

## **“A Free, United South Africa Under the Union Jack”: F.S. Malan, South Africanism and the British Empire, 1895–1924**

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During his turbulent career as newspaper editor, politician and cabinet minister, Francois Stephanus Malan, a Cape Afrikaner,<sup>1</sup> elicited strong and conflicting reactions. In the late nineteenth century, English-speaking South Africans and Imperial officials regarded him as an insidious republican and a bitter enemy of Britain. During the Anglo-Boer War they clamoured for his imprisonment. After Union in 1910, however, he was increasingly seen as a defender of the British Empire and he rose to the rank of privy councillor. For Afrikaners he was a hero who became a renegade and a puppet of British imperialism. This paper will argue that despite the conflicting views, Malan’s political vision remained remarkably unchanged over the years. He campaigned for a united South Africa free of internal British control, but an integral part of the Empire, which he regarded as essential to secure a stable, prosperous society in which Afrikaners and English-speakers could overcome their enmity and become one nation. My intention is to examine the political vision of an idealistic statesman whose career was shattered on the rock of South Africa’s imperial connection.

Malan was born on 12 March 1871 in the Cape Colony and grew up on a wine-farm in the Paarl district. With the Cape fully integrated in the imperial economy, most Cape Afrikaners appreciated the security and financial prosperity the Empire brought and were loyal subjects of Queen Victoria.<sup>2</sup> This loyalty was reflected in the Afrikaner Bond

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1. In this article the terms “Afrikaner” and “English-speakers” will be used, although in the 1890s, “Dutch” or “Boer”, and “British” were predominately used to indicate the two white language groups. In the late nineteenth century, the term “Afrikaner” was ambiguous, as it related to the ethnic-cultural community comprising the speakers of Dutch or Afrikaans amongst whites, but was also used by men like Malan to denote Dutch or English-speakers who chose to make South Africa their home and nation. Malan would refer to Dutch or English Afrikaners. “Race” did not indicate black and white, but the two language groups, and the hostility between the two groups was classed as “racialism”.
2. For the history of the Cape Afrikaner and the British Empire see M. Tamarkin, *Cecil Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaners. The imperial colossus and the colonial*

established in 1880 to further Afrikaner interests. J.H. (Onze Jan) Hofmeyr as leader of the Bond called for a resurgence of Afrikaner self-esteem, not for a hatred of things English. The Bond's definition of an Afrikaner was inclusive, embracing all who strove for the welfare of South Africa. In the party there was a strong desire that Afrikaners should amalgamate with English-speakers to create a South African nation. The Bond also advocated a united South Africa, under the British flag. The leadership of the Bond believed the interests of Afrikaners in South Africa would be best served through free trade and the integration of the Boer republics in the imperial financial system.<sup>3</sup> The Bond thus advocated ethnic mobilisation, namely the acceptance of an ethnically diverse state, mobilised to improve its share in the political and material spoils of that state, and did not campaign for ethnic nationalism.<sup>4</sup>

Paarl was the heartland of Afrikaner conservatism, as well as of the movement for the recognition of the Afrikaans language.<sup>5</sup> Malan was raised with a strong sense of ethnic-cultural identity, and taught that it was his duty to be of service to his people,<sup>6</sup> but also to be a loyal subject of Queen Victoria. As an adult he remembered with affection the annual picnics to celebrate the much loved monarch's birthday.<sup>7</sup> Malan's desire to be of service to his people was strengthened during his years at Victoria College (1889-1892), and he was particularly inspired by Onze Jan Hofmeyr's speech at the College in 1889, urging students to be proud of their Afrikaner heritage.<sup>8</sup> Malan became an enthusiastic supporter of the Bond and its goal of a unified South Africa. He also adhered to the Bond's broad definition of an Afrikaner. For him Afrikaners were those who saw Africa as their home, and who wanted to create a nation for the future. He dreamt of an Afrikaner *volk*, and a state stretching from Cape Town to the Zambezi. He was determined to contribute to this ideal.<sup>9</sup>

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*parish pump* (Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg, 1996); H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people* (Tafelberg, Cape Town, 2003); T.R.H. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond. The history of a South African political party (1880 - 1911)* (Oxford University Press, London, 1966).

3. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, p 239.
4. Tamarkin, *Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaners*, pp 38, 55, 300.
5. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, p 217.
6. F.S. Malan, "Twee keerpunte in my lewe", *Die Huisgenoot*, 7 Mei 1937, p 17; F.S. Malan, *Korte lewenskets van DG en EJ Malan* (Van de Sandt de Villiers, Cape Town, 1928), p 54.
7. *Ons Land*, 26 Mei 1896.
8. B. Cloete, *Die lewe van Senator F.S. Malan (President van die Senaat)* (Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel, Johannesburg, 1946), p 34.
9. National Archive, Cape Town (hereafter NA): F.S. Malan collection (hereafter

At the end of 1892, Malan left for Cambridge University to study law, to prepare himself for a political career of service to the Afrikaner and South Africa.<sup>10</sup> Tamarkin argues that Malan was probably influenced by the strong sense of ethnic identity and nationalism in Europe while studying in Britain.<sup>11</sup> Malan's diary and his letters to his future wife, Johanna Brummer, reflect his passionate ethnic pride and love of Afrikaans before his departure to Britain.<sup>12</sup>

At Cambridge, Malan and Jan Smuts, the future premier and close friend from Victoria College days, had intense discussions on the future of Afrikaners and their relations with the British Empire. Malan's dream was the development of an autonomous national character for the Cape Colony in which Afrikaans/Dutch and English-speakers could become Afrikaners in a South African nation – a nation based on a broad foundation, in which the language, customs and practices of Afrikaners would be enriched by those of English-speakers. He argued that Britain was all-powerful, like a strong stream of water that could be destructive, but if managed and controlled could be used constructively. With English-speaking cooperation, an Africa for the Afrikaner could be created, with Afrikaans, developing out of English and Dutch, as the national language.<sup>13</sup>

For Malan it was essential that both language groups cooperate to deny the imperial government any direct role in South Africa.<sup>14</sup> Although he was sympathetic to the South African Republic's (SAR) desire to maintain its independence,<sup>15</sup> he hoped that the reduction of imperial influence, and the closer cooperation between Afrikaners and English-speakers in the Cape Colony would act as yeast in the Boer republics leading to a united South Africa. He believed that the two republics would be forced to cooperate with the British colonies as they would prefer not to be isolated.<sup>16</sup> In the distant future it was possible that Cape Afrikaners might break with the Empire, but until then it was to

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MC), Volume 16, Diary, 3 December 1892.

