SELF-INTEREST AND SOCIAL CONTROL:
UITLANDER RULE OF JOHANNESBURG, 1900-1901

by
Diana R. MacLaren

Good government ... [means] equal rights and no privilege ..., a fair field and no favour. (1)

A. MacFarlane, Chairman, Fordsburg Branch, South African League.

At the end of May 1900 the British army moved into Johannesburg and Commandant F. E. T. Krause handed over the reins of government to Col. Colin MacKenzie, the new Military Governor of the Witwatersrand. But MacKenzie could not rule alone, and his superior, Lord Roberts, had previously agreed with High Commissioner Milner that MacKenzie would have access to civilian advisers who, being Randites for the most part, could offer to his administration their knowledge of local affairs. So, up from the coast and the Orange Free State came his advisers: inter alia, W. F. Monypenny, previously editor of the jingoist Johannesburg Star; Douglas Forster, past President of the Transvaal Branch of the South African League (SAL); Samuel Evans, an Eckstein & Co employee and informal adviser to Milner; and W. Wybergh, another past President of the SAL and an ex-employee of Consolidated Gold Fields.

These men and the others who served MacKenzie as civilian aides had been active in Rand politics previous to the war and had led the agitation for reform - both political and economic - which had resulted in war. Many had links with the mining industry, either as employees of large firms or as suppliers of machinery, while the rest were in business or were professional men, generally lawyers. It was these men who, along with J. P. Fitzpatrick, had engineered the unrest, who formulated petitions, organized demonstrations and who channelled to Milner the grist for his political mill. Their goal had been to transform the South African Republic and especially the Rand, to create a government sympathetic to industrial capitalism and to eliminate elements which inhibited its development. Working with Milner, they tried to convince the British parliament and public that the Uitlander (foreign) population at Johannesburg was a unified community struggling under the weight of corruption, tyranny and inefficiency. They had been successful and when war approached they were amongst the first to flee, especially when it was rumoured that warrants for their arrest had been issued by the Boer government. In the months between the outbreak of war and the fall of Johannesburg, i.e. between mid-October 1899 and the end of May 1900, they had been active at the coast managing Uitlander...
refugee affairs, leading the "sheep without a shepherd" (2), to use Wybergh's phrase, and working in and out of the administration as advisers, news correspondents, army recruiters and even spies.

Now they were called back to the Rand. It would be many months before the mass of Uitlanders would be allowed to return, but in the meantime the population of the Rand (some 80,000 people along the length of the reef, half of whom were white and about half of the whites living in Johannesburg itself) (5) had to be governed. This entailed pacifying them - keeping them sober, quiet and out of mischief - as well as furnishing provisions: food, clothes and fuel, and work when possible. Yet the Uitlander advisers did not confine themselves to these immediate tasks but set upon a course of creating on the Rand their ideal community.

While Milner was anxious to see Johannesburg restored as a place of business, he was also very keen to ensure that the Rand administration got off "in the right direction". (4) Since the new regime was in an embryonic stage, he felt that it would be easy to give it "a twist in a wrong direction". (5) In other words, even though MacKenzie's military administration was to be provisional, it could still set into motion policies which would influence the later direction of Rand affairs. Hence Milner, in an attempt to keep this from happening, ordered that no major changes were to be initiated in this period and wanted men appointed to MacKenzie's government who would serve only as caretakers.

But the Uitlander reformers did not propose to let such an opportunity escape them: for years they had thought of little else but how best to administer the Rand. Given the power conferred by martial law, they intended to utilize it to give Rand affairs "a twist" in their direction. It is their actions and the motives behind them, as well as the reaction of Milner and his Secretary, G. V. Fiddes (who now served as Roberts' Political Secretary in the Transvaal), which concern us here. To facilitate the discussion of some of the policies implemented by the MacKenzie administration it is best to categorize them. To be reviewed will be the decisions regarding the importation of food, the resumption of control over private property, the location of the Transvaal capital, and, finally, the regulation of the resident Rand population. Each issue demonstrates different aspects of the interests and motives of the administration and the varied use made of the war-time opportunity to mould post-war relations.

