those invisible forces that have never failed in history. I am profoundly thankful to you, my Lord Provost, ladies and gentlemen, for the hearing you have given me today, and I hope the meeting we have had may help us to think over some of the deepest subjects connected with this war, because I am sure the more we think about it, the more we clear our minds and souls about these fundamental issues, the stronger will we be, and the surer will we be to secure that victory that we set out to achieve in August 1914.

830 Statement (1918)**Box H, no. 22**

On 31 July 1918 a letter from Lord Lansdowne was read at a conference of his supporters in which he declared that the basis of preliminary peace negotiations should be defined forthwith and rejected the view that no peace discussions were possible until German power had been broken by a crushing military defeat. In support he quoted Smuts's Glasgow speech. The Lansdowne letter set off a public controversy in which, among others, Churchill, Asquith and Lord Denbigh took part. Smuts made his own standpoint clear in the statement below which he seems to have decided not to publish.

In his last letter Lord Lansdowne has done me the honour to quote from my recent speech at Glasgow. He appears to have done so with the purpose of claiming my support for the views which he holds about the war and which are commonly identified with the so-called 'peace by negotiation' policy. I

have nothing to complain of in Lord Lansdowne's reference to me; at the same time the setting in which my views are placed may lead to misunderstanding, especially as no great publicity was given to my Glasgow speech when it was delivered. I therefore wish to summarize briefly the argument I developed in it, and the object I had in view in doing so. The subject is the most difficult and far-reaching with which any responsible public man could deal today, and as far as possible all grounds for misconception in regard to it should be avoided. The question I asked was:—'As our object in this war is admittedly victory, when can we be said to have won that victory, and how could peace be secured on the attainment of that victory without any further unnecessary prolongation of the war?' I did not discuss our so-called peace aims, but the all-important end question; that is, when is the end to come and how is it to come.

As we are fighting (roughly speaking) for victory as our principal war aim, when can we be said to have won that victory? Clear thinking and, as far as possible, accurate definition are very necessary here, where such vast issues are at stake, and vague confused rhetoric could only work mischief. What is the measure or definition of our victory, how shall we know it, at what stage of the war shall we have achieved it? Must we fight on till the enemy armies are beaten into a pulp and put up their hands in token of surrender? Or without going so far, must we fight until the enemy forces have been cleared out of all Allied territory and the war has been carried into Germany? Or again, without our clearing Belgium and France and Italy of the enemy, is victory to be taken as achieved when the enemy Governments are prepared to concede our principal specific war aims? If the enemy is prepared to make peace on our essential terms, is it necessary to go further for the purpose of a victory and claim also the complete defeat of his armies?

I answered the above questions at Glasgow by drawing what seems to me a fundamental distinction. Victory for the aggressor means one thing, victory for the defender means something entirely different. The aggressor out for world domination has to win a very different sort of victory from that of the State which takes up arms in a war of self-defence

against such an aggressor. William of Orange, in his defensive coalition against Louis XIV¹, succeeded in his defence and in baulking the Grand Monarch without winning a single clear victory, and thereby settled the fate of Europe for a whole century.

I then proceeded to argue that this distinction governs the case of the present war. Germany in her grand design for world domination has to win a victory of the most complete kind in order to succeed. The Allies, on the other hand, went into this war in pure self-defence. We are out simply to thwart her aggression, to conduct a successful defence against her onslaughts, and if we succeed in this self-defence we have won the war. Our role is a defensive one, and the victory which is necessary to crown our arms with success has a very different scope and character from that which Germany has to win.

The final smashing of the opposing armies which is necessary for the Germans to win is not at all necessary for us in our defensive role. To win the war we need not occupy Berlin or make all the German armies hands-up. The German armies in their aggressive design will have been beaten when their offensives have failed, when they confess their impotence to beat their opponents, when they are made to surrender all their gains in this war and adequate punishment is imposed for their aggression. That seems to me to be the real measure of our victory.

It is very necessary to emphasize this fundamental distinction because we are so apt to forget that this war differs materially from previous wars. In previous great wars, which were almost entirely military affairs between great armies, the end was as a rule clean-cut and definite, and meant the collapse of the armies on the one side or the other. This present war is, however, not merely a war of arms and armies, not a mere military war; it is a war of peoples and continents in which are marshalled all the forces and resources of civilization, all the material, industrial and moral values of vast populations. The conflict is between a *complexus* of military, industrial, economic and moral factors in which military force is only part of a much larger whole. And although military

¹ The 'Grand Alliance' of England, the Netherlands, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire and Brandenburg, 1688-97.

success is a necessary basis of victory it is not all, nor, perhaps, even the most important element in victory, which will be the resultant of all these tremendous factors. The purely military successes of the German armies on the continent of Europe are more than offset by the whole world situation which has arisen, in which Germany finds the rest of mankind ranged against her and the continents and oceans closed to her and only to be opened again on terms.

It is because of this unprecedented scale and character of this war, no less than because of the bitter experience of friend and foe alike in four years of the most terrible warfare, the enormous power of the defensive, etc., that I have come to the conclusion that armies alone will not and cannot win this war, and that in our ultimate victory the other factors referred to will bear a most important part. This I stated at Glasgow, and I am surprised that Lord Lansdowne couples my statement with the similar declaration of [R.] von Kühlmann without drawing attention to the striking difference in what followed. I made my statement with the complete concurrence of (I believe) every sensible man in this island; von Kühlmann for making a similar statement immediately received the order of the boot in a country in which the naïve belief in military victory has not yet been shattered by events.¹ That shows how little Germany is ripe for a peace by negotiation.

If victory in this war is not to be of that simple tangible character which in previous wars meant the surrender of the enemy forces, how then shall we know it, what is its sign or proof? Those who believe in a negotiated peace reply that we shall only ascertain the measure of our success by finding out what the enemy is prepared to concede, and for this purpose we must negotiate the peace terms with the enemy.

In previous speeches I stated my objections to a peace by negotiation. There are matters which we can never negotiate about. The evacuation and restoration of Belgium is such a matter. For us Belgium is not a subject for discussion at all; it will not be redeemed from [Count G. von] Hertling's pawnshop, but must be unconditionally restored as a pre-

¹ R. von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, had said, in July 1918, that a purely military decision of the war could scarcely be expected. His dismissal was brought about by Ludendorff.

liminary to a formal peace conference. Then again there are other matters vital to us and our Allies which must be settled in principle before we are prepared to discuss and work out details round a conference table. Finally there are the numerous matters and details which are fit subjects for discussion and negotiation at a conference.

The view which I developed at Glasgow was that the belligerent peoples, who are bleeding and wasting away, are entitled to look to their Governments to find out, through those informal channels which are always at their command, when the enemy has been brought to a frame of mind in which he will concede our essential terms. It is criminal for private parties to discuss peace conditions with the enemy; nor are international socialist or economic conferences fit or safe means for finding out the mind of the enemy. Here only Governments can act, and it is their duty to their helpless populations to see that every means is exhausted for ascertaining the truth and preventing the war from running on mechanically like some third fate beyond the point where it could have been settled.

This is not peace by negotiation; nor is it a confession of failure; it is sound business procedure which the wise victor resorts to even more eagerly than his baffled opponent. Vague peace talk, perhaps set going by the enemy among the public as part of a so-called peace propaganda, is pernicious; on the other hand peace feelers as between Governments are wise, necessary, and indispensable steps in the final stages of any war.