10. NA: MC, Volume 21, Diary, 8 June 1911.
11. Tamarkin, *Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaner*, pp 244, 295.
12. See for example the following letters to Johanna Brummer, NA: MC, Volume 83, 24 April 1892, 6 September 1892, 27 October 1893, 22 November 1896; Volume 16, Diary, 3 December 1892.
13. NA: MC, Volume 18, Diary, 4 November 1894; F.S. Malan, "De taal kwestie in Zuid-Afrika", *De Paarl*, 12, 15 and 17 Januarie 1895.
14. NA: MC, Volume 16, Diary, 17 October 1893; Volume 17, Diary, 30 October 1893, 2 December 1893.
15. NA: MC, Volume 17, Diary, 11 March 1894.
16. NA: MC, Volume 17, Diary, 2 December 1893.

their benefit to remain, and enjoy the freedoms they valued under the British flag. He also realised that Afrikaners were too divided, and their desire for a united *volk* too weak for them to strive for independence.<sup>17</sup>

After qualifying as a barrister, Malan returned to the Cape Colony in July 1895. On the personal invitation of Onze Jan he became editor of *Ons Land* (the most influential Dutch newspaper in the Colony, and the Bond's mouthpiece) in November 1895.<sup>18</sup> His appointment coincided with the shock of the Jameson Raid of 29 December 1895. For Malan, the Raid was a bitter blow as he had counted on Premier C.J. Rhodes, who was in an alliance with the Bond, to overcome the ignorance and prejudice of the English-speaking jingoes in the Colony, and to unify the two white groups in South Africa.<sup>19</sup> In his diary the young editor agonised over the stark choice he had to face after the Raid. Support for Rhodes would alienate the Boer republics from the Cape Colony; yet support for the SAR would alienate English-speakers, and encourage racial hatred which he feared would lead to the destruction of the Afrikaner. He was also torn between his desire for a united South Africa and what he saw as a need to support the continued independence of the republics. He eventually felt obliged to throw his weight behind the SAR.<sup>20</sup>

Malan also used *Ons Land* to encourage pan-Afrikaner unity, by emotively referring to blood links between colonial and republican Afrikaners.<sup>21</sup> He did not, however, encourage republicanism. Despite the Jameson Raid, the Cape Afrikaners, including Malan remained loyal to the Queen. Like the overwhelming majority of his fellow Cape Afrikaners, he saw no contradiction between being a loyal subject of the Queen and supporting the continued independence of his fellow Afrikaners in the Boer republics.<sup>22</sup> For him the ideal of pan-Afrikaner solidarity and support for the Transvaal could live side by side with loyalty to the British Empire. English-speakers, Rhodes' loyalists and imperial officials could not comprehend this attitude, and attacked it as covert republicanism.<sup>23</sup>

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17. NA: MC, Volume 16, Diary, 3 December 1892.

18. F.S. Malan, "Twee keerpunte in my lewe", *Die Huisgenoot*, 7 Mei 1937.

19. *Ons Land*, 18 Januarie 1896.

20. NA: MC, Volume 19, Diary, 13 January 1896; Volume 22, Diary, 15 December 1912.

21. Tamarkin, *Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaners*, p 297.

22. *Ons Land*, 26 Mei 1896, 15 Augustus 1896.

23. Tamarkin, *Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaners*, pp 300-304.

*Ons Land* earned Malan the reputation amongst English-speakers of an offensive racialist.<sup>24</sup> Alfred Milner, since 1897 the Cape Governor and British High Commissioner, as well as an ardent imperialist, also viewed the Bond with suspicion, castigating it as a disloyal organisation that encouraged republicanism and bolstered the Transvaal government in its enmity to the British Empire.<sup>25</sup> In reality, however, Malan, fearing the destruction of the Afrikaner, saw his mission as the prevention of a war between the Boer republics and the Empire.<sup>26</sup> He also remained sincerely committed to the Bond's goal of securing a united Afrikaner and English-speaking nation, which he believed would neutralise ethnic hatred.<sup>27</sup> He shifted from his earlier stance that Afrikaners had to be open to English influence. Instead he now believed that amalgamation had to be on the basis of equality between the two language groups. Afrikaners had to have self-respect and equal rights to meet the English on an equal footing.<sup>28</sup> To achieve this parity, Malan used *Ons Land* to encourage a "healthy national consciousness" amongst Afrikaners by warning against the dangers of cultural erosion and assimilation. In this he led Afrikaners to a more exclusive ethnicity.<sup>29</sup>

After the outbreak of war in 1899, *Ons Land* supported the Boer republics, and castigated the British army's scorched earth tactics. Malan became an Afrikaner hero. In December 1900 he was elected unopposed as the MP for Malmesbury, a Bond stronghold. But to English-speaking loyalists and Milner, the editor of *Ons Land* was a traitor, abusing British freedom to encourage disloyalty amongst Cape Afrikaners, and the continued resistance of the republics.<sup>30</sup> On 3 April 1900, a loyalist crowd attacked Malan, and he was "severely handled" before being rescued by the police.<sup>31</sup> Malan was eventually

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24. National Archive (hereafter NA-Kew), Kew, London: CO48/532, Proceedings of the Congress of the South African League, Port Elizabeth, 11-13 February 1897.
  25. NA-Kew: CO48/533, A. Milner – J. Chamberlain, 9 March 1898.
  26. NA: MC, Volume 19, Diary, 4 April 1897; Volume 83, F.S. Malan – J. Brummer, 23 May 1897.
  27. *Ons Land*, 15 Februarie 1896; Tamarkin, *Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaners*, pp 298-299.
  28. Cloete, *Senator F.S. Malan*, p 135.
  29. Tamarkin, *Rhodes and the Cape Afrikaners*, p 294; F.S. Malan, "n Aanbod en 'n brief", *Die Huisgenoot*, 11 Junie 1937.
  30. NA-Kew: CO48/548, A. Milner – Sir Gordon Sprigg, 1 December 1900; *Cape Times*, 22 April 1901; M. Barlow, "The clouded face of truth. A review of the South African newspaper press approaching Union", D Phil thesis, University of Bristol, 1988, p 193.
  31. K. Schoeman, *Only an anguish to live here. Olive Schreiner and the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902* (Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, 1992), p 82.

convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment in April 1901 for the criminal libel of General John French after he had published a letter from Boer women accusing French of war crimes against civilians.<sup>32</sup> Prison was a traumatic experience for Malan. He thought his trial unfair and the sentence, of which he served the full term, unreasonable. Only his belief that he was suffering for his *volk* made prison bearable.<sup>33</sup> It was a bitter Malan who was released in April 1902. Emily Hobhouse, while following Cape parliamentary proceedings from the visitors' gallery in June 1903, observed Malan "with some of his prison sadness still hanging over him".<sup>34</sup>

Despite his bitterness, Malan adhered to Onze Jan's policy of conciliation.<sup>35</sup> Although he himself found it difficult, he urged fellow Afrikaners to put the horrors of war behind them and banish all personal bitterness.<sup>36</sup> On 22 July 1902, in his first post-war *Ons Land* leader, he reiterated the Bond's goal of a united South Africa on the basis of self-respect and the equality of the two white "races". He energetically promoted his ideal of Afrikaners of English and Dutch blood who placed their joint interests above the influence of *uitlander* (foreigner)<sup>37</sup> money, and preached the principle that South Africa should be left free to work out its own political solution. This vision conflicted with Milner's ideal of a strong British-controlled South Africa as a powerful unit in the Empire, and a bastion of British imperial power.<sup>38</sup> Milner advocated a united South Africa in which Afrikaners would submerge their identity in a "South Africanism" which he equated with Britishness, and with loyal devotion to Britain. In this construction, the true imperialist was also the best South African.<sup>39</sup>

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32. F.S. Malan, "Twaalf maande tronkstraf", *Die Huisgenoot*, 25 Junie 1937; *Cape Times*, 19 April 1901.

33. F.S. Malan, "In die gevangenis – Kaapstad", *Die Huisgenoot*, 2 Julie 1937; F.S. Malan, "In die gevangenis – Tokai", *Die Huisgenoot*, 9 Julie 1937.

34. R. van Reenen (ed), *Emily Hobhouse. Boer War letters* (Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, 1984), p 183.

35. Davenport, *The Afrikaner Bond*, pp 244-245.

36. *Ons Land*, 23 Julie 1903.

37. Before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, the *uitlanders* was a political constituency of émigrés on the Rand attached to the industrial revolution and modernisation in the SAR. For most Afrikaners they represented the malignant influence of big capital, only interested in profit, with no loyalty to South African interests.

38. J.E. Wrench, *Geoffrey Dawson and our times* (Hutchinson, London, 1955), p 50.

39. J. Lambert, "South African British? Or Dominion South Africans? The evolution of an identity in the 1910s and 1920s", *South African Historical Journal*, 43, November 2000, pp 198-199.

For Malan, Milner's dream was a danger for true South Africanism.<sup>40</sup>

To achieve his ideal of South Africanism, Malan kept his anger and bitterness under tight control in *Ons Land* and parliament, but his true feelings erupted when Leander Starr Jameson of Raid infamy became Premier of the Cape Colony in 1904. Jameson's narrow victory was only made possible by the disfranchisement of the Cape Afrikaner rebels. For Malan the Jameson victory meant the end of reconciliation, and he relentlessly attacked and mocked the Premier.<sup>41</sup> For English-speakers Malan, who refused to speak English in parliament, was a destructive, dark and brooding influence.<sup>42</sup> The *Cape Argus* (14 March 1904) described him as one of Britain's most virulent and able enemies.

For Malan, genuine acceptance of reconciliation came in late August 1904 with an epiphany on Table Mountain. After a day of intense soul-searching while preparing a speech on "The true ideal of South African politics", he finally accepted the defeat of the republics. Although his daughter, Bettie Cloete, in her biography of her father over-dramatised this conversion, Malan as a devout Christian, did come down from the mountain convinced that God had called him to serve his country and people by pursuing reconciliation. In addition, he realised that even if the independence of the republics could be restored, it would not be desirable as it would divide Afrikaners and leave those in the Cape Colony in the lurch. A united Afrikanerdom could only be achieved by accepting defeat and reconciliation with English-speakers.<sup>43</sup> In a speech on 2 September 1904, Malan argued for "a free united South Africa under the Union Jack", on the basis of complete equality between Afrikaners and English-speakers and a South Africa free of British intervention, or any foreign domination, to determine its own future. In the process the country could be freed from "race" differences and hatred which could destroy it, and South Africans could be created through a common patriotism. He urged his fellow Afrikaners to accept their defeat, and to reject republicanism, as it would only divide the Afrikaans and English-speaking groups. Afrikaners had to work for South Africa under the British flag to keep out the real enemy – capitalist power.<sup>44</sup>

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40. Barlow, "The clouded face of truth", pp 203-204.

41. *Ons Land*, 20 Februarie 1904; 5 Maart 1904; 29 Maart 1904.

42. I. Colvin, *The life of Jameson II* (Edward Arnold, London, 1922), p 274.

43. F.S. Malan, "n Historiese toespraak", *Die Huisgenoot*, 16 Julie 1937; NA: MC, Volume 83, F.S. Malan – Mrs Malan, 2 September 1904; Cloete, *Senator F.S. Malan*, pp 173-175.

44. *Cape Times*, 3 September 1904; F.S. Malan, "The true ideal of South African

To encourage acceptance of the Union Jack demanded moral courage as the South African War had changed the political landscape in the Cape Colony beyond recognition. Many Cape Afrikaners refused to accept the defeat of the republics, and to forgive Britain and forget the war. Harsh martial law with its wanton destruction of Afrikaner property, imprisonment and banishment without trial, and especially the public executions of Cape Afrikaner rebels evoked rage and hatred, awakened nationalism and left a legacy of ill-will that poisoned relations between the two white groups.<sup>45</sup> After the war, Smuts observed that in the Cape “the crimes committed by the military ... have generated ... a spirit of hatred and a sense of injury such as exists nowhere in South Africa”.<sup>46</sup> Malan’s Malmesbury constituency was notoriously anti-British.<sup>47</sup> Many Afrikaners now found Malan’s speech difficult to swallow. Even his closest political friend, Mrs M.M. Koopmans-De Wet, a fiery Afrikaner patriot, rejected his plea for acceptance of the British flag.<sup>48</sup> Fortunately he had the powerful support of Onze Jan in the Bond.