The newspaper editor Monypenny took the post of Director of Civil Supplies, a job complicated by the disruption of trains by De Wet and his men on the veld, by the confiscation of locally produced fresh meat by the army, and by the poorly stocked local shops. The latter was the result of Johannesburg merchants having had a difficult time importing items and because there had been extensive commandeering by Boer officials and looting by destitute people during the first seven months of war. While the British army was responsible for feeding its own men as well as the burgher population, Monypenny had to provide for all other civilians, including the black workers attached to the Imperial Military Railway. When MacKenzie had entered the Rand the army was already desperately short of supplies, and by mid-June no more than a fortnight's provisions for civilians was on hand. (6) Shortages begat crime, with railway workers and Africans living on the compounds of the now idle mines turning to theft as a means of obtaining firewood and food. The administration feared that white men, also destitute and without work or relief aid, would turn to larceny in order to survive. (7)

But Monypenny was not solely concerned with feeding the people; he also sought to ensure that the interests of British merchants, for the most part in exile at the coast, were protected and that the foreign merchants still in Johannesburg did not benefit from any resumption of trade. Particularly distasteful to the exiled merchants was the fact that prices set by the military, which were up to three times the normal (i.e. pre-war) level, generated high profits for the exclusive benefit of resident merchants. While all foreign merchants were held in contempt, the Germans and the Jews on the Rand were singled out as the worst offenders: the men who had aided the enemy but now reaped the reward of British rule and Rand restoration. (8)
One of Monypenny's first moves to restrict the business of non-British merchants was his attempt to withdraw their trading licences and thereby close their shops. Fiddes, who overturned this regulation, explained to the Military Governor that merchants had a right to sell to whomsoever they chose and foreign merchants could not be interfered with solely because they had traded with the Boers. (9) Not long afterwards Monypenny was asked to devise a scheme whereby goods would be stockpiled at Johannesburg in order that the Uitlander refugees could begin to return home. Monypenny, while doing as he was asked, created a system which ensured that the interests of the absentee merchants were protected. Goods, he decided, would be purchased at the coast and sent by train to the Rand where they would be held until a full 6000 tons of supplies were accumulated. Though owned by individual merchants, these supplies would be held by the Director of Civil Supplies until the Uitlander traders were in residence, this being done to "secure fair play to the refugee merchant, and allow all merchants to start business simultaneously". (10)

This scheme also assisted Uitlanders because the 6000 tons of supplies were funneled through the colonial ports in order to bypass the foreign merchants at Lourenço Marques who had previously stockpiled goods there in the belief that the Johannesburg-Lourenço Marques railway would be the first to reopen. (11) Further, the merchants at Johannesburg found it difficult to remit money to the coast with which to purchase a share of the 6000 tons. On the other hand, the loyalist merchants at the coast faced no such problems: needless to say, the administration took great pleasure in this state of affairs. Although this scheme collapsed when the return of the Uitlander refugees was postponed in October 1900, food remained a weapon in the arsenal of the Rand administration.

Another problem facing the Uitlander advisers was how to deal with the houses left vacant by departing Uitlanders which had been occupied by Boers and pro-Boers during the first seven months of war. Commandant Schutte, Krause's predecessor and chairman of the Johannesburg Rust en Orde Commission which governed the Rand after 1899, followed a policy of installing Boer refugees and favoured Johannesburg residents in empty Uitlander houses. (13) Complicating this matter for the new British administration was the "Kruger Proclamation" which had been announced at the beginning of the war. In a move to protect his commandos, Kruger had proclaimed that, as long as martial law was in force, residential property owners could not claim rent from their tenants nor could banks charge interest on mortgages to their borrowers who had used residential property as collateral. (14) Naturally, the "rent proclamation" was abhorrent to rentiers, even though the more astute owners were well aware that residential property could command little rent during the war because departing occupiers had actually begged people to live in their homes rent-free in order to protect them from looters. (15)