The diplomatic ending of this war is going to be an even more difficult matter than its military waging. It will require a moral courage, wisdom and far-sightedness on the part of leaders such as has not been required of them during the clash of arms. But the duty is laid on them at their peril to prove equal to their gigantic task. Let the statesmanship of the leaders be equal to the valour of the peoples. Failure in leadership can only end in complete disillusion and perhaps Bolshevism. The time is rapidly approaching when the soldiers will be entitled to ask the statesmen and diplomats to take over a large if not the major share of the burden of this war.

831 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 38

Savoy Hotel
[London]
22 May 1918

Many thanks for your last two letters, the second of which has just arrived. I feel much tempted by your invitation to come to Street for a holiday on my birthday. But indeed it is impossible. I have been away two days at Glasgow and two at Oxford—the first two very busy and useful, the last two very beautiful and beyond all utility—and now it is not possible to get away so far or so long as Street would take me. But you do paint an enchanting picture of the West Country. I am sure it is doing you much good and that you will return next Tuesday in the pink of condition. If they are not ready at Barton Street¹ I think we could manage to house you for a night, but you must let me know in advance to prevent disappointment, as the room might otherwise be occupied. Margaret arrives tomorrow for Yearly² and stays till Saturday on the chance of my being able to take her back to Oxford. Arthur will stop from Friday evening till Saturday morning.

Hilda had a good time here; I only felt sorry that I had to go to Glasgow in the middle.

You will be amused to hear that I have secured that keeper's cottage in Ham Wood³ for week-ends. We shall now have real fun, and the game will be much startled by the sounds of revelry or snoring on Saturday nights. Ever yours affectionately,

J. C. S.

832 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 233

London
1 June 1918

This letter will find you installed at Millfield with your little family. I trust you will have a good time and that the change

¹ Alice Clark was living in London at 4 Barton Street, S.W.1.

² Friends' Yearly Meeting.

³ An empty gamekeeper's cottage in a clearing in what became known to Smuts and his friends as 'Ham Wood', on the Downs near Moulsoford. The owner of the estate allowed Smuts to use the cottage during the summer of 1918. It was known to his circle as 'Paradise'.

will do all the little ones much good. I shall visit you in spirit and on the green hills you will find the unseen comrade not far off in your rambles. And in those rambles there will be peace, an inner peace of the soul inside the cruel storm which is raging in the great world and engulfing hundreds of thousands in death and torture. You will find in your walks the Divine Will brooding like a flood over the world and you will be reminded of Dante's great line: 'In Thy Will will be our peace'.¹ In a world breaking up beyond human control we can at least try to preserve our own integrity, wholeness, peace and quietness of spirit. And the hills of your native Avilion² have wonderful healing.

Alice and May Hobbs dined with me last night; Alice wanted me to go to Ham Wood for the week-end, May to Kelmscott.³ I declined both proposals, partly because there is work here and I do not want to be away at this time; but chiefly because these places are less attractive with you and Arthur away and not sharing in the fun. I think I shall wait with Ham Wood till you come back. But Alice seems much disappointed. However.

The news from France continues to be serious. Yesterday the enemy took Chateau Thierry, and for the next few days at least the intense pressure in the direction of Paris will continue. This is a very critical time. So much hangs in the balance. I want no overwhelming victory, but a certain measure of military victory is so necessary to ensure the victory of what we all hold dear. A German mastery over the world means a deflection from the true paths and an era of coercion for the human spirit just when we were beginning to dream of liberty. God knows I do not overrate our own virtues. Our hands are far from clean. But we do not practise evil as a system, as an organized, governmental, cultural end. I sometimes chafe bitterly at having to sit here instead of being where the struggle is and so much hangs in the balance. But the individual is small on this scale of events. And you will think me querulous, whereas I am only anxious about the biggest things.

¹ 'In His will is our peace'. *Paradiso*, iii. 85.

² Glastonbury, two miles from Street, was the ancient Avalon.

³ May and Robert Hobbs lived on a farm at Kelmscott.

. . . Tomorrow Alice and I shall get to Richmond for a good walk in the afternoon, though I am somewhat sceptical about her strength. Tell Tona how much I appreciated the blotting-pad he sent me as a birthday present. It was beautifully painted by him.

Good-bye, with fond love to you and all the little ones as well as the dear old parents.

833 To D. Lloyd George

Vol. 100, no. 113

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
8 June 1918

My dear Prime Minister, The Higher Command of the American Army has given me much concern, and once before I have already spoken to you about it. I do not know how the following will strike you, but ask you to give it some thought.

It is doubtful whether the war will last till next summer, and it may be that peace overtures are made by the enemy next winter and that popular pressure for peace will be such that a general peace discussion with the enemy could not be avoided. The enemy may even, in view of his Russian victories, be inclined to conclude a reasonable peace in the West. He may begin with an offer to evacuate Belgium and Northern France which we perhaps could not directly and openly refuse.

The result would be that we go to a peace conference under the shadow of the great military achievements of the enemy in the spring and summer of this year and conclude a peace which, however favourable to us in other respects, leaves the German military prestige dominant for the future. That would in reality be a great disaster for us and the world. How is this to be avoided?

The American Army will in the late autumn be a first-class instrument of action, and an unexpected blow could be struck with it before the end of the year, which might regain the initiative for us and reverse the military situation completely. The effect on the enemy after their efforts this summer might be far-reaching, and they might be anxious to conclude a really good peace—good for us—before it becomes too late.

The American Army will be there, but it will be without a reliable Higher Command. [General J. J.] Pershing is very commonplace, without real war experience, and already overwhelmed by the initial difficulties of a job too big for him. It is also doubtful whether he will loyally co-operate with the Allied Higher Commands. He could not get together a first-class Staff either. I fear very much that with the present Higher Command the American Army will not be used to the best advantage; and victory for us depends on squeezing the last ounce of proper use out of the American Army.

What is to be done ?

I would propose that we suggest to President Wilson a re-organization of the American Command. Their army is becoming a business too large for one man to control if he is to direct operations in the field. Let Pershing remain in charge of all organizations in the rear (bases, supplies, training camps, transport, etc.) but let the fighting command over the American Army be entrusted to another commander.

This is a very delicate matter, as every risk of hurting American pride should be avoided. But I do not think they have the man, and we cannot afford to waste time on experiments. It is doubtful whether they will be willing to accept an English or French commander. They will urge that Foch is already in command of general Allied strategy, but that is really no answer as the American commander may not even be able to carry out Foch's general ideas or handle his army properly and efficiently.

I am naturally most reluctant to bring forward my own name, as you can well understand. But I have unusual experience and qualifications to lead a force such as the American Army will be in an offensive campaign. I think if American *amour propre* could be satisfied I could in that capacity render very great service to our cause.

But of that, as well as of the question whether it is expedient to make any such suggestion to President Wilson, you will be a better judge than I am, and I must leave the matter in your hands. Of the necessity of dealing with the American Higher Command, either on the above or some other line, we can have no doubt if we mean to win the war.

