

FREEMASONRY AND THE JAMESON RAID

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The Jameson raid has been variously described as:

- **A comic opera**, and there are certainly some elements of humour in it.
- **As a major factor in the start of the Anglo Boer war.**

In 1906 Jan Smuts said, "*The Jameson Raid was the real declaration of war in the Great Anglo-Boer conflict.----and that is so, in spite of the four years truce that followed, (the) aggressors consolidated their alliance, the defenders on the other hand silently and grimly prepared for the inevitable*". (1)

- **As a most damaging diplomatic blunder to the British Empire.**

Winston Churchill later remarked "*I date the beginning of these violent times (1914–1918 war) in our country from the Jameson raid* (2)"

The objective was simple. Cecil John Rhodes and the 'Uitlanders' (literally "the Foreigners"), represented by the self appointed Reform Committee, hoped to engineer a coup-d-etat in the Transvaal. The strategy was straightforward, Dr Jameson would go to Bulawayo and there recruit an army, which he would move to Pitasani in Bechuanaland and there he would await the express invitation of the Reform Committee to launch his invasion. He would march on Johannesburg. A similar group under Sir John Willoughby was to leave Mafeking to join him in the Transvaal. A second part of the plot concerned the 'Uitlanders' who would first rise in revolt in Johannesburg, then secure the arsenal in Pretoria and thereafter join forces with Jameson and together take over the Transvaal and throw Kruger out of power.

The plan was simple enough, it relied on co-ordination and secrecy — it had neither.

Kruger's policy, of 'Tightening-or-Releasing-his-stranglehold', depending on the political climate, caused the 'Uitlanders' to vacillate. Jameson on the other hand was, impetuous, reckless and impatient and disregarded or deliberately misinterpreted the communications.

On the 29 December 1895, he and about five hundred men left Pitasani and started his march on Johannesburg. At Zeerust, a Boer commandant warned him to turn back, this he ignored and pressed on. His men were tired and hungry, the provisions that were promised were either too little or none at all. Kruger knew of their every move and drew them in, like a spider into his web.

There was a brief skirmish on New Year's Day near Queens Mine, close to Krugersdorp. The next day Kruger pulled in the drawstrings in an ambush at Doornkop and forced him to surrender. The revolution collapsed when 64 members of The Reform committee were arrested and joined Jameson in the Pretoria Tronk (gaol). They were tried and sentenced, some to death (which was later commuted), some were imprisoned and some fined.

Was there was any direct Masonic influence on the raid?

Many of the protagonists were masons! Some were very prominent masons, enough to make one wonder! Their stories are interesting, let me relate them and you be the judge.

CAUSES OF THE JAMESON RAID

The two most important protagonists were Paul Kruger and Cecil John Rhodes; their opposing visions for the Transvaal were the essence of the conflict.

PAUL KRUGER

Paul Kruger was a patriarch in the old style - proud, conservative, stern and uncompromising. He won his country back from the Britain at the battle of Majuba on 27 February 1881 (3).

In the beginning Britain found the attractions of the Transvaal minimal, no more than a gap in a solid block of colonies (4). Never-the-less, The Pretoria Convention signed in 1881 and amended by the London Convention, bound the Transvaal uncomfortably to Britain and required it to submit in various ways to British sovereignty in return for British recognition (4). Although this irked Kruger, it was no real problem, **until** gold was discovered in 1884!

'Uitlanders' began to flood into the Republic in search of untold riches, which were there for the taking. Julius Werhner, within 12 years, from almost nothing, became the richest man in the British Empire. Within a few short years Johannesburg exploded into the largest city in the country; and virtually all of its citizens were 'Uitlanders' (literally means 'foreigners'), from all over the world. This burgeoning polyglot of foreigners, frightened Kruger and the Transvaalers. This fear, lead Kruger into making a number of bad moves, which irritated the Uitlanders and on many occasions drove them to the brink of revolution.

One can have a measure of sympathy for Kruger. His people were in the main simple insular folk, they were hopelessly outclassed by the 'Uitlanders' who out maneuvered them in every field and soon owned all the businesses, the shops, the best houses and the mines. Kruger tried to counter this tendency by legislating against it and by withholding concessions to the 'Uitlanders'.

As an example, Jews and Catholics could not serve in the Military, the State or the Volksraad. Their children were excluded from State subsidized schools, and in their own schools, were to be instructed in 'a Christian / Protestant spirit.' That brought him into direct conflict with them, particularly that fiery cleric Rabbi J H Hertz (a member of Doornfontein Lodge) (5).

The 'Uitlanders' were all concentrated in urban areas, particularly Johannesburg, where there were 38000 of them. His Burgers on the other hand were stuck on farms, spread all over the Transvaal; it was very difficult for them to participate in the bounty, which abounded. It was difficult for them to leave their farms to vote and in any event they had always been dilatory about voting, whereas the "Uitlanders" could easily flood the polls. There was a distinct possibility that Kruger could be voted out of power, so he denied the "Uitlanders" the vote, as well as any participation in Civic or Government affairs.

These people were from countries where the principle of 'no-taxation-without-representation' was well established (4). Whereas to the 'Boer', tax was an anathema. Their very presence in the Transvaal was as a result of their flight from British taxes ('The Great Trek', from the Cape). Kruger was therefore reluctant to tax them, on the other hand the 'Uitlander' was heavily taxed and without a vote, but were also conscripted into Boer forces, on one occasion to put Chief Mmalebogo in his place (4).

The average Transvaal Burger was a staunch Calvinist with a deep-seated faith in God and an almost fanatical belief in the literal accuracy of the Bible, in many homes it was the only book that was ever read. Along came the 'Uitlanders' with their sin and corruption, their Bars and Bawdy houses, their desire for entertainment and wanting to play games on Sunday, so Kruger discouraged where he could not legislate. He limited the use of English in schools, denied them the right to public meetings, he withheld concessions of water, electricity, dynamite and the railways (6).

A petition with some 38000 signatures was submitted to the Volksraad (Parliament) by The National Union (Charles Leonard's group, later drawn into the Reform Committee), requesting that the grievances of the 'Uitlanders' be addressed. The matter was turned down in the Volksraad - 16 votes against, 8 votes for.

Kruger was aware of the impending danger coming his way as early as 1892 and started to reinforce the Johannesburg Fort (7).

There is an urban legend in South Africa that Paul Kruger was a Freemason, invariably when I give my lecture on 'The Masonic Presidents of the Orange Free State' someone will come up to me and ask if I am aware that Paul Kruger was a Mason. My reply is always that I would love to know more, perhaps a date or a lodge? That's as far as it gets. He was certainly favorably disposed toward Masons and went out his way to protect Masons and there was every reason he should be, many prominent Boers were Masons, his

predecessor Marthinus Wessel Pretorius was a Mason. One of his closest allies and his friend, Francis William Reitz, formerly President of the Orange Free State was a keen Freemason. As were many other of its other Presidents. Reitz's illness forced him to resign his Presidency, however on his recovery he moved to the Transvaal and became one of Kruger's closest advisors, he was a brilliant lawyer, judge, poet and statesman. Reitz completed his legal studies at the Temple in London and as such was most valuable to Kruger in his dealings with the British. He went on to become Secretary of State of the Transvaal and was at Krugers side in precipitating the Anglo Boer War.