The English-language press, apart from taking exception to Malan’s attacks on big capital, saw the speech as a devious trick to hide the Bond’s real intentions – to secure political control. The *Cape Times* of 5 September 1904 grudgingly acknowledged that his stance on the former republics took courage, but rejected the speech as “an entertaining piece of political comedy”. In Johannesburg, *The Star* of 8 September 1904 condemned it as a pathetic and sordid manoeuvre to attract English-speaking support for the Bond. Milner warned Lord Selborne, his successor as High Commissioner, that Malan was part of an Afrikaner conspiracy to create a separate Afrikaner nation and were prepared to see their object realised, for a time at least, under the British flag.<sup>49</sup> Selborne was himself convinced that Malan’s ideal was “A united South Africa, republican, unconnected with the British Empire, with its own flag, and Boer in spirit and tradition”.<sup>50</sup>

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politics” (Pamphlet, 1904).

45. J.S. Galbraith, “British war measures in Cape Colony, 1900-1902: A study of miscalculations and mismanagement”, *South African Historical Journal*, 15, November 1983, pp 68-84.
46. P. Lewsen, John X Merriman. Paradoxical statesman (Original manuscript, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand), p 694.
47. NA-Kew: CO48/566, Intelligence Reports ending 4 November 1902.
48. NA: MC, Volume 1, W.T. Stead – F.S. Malan, 14 October 1904.
49. D. George Boyce (ed), *The crisis of British power. The imperial and naval papers of the second Earl of Selborne, 1895-1910* (The Historians’ Press, London, 1990), pp 199-200.
50. D.E. Torrance, *The strange death of the liberal empire* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal, 1996), p 139.



Despite the lukewarm reception of his speech, Malan launched, with messianic fervour, a campaign for reconciliation by trying to convince Afrikaners to accept the supremacy of the British crown. In the process Malan weakened his political credibility amongst Cape Afrikaners at grassroots level. A concerned T.P. Theron, chairman of the Bond, warned him that by embracing Britain he was destroying his influence and future as a *volk's* leader by straying from the right and safe path.<sup>51</sup> Despite the growing suspicions of many Afrikaners, Onze Jan's patronage, who shared protégé's views, ensured that Malan remained a rising star in the Bond. He became a member of the Supervision Committee (Commissie van Toezicht op Elekties), the most powerful agency of the party, and upon Onze Jan's death in 1909, its chairman and leader of the party.

In 1908 the Afrikaner Bond, as part of a coalition with independent liberals and anti-imperialists, such as John X. Merriman, under the banner of the South African Party, won the general election. Malan became a member of Merriman's cabinet and used his position to campaign vigorously for a unified South Africa. By now Selborne and his officials had come to regard Malan as an ally as they realised that only with the cooperation of Afrikaners could South Africa be unified. At the National Convention (1908-1909), Malan played an influential role in framing the South African constitution.<sup>52</sup>

Malan became a member of the first Union cabinet on 31 May 1910 as Minister of Education and a confidant of Premier Louis Botha. In the Union election of September 1910, he played a leading role. The Bond was in an alliance with the mainly Afrikaner parties of the former republics. The alliance's campaign was based on a manifesto, which Malan helped to draft, recognising South Africa as an integral part of the Empire and aiming to promote a healthy South African spirit.<sup>53</sup> Malan continued to preach racial cooperation and a

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51. NA: MC, Volume 1, T.P. Theron – F.S. Malan, 27 October 1906.

52. For Malan's role in the unification of South Africa, see S. Dubow, "Colonial nationalism, the Milner Kindergarten and the rise of 'South Africanism'", 1902-1910, *History Workshop Journal*, 43, 1979, p 65; L. Thompson, *The unification of South Africa 1902-1910* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1960); J.F. Preller (ed), *Die konvensie-dagboek van sy edelagbare Francois Stephanus Malan 1908-1909* (with an English translation by A.J. de Villiers), Van Riebeeck-vereniging, 1, 32 (Van Riebeeck-Vereniging, Cape Town, 1951).

53. W.A. Kleynhans, *South African general election manifestos 1910-1981* (Unisa, Pretoria, 1987), p 25; NA: MC, Volume 22, Diary, 6 July 1912.

broad South African nationalism.<sup>54</sup> He urged South Africans to bury the struggles of the past and face the future in a united and prosperous South Africa.<sup>55</sup> Malan also made it clear, however, that South Africa could only be part of the Empire if it was allowed the freedom to develop according to its own character, circumstances, ideals and insights.<sup>56</sup> This bold vision which Malan shared with Botha and Smuts – to build a South African nation, coming so soon after the trauma of the Anglo-Boer War, faced enormous obstacles. As Giliomee points out, South Africanism had to find a space for itself between advancing Afrikaner nationalism and retreating British imperialism.<sup>57</sup> Despite the alliance's comfortable victory, with some English support, the election was a humiliating and painful experience for Malan. Some farmers in Malmesbury were not prepared to bury the past and they supported an independent candidate, who fought a campaign on the basis that Malan was an unprincipled opportunist.<sup>58</sup>

Malan was the only leader of the alliance to be opposed by an Afrikaner nationalist candidate. It was an ominous sign for the future, especially as Afrikaner nationalism was fuelled by the English-speakers' attitude to South Africanism. Most English-speakers were only beginning to think of being South Africans, as they regarded their British identity as paramount and expressed their loyalty and patriotism to the King, whose authority was symbolized by the Union Jack.<sup>59</sup> Many of them did not see Afrikaners as their equals, and resented efforts to bring about language equality as they scorned Dutch, and later Afrikaans. English-language newspapers, which encouraged imperialism and the maintenance of a British identity, reflected the resentment of the English-speaking group that Afrikaners were able to secure political control after only a few years of losing a war that Britain had won at great cost. They also feared Afrikaner domination. This attitude was reflected in the Unionist Party, whose main aim was the maintenance of South Africa's "sacred tie" with the Empire.<sup>60</sup>

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54. W.K. Hancock & J. van der Poel (eds), *Selections from the Smuts papers II, June 1902-May 1910* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966), J.C. Smuts – F.S. Malan, 23 February 1910, pp 616-617; F.S. Malan – J.C. Smuts, 28 February 1910, pp 623-624.