If you do not yourself look upon my suggestion favourably,

I trust it will not go beyond you. Believe me, Yours very sincerely,

s. J. C. Smuts

834 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 234

London

11 June 1918

Your little note with the Boy's prayer has just come (Tuesday morning) and before breakfast I send a line in reply. Yes, Alice and I have had a good time; four hours' walking on Saturday afternoon to Leith Hill, coming back for dinner at 9.30 p.m.; and four hours' walking on Sunday afternoon through Burnham Beeches to Gerrard's Cross, coming back for dinner at 9 p.m. I do feel refreshed after all this exercise. I am going to take you to both of these places as they are beautiful walks; especially the old, very old beech trees in Burnham Beeches ought to be seen if you have not yet seen them. I would love to take you there some day this summer.

I am however sometimes in doubt about my future movements. The Prime Minister keeps pressing me to go to Russia where he thinks I shall be able to work the wonders which even the dear Lord has so far failed to achieve, though perhaps he has never yet tried. I have been hanging back, but may succumb in the end as usual. And then our summer rambles will be over and the flaming sword of Duty fill the whole sky of life. But I do not like to think of it yet and in the meantime I hope we shall have some opportunities of wandering over the hills and dales of your beloved land.

The offensive is again on, but the French line is this time holding much more satisfactorily. The French people are very depressed, as well they may be. The enemy is creeping to Paris all the time and millions of people are fleeing from the wrath to come. How long, O Lord!

The Imperial War Cabinet begins today. My last mail has come all soaked as the *Kenilworth* was lost in a collision, but luckily I can still read my letters. They are all well and happy at Doornkloof but also asking how long. It is good to read of you and the little ones enjoying yourselves in the fields.

I note what you say about Roger¹ and your own feelings regarding conscientious objectors. I really regret all this very much. Without wisdom and some humour you do not get through life; Roger is blest with both, so are you. And yet you sometimes act on a different assumption. Please do not think I want to argue you out of your position, for in the end we act on our fundamental instincts and not on arguments. Still, the life of reason should prevail just as we pray for the Kingdom to come—indeed it is the same thing. And this does not strike me as the life of reason, but rather its passionate negation.

There is already so much suffering in the world. My mind stands still and dazed whenever I stop to think of it. Why add to this suffering gratuitously? Of course suffering is contagious. The spirit is spreading among good people, and as Quakers are debarred from the suffering of war-action, they tend to draw suffering from other sources. But in this we may go very far wrong, just like those early Christians whose one passion was to imitate the Lord and become martyrs. C.O.-ism is an exaggeration to great intensity of the individualism latent in the whole. But remember the great rule of holism is: 'Thy Will be done'. The whole must prevail, purify and sanctify in all its infinite richness of relations. What is my poor will or conscience? The individual has his just claims, so has the whole, so has society; so have the ordinary police arrangements of a society up against the gravest dangers. Good-bye, my child. Good be with you.

835 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 19, no. 9

Offices of the War Cabinet
2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
8 July 1918

My dear Smuts, I enclose a memorandum² I have concocted on the 'Future of the Imperial Cabinet System', which I should very much like you to read, and which I should also like to discuss with you if you have a spare half-hour. Some of the

¹ Roger Clark, younger brother of Margaret Gillett.

² The memorandum, 17 typed pages in length, has been omitted by the editors.

points brought forward in it are, of course, not urgent. But I do consider it urgent to settle the question of securing greater continuity of consultation, and the question of enabling communication between members of the Imperial War Cabinet on matters of common Imperial concern to be conducted direct through Hankey and not through the Colonial Office. The real remedy, of course, is to take all Dominion business out of the Colonial Office, and I don't see why that shouldn't be done, either straight away, or at the next reconstruction of the present Government. Anyhow the desirability of it ought to be brought home to the Prime Minister. Another matter which I think should at any rate be discussed again at the Imperial War Cabinet is the future constitution of the Conference.¹ It would be a pity to let the Conference perish, but its present position has become very unsatisfactory. The suggestion that it should be broadened into a Conference of small parliamentary delegations was too startling for the Colonial Office at first sight. They may not shy at it quite so much this year.

Generally speaking, the object of the memorandum is to suggest how far it may be possible to do that which the purer gospel of the Round Table has always scouted, namely to create a workable system for the conduct of Imperial affairs without tackling the Federal problem. Even if the Round Table are right, I think the general consensus of responsible opinion in the different parts of the Empire will be for first allowing the existing method to develop and have a full trial.

Yours ever,

L.S.A.

836 From E. Hobhouse

Vol. 20, no. 17

1 St Dunstan's Road, W.6

1 August 1918

Dear Oom, It's only today in the Lansdowne Letter that we have for the first time had opportunity of reading the full text of your wise speech at Glasgow. You said yesterday it had received 'no response'. As a matter of fact the few words of it we were allowed to see have been *welcomed and reiterated*

¹ The Imperial War Conference.

in the pacifist Press. Perhaps you overlooked that. Had we known the *whole* earlier the response would have been stronger, and even the Jingo Press might have echoed our praise.

Now Lord Lansdowne has taken hold of your hand and you stand in a line with him. As I said yesterday, that which differentiates him from the Government is not so much his words but his *attitude* and *spirit*. Your own attitude approximates very nearly to his.

You will have read *The Times* leading article today urging the Premier to strengthen his position and *shed* those of his colleagues who show symptoms of weakening as regards a 'knock out' policy. Undoubtedly this is the Northcliffe aim. Take the bull by the horns and forestall him. It only needs the courage to risk all for all—to risk all you now are and have of place, reputation, and fame and power, to *lead* the People as their chosen representative. Just make another such speech, even stronger, in some prominent place, Northcliffe will make it hot for you, you then must resign, and at once associating yourself with the Lansdowne movement, you would find a following of all classes and colours ready to be led to the victory of a negotiated peace by you. The movement only wants a Leader, young and vigorous and trusted, to sweep the country. I have always felt sure Kitchener, had he lived, would long since have espoused this commonsense line, and I do hope and trust you will foil the Press by taking this noble step. 'To gain or lose it all', but you know the verse. The more I think, the more I feel it would be the solution of countless difficulties.

I hope I have made it clear. It is useless statesmen fearing the Press and cowering before the nicknames it hurls upon them. Some one MAN among them *must* be found who will challenge it, defy it, laugh at it, and that MAN will win the confidence of our people and their admiration.

It's a *mistake* to think Lloyd George is safe in his saddle. The feeling against him is intense; but *if* he sticks on it will only be because *none other stronger* shows himself—*faute de mieux*. Show yourself that stronger man and I dare prophesy you a sweeping success. Yours,

Auntie

A *strong* man who will snap his fingers at the Press and who

has a policy for peace could be Prime Minister of England before Christmas!

837 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 193

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
7 Augustus 1918

Liefste Mamma, Ik vrees dat de laatste mail vertrokken is een week geleden zonder dat ik aan jou geschreven had. Het rapport kwam hier dat over een halfuur de post zou sluiten, maar daar ik uit was en eerst na het halfuur terug kwam kon ik geen brief schrijven. Indien jij teleurgesteld was hoop ik dat jij de reden van mijn zwijgen zal verstaan. Ik geloof niet dat ik sedert de laatste 18 maanden een zeepost heb laten voorbijgaan behalve in gevallen waar ik op reis was.