CECIL JOHN RHODES

Whereas Jameson gave his name to the Raid, Cecil John Rhodes was the guiding force behind it.

Rhodes was a Freemason and whereas I do not for one moment suggest that he used the order for his own benefit, there are lingering suspicions that Masonry may have influenced some of his arrangements. The most notable example we find in 'The Anglo-American Establishment' written by Quigly in 1949 and published four years after his death. Although for now, I believe we should regard it with some circumspection because I have not been able to corroborate it. The passage below bears a striking resemblance to a Masonic structure, I have précised the passage without, I hope changing its intent.

Planning started as early as 1891. *"One wintry afternoon in February 1891" describes Quigley "Three men were engaged in earnest conversation----of the greatest importance to the British Empire and to the world as a whole, they were organizing a secret society that was for more than fifty years, to be one of the most important forces in the formulation and execution of British Imperial and foreign policy." They were Cecil John Rhodes, William T Stead, the most sensational journalist of the day and Reginald Balliol Brett, later Lord Esher confidant of Queen Victoria and advisor to Kings Edward VII and George V."*

Freemasonry may well have inspired their 'secret society'. Today we as Freemasons look a little askance at the idea of a secret society trying to unite the world. At that time it was different.

I guess that we are nervous because it is too close to what we are often accused of. The fact that Rhodes was a Mason only makes it worse for the image of Freemasonry. But form it they did! *"The plan was for an inner circle to be known as 'The Society of the Elect', and an outer circle to be known as 'The Association of Helpers'. Within the circle of 'the Elect', the real power was to be exercised by the leader and 'a junta of three.'*

The leader was Rhodes and the junta consisted of Stead, Brett and Milner. Quigley writes, *"the Goals they sought and the methods which they hoped to achieve were; to unite the world and above all the English speaking world in a federal structure. Around Britain... They believed it could be brought about by loyalty to one another and devotion to a common cause."*

In many areas they were amazingly successful

"They:

- Plotted the Jameson raid
- Caused the Boer War
- Established the South African periodical 'The State'
- Founded the British Empire Journal 'The Round Table'
- Were the most powerful single influence in All Souls, Balliol and New Colleges at Oxford for more than a generation
- Controlled 'The Times' for more than fifty years (except for 3 years)
- Floated the idea and named, the 'British Commonwealth of Nations'
- And much more."

If these circumstances are correct, they do not suggest a Masonic involvement. They do indicate a Masonic influence.

The grievances of the 'Uitlanders' arising from simultaneous exploitation and denial of rights, were largely justified. Cecil John Rhodes (4) "*a man of few political morals,*" according to J van der Poel (8), fired his group with a burning ambition for a United British South Africa, took advantage of the dissatisfaction to stir up trouble and encourage them into revolution.

Rhodes won over Moberly Bell, the powerful manager of The London Times, to his 'South African projects,' which brought their brilliant journalist Miss Flora Shaw into the equation. She played a prominent role in English public relations and drafted the 'widow's letter'. Which was to play a major role in the story that follows. See annexure 'A' for the full letter.

Britain's Imperial expansion in the 1890's was in full swing. Imperialism came increasingly to be seen as a moral as well as a political goal. It was their right to take and rule the world and anyone who stood in their way was a nuisance, to be swept aside. Rhodes **believed** he had the backing for his South African venture from Imperial officials and politicians, including (9) Joseph Chamberlain the Colonial Secretary, Sir Hercules Robinson the High Commissioner to South Africa, as well as from both sides of the British House of Parliament, one can only wonder at the so-called 'support', considering the back lash at the enquiry later.

Rhodes had sent Dr Fredrick Rutherford Harris, the Company Secretary of Chartered Company to London to see the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain. Earl Grey, a Director of Chartered Company and a friend of Chamberlain, arranged the interview. Chamberlain was clearly unimpressed. They spoke about the railway. When Harris tried to steer the conversation toward the '**troubles**' in the Transvaal, Chamberlain stated "*I am here in an official capacity, I can only hear information of which I can make official use*'. Earl Grey afterwards told Harris that Chamberlain would do all he could "*provided that he does not know officially.*" Rhodes was further convinced when he learnt of the Colonial Secretary's instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson, that; in the case of an uprising, he was to enter the Republic in the role of mediator and for that purpose he had been promised 10,000 troops. The New York Times of the 5 June 1896 is convinced that Rhodes was egged on by the Imperial Government.

There were two very important economic aspects which became clear to Rhodes at this time; Firstly, the mineral wealth of the Transvaal was considerably more meaningful than the territories to the north and that the Transvaal was more than just a missing piece of the jig-saw puzzle of his vision for the subcontinent.

Secondly, the viability of deep level mining was proving itself; It separated the men- from-the-boys. Deep level mining required massive capital. To obtain and manage it required a degree of sophistication far beyond the capabilities of the locals. It also bred satellite industries around it, and they in turn stimulated further development and further sophistication and placed even more financial power in the hands of the 'Uitlanders'. On the other hand, less sophisticated out crop mines were mainly in the hands of the Boers, by virtue of generous 'concessions-for-friends' of the Government. This polarized the population even more. The mining houses which were mainly British, were concerned that their massive investments, were put at risk by the whim of the Government. Rhodes wanted to protect those assets.

The Reformers;

At this point one needs to examine the character of 'The Reformers'; They were not the usual revolutionaries one finds in our history books. These men were successful, rich, men of integrity. They participated in the affairs of their town, many of them went on to run the world around them and be decorated and honored by their countries.

They did not particularly want the Transvaal under the British flag and were equally comfortable under the Vierkleur, (The Transvaal Flag, called so because of it's four distinctive colour bands) they did, however want a more equitable state. Many hoped that the action of 'The Reformers' would bring the President to his senses, and get him to see their point of view and change his policy toward them.

There was a networking between the Reformers at many levels, Masonry was certainly one of them, others were, the Stock Exchange, the Mining industry, and they were all practically neighbours.

Ivor Sander ⁽¹²²⁾ believes that many of ‘The Reformers’ joined out of loyalty to their friends and may not even have known about the possibility of the ‘The Raid’ (later, everyone knew about it) what is clear is that almost all of them had the good of their country and their fellow man at heart.

The British defeat at Majuba was still a lingering issue in the background that needed to be addressed. The Boers having won the last four home games, were confident, even arrogant. The English among the ‘The Reformers’ in the Transvaal, could not forget the defeat, nor would the Boers allow them to do so, however the British ‘at home’ were convinced that they were world beaters. So we have local business men being egged on by governments, ‘The Reformers’ were angry at some of the injustices that they were subjected to, but not necessarily angry enough to revolt.

