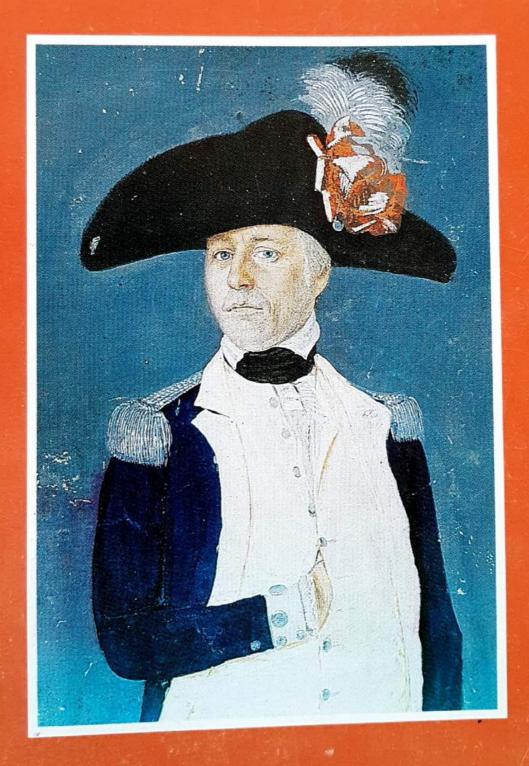
# The Republic of Swellendam



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Published by
The Drostdy Museum
18 Swellengrebel Street
Swellendam
6740
South Africa

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ISBN 0-620-17730-6

Cover:

J. Coenraad, Portrait of Hermanus Steyn (detail), 1784.

Drostdy Museum, Swellendam.

Printed by Bowles Printers, Oudtshoom

# 1795 The Republic of Swellendam under President Hermanus Steyn

Adapted from a paper presented to the President Hermanus Steyn Junior Rapportryers on 12 April 1983 by

Anna Rothmann.

Translated and edited by Beverley Thomas.



# The Drostdy Museum

The original Drostdy was built by the VOC in 1746 - 47 as the residence and offices of the Landdrost of Swellendam. In 1846 the Colonial Government sold the Drostdy and it remained in private ownership until 1939, when it was bought by the state for the purpose of establishing a museum. In October 1943 the Drostdy Museum was officially opened. Some years later, the Old Gaol was also acquired and together with the Secretary's House, the reconstructed water-mill and all the other outbuildings, the Drostdy complex represents the outward symbols of local authority which prevailed in the district until 1846.

The Drostdy houses a fine collection of late 18th and early 19th century Cape furniture. Behind the Old Gaol, an *Ambagswerf* has been established in order to exhibit the tools and equipment used by artisans of the past. This represents an important aspect of Swellendam's economic history: In the early days, the town was the last outpost *en route* to the east and it was here that travellers prepared for the long journey ahead.

Over the years, other buildings have also been procured by the museum in order to present different aspects of Swellendam's social history. The house museum, 'Mayville', represents middle-class domestic life during the late 19th century. An 18th century farmhouse, 'Zanddrift', was reconstructed at the museum in order to illustrate its particular characteristics in relation to the official and town dwellings.

The Drostdy Museum is situated on 6,9 hectares of land and the gardens surrounding the buildings have been specially established to complement the style, type and period of each one. 'Mayville', for example, has a formal rose garden planted with heritage roses and other shrubs which were popular at the Cape during the last century.

## The Rebellion of 17 - 18 June 1795

This paper deals with the legend of Hermanus Steyn, 'President of the Republic of Swellendam'. It is not a straightforward account; on the contrary, the story is complicated by international politics and infamous characters. The question is, was Swellendam really a republic from June to September 1795, and was Hermanus Steyn a president in the sense of an elected head of a modern republic? The historians say no: It was not that kind of republic and Hermanus Steyn was not that kind of president.

Let us begin by examining the events which took place at the Drostdy on 17 - 18 June 1795.

Landdrost Faure and his heemraden had assembled for their regular monthly meeting at the Drostdy. One of the heemraden, Hermanus Steyn of the farm Jan Harmansgat, was not present. Faure opened the meeting by reading a missive from the Commissary-General, Abraham Josias Sluysken, warning local burghers not to be drawn into the anarchy and sedition set up by the rebels of Graaff-Reinet. 'Whereupon', record the minutes, 'the proceedings took a dramatic turn...'. Nine armed burghers entered the room. Their spokesman, Paul Fouche, announced that the dissatisfied burghers had appointed a National Commandant, Pieter Delport, on whose orders they were now acting. They had come to evict the officials of the Dutch East India Company. Exactly what was said is not known, but negotiations lasted until the next day. That day, 18 June, Landdrost Faure and the