Met mij gaat het zeer goed—wel naar gezondheid. Onze overwinning aan de Marne heeft een zeer goede uitwerking gehad en men is overal hoopvol waar niet zolang geleden een geest van diepe neerslachtigheid heerschte. Ik ben ervoor een redelijke vrede te sluiten zoodra de Duitschers bereid zijn zulks te doen. Maar er is alhier een party die gedetermineerd is Duitschland eerst te breken voor vrede gesloten worden. Ik vrees dat indien deze houding aangenomen wordt men nog een paar jaar zal moeten vechten, met het gevaar dat de geheele beschaving der wereld een knak zal krijgen. Ongelukkig is Lloyd George de auteur van de uitdrukking 'the knock-out blow' die veel kwaad gedaan heeft en nog zal doen. Duitschland zal niet in duigen vallen zooals Rusland en het kan jaren nemen voor de knock-out blow mogelijk wordt, en wat kan in den tusschen tijd niet gebeuren? Ik ben voor een vroege redelijke vrede, hoor!

Ik verlang natuurlijk verbazend sterk naar jou en de lieve kleinen, maar ik behoef jou niet te zeggen dat dat verlangen niets te maken heeft met mijn uitzien naar een goed en bestendigen vrede voor de diep geteisterde menschheid. Ik zie geen heil in noodloos bloedvergieten terzelfdertijd zou het crimineel zijn vrede te sluiten voor de vijand duidelijk inziet en erkent dat het spel voor hen over is.

Ik krijg nu een beetje meer vrije tijd. Elken week-end gaat ik

uit naar Ham Wood waar Alice Clark. jou over schreef. Er komen ook andere vrienden, zooals de Gilletts en anderen en wij hebben een zeer genoegelijken tijd met wandelen en zwemmen en uitslapen des nachts in plaats van binnenshuis. Het is gedurende Juli regenachtig geweest maar zelfs zoo waren die outings voor mij zeer verkwikkend.

Ik hoop het gaat jou en de lieve kleinen zeer wel. Ik kijk maar altijd uit voor een mail van Zuid-Afrika voor nieuws van jullie. Ja ik ben gelijk Odysseus op Kalypso's eiland en sta steeds op het strand uitzien naar dat verre zuiden waar mijn al verborgen is. En ik voel de tijd van onze hereeniging nadert. Met duizend liefdeskussen aan jou en de kleinen van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
7 August 1918

Dearest Mamma, I fear that the last mail left a week ago without my having written to you. It was reported here that the post would close in half an hour, but as I was out and only returned after the half-hour, I could not write a letter. If you were disappointed, I hope you will understand the reason for my silence. I do not think I have missed a sea mail in the last eighteen months, except when I was travelling.

I am very well—particularly in health. Our victory on the Marne¹ has had a very good effect and everywhere people are hopeful, where not so long ago a spirit of deep despondency prevailed. I am for concluding a reasonable peace as soon as the Germans are ready to do so. But there is a party here who are determined to break Germany first before peace is made. I fear that if this attitude is adopted we shall have to fight for another few years, with the danger that the whole civilization of the world will receive a set-back. Unfortunately Lloyd George is the author of the expression 'the knock-out blow', which has done much harm and will do more. Germany will not fall to pieces like Russia and it may take years before the knock-out blow becomes possible, and what may not happen in the meantime? I am for an early reasonable peace, believe me!

¹ The counter-offensive of the Allied Powers had begun on 18 July 1918.

Of course, I have an immensely strong longing for you and the dear little ones, but I need not tell you that this longing has nothing to do with my looking forward to a good and stable peace for sorely-tried humanity. I see no good in useless bloodshed; at the same time it would be criminal to make peace before the enemy clearly realizes and admits that the game is up for him.

I have a little more free time now. Every week-end I go out to Ham Wood, about which Alice Clark wrote to you. Other friends come too, like the Gilletts and others, and we have a very enjoyable time walking and swimming and sleeping out at night instead of indoors. It was rainy during July but even so the outings were very refreshing to me.

I hope you and the dear little ones are very well. I am always looking out for a mail from South Africa for news of you. Yes, I am like Odysseus on Calypso's island and stand always on the beach looking out to that far south where my all is hidden. And I feel the time of our reunion approaches. With a thousand loving kisses to you and the little ones from

Pappa

838 From A. G. Robertson

Vol. 20, no. 126

Pretoria

[Transvaal]

11 Aug. 1918

My dear General, General Botha's health is causing us all the greatest anxiety. I have not written to you before knowing you were well informed, and until now his condition has not been so serious that I, at least, thought it necessary to write you disquieting news. His doctor however has warned me, among other of the friends, that grave consequences may follow unless the General will cease all work at once and keep absolutely quiet and he (Dr Veale) advises a sea-voyage. The Cabinet have of course discussed the matter and Mentz has cabled you, but apart from de Wet, Mentz, van Velden and I there seem so few of the old friends to consult on a matter of this description. The General himself is a most difficult man to deal with as far as his health is concerned. We are now busy persuading

him to go to Graaff's¹ for, if possible, six months, and the whole Cabinet are insisting on it. But he should really go away either to Australia or Japan or somewhere for a health trip. But again he won't leave South Africa in case things go wrong and I feel certain he won't go unless you are here. Then he might be induced to go. In any case he will not be fit for another Session of Parliament.

I know the immense issues involved in Europe and why you have had to stay there so long, but solely because I do not think the General, without seriously endangering his life, will be able to go on much longer do I think the time has come when you must consider seriously whether you should not come back. I would not write this, but the issues involved here are very serious too, and with all due deference to all the members of the Cabinet, I feel (if it is possible) the country will require you soon.

Amendments to the South Africa Act must be made next Session and you are the only man who can do it apart from the General. The news is now so good, that I hope the tide has at last turned and that the Government may be able to spare you.

I occasionally go out to Irene and see Mrs Smuts, who is an example to all the women in South Africa, and is working very hard on war work. The Nationalist barometer is down just now as the Allies are winning, but if any German successes are reported then they are very prominent. Perhaps by the time this reaches you van Veyeren, my Ex[ecutive] Co[mmittee] member², may be standing a trial for accepting bribes. With our present information it looks most promising. It would distress you sometimes to see how different the General is. Instead of those clear, bright eyes, he seems dull, with his breathing laboured, and he goes off into an apparent doze while you are speaking to him. Veale tells me that the General is very down-hearted, says that his father died at 56, his brother Gert nearly the same age, and he won't go over that age either.³ If he can have twelve months at or on the sea with

¹ D. P. de V. Graaff, who lived in the Cape Peninsula.

² Christiaan Tiberius Zwanepoel van Veyeren was a member of the Provincial Council of the Transvaal, 1910-17 and of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Province, 1917-18.

³ Smuts received a similar letter about Botha's despondency from Buxton at this time. (Vol. 19, no. 50.)

no work, and pay strict attention to diet, then he may be completely restored, but even with regard to his diet he is most difficult to deal with. He is one of the greatest of men yet in little things he is like a child.

Forgive me, General, for worrying you, but I really think you must weigh up the pros and cons of the situation and if you can be spared then come out. Here you will be of immense value, and General Botha will feel happier then. With my kindest regards, hoping to hear continued good news of victories all along the line, Yours very sincerely,

Alf. G. Robertson

839 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 244

London

3 September 1918

I expect Hilda this afternoon but so far only her *rucksack* has arrived. I can therefore tell you nothing about her. She and May dine with me tonight and perhaps there will be a further instalment of folk-songs.¹

This is to give you notice that I shall not be able to leave here till Friday afternoon about 4 as I have an engagement immediately after lunch. I know you will not mind waiting here quietly after lunch before taking me to Paradise. As it will be somewhat late I thought you and I could get down at Paradise, put things in order and fetch milk while Arthur goes on with the car to fetch the boys and your contribution. This would seem preferable to all going on to Oxford, but it will be for you to make a decision.