55. *Ons Land*, 9 Augustus 1910.

56. NA: MC, Volume 47, F.S. Malan, "Het burgeschap in de Unie van Zuid-Afrika" (A draft article dated 7 May 1910).

57. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, pp 277, 361.

58. *Ons land*, 16 Augustus 1910.

59. Lambert, "South African British?", pp 202, 209.

60. P.F. van der Schyff, "Die Unioniste Party in die Suid-Afrikaanse politiek,

Afrikaners, many of whom had not come to terms with the suffering of the Anglo-Boer War, felt marginalised in the new state. They found it difficult to identify with *God save the King* as the anthem, the Union Jack as the national flag, and the King's likeness on every stamp and coin.<sup>61</sup> They especially resented the arrogance of the English-speakers.<sup>62</sup> Conciliation was perceived as a give-and-take situation in which Afrikaners gave and English-speakers took.<sup>63</sup> Subsequently a growing number of Afrikaners looked to J.B.M. Hertzog of the Free State to champion their cause. Hertzog also desired South Africanism but was, in contrast to Botha, Malan and Smuts, outspoken in his resentment of the Afrikaners' inferior economic, social and cultural status.<sup>64</sup>

Malan also entered Union determined to secure equality for the two languages, seeing this as the corner-stone of the constitution, but realised that to do so, he had to compromise to avoid conflicts and the alienation of the English community. English-speaking support was needed if the Union was to succeed. The harsh reality was that approximately ninety per cent of the civil service was unilingually English-speaking.<sup>65</sup> He handled the language issue coolly and carefully. As chairman of a parliamentary select committee on language instruction at school, he manoeuvred Hertzog to withdraw the provision compelling teaching in both languages, which was unacceptable for the English group.<sup>66</sup> This achievement came at a cost as an alienated Hertzog saw Malan as reprehensible and weak, and warned him that he would become the most unpopular man amongst Afrikaners.<sup>67</sup> The perception was strengthened

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1910-1921", MA verhandeling, Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys, 1964, pp 40-42, 47; B.K. Long, *In Smuts's camp* (Oxford University Press, London, 1945), p 19; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, pp 273-274, 355-356, 369.

61. Lambert, "South African British?", p 208; Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, p 380.
62. For Afrikaners' resentment of the English-speaking group's loyalty to "Home", and their arrogance, see *Republicans and sinners* (Nasionale Pers, Cape Town, n d), by C.J. Langenhoven under the pseudonym "A loyalist".
63. O. Geysers & A.H. Marais (reds.), *Die Nasionale Party I: Agtergrond, stigting en konsolidasie* (INEG, Bloemfontein, 1975), pp 375-376.
64. A.H. Marais, "Die politieke uitwerking van die verhouding van die Afrikaanssprekende tot die Engelssprekende, 1910-1915." D Phil tesis, Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat, 1972, pp 27, 223-224.
65. J.C. Steyn, *Trouwe Afrikaner. Aspekte van Afrikaner-nasionalisme en Suid-Afrikaanse taalpolitiek 1875-1938* (Tafelberg, Kaapstad, 1987), pp 69-71.
66. NA: MC, Volume 33, F.S. Malan, "One crisis on top of another", (Unpublished recollections).
67. J.H. le Roux, P.W. Coetzer & A.H. Marais (reds.), *Generaal JBM Hertzog. Sy*

that Malan was prepared to sacrifice the Afrikaner in favour of the Empire. In addition, Hertzog became a dangerous enemy.

By December 1912, Hertzog's criticism of reconciliation led to his dismissal from the Botha cabinet. In January 1914 he formed the National Party (NP) to campaign for Afrikaner interests. The policies of the new party resulted in a more exclusive Afrikaner identity with a strong identification and Afrikaans as a symbol of its "nationality".<sup>68</sup> The term Afrikaner now implied a cultural identity for Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, politically opposed to British influence. Increasingly Afrikaner nationalists claimed that only they were true South Africans. For Malan this was unacceptable and he attacked Hertzog for alienating the English group.<sup>69</sup> What Malan did not realise, was that Hertzog was articulating deeply rooted Afrikaner nationalism and resentment. The outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 unleashed these forces.

As a member of the British Empire, South Africa was automatically at war with Germany, but had the right to determine its active participation, if any, in the war. Premier Botha had no hesitation in accepting the British request to invade neighbouring German South-West Africa. Adopting the principle "South Africa first and then the British Empire", Malan agreed that the Union was involved in the war, and had to defend itself, but objected that an invasion of the German colony could only deepen internal divisions. He threatened to resign if the cabinet should condone the invasion. It was only his personal loyalty to Botha, whom he revered, and the ideal of reconciliation, that kept him in the cabinet.<sup>70</sup> He, however, remained unhappy and continued to agonise on whether or not he should resign.

Malan's attitude towards South Africa's involvement gradually evolved. Initially he felt that South Africa's contribution had to be limited to what she was asked to do. By 1917 he became convinced that the war against Germany was also South Africa's struggle for freedom against militarism.<sup>71</sup> In 1914, however, Malan's dilemma about whether to stay in the cabinet, was heightened when more than 11 000 Afrikaners resorted to armed rebellion against the decision to fight for the British

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*stryd en strewes I* (Perskor, Johannesburg, 1987), pp 121, 127-129; NA: MC, Volume 22, Diary, no date, pp 48-49.

68. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, p 356.

69. *Die Burger*, 22 September 1915.

70. S.B. Spies, "The outbreak of the First World War and the Botha government", *South African Historical Journal*, 1, November 1969.