THE TENSION BUILDS

There was clearly a period before the Raid when tensions were building up and the signs were there to be seen;

Lionel Phillips, at the opening of the Chamber of Mines in November 1895, warned the Government *“Nothing is further from my heart than to see an upheaval which would be disastrous from every point of view, and which would probably end in the most horrible of endings - in bloodshed.”*⁽¹⁰⁾

The Reform Committee he helped found did not set out initially for a military solution to their grievances. They tried all peaceful means. They invited Dr W J Leyds, Kruger’s Secretary of State (Reitz later succeeded him) to a lunch at the Rand Club. By all accounts it was a very amiable affair with a view to try to smooth things over, however in the most charming manner he dodged all references to politics, even when replying to a toast in his name when he was pointedly drawn out ⁽¹¹⁾. The Rand Club made it a policy of trying to create harmony with the locals, Charles Leonard and Abe Bailey hosted a lunch for Eugene Marais editor of the Dutch / Afrikaans newspaper “Land en Volk” with a view to bring greater understanding between the Transvaalers and the ‘Uitlanders’ ⁽¹²⁾.

A year before the Raid, Barney Barnato invited Melton Prior the war artist and correspondent with the Illustrated London News, to the Transvaal and his editor, Sir William Ingram, agreed. He had anticipated *“stirring events in that country”* ⁽¹³⁾

Melton Prior, the renown war artist and news illustrator, arrived in the country with a formidable reputation not only his incredible talent but his luggage as well - he never went anywhere without a trunk of whisky, a saddle, a tent and enough canned food to feed an army. He was a Freemason, which must have been a useful net-working tool. His biography mentions that he had friendships with many prominent people and lists many of them, almost all were Masons inter alia Cecil John Rhodes, Rudyard Kipling, Arthur Conan Doyle ⁽¹⁴⁾. He was at the consecration of my lodge where he signed the attendance book as a member of Savage Lodge, this would have put him in touch with many of the most prominent men in Johannesburg, from both sides.

His drawings and commentary on the Jameson Raid captures the essence of the times, probably better than anyone else.

It was quite usual for Masons from both sides to sit in lodge together, right up to the outbreak of war. Many held senior positions in both camps, they could see the possible conclusion of the tension of the times, yet they still met, which to me indicates that they were still looking for a peaceful solution.

PREPARING FOR THE ONSLAUGHT (OmniKnow.com Jameson Raid)

One may be excused for wondering, why Jameson? He was a Doctor. Anyone who has ever dealt with doctors in business will know that their training prepares them to deal in life and death issues, often in a decisive way. It often puts them in a position of command over people who obey without question, granted in a special limited field, however by some osmosis that ingrained trey flows over into every department of

their lives (This is my own generalization I wish I could quote some international Psychiatrist but I don't have one and like all generalizations it is probably not general, shoot me if you like, but I believe in many ways it explains Jameson's behavior and character). Having gently sidestepped that mine field (I hope) let me outline, why he was in many ways the only candidate;

- He did have some military background,
- He had served as Rhodes' lieutenant in Matabeleland and Rhodes must have had some confidence in him,
- He must have been incredibly charismatic and had considerable leadership qualities, if we think of the set backs his career had received in this episode alone and yet, somehow still went on to become Prime Minister of The Cape thereafter.
- He was also Administrator General of Matabeleland, the core of the men he enlisted were some 400 from The Chartered Police, Matabeleland. These he assembled in Bulawayo. In case you are wondering, that left only 58 policemen in the whole of Rhodesia! Jameson moved them down to Pitsani on the Transvaal border, where Rhodes had bought ground (125) and set up his launch pad and there enlisted a further 200 volunteers. Rhodes instructed Harris to proceed with the purchase of the 3000 rifles and smuggle them into the Transvaal, concealed under coal and in the false bottoms of oil drums. Col James Donaldson a fellow reformer was charged with the task, he only succeeded in bringing in 1000 (15).

Jameson was a little man - there is a casting of his hand in bronze at the Rand Club and it is ridiculously small, no more than a child's and like so many small men, he made up for his size by working more aggressively and harder than his peers

Jameson obtained an undated letter from The Reform Committee signed by the leaders requesting him, Jameson, to "come to the aid of thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race" (16) (for full transcript see Appendix A).

In Pitsani he assembled the force and armed them with six Maxim machine guns and three light artillery pieces. This was supposed to be in the utmost secrecy, the inner ring of 'The Reformers' each had code names. Rhodes was "Veldskoen", Jameson was "The Contractor", Sir Hercules Robinson was "The Chairman", Dr Fredrick Harris was "Cactus" and George Richards (The D.G.M.) was "Toad" (17). Yet everyone knew!

'The Reformers' plans were the talk of the town in Johannesburg, an open secret (16). Dr Beatrice Davidine Pullinger remembers (18) how her family in anticipation of the Raid stocked up with groceries at Thrupps Grocers, two days before the Raid. Kruger certainly knew it; it was too easy to keep tabs on them. 'The Reformers' office was at The Consolidated Gold Fields Office(11) no doubt their unofficial business was transacted at the Rand Club. Dr Sauer writes that he saw Percy Fitzpatrick at Consolidated Gold Fields and went straight to the Rand Club. He later said that just before the Raid he slept in the bar to be close to the Committee. This may allude to his suspicion of Jameson and Wolff, they went way back, Sauer at one time lost everything he owned to Jameson in a poker game. On another occasion he and Jameson sued and counter sued one another and were sentenced to pay each other £1000,00,00. Sauer had Wolff charged with murder, he was found 'not guilty'. He also distrusted the Mining Magnets, who used their power and legal influence against him when he was Chief Officer of Health in Kimberly, when they tried to cover up a Smallpox epidemic, and he found them out and single handedly brought them to book.

THE START

"The confusion, that was to lead to catastrophe, now began to manifest itself" (16). 'The Reformers', believed Jameson would come in with a force of 1500 men, he believed that he was committed to no more than 800 and then he could only muster 500, some authorities quote 600'.

The five signatories of 'the women and children letter' somehow imagined that Jameson would only use the undated letter, when they called for him.

It still has to be explained how so many able men could be drawn into such a muddled plan, perhaps the explanations lie in some of the following suggestions;

- In the immense prestige of Cecil John Rhodes it was generally believed that he would succeed in anything he set his mind to (16). However by that time he was already a sick man.
- Many of them were Freemasons and met upon the square and although their being Freemasons had nothing to do with it, the Freemasonry in them certainly prompted fair play and moral conduct.
- Many of them were neighbours, four of them lived in adjoining houses.
- Most of them were members of the Rand Club.
- Almost all of them were associated in business, the Mining houses, the Stock exchange or servicing these industries, ie Accountants and lawyers.
- I think the peer pressure, even amongst such high placed men, drew them into the plot. Henry Brown Marshall was totally against any involvement with them, nevertheless he became a member at the eleventh hour.
- I believe that all of them believed in their cause and that almost all of them saw it as a political move, a poker hand trying to stare down Paul Kruger.