The fragrance of last week-end is still strong with me; so are the fearful harvesters.²

840 To A. Clark

Vol. 98, no. 48

Savoy Hotel

[London]

5 September 1918

Yes, summer has gone and autumn is on us. I feel that this will be my last summer here as I cannot stay away from South

¹ May Hobbs was a pianist and singer who had made a special study of folk-songs.

² Minute and highly irritant bugs.

Africa much longer. I only wish this is the last summer of this war. But no one can tell. Peace will either come at the end of this year or not for a long time, and most people fear a long war. The news from the front is very good, but you will notice that we have not been able to push on after having broken through the Drocourt—Quéant line. That is significant, and it shows what a task yet awaits us.

Margaret and Arthur will be here on some business this afternoon and tomorrow (Sufferings¹, I think) and if the weather improves I shall go with them tomorrow afternoon to Oxford. But nothing decided yet. Nor has that Yorkshire moor business been decided, though I suppose we shall have to make up our minds soon.

Has Alfred² gone back to France? I am glad he is going to South Africa³ because there is now a better prospect of seeing you there too. A South African mail came in this morning but my letters have not yet been delivered. So I can't tell you the news; the last news was quite good. Ever yours,

Jan

841 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 246

London

10 September 1918

I arrived this morning in specially good time, have had a very busy day and am now (9.30 p.m.) proceeding to make some notes or jot down some points for my Newcastle speeches.⁴ The *real* point I am going to make is that our war aims offer of 5 January⁵ and Wilson's of 8 January 1918 *is still open*. This will infuriate the Northcliffe crowd and may (if it ever reaches Germany) show some statesmanlike soul that there *is* a way out of the present carnage. However, it may also be that neither side sees the importance of the innocent-looking remark. The Prime Minister's speech⁵ gives Germany the easiest terms she is ever likely to get, and if she accepts *in*

¹ Meeting for Sufferings, that is, the Executive of the Society of Friends.

² Alfred Clark, first cousin of Alice Clark.

³ He became Professor of Pharmacology in the University of Cape Town.

⁴ On the occasion of receiving the Freedom of the City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

⁵ See 805 and 808.

principle and asks for a conference on details the trick is done. But people are so stupid, or rendered so obtuse by pride or ambition etc. . . .

Alice is coming on Friday so that I shall see her on Sunday and motor to 102 on Monday morning. This is settled unless I cancel on Saturday per telephone to thee. Ever yours and Arthur's,

Jan

102a has, like thy flowers, accompanied me with sweet scent and unfading memories.

842 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 19, no. 12

Offices of the War Cabinet
2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.

25 September 1918

My dear Smuts, I wrote to Borden just as he was leaving about his somewhat tiresome attitude on the question of the territorial extension of the Empire in East Africa or the Middle East after the war. He sent me back a letter written at sea re-emphasizing his previous views and suggesting that any territorial extension would create a most painful impression in Canada and lead to most serious, if not disastrous, results. I have just written him a long argumentative letter in reply, of which I send you a copy¹ which you may care to read. But I think you ought to bear in mind yourself the idea which you discussed last year, of going over both to the United States and Canada and educating public opinion on this question. I am not sure you oughtn't to go to Canada first, for Canada, once educated, can have a very great effect upon America.

I very much want to have a talk with you about Palestine and how to exploit Allenby's success. I can't help thinking that your continuous urging of the idea of a great cavalry raid upon him hadn't a good deal to do with his present achievement. You may remember that in the scheme I worked out I fastened on Beisan as the key point to make for. His is simply our plan with the flank changed, an improvement I think. I suppose we didn't think of it because we didn't contemplate

¹ Omitted by the editors.

his being able to make so complete a breach in the Turkish line near the sea as to let the whole of the cavalry through.
Yours ever,

L. S. Amery

843 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 201

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
10 October 1918

Liefste Mamma, Die datum laat mij altijd ver denken. Wat hebben die jaren niet met zich meegebracht! Ik denk aan dien dag 20 jaar geleden toen wij den ouden president gingen gelukwenschen in zijn huis. Onthou jij nog? En het volgende jaar het ultimatum.

Denk toch, jou brief is gister avond—5 dagen na den tijd—aangekomen. De vertraging was bij het kantoor van den Hoogen Commissaris. Een lange lieve brief, baing dankie daarvoor. Ik voel hartzeer dat Mamma denkt dat ik jou berispen heb over te hard werk. Neen, niet berispen, maar pure liefde en bezorgdheid voor de gezondheid van haar die mij boven alles en allen lief en dierbaar is. En nu ben ik bang dat een zinsnede in mijn vorige brief over hetzelfde onderwerp jou weer heeft zeer gemaakt. Maar wees versekerd mamma dat ik jou geheel vertrouwd en maar net er op attent maak 'not to overdo it' want ik weet hoe vurig van geest jij is. En nou een zontje daarop!

En nu eenige punten door jou aangeroord. Neen, Jan heeft niet aan mij geschreven, maar Andries moet de landerijen daarboven maar bewaken, en de plek moet niet verhuurd worden voordat ik terug ben. Ik zal Whyte zien wanneer hij komt aankloppen en hoop maar dat hij de drank geheel afgeschafft heeft. Ja, geef Ds. Bosman £25 voor zijn kerk. Ik was zeer spijt om van de siekte van pa te hooren; Generaal Botha had mij ervan getelegrafeerd. Hoe gaat het nu met Leo? Komt hij beter klaar met de ou mensen?

Frank Theron is geheel wel en is nu juist alhier, aanstaande week gaat hij terug naar Frankrijk—vol moed. Nyssie is reeds terug en is in bevel van een voetganger bataljon en is weer in de hardstegevechten geweest. Ik hoop hij zal er behouden uitkomen.

Er wordt nu zeer zwaar gevochten, zwaarder als ooit te voren in den oorlog. Het lijkt of de vijandelijke linies aan het breken zijn en niemand weet wat kan gebeuren indien wij nog een maand mooi weer hebben. Maar de winter is op handen en een voorwaartsche beweging wordt in de regen en het sneeuw zoo goed als onmogelijk. Dan lijkt het ook alsof het einde zeer nabij is. Bulgarije daaruit en ik meen Turkije zal ook spoedig uit zijn, en Oostenrijk verkeert in een hopeloozen toestand. Wees niet verwonderd als ik Kerstmis thuis ben. Ik heb Generaal Botha getelegrafeerd dat hij zich bereid moet houden hierheen te komen zoodra vredesonderhandelingen geopend worden. Wij wachten nu op wat Prince Max zal zeggen in antwoord op Wilson's vragen, maar ik zal niet verwonderd wezen indien Duitschland ingeeft. Wat een zucht van tevredenheid en dankbaarheid zal niet de menschheid ontsnappen wanneer wij weten dat het bloedbad voorbij is.

Met mijne gezondheid gaat het uitstekend; gewoonlijk ga ik 's Zondags naar de Gilletts te Oxford of Ham Wood en rust heerlijk uit van den arbeid der week.