71. NA: MC, Volume 23, Diary, 4 August 1917; *Pretoria News*, 4 August 1917.

Empire. He was horrified as he felt that the rebellion was indefensible and that peace and order had to be restored, but he found it a bitter and unpleasant task, one of the most unpalatable of his public career.<sup>72</sup> Although the government suppressed the rebellion with relatively little bloodshed, it deeply divided Afrikaners, thousands of whom deserted the SAP to join the NP. These Afrikaners were not prepared to heed Malan's call that the rebellion had to be placed in the past, and that it was the duty of all South Africans to avoid issues which could damage "race" relations, and the interests of the country.<sup>73</sup> Most of Malan's friends and former political allies, including his brother Charlie, became leading NP members. Their disillusionment with Malan was reflected in a letter from Jannie Marais, an affluent businessman and influential MP for Stellenbosch, with whom Malan had close ties. Marais accused Malan of turning his back on the Afrikaner and urged him to return to his earlier convictions and regain Onze Jan's mantle to unify the Afrikaner.<sup>74</sup> For Malan, reflecting Onze Jan's avoidance of any partisan zeal and narrow nationalism, it was impossible to associate himself with the NP.

By 1914, the ideal of South Africanism was trapped between the passions of Afrikaner nationalism, fully supported by the Dutch Reformed Church and the Afrikaner elite, and the jingoism of English-speakers. In the western Cape the NP, a powerful alliance of nationalist intellectuals, lawyers, commercial farmers, local financial institutions, and the newly founded *Die Burger* newspaper,<sup>75</sup> did its utmost to defeat Malan. In the election of 1915, one of the most emotional and bitter elections in the history of the white parliament,<sup>76</sup> he was condemned as a traitor and the Afrikaners of Malmesbury were reminded that if they were loyal to their religion, language and traditions, they had to elect a true "full blooded" Afrikaner.<sup>77</sup> Malan managed to hang on to his seat, but became a target of *Die Burger*. With Jan Smuts

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72. NA: MC, Volume 23, Diary, 22 October 1914; 10 December 1914; 31 December 1914.

73. NA: Nasionale Pers Archive Correspondence: Founding 1914-1918, F.S. Malan – J.H. Marais, 29 December 1914.

74. G. Pretorius, *Man van die Daad. 'n Biografie van Bruckner de Villiers* (HAUM, Kaapstad, s.j.), pp 62-63.

75. H. Giliomee, "The beginnings of Afrikaner nationalism", *South African Historical Journal*, 19, November 1987, p 140.

76. Although the NP attracted the majority of Afrikaner votes, the SAP returned to parliament as the largest party, but lost its overall majority and became dependent on the Unionists to govern. A.H. Marais, "Aspekte van die 1915-verkiesing", *Suid-Afrikaanse Historiese Joernaal*, 5, November 1973, pp 61-93.

77. *Die Burger*, 1 Oktober 1915; 14 Oktober 1915; 20 Oktober 1915.

absent from South Africa on active military duty, and Botha regularly incapacitated by depression and ill-health, Malan was Acting Prime Minister on more than one occasion, and the SAP's main foil against the NP. *Die Burger* hounded him by portraying the SAP as a lackey of big capital, the mortal enemy of the Afrikaner. D.C. Boonzaier, the brilliant and vindictive cartoonist of *Die Burger*, who regarded Malan as an opportunist,<sup>78</sup> did much to discredit him amongst Afrikaners. He portrayed him as a puppet in the hands of Hoggenheimer, an anti-Semitic caricature symbolizing Jewish capital, and as a bound captive, puny pupil or ventriloquist dummy of the Unionists. *Die Burger's* cartoonist besmirched Malan's imprisonment and conversion to conciliation as pathetic spinelessness.<sup>79</sup>

It was especially Malan's opposition to republicanism that raised the ire of the NP. The First World War had encouraged an intense anti-British feeling, accompanied by republicanism amongst Afrikaners. Although secession was not part of the NP constitution (Hertzog at this stage still officially desired autonomy within the Empire<sup>80</sup> and the right to decide on issues of war and peace<sup>81</sup>), the party did encourage eventual secession. In response to Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points on the recognition of national sovereignty, the NP requested Britain to restore the independence of the former Boer republics. It also decided to send a deputation to Britain to demand the restoration of the former republics. Although the deputation failed, it strengthened the spirit of republicanism in the party, and in September 1919 the NP's constitution was altered to cater for the desire for a republic.<sup>82</sup>

The difference between the NP and Malan was that the nationalists insisted on the right to secede from the Empire someday in the future, while Malan claimed that South Africa could not do so as English-speakers, and Africans, were unanimously opposed to a

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78. South African National Library, Cape Town, D.C. Boonzaier collection, Volume 5, Diary, 3 September 1921.

79. C.F.J. Muller, *Sonop in die suide. Geboorte en groei van die Nasionale Pers 1915-1948* (Nasionale Boekhandel, Kaapstad, 1990), pp 120, 713; *Die Burger*, 30 Mei 1917; 5 Februarie 1919; 25 Junie 1919; 7 Julie 1920. See NA: MC, Volume 62 for undated Boonzaier cartoons.

80. G.D. Scholtz, *Hertzog en Smuts en die Britse Ryk* (Tafelberg, Kaapstad, 1975), pp 55-56.

81. Legally, until the Statute of Westminster was passed in 1931, the dominions remained subservient the imperial parliament.

82. Geysers & Marais (reds.), *Die Nasionale Party I*, pp 314-316, 320-338, 344-345; J.P. Brits, *Tielman Roos – political prophet or opportunist?* (Unisa, Pretoria, 1987), pp 53-64.

republic.<sup>83</sup> For him, republicanism was a betrayal of the agreement between the two white groups on which Union was based and that this contract, which rested on the connection with the British monarchy, was the sheet anchor of the constitution. He however also firmly believed that the contract placed no obstacle in the way of the South African government gradually becoming a sovereign state. The imperial connection was thus non-negotiable. Malan shared Smuts's stance that without this connection, conciliation between the two white groups was not possible and that secession could only rip South Africa apart, and even unleash a civil war between the white groups.<sup>84</sup>

As Acting Prime Minister for most of 1919, Malan took the battle to the NP. In February 1919, Sir Thomas Smartt, leader of the Unionist Party, tabled a motion in parliament condemning the agitation for the restoration of the former Boer republics. He made the provocative statement that Britain would not accept a republic even if the nationalists obtained a majority in favour of it, and that the whole force of the Empire, including that of India, would be used to prevent secession. It was a speech that did more harm than good for the imperial cause. Malan saved the day with an amendment that parliament welcomed any developments which would make the Union more self-governing and condemned the agitation for secession. He made a forceful and passionate speech for the integrity of the Union and against republicanism. The core of Malan's argument was that a republic was unnecessary to achieve freedom.<sup>85</sup>

For Malan, the positive aspect of the First World War was that it allowed South Africa to raise its status and strengthened the autonomy of the dominions. At the Paris Peace Conference, the Union had independent representation as part of the Empire. Malan, like Smuts, preferred to call the Empire a commonwealth, a group of equal and cooperative nations.<sup>86</sup> He also hoped that the improved status of the Union as a member of the League of Nations would counter republicanism. He also advocated a new South African flag which, although it would include the Union Jack, would be distinctive of the Union too, to reconcile Afrikaners to the British flag.<sup>87</sup>

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83. *Cape Times*, 15 September 1919.