The drilling of Jameson's force had already attracted the attention of the Boers. James Bryce, who was there at the time and who later was to be a Minister in the Liberal Party Government was to remark; "*never before was there, except on stage, so open a conspiracy.*"

Imagine for a moment my own Doornfontein Lodge.2585 E.C. There sitting in lodge were brethren in both opposing camps, some very senior Brethren - on one side Fritz Krause, Chief Prosecutor, at the time, later the de-facto governor of Johannesburg, Solomon Herschfield, Kruger's collector of Customs, on the other side Sir Jan Langerman, CEO of Robinson mines and Charles Aburrow. Other Lodges had similar situations, Johannesburg Lodge had The Chief of Police, C.C. Pieterse on one side and one of the Reform leaders, John Hays-Hammond, on the other, how did they ever hope to keep it secret?

Jameson was champing at the bit, he was a naturally impetuous man, he was also over confident, sometime before he had remarked "*I can take the Transvaal with a half dozen revolvers,*" he was also heard to say that. "*you could take the Transvaal with 500 Zulus armed with shamboks*". He believed the citizens of Johannesburg would rise up and do the job for him.

Kruger was playing him (and Rhodes) like a fish on a line. At one time, Rhodes was at a point where he could attack, with the Imperial approval, because Kruger had closed the drifts (fords) over the Vaal. Kruger guessed as much and promptly reopened them taking off the pressure and removing Rhodes' opportunity of confronting the Transvaal.

Jameson had completed his preparations and was ready to go, however 'The Reformers' were as muddled as ever and were in disagreement with one another. Early in December they postponed the "floatation" (the attack) because of the horse races, which further frustrated Jameson. He felt this was a frivolous excuse, 'The Reformers' were concerned that the races brought more people into town than any other event.

Once again Kruger could see the pot coming to the boil, his intuition was so accurate, it was uncanny, almost as if he had a direct line to their plans, so he promised to review the franchise question at a special session of the Volksraad. He also undertook to give equal grants to English and Dutch schools as well as reduce railway rates and duties on foodstuffs.

Despite this gesture, Charles Leonard, nevertheless issued a manifesto of grievances, (see Appendix C) but 'The Reformers' had started cooling down and suggested postponing the "floatation" indefinitely. New discussions with Rhodes were arranged.

However none of them had taken the little doctor into account. "*Though the little Doctor has a good headpiece*" Rhodes once said "*he can also be a damned fool and as stubborn as a mule*"(19). Jameson had been with Rhodes long enough to know his philosophy "*take what you want and ask me afterwards*" he knew what was expected of him. The Reform Committee even sent a delegation to try to stop him (20). He

paid no heed to a telegram sent by Harris' on behalf of Rhodes, or deliberately misunderstood it. He finally sent a telegram in which he demanded to hear from Rhodes himself failing which he would attack the following morning. The telegram was sent at 10.30am on 29 December 1895, it did not reach Rhodes until that evening. By then Kruger had cut the the last remaining telegraph wire. Uncanny or what? (19).

MASONIC INVOLVEMENT

At some stage we must discuss to what extent Masonry was embroiled in the Raid and we may as well do it now.

There is no evidence that Masonry as a body was involved at all, even though some very senior Masons were. Most of the 'Ring leaders' were Masons and many of the 'Inner Ring', including The District Grand Master, George Richards who went under the code name of 'Toad'. There is also no doubt that Masonic meetings were one of the ways of net-working. It is also true that at that time Masonry was an organization had among its number a very big group of honorable and successful men, perhaps the biggest in the town. I don't believe that one can deny that amongst them, friendships developed within the Order and that Brethren would have been approached to join 'The Reformers'. There is nothing I can find which indicates that for example, Richards or any other senior Mason had used or misused his position in the craft to further the aims of the Reform Committee.

An argument could be made that junior members of the Order may have become associated with The Reform Committee to ingratiate themselves with the senior men in Masonry for their own personal advancement in Freemasonry. We must admit, that type of 'sucking-up' takes place today and probably did then.

This leads us to consider the example we expect from our leaders and what our teachings tell us:

“The practice of every moral and social duty”

“Promoters of the art have not thought it derogatory to exchange the scepter for the crown”

“Be exemplary in the discharge of your civil duty by never proposing or at all countenancing any act that may have the tendency to subvert the peace and good order of society”

“By paying due obedience to the laws of any State which may for a time become the place of your residence or afford you its protection.”

“Above all, by never losing sight of the allegiance due to the Sovereign of your native land, ever remembering that nature has planted in your breast a sacred and indissoluble attachment towards the country of your birth and infant nurture”

“Let justice be the guide of all your actions”

“Abstain from every topic of political and religious discussion.”

At first reading those passages seem to indicate that as a Mason we should have nothing to do with politics or religion, but a deeper consideration shows up some contradictions.

In my youth I was a leader in a Christian youth movement. At our camps in the Magaliesberg we encouraged open discussion of an evening. One evening one of the youngsters from the floor addressed a question to me personally. “Did I think that Christians (and here you can transpose the word 'Masons') should involve themselves in politics”? This was a pointed question, as my father-in-law was a City Councilor and a candidate for parliament, and I had helped (forced more like it) to canvas his voters and helped on polling days. Well I fuffed around for an answer, using far too many words to say very little. The discussion became heated and many words were thrown into the debate without getting anywhere. Finally, a friend and architectural colleague observed, “I am sure we would all like to see good and godly men running our country, how will that ever happen if they don't enter the political system?” That put an end to that discussion and so it should to ours, but I don't see our Brethren letting us off so lightly, so let's go back and examine our ritual.

- “The practice of every moral and social duty”

‘Moral’: my dictionary tells me relates to the manners, conduct or duties of men toward to each other; just; virtuous; responsible; in conformity with law;

‘moral law’- the law of conscience.

Does that mean my conscience gives me a license to act against immoral laws?

History like beauty is in the eye of the beholder, both sides had ample reason to believe that they had right on their side.

□ “Promoters of the art have not thought it derogatory to exchange the scepter for the crown”. This alludes to the fact that kings and royalty can be Masons without the loss of dignity. It also presumes that it can work the other way round and that Masons could be elevated to the level of kings as have 17 Presidents of the United States of America, in our own country, three Presidents, from the Orange Free State, one from Transvaal as well as many Prime Ministers, Governors and other leaders, in the Cape. They must have got there by way of politics.

□ “Never countenancing any act which may subvert the peace and good order of society”

There is a play on the words “good order of society” if the order of society is not good or just, then what?

□ “Pay due obedience to the sovereign of your native land”

I think both sides would once again claim the point.

□ “Let justice be the guide for all your actions”

This in many ways is the key to the argument. I believe that we must as Masons, defend justice.

□ “Abstain from every topic of political and religious discussion”

This applies to discussion in the Lodge only. I know of no instance where this may have been transgressed, in the time leading up to the Raid.