In an attempt to regain control of private property, the MacKenzie regime first ordered that no vacant houses were to be occupied without the permission of the military and that furniture could no longer be moved without the government's and the owner's written consent. (16) Yet the problem remained: how to eject tenants who claimed that the "Kruger Proclamation" meant that they neither had to move nor to pay rent. Douglas Forster, MacKenzie's Legal Adviser, sympathized with owners but declared that, legally, nothing could be done. Forster wanted to protect the rentiers' rights and to see the proclamation abrogated; until this could be done, he rejected the idea of setting up a court to arbitrate between tenants and owners for fear that it would give the proclamation and the tenants' claims some standing in law. Consequently, it was left to MacKenzie to solve the problem, and on the 6th July he wrote to his Legal Adviser:

I propose to deal with all these house cases individually on their merits. I shall, where necessary, eject the occupier of a house, by military escort, and let the ejected one obtain his satisfaction afterwards by civil court if he likes. Please select and bring me ... the more pressing cases. (17)
Fiddes soon entered the discussion and suggested that a special Commission be nominated to determine the impact of the proclamation upon property relations in Johannesburg. MacKenzie appointed a "Rent Committee" but its membership was so overwhelmingly drawn from the propertied class - rentiers, land and mining company officials, etc. - that its very existence generated unrest among the Uitlander refugees at the coast, who feared that their rights as absentee tenants were about to be infringed. Further, the Committee's membership fuelled the already vociferous discontent amongst refugees concerning "capitalistic appointments" made by MacKenzie and Roberts. Consequently, Milner was forced to state that the Rent Committee was only advisory and that no changes were contemplated with regard to the "Rent Proclamation". As a result the advisers at Johannesburg were no closer to gaining the legal power to expel unwanted tenants, and property rights continued to be violated. (18)

While the men in the MacKenzie administration sought to make immediate changes, they were also concerned with long-range issues. Of most interest in the earliest months of this period was their attempt to get the seat of the new colonial government moved from Pretoria to Johannesburg. It was a scheme initiated by these men and was explicitly meant to serve the interests of the British industrial and business community in the Transvaal. Because neither Milner nor Chamberlain would sanction the move - Milner afraid that to do so would appear to the anti-capitalist critics as though his policy was dictated by an "extreme Uitlander clique" (19) - the men at Johannesburg attempted to influence policy through the press.

Monypenny, using his Times connection, made sure that the advisers' position favouring removal of the capital to Johannesburg was presented in London. Soon, however, Milner asked Chamberlain to give the Times' staff an informal hint that to continue to publicize their cause would only play into the hands of the enemy. (20) Then MacKenzie's advisers convinced the unsuspecting Roberts to approve the publication of the Star, which they planned to use to "educate" the military and to champion the capital issue. Milner, unwilling to convey his real reasons to Roberts, asked that the permission be rescinded since it would be unfair to other publishers who had previously been denied permission to reopen on the Rand. Roberts complied, and the agitators' advisers were therefore denied their hearing. Fiddes was deeply relieved, and wrote to Milner: "I was only just in time to get the thing right: it was a close shave." (21)

During this controversy Fiddes and the Uitlanders in Johannesburg had continually locked horns. Not only had their actions angered him, but the High Commissioner grew increasingly exasperated with their attitude and behaviour. It was during this affair that Monypenny warned Fiddes that, even if every member of the British cabinet wanted the capital at Pretoria, the men of Johannesburg "could and would prevent it". To make matters worse, he then threatened: "the British government could govern [the] Transvaal without [the] Dutch, but not without Johannesburg." (22) Such talk caused Milner to change his opinion of the Johannesburg advisers and their ability to do the task set before them. Where in late June he was able to forgive their enthusiasm - "it is only natural that they should go in for a bit of a fling" (23), he counselled Fiddes - within weeks he was fed up with the "attitude taken up by persons who seem to think they can combine the role of government officials and political agitators". (24) By July he thought them "too big for their boots" and was increasingly concerned with their "High Jinks". (25) Fiddes, closer to the scene, just called them a "sad lot of advisers" and informed Milner that he saw his task as convincing them that "Lord Roberts is at least Suzerain of the Johannesburg Republic (and ... I am his Grand Vizier)". (26)