Nu, Mamma, duizend zoenjes op jou lieven mond gedrukt, en moge ik dit werkelijk binnen kort doen.

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
10 October 1918

Dearest Mamma, This date always sends my thoughts far
What have the years not brought with them! I think of the day
twenty years ago when we went to congratulate the old President
at his house.¹ Do you remember? And the next year, the
ultimatum.²

Just think, your letter arrived yesterday evening—five days
late. The delay was at the office of the High Commissioner.
A long, dear letter; many thanks for it. I feel sad that Mamma
thinks I am scolding her for working too hard. No, not
scolding, but sheer love and anxiety for the health of her who

¹ 10 October, Kruger's birthday, is a public holiday in the Republic of South Africa.

² The ultimatum from the South African Republic to Great Britain which began the Anglo-Boer War.

is dear and precious to me above everything and everyone. And now I am afraid that a phrase in my earlier letter on the same subject has hurt you again. But be assured, Mamma, that I trust you entirely and am only reminding you not to overdo it, for I know what an ardent spirit you are. And now a kiss on that!

And next some points raised by you. No, Jan has not written to me, but Andries must watch the cultivated land up there and the place must not be hired out until I am back. I shall see Whyte¹ when he comes along and only hope that he has entirely abandoned drinking. Yes, give the Rev. [H. S.] Bosman² £25 for his church. I was very sorry to hear of Father's illness; General Botha had telegraphed me about it. How is Leo now? Does he get on better with the old people?

Frank Theron is very well and is in fact here; next week he returns to France—full of courage. Nyssie is already back and is in command of an infantry battalion and has again been in the hardest fighting. I hope he will come out of it safely.

Very heavy fighting is now going on, heavier than ever before in the war. It looks as if the enemy lines are breaking and no one knows what may happen if we have another month of fine weather. But winter is at hand and an advance becomes as good as impossible in the rain and snow. Also, it looks as if the end is very near. Bulgaria is out of it,³ and I think Turkey will also be out soon, and Austria is in a hopeless condition. Do not be surprised if I am home at Christmas. I have telegraphed General Botha that he must be ready to come here as soon as peace negotiations are opened. We are now waiting for what Prince Max⁴ will say in answer to Wilson's questions,⁵ but I shall not be surprised if Germany gives in. What a sigh of satisfaction and thankfulness will humanity heave when we know that the blood-bath is over.

My health is excellent. On Sundays I usually go to the

¹ The husband of Mrs Whyte.

² Parson of the main Dutch Reformed Church in Pretoria.

³ On 28 September 1918 Bulgaria signed an armistice.

⁴ Prince Maximilian of Baden.

⁵ Before agreeing to the Chancellor's request for an armistice Wilson, in a Note of October 8, asked (a) whether the German Government accepted the Fourteen Points in principle; and (b) whether the Chancellor spoke for the constituted authorities of the Empire.

Gilletts at Oxford or Ham Wood and have a lovely rest after the labour of the week.

Now, Mamma, a thousand kisses on your dear mouth, and may I do that soon in reality.

Pappa

844 From Sir G. R. Parkin

Vol. 20, no. 109

Seymour House
Waterloo Place, S.W.
12 October 1918

Dear General Smuts, A note of yours, apparently dated in August, which may have been a mistake, only reached me in the country where I was on holiday, a few days ago. I think I ought to tell you that I differ entirely from Lord Reading in his suggestion that your going to America should be delayed. My convictions in the matter are strengthened by the astonishing turn which events are taking in these last days. We are coming in sight of a final settlement, and every day the influence which President Wilson and America will have in the final decisions is becoming greater. South Africa is sure to become the crucial point so far as the German colonies are concerned, and it is all-important that America should be educated about the situation there and educated quickly. You can state the situation with greater effect than anybody else. You will have highly intelligent American opinion to back you up, but in the United States it is essential that the masses should be reached.

In my judgment the future of South Africa is immediately at stake, and there should be no delay in capturing American opinion.

I had a long talk with Lord Milner on the point, and he entirely agreed with me.

I have a strong inclination to bring forward the matter publicly through the Press, because I believe the argument for action is unanswerable.

Should you care to discuss the matter further I shall be at my London office most days this coming week, and would come to you at any time. Yours sincerely,

Geo. R. Parkin

845 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 250

London
15 October 1918

What marvellous weather all these days and what we miss by sitting indoors during such a week!

Alice has come back very fit and will accompany me next Friday. If we can get off early enough we all go to Paradise that afternoon. She will tell you all the Street news.

Will you and Arthur be here both on Monday and Tuesday nights—21 and 22? I ask because I want to engage the adjoining room before I leave on Friday. I do hope you two will stay both nights for I see so little of you, and time is getting short.

I feel in a very bad humour tonight over that idiotic Wilson letter.¹ What a situation for a rhetorician to deal with! May God have mercy on us all; I sometimes feel just as if a fit of madness—*saeva indignatio*²—is closing over me at all this stupidity. The world is bleeding to death while somebody is nursing his wounded vanity and spinning phrases. And our Press!

‘The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
But, swollen with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly...’

Such is our poor public with such a Press.

846 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 19, no. 14

Offices of the War Cabinet
2 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
19 October 1918

My dear Smuts, I enclose a note on the subject of Palestine as well as another on the sequence in which we ought to deal with peace discussions.³

¹ On 10 October 1918 the *Leinster* was torpedoed in the Irish Sea with the loss of some 450 lives, including Americans. On 14 October Wilson wrote an angry letter to the German Chancellor refusing to consider an armistice while the Germans continued ‘illegal and inhuman practices’ and implying that peace would be conditional upon the reduction of Germany to ‘virtual impotency’.

² Fierce indignation.

³ These two memoranda omitted by the editors.

Things are moving so quickly that I can't help thinking that the really important thing for you to do now is to get over to Canada and the United States without delay. The education of the American public is bound to take some time, and we must have it sound in its general attitude towards the British Commonwealth and towards East African and Near Eastern questions in particular, before we get to grips in any Allied or international Conference. Now the back of the war is broken I should have thought they might very well spare you for two or three months. Yours ever,

L. S. Amery

The only thing is to find some concrete reason for your going over to the United States (or Canada) to avoid the idea that you are going on mere propaganda. Could you go on a *tour* to all the Dominions for the further discussion of *peace terms*, i.e., to fulfil, in a perambulant fashion, the pledge that there shall be full consultation? I am not sure whether that is a practical suggestion; it came into my head as I wrote and I haven't really thought it over.