84. NA: MC, Volume 53, F.S. Malan, "De verhouding van Zuid-Afrika tot het Britse Rijk" (Pamphlet, 1917); W.K. Hancock, *Smuts. The fields of force 1919 - 1950* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1968), pp 18-19.

85. House of Assembly Hansard, 12 February 1919, pp 54-56.

86. House of Assembly Hansard, 21 January 1919, p 4.

87. Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter Bodleian): Milner Papers, MSS Milner,

With Malan's support, Smuts, who had succeeded Botha as premier in 1919, fought the March 1920 election on the dangers of secession from the Empire, yet the two old friends' views of the Empire did differ. Malan's attitude to the Empire was less sentimental, idealistic and philosophical than that of Smuts and he did not have Smuts's view of South Africa's role on the world stage. A more sober Malan supported the ideal of cooperation on mutual concerns in the Empire, but believed that this was inextricably linked to whether it was advantageous to South Africa. His attitude was reflected in the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Cape SAP in 1920, with Malan as its leading member opposing any closer ties with the Empire which could undermine the freedom and autonomy of the Union. Moreover, the relationship had to be based on the principle of "South Africa first".<sup>88</sup> Smuts, who saw Malan as his successor in case of a mishap, was aware of his old friend's aloof attitude to Britain, and considered sending him to London as High Commissioner for a period as it would put him in touch with "men and things in the United Kingdom".<sup>89</sup>

Malan's more pragmatic approach to the Empire did not inhibit his zeal to convey the ideal to Afrikaners of a South Africanism bound to the Empire. Despite Smuts and Malan's efforts, the election of 1920 saw the NP returning as the largest parliamentary party. Notwithstanding the SAP's poor showing, the Smuts government remained in power with the support of the Unionists. The election setback, combined with the strong desire amongst Afrikaners in the SAP and the NP for the two parties to reunite, led to a re-unification congress on 22 September 1920 in Bloemfontein. Malan, as the leader of the SAP delegation, refused to accept the principle of secession from the Empire, or to allow propaganda for it to be part of the programme of an amalgamated party. The conference collapsed on this issue.<sup>90</sup>

In November 1920 the Unionist Party merged with the SAP and a new election was set for February 1921. Malan again took the pro-imperial message with gusto and courage to hostile nationalist strongholds. Eventually the SAP won the election of 1921 with ease,

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Dep 378, Lord Buxton's memo of a meeting with F.S. Malan, 14 February 1919; Dep 379, Lord Buxton – Lord Milner, 15 April 1919.

88. United Party Archive, University of South Africa: Cape Provincial Committee minutes, 9 June 1920.

89. Bodleian: MSS Milner, Dep 382, Lord Buxton's memo of a meeting with J.C. Smuts, 27 August 1920.

90. NA: MC, Volume 23, F.S. Malan, "Hereninging" (Unpublished recollections).



chiefly at the cost of the predominately English-speaking Labour Party, but the dramatic growth of the NP, to the grave disappointment of its leaders, was halted. Malan concluded that the secession issue had turned the scales for those in doubt.<sup>91</sup> Since 1919, he had played a leading role in stemming the republican tide, and Lord Buxton, the South African Governor-General, was deeply impressed by what he described as Malan's "considerable courage" in and outside parliament.<sup>92</sup> On Buxton's request, Malan was appointed to the Privy Council in 1920 for his "great and loyal service".<sup>93</sup>

Malan's "great and loyal service" to the Empire came at a considerable cost. He had neglected his family, especially his wife who had a serious heart condition and suffered so badly from nerves that Malan occasionally feared for her sanity.<sup>94</sup> Politically he had alienated his Afrikaner support base in the Cape province, yet despite this, he was never able to gain significant support from English-speakers. In contrast to Botha and Smuts who were lionised by English-speakers as courageous, large-hearted and magnanimous bitter-enders who became allies of the Empire, Malan had to live down his reputation as an intriguer who had abused British freedom to foment treason. English-speakers who disliked yet grudgingly respected Hertzog as a bitter-ender, were slow to lose their suspicion that Malan was a closet republican. As late as 1919, even Governor-General Buxton believed that at heart Malan was probably still a republican.<sup>95</sup> Trapped between the contempt of Afrikaner nationalists, and the suspicions of English-speakers,<sup>96</sup> Malan became a diminished figure. Buxton observed that Malan's ability and common sense were vastly underestimated, and that he consequently did not carry any great weight or influence.<sup>97</sup>

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91. NA: MC, Volume 23, Diary, 29 July 1923.

92. Bodleian: MSS Milner, Dep 379, Lord Buxton – Lord Milner, 9 June 1919.

93. Malan appreciated the gesture, but made no attempt to attend a council meeting. RA/PS/GV/J1614/10, H.C. Thornton – Lord Stamfordham, 7 May 1920; RA/PS/GV/J2322/11, Lord Athlone – C. Wigram, 11 June 1931; NA: MC, Volume 23, Diary, 30 May 1920.

94. NA: MC, Volume 23, Diary, 1 December 1926.

95. Bodleian: MSS Milner, Dep 378, Lord Buxton's memo of a meeting with F.S. Malan, 5 February 1919; NA-Kew: CO 551/111, Lord Buxton – Lord Milner, 15 February 1919.

96. Smartt as a leading critic of *Ons Land's* "treason" in the Cape Colony during the Anglo-Boer War, for example, could not overcome his antipathy to Malan. Bodleian: MSS Milner, Dep 378, Memo by Lord Buxton on his meeting with F.S. Malan, 25 January 1919.

97. Bodleian: MSS Milner, Dep 378, Lord Buxton – Lord Milner, 18 January 1919; Buxton's memo of a meeting with F.S. Malan, 23 January 1919.