Fiddes not only aggravated the advisers by his stance on the capital and newspaper issues but because, earlier, he had reversed some of their more aggressive measures. For instance, when he arrived in the Transvaal he found that the old reformer H. C. Hull had initiated a regulation which levied fines on burghers of districts where commando raids took place. It also forced prominent burghers to ride in goods trucks and vans up and down the railway lines as "hostages" in order to assure that the trains were not attacked. Reportedly, Hull had rushed this through
in order to "make things hot" for Sammy Marks (a powerful financier who had benefited from the Kruger regime) and others to whom the "reformers had an antipathy". Fiddes, after countermanding the order, noted that it had not been a "military precaution, but a weapon for private spite". (27)

Fiddes also took an interest in the so-called "Star Chamber", a body constituted, as he put it, "to examine anyone on oath about anything". (28) After Fiddes attempted to "clip the wings" of the body, he was urged by Monypenny and Samuel Evans to permit it to continue its inquiries into "acts of rascality - theing, looting under the guise of commandeering and so forth" which occurred on the Rand during the first seven months of the war. He consented to its continued operation on the condition that, first, no one was required to incriminate himself and, secondly, "no political vengeance is ... wreaked thereby". (29) But there is little doubt that these conditions did not restrict the actions of the body, for files are extant which demonstrate that MacKenzie's "Committee of Investigation" was very concerned with pre-war events and antagonisms. (30)

Without doubt, the boldest policy undertaken by the MacKenzie administration was the one which sought to eliminate undesirable elements from the Rand. The "undesirable" category included a wide range of people, inter alia foreigners (often but not exclusively Russian or Polish Jews), the alien destitute (most of the British poor had been removed during the Boer administrative period), criminals of all nationalities as well as political enemies and labour agitators. Many people were removed as traitors, some for their involvement in a "plot" to overthrow the MacKenzie regime. There were then, and there remain, doubts as to the existence of the "plot" in other than the minds of administrators. Further, while it may have been legitimate to remove disruptive elements from a sensitive area during time of war - and foreign consuls agreed with the British government that it was - it is now clear that the deportations were not motivated solely by such concerns, but rather by long-term goals. Indeed, the entire Imperial administration from Milner downwards took delight in seeing the undesirables removed from the old Republics and especially from the Rand.

On the weekend of 13-14 July 1900 some 450 men were arrested in Johannesburg, and all but two - and these two were a mistake - were non-British, non-burgher foreigners. Some were taken from their homes as they prepared for bed and were ordered to stand with scant clothes in the winter's night air. Others were rounded up as they left cafes, some as they walked the streets. All ended up in jail where they spent one or two nights seeking why they had been arrested, demanding to see their consuls, and receiving little other than stoic silence or verbal abuse from their guards. On the 15th - without being allowed to collect fresh clothing or to secure their possessions - most were boarded in third-class compartments or cattle trucks and sent by rail to East London, where the majority were soon loaded on the "Hawarden Castle" bound for Europe via the Cape. Most left this ship, and others which were to follow, in Holland, though a few of the deportees went on to London where they were met and thereafter watched by the police.

In theory, these men had been implicated in a "plot" to overthrow the Johannesburg garrison while the majority of the soldiers were off duty and attending a horse race (hence, the "Race Course Plot"). Also, in theory, the men were in communication with a Boer commando some 12 miles away which was to secure an advantage as a result of the coup. (In fact, according to army records, some of the Boers were captured in the vicinity in July and sentenced to POW camps in Ceylon.) (31) In the following weeks some in the administration were dissatisfied with these arrests. Major O'Brien, President of the Military Tribunal at Johannesburg, attests to the paranoia of the District Commissioner: even after the arrests he continued to hold a "very blue view of our position here and [was] full of anarchist plots for clearing off all the high officials", a fear O'Brien did not share. (32) MacKenzie felt insecure because he thought that the "plot" had in part been a result of the scarcity and high cost of food and was well aware that this was a situation not likely to change. (33)
Deportations did not stop with these first few hundred. Just a week later a second sweep of the city gathered more foreign undesirables and they too were loaded up and sent away. In fact, contemporary estimates indicate that there were about 20 people expelled daily from Johannesburg at the end of August 1900 and the historian Spies states that over 4000 aliens were deported from the whole of southern Africa before the end of 1900. (34) Deportation, then, became an important tool with which to eliminate from the new colonies people whom the administration thought "undesirable".