I have tried to argue these points like a lawyer, which I am not, I suppose more to try to sort out my own thoughts than anything else. My instinct is that Freemasonry expects us to act justly and courageously in the interests of justice but not use our order to achieve those aims. Anyone who has read my earlier papers on related subjects in this period would have found that I was much more critical of George Richards our D.G.M. and some of our other leaders. Let me just say for now that, in some ways I have gained a more generous appreciation of their predicament, , that there is more to come later in the paper.

I think that there is one more point to be made in this connection. I do not think, we with our twenty-first century minds, understand fully the dynamics of Masonry as it affected our predecessors in South Africa.

In their book ‘The Book of Hiram’ Christopher Knight and Robert Lomas explore this thought in a chapter they call the ‘Star Achievers’. They point out that “*Freemasonry blossomed from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. Before its decline it was the heart of society,*” counting some of the highest placed people in the land as members, from the Kings of England, down’, as well as many movers and shakers. They go on to suggest that “*Freemasonry was an engine of achievement that drove the world from darkness to light*”. Wow! That’s a weighty statement. What is of particular interest to us is the list of examples they quote where bodies of Masons apparently participated in the establishment of institutions which have had a lasting effect on the world as we know it today. The American Constitution, The Royal Society, Taming the Wild West, the City of Washington was planed by Freemasons as my own City (Johannesburg) and the City of London was rebuilt after the fire by Masons. Not too dissimilar to the raid (had it succeeded).

I do believe that there was energy in our lodges in those times that we do not appreciate today. When I look around my lodge today, I see brethren who are the salt of the earth and I would rather be with them than any other group of men, but I don’t see anyone who is going to change the world. However when I think of the brethren of that same lodge at the time of the Jameson Raid I can easily see that they could and did play a decisive hand. Fritz Krause, the de facto Governor of The Rand, two city engineers both playing a significant part in the design of the City of Johannesburg, two Rabbis one of them became Chief Rabbi of

the United Hebrew congregation of the British Empire and a personal friend of Winston Churchill and campaigned vigorously against Kruger, mining magnets, business men and others all capable of playing a role in changing the world around them and they did.

INTO BATTLE (the Raid) ⁽²¹⁾

On 29 December 1885 Jameson and his force, crossed the border into the Transvaal and marched on Krugersdorp.

It is strongly suggested by Mark Twain, that Jameson was relying on 'Bluff' ⁽²²⁾, that he believed that "*the Boers would turn tail at the first beat of the big drum*" ⁽²³⁾. He was probably thinking of Theophilus Shepstone who took over the Transvaal in 1877 with 29 policemen. Unfortunately he had forgotten the four battles since, in which the Boers had decisively beaten the British and won back their country (The British had lost 700 men against 23 Boers, in the 4 battles) ⁽²²⁾. Jameson's 600 were probably only 530 if you deduct native drivers, etc and they were largely 'green youths'.

'The Reformers' in Johannesburg were horrified to hear that the little Doctor was riding to their aid in such hopeless circumstances. They put up a bold pretence. Preparations were made for the proclamation of a provisional Government. The Vierkleur was hoisted and all available arms were issued. Kruger ordered his men behind the newly built fort, mobilized his commandos and sent Gen Pieter Cronje to organize the defense of Krugersdorp.

Contradictory reports have it that, Lieutenant Sarel Eloff, the President's Grandson, in command of a local Z.A.R.P, Zuid-afrikaanse-republik-polisie, (usually spelt in one word) to approach Jameson, some say to order Jameson to turn back, others report that Jameson captured Eloff in a scouting expedition at Boon's shop, Rietfontein. After assuring Eloff that his intentions were entirely friendly and securing a promise that Eloff would not alert the government forces for two hours he released him. However Field-Cornet Piet Steenkamp had already mobilized the commando.

Rhodes was 'stunned' when he heard that Jameson had mobilized his force and resigned the Premiership of the Cape.

The High Commissioner ordered Jameson back, but he, being already halfway to Johannesburg and with his retreat cut off, pressed on. Sir Hercules Robinson promptly declared him to be an outlaw.

Jameson's old medical partner, Dr Henry Wolff, was in charge of setting up a chain of fodder dumps as well as 600 mounts and was to cut the telegraph wires between Rustenburg and Pretoria... Wolff was not convinced about the timing of the Raid and wired Jameson to that effect, "*but Jameson was pursued by the hot heads around him*". We have a picture drawn by Melton Prior of Wolff cutting the wires, no-one can be sure as to which were the vital wires, but cut he did! Unfortunately for the raiders a branch line via Zeerust was overlooked. We also know that he arranged as much fodder and as many mounts as he could but clearly (from other reports) they were insufficient.

When Jameson learned that there were 800 commandos waiting to 'dispute his passage' he repeated the statement that the Boers "*would turn tail at the first beat of the big drum*" and that with his "*raw young fellows*" he could kick the backsides of the Boers "*all around the Transvaal*".

Jameson launched a frontal attack on Krugersdorp and demanded their surrender or he would bombard the town, 'so much for the friendly nature of their intent.' The Krugersdorp Commando would have none of it and engaged him in a fierce battle at the Queens Battery gold mine west of the town ⁽²²⁾. The Boers were not visible. It was a countryside of ridges, depressions, rocks, ditches and moraines of mine-tailings. Jameson shot at rocks and ridges with his artillery, to no avail, inflicting no damage as there was no Boer to show himself.

Then about a hundred of his men formed up to charge the ridge, but as they dashed they opened up their ranks (an improvement on the 58th's tactics at Laingsnek). When they got to within 200 yards of the ridge, the concealed Boers opened fire and emptied twenty saddles. The unwounded demounted and fired over the backs of their horses but the return fire was too hot and they mounted and galloped or crawled back into cover amongst the reeds. There lay about 30 wounded or disabled, a further 30 or 40 young lads got separated during the night and struggled back to Johannesburg.

His lads had fought valorously, but had not been able to get near enough to a Boer "*to kick him round the Transvaal*". Jameson was forced to retreat. At dawn the next morning, the column, something short of 400 soldiers resumed its march. He then decided to cross the railway line between Krugersdorp and Randfontein in an attempt to reach Johannesburg via the Potchefstroom-Johannesburg coach road, where he hoped to join up with Col Bettington's Horse. There was a long tedious zigzagging march through broken ground, with constant harassment from the Boers. Eventually the column "*walked into a sort of trap*" however he had been out flanked by General Piet Cronje. He was driven into Doornkop where the Boers "*closed in upon it (the column)*". Men and horses dropped on all sides. Unless the column could break through the Boer lines, it was done for. The Maxims were fired until they grew too hot, water-cooling jackets failed, five of them jammed and went out of action. The 7 pounder was fired until only half an hour's ammunition was left. One last rush was made and failed. Then the Staats Artillery came up on the left flank and the game was up. Jameson suffered heavy losses 133 in all, 27 killed or mortally wounded (as opposed to 3 or 4 Boers). He surrendered on the farm Vlakfontein, south of Krugersdorp on 2 January 1896. It is reported that when Jameson saw the white flag he fainted right away!