After the 1921 election setback, the NP toned down its republicanism and attempted to win English support. This led to an electoral alliance, the so-called Pact, in 1923, with the Labour Party which shared the NP's anti-capitalism and was alienated by Smuts's brutal suppression of the miners' uprising of 1922. As part of the Pact, the nationalists agreed not to campaign for secession.<sup>98</sup> In the general election of 1924, the Pact hammered on the SAP's maladministration of national finances, and strongly advocated segregation between black and white with which many English-speakers could identify. The result was a comfortable victory for the Pact, in which Malan lost his seat.<sup>99</sup> Malan's defeat left him deeply depressed. Before he could find his feet, his wife died in 1926 – a devastating blow from which he never fully recovered, as he was filled with self-flagellating grief that he had neglected her. Although a member of the senate from 1927 until his death on 31 December 1941, Malan gradually withdrew from front-line party politics.<sup>100</sup>

Over the years, Malan never deviated from the Bond principle of a South African nation in which Afrikaners and English-speakers were amalgamated. He believed that the imperial connection was essential if this ideal was to be achieved. In 1904 he took the lead in encouraging reconciliation with Britain. This policy worked, as the Afrikaner used it to free himself from the chains of defeat, and erase the divisions brought about by the Anglo-Boer War. By 1907 the former republics had responsible government with Afrikaner dominated governments. Three years later Union was implemented with an Afrikaner premier, yet Malan entered the new dispensation of 1910 as an isolated and weakened politician. Apart from lacking the heroic image of a Botha, Smuts or Hertzog, and their loyal following in the "age of the Generals", his ideal of independence within the British Empire was too sophisticated for a profoundly divided post-war society. Most Afrikaners could not forget the Anglo-Boer War. For them the British Empire symbolized oppression and the death of the 26 000 women and children in the concentration camps. They saw the British flag as the hated symbol of oppression and would not concede that the Empire had brought any benefits. Malan found himself in the difficult position that his attempts to conciliate English-speaking alienated Afrikaners, while the majority of English-speakers remained indifferent to South Africanism. Trapped

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98. Geyser & Marais (reds.), *Die Nasionale Party I*, pp 510-517, 526.

99. C.E.M. O'Dowd, "The general election of 1924", *South African Historical Journal*, 2, November 1970, pp 54-77.

100. NA: MC, Volume 23, Diary, 1 December 1926; 19 April 1935; Cloete, *Senator FS Malan*, pp 350, 355, 358-360.

between a retreating British imperialism and an advancing Afrikaner nationalism, Malan's public career was shattered in 1924, yet his defeat and frustrated attempts to encourage South Africanism, does not signify failure. Malan played a leading role in the unification of South Africa, as well as the Union's growing autonomy within the Empire. The Imperial Conference of 1926 with its acceptance of the transformation of the Empire into a commonwealth, in which South Africa secured a status that could be equated with independence, was the recognition of a situation which already existed in 1919. This status, which the NP accepted, gradually encouraged South Africanism. Ultimately Malan had succeeded in his goal of a free, united South Africa under the Union Jack.

### **Abstract**

During his turbulent career as newspaper editor and politician, Francois Stephanus Malan elicited strong and conflicting reactions. In the late nineteenth century, English-speaking South Africans and imperial officials regarded him as an insidious republican and a bitter enemy of Britain. During the Anglo-Boer War, they clamoured for his imprisonment. After Union in 1910, however, he was increasingly seen as a defender of the British Empire and he rose to the rank of privy councillor. For many Afrikaners he was a hero who became a renegade and a puppet of British imperialism. Despite the conflicting views, Malan's political vision remained remarkably unchanged over the years. He campaigned for a united South Africa free from internal British control, but an integral part of the Empire, which he regarded as essential to secure a stable, prosperous society in which Afrikaners and English-speakers could overcome their enmity and become one nation. Malan played a leading role in the unification of South Africa, as well as the Union's growing autonomy within the Empire, but in the process he sacrificed his political career. Trapped between a retreating British imperialism and an advancing Afrikaner nationalism, Malan's public career was shattered in the general election of 1924.

## **Opsomming**

### **“n Vry, Verenigde Suid-Afrika onder die Union Jack”: F.S. Malan, Suid-Afrikanisme en die Britse Ryk, 1895-1924**

Tydens sy stormagtige loopbaan as koerantredakteur en politikus, het Francois Stephanus Malan sterk en botsende reaksies uitgelok. In die laat negentiende eeu, het Engelssprekendes en imperiale amptenare hom as 'n verraderlike republikein en bittere vyand van Brittanje veroordeel. Gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog is op sy arrestasie aangedring. Na Uniewording in 1910 is hy egter toenemend as 'n beskermer van die Britse Ryk gesien en tot die Geheime Raad bevorder. Vir talle Afrikaners was hy 'n held wat 'n afvallige en 'n handlangster van Britse imperialisme geword het. Ondanks hierdie uiteenlopende standpunte, het Malan se visie oor die jare merkwaardig onveranderd gebly. Hy het hom vir 'n verenigde Suid-Afrika, vry van interne Britse beheer, maar steeds as 'n integrale deel van die Ryk, beywer. Hy was van mening dat die imperiale band noodsaaklik was om 'n stabiele, florerende gemeenskap te skep waarin Afrikaans- en Engelssprekendes hulle vyandigheid kon oorkom om een nasie te vorm. Malan het 'n belangrike rol gespeel in die unifikasie van Suid-Afrika, sowel as die Unie se toenemende selfbestuur binne die Ryk, maar het in die proses sy politieke loopbaan opgeoffer. Vasgevang tussen die terugwykende Britse imperialisme en 'n voortstuwende Afrikanernasionalisme, is sy openbare loopbaan in die algemene verkiesing van 1924 verpletter.

### **Key Words**

Afrikaner Bond; Afrikaner nationalism; autonomy; British Empire; Commonwealth; F.S. Malan; National Party; *Ons Land*; South African Party; South Africanism; unification.

### **Sleutelwoorde**

Afrikaner Bond; Afrikanernasionalisme; Britse Ryk; F.S. Malan; Nasionale Party; *Ons Land*; selfbestuur; Statebond; Suid-Afrikaanse Party; Suid-Afrikanisme; unifikasie.