847 To S. M. Smuts

Vol. 20, no. 202

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
22 October 1918

Liefste Mamma, Ik weet van geen mail naar het Zuiden, maar zal maar niet langer wachten om te schrijven. Jij is zoo goed en schrijft zoo geregeld en lang aan mij dat ik soms schaam voel dat ik niet langer brieven aan jou kan schrijven. Maar jij kan natuurlijk verstaan hoe mijn tijd in beslag genomen is met eindelooze werkzaamheden. Ik ben nooit beziger geweest maar ik houd van het werk en voel dat ik misschien in dezen kritieken tijd een beetje goed kan doen voor de menschheid, en daarom zal ik maar volhouden. Nu weer heeft het Cabinet mij gevraagd mij antwoordelijk te houden voor de voorbereiding van onze geheele zaak voor de Vredes Conferentie. Dit is natuurlijk een kolossaal werk en moet gedaan worden in bijvoeging bij al mijn ander zwaar werk. Wat den vrede zelf betreft schijnen dingen niet zoo erg brilliant. Ik geloof dat met den besten wil in de wereld van weerskanten dingen maar

stadig zullen gaan maar ik hoop toch dat het einde zelf dezen winter zal komen. Ik ben zeer begeerig met de aanstaande parlaments zitting terug te zijn aan de Kaap sodat ik mijn deel van het zware werk aldaar kan dragen. Generaal B. is moede en afgemat en het lijkt mij alsof sommige van mijne andere collegas ook niet meer met moed en lust werken. Ik voel nog perd frisch en vol moed totdat het publiek mij niet meer wil hebben en dan zal ik een lekker holiday nemen met Mamma naar onze verschillende plaatsen, en wij zullen de wereld met al hare moeielijkheden en kommer geheel vergeten. Zal dat niet heerlijk zijn? Wanneer wij met de Vauxhall afgaan naar Elandsrivier en nog verder naar Groot Marico (Klipdrift) en zoo in de rondte naar al de plaatsen?

Ik ben verbaasd te zien dat de Spaansche influenza zoo erg regeert aan de Kaap en in Zuid-Afrika. Hier heerscht het al lang en wordt steeds erger maar geheel niet zoo erg als bij jullie. Ik hoop toch dat jij en de kinderen deze nare ziekte zullen ontsnappen. Hier in het hotel zijn velen ziek maar ik ben all right—zooals gewoonlijk!

Ik zal nu maar liever geen presentjes aan de kinderen zenden in de vrees dat een Duitsche torpedo weer tusschenbei mag komen. Zeg hen dat zij maar geduldig moeten wachten totdat ik terug kom wanneer ik die pasellas zelf zal brengen. Japie hoop ik zijn geweer te brengen, tenzij jij iets gerieflijks voor hem kan koopen.

Ik was blij dat de de Wets zoo goed voor pa zijn geweest en hoop jij zal hen een of ander geschikte present geven, hoewel zulke goede vrienden natuurlijk geen vergoeding verwachten. Van Ella van der Spuy had ik ook een brief alzook van Vladdie die ik heb afgeraden hierheen te komen. Addie Marshall was ziek in een hospitaal en onderging een operatie voor appendicitis. Zij wilde mij zien maar ik kon natuurlijk niet gaan. Ik denk zij is een beetje eccentric.

Ik leef hier zoo stil mogelijk ten einde tijd voor mijn werk te vinden. Ik ga zelden uit hoewel ik tamelijk geregeld Zon-
daags naar de Gilletts gaan. Wat zij voor mij gedaan hebben kunnen wij nooit vergoeden—al die liefde en zorg alsof ik een broeder was. En zulke lieve kinderen, die mij allen Oom Jannie noemen en de 'nonsense talker' omdat ik hen zooveel onwaarschijnlijke dingen vertel. Wanneer Santa en Cato te

Cambridge zijn hoop ik dat zij dikwijls hunne holidays bij Auntie Margaret zullen gaan doorbrengen—dat is ook haar sterke wensch. Olive zendt veel liefde. Miss Hobhouse is nu weer veel beter en gaat lecture on the League of Nations!

Nu mijn dierbaarste, een zoejtje aan jou en elk der lieve kleinen van

Pappa

TRANSLATION

Savoy Hotel
London, W.C.2
22 October 1918

Dearest Mamma, I know of no mail to the South, but shall not wait longer to write. You are so good and write so regularly and at such length to me that I sometimes feel ashamed that I cannot write longer letters to you. But, of course, you will understand how my time is taken up with endless activities. I have never been busier, but I like the work and feel that, in this critical time, I can perhaps do a little good for humanity, and so I shall persevere. Now again the Cabinet have asked me to make myself responsible for the preparation of our whole case for the Peace Conference. This is, of course, a colossal task and must be done in addition to all my other heavy work. As regards the peace itself, things do not appear to be very bright. I believe that, with the best will in the world on both sides, it will go slowly, but I hope that the end itself will come this winter. I am very anxious to be back at the Cape for the next parliamentary Session,¹ so that I can carry my share of the hard work there. General Botha is tired and exhausted and it looks to me as if some of my other colleagues also no longer work with courage and gusto. I still feel as fresh as a daisy and full of courage, until the public no longer want me, and then I shall take a nice holiday with Mamma to our various farms, and we shall quite forget the world with all its difficulties and cares. Won't that be lovely—when we go down to Elands River in the Vauxhall and still further to Groot Marico (Klipdrift) and so round to all the farms?

I am astonished to see that the Spanish influenza is raging so badly at the Cape and in South Africa. Here it has prevailed

¹ This began on 17 January 1919.

for a long time and is becoming worse, but not nearly so bad as with you. I do hope that you and the little ones will escape this horrible disease. Many are ill here in the hotel but I am all right—as usual!

I shall not send presents to the children now for fear a German torpedo should again intervene. Tell them that they must wait patiently until I return when I shall bring the presents myself. I hope to bring Japie his rifle, unless you can buy him something useful.

I was glad the de Wets were so good to Father and hope you will send them a suitable gift, although such good friends do not, of course, expect repayment. I also had a letter from Ella van der Spuy¹, as well as from Vladdie², whom I have advised against coming here. Addie Marshall³ was ill in hospital and underwent an operation for appendicitis. She wanted to see me, but of course I could not go. I think she is a little eccentric.

I live here as quietly as possible in order to find time for my work. I seldom go out, although I go to the Gilletts fairly regularly on Sundays. We can never repay what they have done for me—all this love and care, as if I were a brother. And such dear children, who all call me Oom Jannie and ‘the nonsense talker’, because I tell them so many improbable things. When Santa and Cato are at Cambridge I hope that they will often go and spend their holidays at Auntie Margaret’s—that is also her firm wish. Olive sends much love. Miss Hobhouse is now much better and is going to lecture on the League of Nations!

Well, my precious, a kiss for you and each of the dear little ones from

Pappa

848 From L. S. Amery

Vol. 19, no. 16

Supreme War Council

British Section

Versailles

1 November 1918

My dear Smuts, Hankey tells me that he discussed with you the possibility of my assisting you in some way in connection

¹ See Vol. I, p. 404, note 3.

² Elizabeth Cairncross, a friend of the Smuts family. Her nickname was an abbreviation of ‘Vladivostock’.

³ A friend of the Krige family.

with the preparation of the British brief for the Peace Conference. I imagine you will secure some good lawyer, possibly one with experience in pleading before an International Arbitration Court, to get up the actual dossier. What I could most usefully do myself, I fancy, is to think of certain general lines of argument which I could discuss with you or put into notes which your man can embody in the dossier. I suppose you have got into touch with Prothero [G. W.], who has for some months past been organizing a good deal of this work in the Foreign Office from the historical point of view, and with [Sir W. G.] Tyrrell. Professor Dickson,¹ under the D.I.D.,² Admiralty, has also been getting together a lot of geographical stuff. Anyhow, we must have a talk over it all when I come back at the beginning of the week.

Meanwhile, we shall have to work hard if we are to prevent the Prime Minister giving away East Africa to the Americans. I am sure if we are to give them something, it would much better be something on the American continent like British Honduras or British Guiana, or in West Africa like Togoland, than break up the continuity of British East Africa. If you once put them there, it won't be many years before they have swallowed Portuguese East, and I don't think that would suit any of us.