It has been suggested that had Bettington got there in time or if the Johannesburg residents had risen up and joined him the result may have been different. 145,000 rounds of ammunition was fired by 500 men for perhaps 4 Boer casualties, these statistics show that the 300 Johannesburgers and a total of 2500 rifles would have made little difference.

THE AFTERMATH (21)

The prisoners were rounded up and taken to the Turfontien racecourse, which acted as a temporary gaol. Verbal history has it (24) that Jameson was kept in the cells behind the Magistrate's Court. I have heard tell that he was kept in a shed behind the courts and they even point out this "garden shed" as the place. If you want to see it go soon, as it is not long for this world, cells or shed it is unlikely that he was there for more than a few hours.

Captain Garraway and ten soldiers were responsible for the dead and wounded. A temporary hospital was set up under Dr A G Viljoen in Harvey Greenacres Store. The next day they were marched off to Pretoria.

There is a story that all the women and children of Krugersdorp were told and that they had been attacked by black people and were herded into the Courthouse for their protection, they however got bored and wandered around quite freely.

Two days later Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Graham Bower arrived in Pretoria at the reluctant invitation of President Kruger to sort out the mess. They had been given instructions to make the usual demands about the franchise, education and tariffs. Fortunately they disregarded them and decided to cooperate with Kruger.

They sent Sir Jacobus de Wet the British agent in Pretoria, to Johannesburg to persuade the 'Uitlanders' to lay down their arms. The Reform Committee had agreed to a 24-hour armistice, even though some were still fighting it out, albeit a hopeless cause. Sir Jacobus de Wet addressed a militant crowd from the balcony of the Rand Club that if they laid down their arms they would not be harmed. He also passed on the President's warning that should they not comply he would bombard the town and furthermore that they would lose the sympathy of the British Government. They finally yielded.!

A few days later Kruger issued a pardon for those that handed in their arms and an arrest warrant for some sixty Reformers.

Kaiser Wilhelm II sent Paul Kruger a congratulatory telegram on 3rd January 1896 (I found this translation and comment) (25) *“I express to you my sincere congratulations, that without appealing to the help of friendly powers, you and your people have succeeded in repelling with your own forces the armed bands which had broken into your country, and in maintaining the independence of your country against foreign aggression”*. The big subtext here is: *‘We’re willing to deal with you as a peer if our own Imperial designs in your area to undermine the interests and influence of those bloated British Wind bags’*. Of course this message was meant, as from one head of state to another, or was it? It was sent, passing from one British telegraph operator to another through British telegraph relay stations along British telegraph lines. Wilhelm was just being an old wooden spoon; stirring the British up a bit. He stirred them up even more when he sent a second war ship to Delagoa Bay.

THE ARRESTS

From the Masonic point of view I think this is the most interesting chapter of our story, it is also here that the story takes on an almost comedy turn.

We keep referring to the shrewdness of the old President but there was an equally shrewd Secretary of State, William Francis Reitz behind his actions. There was no-one in the Transvaal who understood the British psyche better than he. A lawyer trained in London at the Temple, even invited to the Bar but turned it down in favor of love, rather returning home to marry his childhood sweetheart. A past Chief Justice and President of The Orange Free State, a devoted Afrikaner and dedicated Freemason.

Reitz had a brilliant young Barrister in Johannesburg to whom he entrusted the arrests Frederick Edward Traugott (Fritz) Krause. Krause had been initiated into Freemasonry scarcely a month earlier (10/12/95). Here he was called on to frame the arrest of his District Grand Master, as well as many other prominent Masons. The record shows that he never allowed it to stand in the way of his duty.

These arrest warrants he passed on to the Chief of Police (my description, his official rank was Lieutenant, the most senior one in Johannesburg) Charles Christian Pieterse the Master of Goldfields Lodge, and a member of at least two other lodges.

Two Reformers escaped, Henry Hull and William Monypenny escaped in a packing case, (the apocryphal version) or *“by taking refuge in a specially prepared hiding place and escaping dressed as diggers”* (The probable version.)

When the Z.A.R.P arrived at the Rand Club to arrest Charles Leonard, Preston the renowned porter delayed them at the front door whilst he got word to Leonard, who then escaped by the back door and got clean away to Cape Town.

In fact, the whole matter was taken so lightly, that many members of the Reform Committee actually came into the Rand Club to be arrested. ‘The Rand Club’ 1887-1957 describes it as follows: *“Just after dinner on Thursday 9, 1896, Lieutenants C C Pieterse together with Tossel and De Korte of the Z.A.R.P. went to the Rand Club with a pocket full of warrants (made out under the direction of Fritz Krause) for the arrest of the Reformers. The officers, with the utmost courtesy, informed the men whose names were on their list that they were to be taken into custody. There was no disturbance, when twenty members of the Club were told they must accompany the police to gaol”*. Among the twenty, Charles Pieterse found himself arresting not only his District Grand Master but also a half a dozen Lodge brothers. The full lists you will find in Appendix B.

To continue the account. *“This must have been one of the most amiable invasions of private property in the history of police procedure. Cabs and Cape carts (a two wheel horse drawn carriage) were summoned and*

after time had been allowed for night-caps, the purchase of cigars and the dispatch of messages, the prisoners were escorted to their vehicles. Surrounded by police, both mounted and on foot, the procession set off for the old gaol from where the party was taken the next day by train – First class – to Pretoria”. It is said that a member who had been asleep upstairs when the arrests were made, woke up indignant that he had missed out, and hastily hired a cab to surrender and join his fellow conspirators.

On the following day Lionel Phillips surrendered outside the Rand Club, but was allowed to go inside to say good-bye to his friends and then when Col Bettington and Mr Beachy-Head arrived, the trio drove off under escort.

J S Curtis was ill and out of the country and missed the net. When he recovered and returned to the Transvaal he presented himself and pleaded not guilty. By that time everyone had had enough and to his disappointment no proceedings ensued.

PRISON

In Krugersdorp, the Raiders were surprisingly well received by the Boers who commented on their bravery during the battle and brought them provisions. Only Jameson was jeered at by the crowd, but the Commandants soon put to an end to that.

After the defeat, Jameson’s men, “lack of food *some 400 in number, most of them were falling asleep in their saddles, worn out from their long march, the battle and the, (26) were escorted in groups to Pretoria*”, some were so worn out that they could not sit their horses and were bundled into wagons.

They arrived in Pretoria throughout the day of the 3rd January 1896, through streets lined with thousands of armed Burghers. Willoughby and his officers must have realized for the first time the power they had so lightly challenged.

Trooper H Adams Acton’s account of their journey from Krugersdorp best describes it “*Our group left on 2nd January after dark and rode for the best part of the night. The next day we prisoners were exhausted. We stopped at a small store and bought whisky in an attempt to revive ourselves. Toward evening it began to rain and we got wet through; however about dark we splashed through thick mud into Pretoria.*” Acton may have been among the last group to reach Pretoria, for contemporary newspapers report the first of them arriving early on the 3rd January 1896.