Naturally, pro-Boers were a target, and throughout the war they were forwarded from the Rand to the Cape, much to Milner's chagrin. (35) On the other hand, Milner was delighted when some 1400 NSASM (Republican railway) employees, with their families, were deported soon after the capture of Johannesburg. (36) The criminal community was an obvious source of deportees, with people being expelled for a variety of activities: from distributing illicit liquor to blacks to charging prices above those set by Monypenny. (37) Others were deported for being without the necessary papers, for having "no settled occupation" or simply because they "were unable to give a proper account of themselves". (38)

In August 1901 deportation was put to another use: the eviction from the Rand of British miners who downed tools over wage rates. In that month ninety-five white men struck work on the May Consolidated Mine in an attempt to get their pay raised above the maximum (5/- per day plus rations) set by the army and the Chamber of Mines. After hearing of Kitchener's pronouncement that "employees of the Johannesburg mines" ought to be as ready as other people in the Empire to "display the necessary self-sacrifice and patriotism", sixty of the ninety-five still refused to work. Police Commissioner Davies then warned them that if they did not return to work he would see them escorted over the border. Thirty-five miners tried to call his bluff and were accordingly marched to the station and sent to the coast to await the end of the war with the rest of the exiles. The expulsion of strikers had the desired effect, for reports filed at the time noted that "none of the employees on the other [mining] properties will resort to the ill-advised course adopted by the May [Consolidated] workmen". (39)

But deportation was not confined to people who, through their actions, brought themselves to the attention of the authorities. Nor were war-related concerns the sole reasons for expelling people. Rather, it was the intent of the Transvaal and Johannesburg governments to remove from the new colony people who could hinder the development of the post-war ideal society. The powers conferred on the administration by martial law enabled it summarily to eject people who in peace-time would be more difficult to remove. After several hundred deportations had taken place, Fiddes explained the policy to Milner:

... in the future interests of the country we ought to clear out a lot of the foreigners, and the actual pretext for doing so in many cases is not easy to find. In fact we must use the arbitrary will of the Military for the purpose. (40)

While Milner concurred - "it is of course most desirable to get rid of foreign riff-raff" (41) - he was to remain concerned with the potential diplomatic repercussions of large-scale deportation and sought to ensure that the expulsions appeared legitimate and followed humane and formal principles.

Roberts and Fiddes had not let such considerations stop MacKenzie and his advisers. In early July the latter sought Roberts's approval to deport all "four year burghers" - i.e., men who had acquired burgher rights since the Jameson Raid. He explained his reasoning to his superior: "... if carried out here this measure would rid [the] town of some two thousand Peruvian and other low class Jews[,] in fact all the criminal class." (42) Roberts and Fiddes, rather than reject such duplicity, sought to carry it even further. Fiddes responded to MacKenzie's request:
[Roberts] considers that no action should be taken against the Jewish population as a class nor indeed need the word 'Jew' be mentioned. But there is no doubt that the 'Peruvians' are a wholly objectionable element, and the more of them that can be sent down the better. It is a matter for the Military and wherever you have reasonable grounds for suspicion against individuals they should be deported and severely dealt with if they return without a permit. This measure, and possibly deportation under the head of 'military exigencies' ought to rid us of a considerable portion. (43)

Hence, the Johannesburg administration was encouraged to utilize its power to remove people who, before the war, had allegedly contributed to the corruption, inefficiency and crime about which the reformers had complained. In the following weeks and months the MacKenzie regime was to concoct a variety of excuses which would justify the expulsion of "objectionable" people.