Also I cannot for the life of me see why in all these discussions it is assumed that we must give up something to placate America, but that France should give up nothing. France is to get Alsace-Lorraine, which in present value is much more than any colonial territory; she is to get practically as much in Africa, and fully as much, if not more, in Turkey, whereas we, who stand not only for the United Kingdom, but for the Dominions as well, are supposed to be offending the conscience of humanity if we get anything. It all comes from the wrong conception of the British Empire as the property of the United Kingdom. If we regard it as what it really is—a group of nations—it seems absurd that those nations should not each be entitled to put forward their legitimate claims for their security, and should be regarded as collectively less

¹ Henry Newton Dickson, Head of the Geographical Section, Naval Intelligence Division at the Admiralty during the First World War.

² Director, Intelligence Division.

entitled to anything than a single country like France. Yours
ever,

L. S. Amery

849 From Lord Buxton

Vol. 19, no. 53

Private

Government House
Pretoria
5 November 1918

My dear Smuts, As you will see Botha for yourself, I need not expatiate on the great improvement that has taken place in his health, and what is more important, in his spirits. I am afraid you will think I was over-alarmist a month or so ago—but I am quite sure I was not, and Smith would confirm me in this.

But what is essential for his recovery is that for some time to come he should be spared as much pressure and worry as possible, and carry out his dieting very strictly. On this he has quite made up his mind.

He asked me to write to Long (and this I have done) to secure him against importunities to dinners (other than small social dinners), functions, and especially speeches. I am sure you will co-operate in this.

I am awfully glad that he is well enough to go. Apart from the immense advantage of his presence at Conferences etc. the voyage and the visit (if he does not overdo it) will do him, health and spirits, a world of good.

It will not be altogether easy for your colleagues to pilot the Session, with Botha and you both away—and there will be rocks ahead; but I hope for once they will make up their minds to a *really* short Session.

There is going to be trouble over the Epidemic. The Health Department of 'Interior' was extraordinarily stupid and wanting in foresight, pedantically allowing the Influenza to come in from the Transport (Native) where it had been raging; and further throughout the epidemic, it has shewn want of energy, courage, and resource, in dealing with the position.

The 'Health' powers of the Government are of course lamentably limited, but Watt ought to have thrown himself with energy into the affair, and done all, and indeed more than

he legally could, to cope with such a grave position as that which has arisen.

The universal range of the epidemic, the 20,000 deaths, have come as a shock to the country, and it will be essential I think (and it would be almost criminal to lose this golden opportunity) to deal with the question, and pass a Public Health Bill (creating new Departments of Health etc: dealing with Housing etc.) next Session.

Such a Bill, though bristling with difficulties, could, in the present state of public opinion (Hertzog himself has had the flu!) if handled tactfully and courageously, be carried with general support and approval. But Watt ??

Her Excellency and Mrs Smuts, with Mrs D. de Waal as directress-in-chief, have been very active lately in starting a crèche for the many unfortunate children whose parents have been down with, or have died of, the influenza. This orphan children problem is going to be a serious one—that, and improved housing.

I have lately heard that Captain Lawrence (who was A.D.C. and then Comptroller, and went back about a year ago) has been killed. This is the sixth member of my Staff who has been killed. Yours very sincerely,

Buxton

850 To M. C. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 253

London

7 November 1918

What a nice letter you have written me in spite of your domestic troubles and anxieties! And it is always nice hearing from you. Arthur would not stay to dinner with me but preferred to be pompous and grand with those well above you and me in station. However we had a very nice walk before he left me and I had his promise that soon, very soon, you two will spend three or four days with me and see all the sights of the place. That would be like us in 1906, would it not?

Now as regards next week-end I don't think Friday is convenient to get away. If Saturday is very fine, I could go to Paradise Plantation and load up for Oxford where I shall arrive about tea-time. But it is not yet certain and perhaps

you have comments to make, which you could do when I ring you up tomorrow night or Saturday morning.

Alice will remain here next week-end as Alfred does not leave before next Tuesday.

I have nothing to say to you about the Americans.

Things are moving at a tremendous pace, and appeals are made to us to come and occupy Austria and Hungary to keep the peace and feed the starving. Much of the German Fleet is in the hands of a Sailors' Soviet. Perhaps peace is very near. Pray God it is.

851 To D. Lloyd George

Vol. 101, no. 26

Savoy Hotel
Strand, W.C.2
9 November 1918

Dear Prime Minister, In connection with my work on Demobilization,¹ I have been struck by the strong case there is for the creation of a new Ministry of Communications or Transportation, which will not only be in the permanent public interest but be specially useful just now from a demobilizing point of view. I assume that the Railways will, after the war, remain under Government control, and perhaps eventually even pass to Government ownership. Your new policy will require a better co-ordination of the railways and the improvement and cheapening of the whole transportation services of the United Kingdom. The development and full use of the canal systems will also help to develop and cheapen transportation. The road systems will require great improvement and development to make up for the neglect of the war, and especially to cope with the tremendous mechanical transport traffic which will be put on them after the war.

The time to begin doing all this is *now* when you have enormous quantities of railway and motor materials in France and here, and when a big development of railways, roads and canals will go far to absorb masses of unemployed labour of all sorts. It seems to me that such a Ministry will be eminently fruitful in carrying out your great development policies, and will afford employment now when it will be most needed.

¹ Smuts was Chairman of the Demobilization Committee of the War Cabinet.

I am also looking to the fact that you are committed to a policy of developing Empire communications on sea and land and in the air. A Ministry of Communications, not only for internal requirements, but which will study the whole problem of Empire communications, will very fitly mark and embody the new departure.

And, lastly, you have the very man for the post in Eric Geddes. Put him there as soon as the Armistice is signed, with a mandate to go ahead and absorb as much of our demobilized labour and fighting forces as he conveniently can, and I feel sure a good start will have been made with the right man at the right time. Geddes's fine powers should not be lost at such a time when there is the task and the opportunity calling for him.

If this Ministry is not created, I would suggest that Geddes be given the new Ministry of Supply and that Churchill be promoted. Believe me, Yours sincerely,

s. J. C. Smuts

852 To A. B. Gillett

Vol. 20, no. 254

London

10 November 1918. Midnight

A true instinct took me away from 102 this afternoon. On arrival in London I had to go straight to a Cabinet meeting and only now at midnight I have returned to the Savoy. It is all over. As I said to you on leaving, this was the last Sunday of the war. The new revolutionary German Government¹ have accepted the Armistice terms. The war is over, but as to peace in this hour of falling worlds who could say? A great task is ahead of us. As I said to the Prime Minister tonight, it is for us now to be large and generous and to send food at once to the famished millions on the Continent. We shall reap a rich reward, not only in the gratitude of the starving people, but in the words of that great Judgment which now will come truer than ever before (Matt. 25: 31-46).² May God in this

¹ On 9 November 1918 the Kaiser abdicated, F. Ebert, the Socialist leader, became Chancellor and Germany was proclaimed a republic.

² The passage on the Last Judgment.

great hour remove from us all smallness of heart and vitalize our souls with sympathy and fellow-feeling for those in affliction—the beaten, weak, and little ones who have no food. I write in remembrance of this great day.

P.S. I enjoyed the walk with Margaret and you today more than I could say.