As the gaol in Pretoria was too small to accommodate all the Raiders, the leaders were sent to the prison in the town but the rank and file was housed at the racecourse. A fence was erected around the grand stand with a few Boers guarding the perimeter. When they first arrived they ate ravenously and then settled down to a regime of parades twice daily when the chief gaoler counted them. Melton Prior describes them as “*an untidy and motley crowd that presented itself ignominiously for parade: some men with kerchiefs on their heads, others with towels or blankets replacing trousers that had been soaked in the rain and all seemingly unconcerned by the lack of footwear or unusual outer garments.*”

Dr Jameson and his senior officers were separated from the men and housed in a cell in the Pretoria Tronk (gaol). Melton Prior and Francis Younghusband of ‘The Times’, were able to visit them in prison (after some cajoling and bribery). The prisoners’ chief complaint was the squalor in which they were housed, specially the lack of a bath, however there was a small stream running through the courtyard which they dammed up to form their own one. They were allowed to use the courtyard for an hour a day. It was here that they entertained the reporters to tea and here that Melton Prior sketched them. They seemed to have enough to eat, even though Jameson ate hardly anything. He might now have realized the enormity of his mistake, he called it the biggest mistake of his life, but never referred to it again later in his life. Younghusband thought Jameson “*looked ill*” and “*seemed utterly broken and crushed*”. It is interesting to note that they were imprisoned with Chief Mmalebogo, the chief that was put down by Boer forces, manned, with Uitlander conscripts. (27)

'The Reformers' (28) were placed in gaol in Pretoria with the officers. Percy Fitzpatrick describes how he was allowed an exercise period every day which consisted of an hours bicycle ride through the streets of Pretoria. Imagine if you will The Reform Committee starting out 'line-abreast,' followed by their armed escort consisting of an Officer and two mounted Constables. Behind them rode their families in a variety of transport watched by the entire population.

Whilst in prison they had numerous visitors, the visiting English Cricket team, Mark Twain, Melton Prior and many others.

Prison was generally over crowded, twelve to a cell, most of them shrugged it off like an unpleasant dream because they knew or guessed that it would soon be over. Natalie Hammond wrote very critically of it, but I guess that, was from a millionaire wife's point of view. The men seemed to have lacked for very little, Melton a gentleman who enjoyed the occasional scotch (he brought with him a cabin trunk of it to 'Darkest Africa') was always offered a few to refresh himself.

Mark Twain described their condition like this. *"Yesterday I was allowed to enter the prison with Mrs Hammond" whom he described "as a fellow Missourian, handsome and spirited. A Boer guard was at my elbow all the time, --- I found that I met Hammond once when he was a Yale Senior and a guest of Gen Franklin's --- After being introduced in turn to all the prisoners, I was allowed to see some of the cells and examine their food, beds, etc. I was told in Johannesburg that Hammond's salary of \$150,000 a year is not stopped, and that the salaries of some of the others are still continued. Hammond was looking very well indeed, and I can say the same of all the others. When the trouble first fell upon them it hit some of them very hard; several fell sick (Hammond among them), two or three had to be removed to the hospital, and one of the favorites lost his mind and killed himself, poor fellow, last week. ----- These prisoners are strong men, prominent men, and I believe they are all educated men. They are well off; some of them are wealthy. They have a lot of books to read, they play games and smoke, and for a while they will be able to bear up in their captivity; but not for long, not for very long, I take it. ----- We had a very good sociable time till the permitted time was up and a little over, and we outsiders had to go."*

Some years later Willem van Hulsteyn and Henry Hull hosted a commemorative dinner. The top of the menu read "April 28th 1896 ---- Pretoria Gevangenissen (Prison) Host Koos Plessis". At the bottom it read "April 28th 1897 --- Rand Club Hosts H C Hull and W van Hulsteyn". One of the entrees included "Filet de Boeuf a' la Koos Plessis (Bully Beef and cold water) after Koos Plessis their gaoler of whom many an unpleasant memory still lingered.

THE TRIALS

(The Officers of the Raid were tried in London, 'The Reformers' were tried in Pretoria, the men were largely freed)

Many of the Transvaal's Military High Command were screaming for Jameson's head, they called for a drumhead court marshal and quick execution for Jameson and his senior officers. For many reasons, President Kruger did not join the cries for revenge:

- The average Boer was not incensed by the Raiders themselves, they had their own share of raids, and they were not even that angry with Jameson and his men. It gave them a kick to jeer at him, but 'The Reformers' really incensed them - plotting revolution within their own society was unacceptable.
- Kruger needed Johannesburg's wealth; Barney Banato, a mining magnet and confidant of Kruger, had warned him that, had the Raiders been harmed he would have further revolt.
- Reitz advised him not to make a martyr of Jameson; it would merely alienate the other English colonies.
- He knew that Imperial government was implicated in some way and he did not want to provide them with any excuse to destroy his country (29).

He decided instead to put the ball in their court by releasing the Raiders to be tried in their England; he knew that they would have to uncover the whole mess which was in flagrant contravention of their own Queen's instructions.

The prisoners were brought home in the utmost secrecy, up the Thames in a small launch almost unnoticed, landed at Waterloo Pier, but when they arrived at Bow Street police-station they were met by a cheering crowd, who were roundly reprovved by the presiding magistrate, Sir John Bridge. After a preliminary hearing they were committed to appear at the bar of the High Court on a charge under the 'Foreign Enlistment Act'.

A second trial was heard on 20th July 1896, Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Russell presiding. After a trial, which lasted a week, Lord Russell in an effort to be impartial seemed to lean over backwards and seemed to guide the jury against the prisoners.

The Raiders were sentenced, on July 28th to various terms of imprisonment. Dr Jameson to fifteen months, Sir John Willoughby to ten months, Major White to seven months Colonel H White, Colonel Grey and Captain Coventry each to five months without hard labour. Coventry had been badly wounded and was released immediately. Jameson was released in December due to his poor health, after only five months. The verdicts were not well received by the general public who regarded Jameson and his men in a heroic light, trying to rescue women and children from an "*utterly corrupt government*".

After heated discussion in parliament, a commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate if British officials were implicated. In his book 'From Africa 1937' Dr Hans Sauer wrote "*that the evidence was taken in a curious way and always went to ground like a hard-pressed fox whenever it began to point too strongly at certain persons.*" Sauer asked Rhodes the reason for this; Rhodes replied "*One of the big men knew all about it*". The 'Cape Times' of 2 Nov 1937 identifies the "Big man" as the late Lord Rosebury, Prime Minister at the time. The report was presented in July 1897 clearing Chamberlain and his minions of any implication. However rumor would not cease nor would suspicion allay, which was later proved to be correct.

In Pretoria, on 24th April 1896 the members of the Reform Committee headed by Colonel Rhodes,* John Hays Hammond,* Lionel Phillips,* and George Farrar were tried for High Treason. You will recall that Charles Leonard* had escaped, for which he received the lasting disdain from the Boers.