As previously mentioned, food remained a weapon in the hands of the administration and in December 1900 it was used to remove people from the Rand. In that month MacKenzie proclaimed that only burghers, foreign consuls and members of the Rand Rifles, a local guards' unit whose membership was confined to British men, would be permitted to buy food from government stores. The rest of the population - i.e., foreigners - was faced with the alternatives of starvation or exile. Kitchener defended the action by stating that the food shortages which made such a system necessary had resulted from "foreign Jew ringleaders ... buying up all [the] supplies to make a large ... profit when [the] railway failed". (44) But the foreign consuls put pressure on Kitchener and he was forced to modify the MacKenzie regulation so that the "privilege" of buying food was extended to people whose consuls would ensure they were "fit and proper persons to enjoy it". Still Kitchener would not be defeated, and he quietly warned consuls that they should not abuse their power by granting too many certificates, for if they did it would debar them from any later "representations". None the less, Fiddes expressed doubts as to the effectiveness of the revised proclamation and feared that the consuls would not comply with Kitchener's directive, thereby rendering the "object of the Proclamation nugatory". (45)

Other examples of policies designed to mould Rand society could be mentioned but they would only demonstrate further the extent to which the Uitlander advisers and the military were willing to go in an attempt to achieve their goals. But still the question remains: What were their goals? Clearly they were complex and were rooted in the interests of the administrators and their perception of what was best for the Rand and Johannesburg. The policies reflected their xenophobic proclivities and were generated as much by the war as by their desire to rid themselves of business competitors and the "dangerous classes". The attempt to remove criminals is, of course, understandable, especially if viewed in relation to pre-war Rand society with its extensive illicit liquor trade, theft and police corruption. The "Peruvians" (a euphemism for East European Jews) were blamed for most of the crime and were therefore a prime target of the war and post-war regimes.

The policies were not solely reactive, but sought to achieve a positive end. In fact, the goal was much the same as that sought by Milner: to revitalize the Rand economy and use it to generate the political and economic development of the British Transvaal Colony. The attempt to move the capital is just one example of this, for the advisers sought to place it where it could best respond to the needs of industrial capitalism.

Finally, the MacKenzie administration did give Rand affairs a "twist", and post-war policies, such as restricting the municipal franchise or transferring non-whites and undesirable whites from the city centre, reflected the methods and goals of these men. Further, many of the Uitlander reformers were to move into Colonial and Union government posts and utilize the experience gained in the war. The
policies they pursued there bore out the truth of Wybergh's maxim: "the last reward of doing good work is to have more work given one to do". (46)

Notes

(1) Star, 11 August 1899.
(3) CO 417/296, Milner to Chamberlain, confidential, 5 December 1900; Cape Times, 4 October 1900; Charles Richard O'Brien Diary, Vol. I, p. 120 (Rhodes House, Oxford), hereafter cited O'Brien.
(4) Roberts to Milner, 2 June 1900, in Field Marshal Lord Roberts Correspondence, Ma letter-book, Vol. II (National Army Museum), hereafter cited Roberts Correspondence; Chamberlain to Milner, secret, 10 February 1900 in Mss Milner Dep., 170 (Bodleian, Oxford), hereafter cited Mss Milner.
(5) Milner to Roberts, 25 May 1900 in Letters from Milner, Roberts Correspondence.
(7) MacKenzie to Roberts, 21 July 1900 in PSY 49 (Files of the Political Secretary, Transvaal Archives, Pretoria).
(9) MacKenzie to M. S. Chief, 18 August 1900, PSY 49, and Fiddes to MacKenzie, 22 August 1900, PSY 52.
(10) MacKenzie to Fiddes, 8 October 1900, PSY 49.
(12) Fiddes to MacKenzie, confidential (draft), 11 October 1900, PSY 52.
(14) Standard and Diggers' News, 26 October 1899.
(15) For complaints, see, e.g., Standard and Diggers' News, 22 and 30 November 1899, and Cape Times, 25 August 1900. For more astute observation, see CO 291/27, Milner to Chamberlain, 27 February 1901, with enclosure from J. A. Hamilton, n.d.
(16) Johannesburg Gazette, 5 and 21 June 1900.
(17) MacKenzie to Legal Adviser, 6 July 1900, LAJ 2. Also see Legal Adviser to MacKenzie, 6 July 1900, LAJ 2, and Legal Adviser to Mrs A. Badenhoop, 7 June 1900, LAJ 1 (Files of the Legal Adviser, Johannesburg, in Transvaal Archives, Pretoria).
(18) Fiddes to MacKenzie, 27 July 1900, PSY 52. For refugee reaction and Milner's assurance, see CO 417/293, Milner to Chamberlain, 22 August 1900, with enclosure, Carter to Milner, 15 August 1900, and Cape Times, 20 August 1900.
(19) CO 417/291, Milner to Chamberlain, 6 July 1900. For their motives, see Samuel Evans to Fitzpatrick, private, 22 November 1899, Fitzpatrick to F. Eckstein, 26 May 1900, Fitzpatrick to Samuel Evans, 10 July 1900 and 18 July 1900, in Fitzpatrick. Also see Fiddes to Milner, 1 July 1900 in Mss Milner, 230.
(20) CO 417/291, Milner to Chamberlain, 6 July 1900, and Chamberlain to Milner (draft), 15 July 1900; Fitzpatrick to Samuel Evans, private, 18 July 1900, in Fitzpatrick.