Judge Reinhold Gregorowski a Freemason from The Orange Free State presided over the trial. After the trial he joined a Lodge in Johannesburg.

(* were all Freemasons).

They were tried for high treason before Judge Reinhold Gregorowski a Freemason from The Orange Free State. After the trial he joined a Lodge in Johannesburg.

Kruger was trying to be, what we would today call 'transparent' by appointing an impartial judge, the British considered him to be pro-Boer.

They all pleaded guilty and the four ring leaders were sentenced to death, while the remainder were fined £2000-00-00, each, with two years imprisonment and banishment from the state for three years (30).

There was a mixed and varied reaction round the world:

- The British were horrified by "*the barbarous sentence*". Mr Chamberlain telegraphed Paul Kruger and expressed "*His conviction that the sentence would not be carried out*".
- Kaiser Wilhelm II wrote to Paul Kruger, congratulating him on dealing with the aggressors on his own, which really annoyed the British Government.
- Barnet Barnato went to see Kruger 'who liked the little Londoner' and pleaded not to carry out the sentence. Barnato's credibility was in question - on the one hand his own nephew was a Reformer and found guilty, on the other hand, he genuinely believed that it would be a mistake and would reap immeasurable harm to Kruger and the Transvaal.
- The Boer population in a grudging way admired Jameson and his men - rather like a winning boxer being gracious to his opponent, but they felt betrayed by the Reformers.
- Kruger said "*it's not the dog which should be beaten, but the man who set him on me.*"
- The Uitlanders were a bit bewildered - to them the whole thing was somewhere between a comic opera and a sad gesture.

No-one has ever been sure whether Kruger intended carrying out the sentences or allowed himself to be persuaded to be generous and to commute the sentences. He was always wont to 'bluff' and Reitz in the background also enjoyed a little bluff. On the 10th June 1896 the sentences were commuted to a fine of £25,000 and an undertaking not to meddle with politics for a period of fifteen years. The mining industry banded together and paid the fines where individuals could not.

Of the Jameson Raid I think that we can conclude the following:

Although the Rand Club and Freemasonry featured highly in the story neither were involved except as a reservoir of like-minded men and a useful venue for net-working.

It destroyed the Boer's faith in British imperial honour and statesmanship and was a catalyst in precipitating the Anglo Boer war.

How easily even the most intelligent and highly placed men can be misled when they feel threatened.

APPENDIX A (31)

“The woman and children letter”

There has been some debate over who wrote this letter. J B Robinson, the mining magnet, was overheard to say at a dinner party that it was written in London. If that was the case, then it was probably written by Flora Shaw The Times Correspondent for Africa.

The letter had been seen in Dr Jameson’s possession, was identified and was read aloud.

The letter was found in a leather pouch on the battlefield at Doornkop (There was also a copy which was handed to Rhodes)

Johannesburg, Dec. 20, 1895.

DR JAMESON—

Dear Sir:

The position of matters in this state has become so critical that we are assured that at no distant period there will be a conflict between the Government and the Uitlander population. It is scarcely necessary for us to recapitulate what is now a matter of history. Suffice it to say that the position of thousands of Englishmen is rapidly becoming intolerable. Not satisfied with making the Uitlander population pay virtually the whole of the revenue of the country, while denying them representation, the policy of the Government has been steadily to encroach upon the liberty of the subject and to under mine the security for property to such an extent as to cause a very deep-seated sense of discontent and danger. A foreign corporation of Hollanders is to a considerable extent controlling our destinies and in conjunction with the Boer leader, endeavoring to cast them in a mould which is wholly foreign to the genius of the people. Every public act betrays the most positive hostility, not only to everything English, but with the neighboring states as well. In short the internal policy of the Government is such to have raised into antagonism to it, not only practically the whole body of Uitlanders, but a large number of Boers, while its external policy has exasperated neighboring states, causing the possibility of great danger to the peace and independence of this great Republic. Public feeling is in the condition of smoldering discontent; all the petitions of the people have been refused, with a greater or lesser degree of contempt, and in the debate on the franchise petition signed by nearly forty thousand people, one member challenged the Uitlanders to fight for the rights they asked for, and not a single member spoke against him. Not to go into any detail, we may say that the Government has called into existence all the elements for armed conflict. The one desire of the people here is for fair play, the maintenance of their independence, and the preservation of those public liberties without which life is not worth living. The Government denies these things and violates the national sense of Englishmen at every turn. What we have to consider is, what will be the condition of things here in the event of conflict. Thousands of unarmed men, women and children of our race will be at the mercy of well-armed Boers, while property of enormous value will be in the greatest peril. We cannot contemplate the future without the gravest apprehension, and feel that we are justified in taking any steps to prevent the shedding of blood and insure the protection of our rights. It is under these circumstances that we feel constrained to call upon you to come to our aid, should a disturbance arise here. The circumstances are so extreme that we cannot avoid this step, and cannot believe but that you, and the men under you, will not fail to come to the rescue of people who will be so situated. We guarantee any expenses that may be reasonably incurred by you in helping us, and ask you to believe nothing but the sternest necessity has prompted this appeal. We are.

Yours faithfully,

Charles Leonard

Francis Rhodes

Lionel Phillips

John Hays Hammond.

George Farrar

APPENDIX B (32)

The list of Reformers arrested at the Rand Club 9th January 1896:

W van Hulsteyn, W St John Carr, Dr Davies, W E Hudson, Dr H Sauer, A Mackie Niven, F Mosenthal, W H S Bell, H A Rogers, Max Langerman, C H Mullins, George Richards, Dr A P Hillier, A Woolls-Sampson, J G Auret, Sir Drummond Dunbar, J J Lace (later J J Dale-Lace), J Hays Hammond, Dr Duir and Dr Mitchal.

The next day 10th January 1896:

Lionel Phillips, Col Bettington and Mr Beachy-head

The rest of the Rand Club Members were rounded up over the following days:

J M Buckland, A R Goldring, E P Solomon, J G Hamilton, H F Strange, G Sandilands, C L Andersson, J Donaldson.

Escaped:

Charles Leonard, Henry Hull and William Monypenny

APPENDIX C

The Leonard Manifesto published December 26 1895
Setting forth the demands of the 'Uitlanders'

'We want,' it reads:

1. *The establishment of this republic as a true Republic.*
2. *A Grondwet or constitution which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people, and framed on lines laid down by them; a constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alteration.*
3. *An equitable Franchise law and fair representation.*
4. *Equality of the Dutch and English languages.*
5. *Responsibility to the Legislature of the heads of the Great departments.*
6. *Removal of religious disabilities.*
7. *Independence of the Courts of Justice, with adequate and secured remuneration of the Judges.*
8. *Liberal and comprehensive education.*
9. *An efficient Civil Service, with adequate provision for pay and pension.*
10. *Free Trade in South African products.*

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- 41 Men of the Times page 90
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- 43 Parktown Centenary Souvenir page 91
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 122 Ivor Sander a passed president of the Rand club, and a Author of many Corporate Histories particularly of Mining Houses.

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