(21) Fiddes to Milner, confidential, 13 July 1900, Mss Milner, 230; Fiddes to Milner, 7 July 1900, and Milner to Fiddes, 8 July 1900, in DO 119/469; Milner to Roberts, 12 July 1900, and Roberts to Milner, 13 July 1900, in DO 119/510.

(22) DO 119/469, Fiddes to Milner, 29 June 1900, and see Fitzpatrick to J. Wernher, 4 July 1900, in Fitzpatrick.

(23) Milner to Fiddes, private, 25 June 1900, Mss Milner, 183.

(24) Milner to Fiddes, 4 July 1900, Mss Milner, 230.

(25) DO 119/469, Milner to Fiddes, 4 July 1900, and see Milner to Fiddes, private, 25 June 1900.

(26) Fiddes to Milner, private, 5 August 1900, and 1 July 1900, in Mss Milner, 230.

(27) Fiddes to Milner, 1 July 1900, Mss Milner, 230.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Fiddes to Milner, confidential, 13 July 1900, Mss Milner, 230.

(30) See, for instance, report concerning January 1899 "Amphitheatre" meeting in PSY 73.

(31) WO 108/303, "Transvaal List Nos 3272-3499". Also see London Times, 14 November 1901.


(33) n. 7 above.


(35) DO 119/469, Milner to Fiddes, 13 August 1900. He was worried about the influence they might have on the Cape Dutch.

(36) Milner to Roberts, 25 June 1900, Mss Milner, 175.

(37) LAJ 1/34, Memo dated 30 June 1900 for deportation of storekeepers. For deportation of Liquor "King" Nathanson, see PSY 52, MacKenzie to Fiddes, 10 August 1900, and DO 119/517, Fairbridge, Arderne, and Lawton (Nathanson's attorneys) to Milner, 11 September 1900, and enclosures.

(38) HC 143, "Deportation of undesirable foreigners from the Transvaal in 1900", with enclosure letter MacKenzie to High Commissioner, 7 September 1900, citing report by Davies, 6 September 1900 (Transvaal Archives, Pretoria).

(39) Cape Times, 20 August 1901; for further information, see Transvaal Chamber of Mines, Twelfth Report for the Years 1900 and 1901, pp. 56-51.

(40) Fiddes to Milner, private, 5 August 1900, Mss Milner, 230.

(41) FO 2/416, 00 to FO, 25 October 1900, with enclosure, Milner to Chamberlain, confidential, 3 October 1900, with enclosed Milner to Fiddes, 12 August 1900.

(42) WO 105/27, "Deportation of Netherlands Railway Employees, with Index", MacKenzie to Roberts, 3 July 1900. (MacKenzie is not here referring to NZASM employees.)

(43) Fiddes to MacKenzie, 9 July 1900, PSY 52.

(44) FO 2/531, 00 to FO, 29 January 1901, with enclosure, Milner to Chamberlain, confidential, 3 January 1901, with enclosed Kitchener to Milner, 21 December 1900.

(45) FO 2/531, 00 to FO, 29 January 1901, with enclosure, Milner to Chamberlain, confidential, 3 January 1901, with enclosed Fiddes to Milner, 20 December 1900. Seemingly Fiddes's pessimism was unwarranted, for in January 1901 reports were filed that indicated another large-scale expulsion was under way. See, for instance, African Review, XXIV, 426, 19 January 1901, p. 85: "A general clearance is being made by the authorities of undesirable persons on the Rand ..."