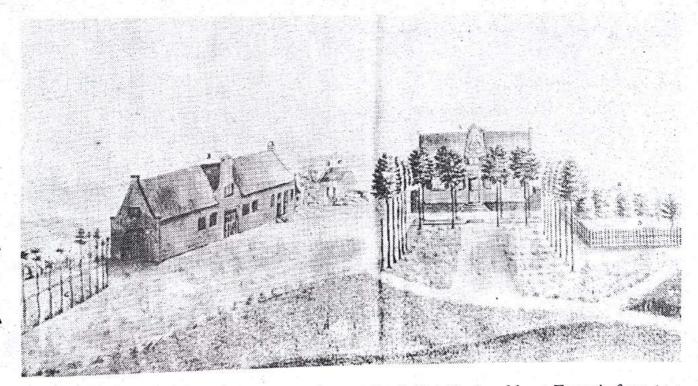


Figure 1. Gezigt van de Buitenplaats 'Rotterdam' (detail), Landdrost Faure's farm just outside Swellendam.

heemraden met again and this time Hermanus Steyn was present. Meanwhile, sixty armed burghers gathered on the stoep and in the road in front of the Drostdy. They sent a deputation inside commanding Landdrost Faure, Heemraad Lourens de Jager and the messenger, Hendrik van As, to resign and hand over the Drostdy with all its papers, documents and funds to Hermanus Steyn. He was to be their National Landdrost and other new officials were also appointed.

From then on there was to be a new ruling body, a National Assembly or National Convention, of which Hermanus Steyn was to be president. The members of this convention were drawn from current and previous heemraden plus other *national* burghers. P.J. Delport, who appears to have been the leader of the *nationals*, was to be their commandant.

Landdrost Faure retired to his farm, Rotterdam, and the new National Assembly took over immediately.



# The arrival of the British in Simonstown

Meanwhile, a different set of events was unfolding in Cape Town. The British Navy, led by Admiral Sir George Elphinstone and Major-General Sir James Craig, had sailed into Simon's Bay on 11 June, exactly a week before the rebellion in Swellendam. They delivered a mandate from William V, the Prince of Orange, to Commissary-General Sluysken, ordering him to allow the British to occupy the Colony to prevent it from being occupied by the French. Sluysken reacted cautiously: He argued that the Colony was in a position to protect itself and responded by immediately issuing a general mobilization order.

How were the Swellendam nationals to react to this?

Delport gave the lead and on 10 July issued an ultimatum to 'Myn Heer General of the Fleet of Great Britain':

Since it has come to our ears that you have demanded the Cape in the name of his Britannic Majesty, we wish to notify you that we do not intend to surrender our land to you, but to hold out to the last man. If Your Excellency will not leave us in peace, then you will spoil your chances of a peaceable settlement, since we still have good

shots in our land who are prepared to meet the enemy.1

A few days later, on 15 July, the National Convention met at the Drostdy with Hermanus Steyn in the chair. Commandant Delport then tabled a letter that he had sent to Commissary-General Sluysken on behalf of the *nationals*, declaring their rights and terms of submission:

- We are greatly surprised that the Hon. Commissary-General does not respect the resolution of the National Convention (i.e. Assembly), since the Hon. Commissary-General is well aware who reigns here as landdrost of the Swellendam colonie, yet the letters are still addressed to the koopman titulair Alexander Faure.
- 2. We are also resolved that Monsieur Anthony Alexander Faure, as well as the trouble-making Willem Ludolph van Hardenburgh and Monsr. Laurens de Jager Junior and Monsieur Hendrik van As d'oude, whom we deported, shall never ever be permitted to hold office in this land, since we pointed out their faults clause by

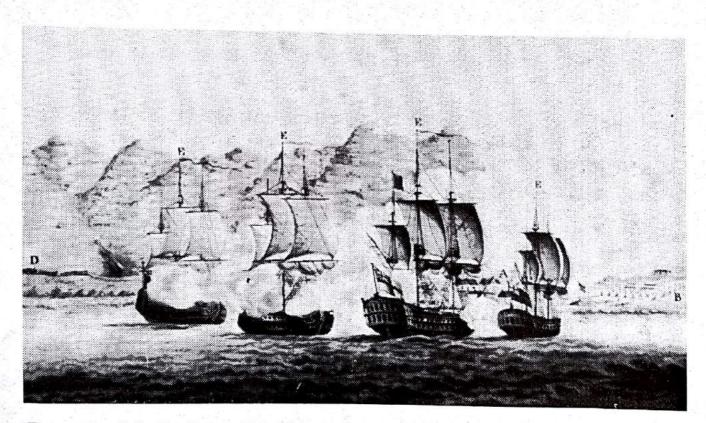


Figure 2. J.C. Frederici, Muyzenberg den VII August 1795 (detail). Mendelssohn Collection, Library of Parliament.

<sup>1.</sup> Republican Documents, 1795. Cape Archives. Swellendam District Archives 12/90, cited in Burrows, E.H. Overberg Outspan. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Ltd., p. 40. (Henceforth referred to as Burrows, Overberg Outspan).

clause before all the officers and a large body of burghers.

- We desire that the letters of the collegie of Swellendam be addressed to the National landdrost Hermanus Steyn H/s, to denote that our actions are approved.
- 4. We have received the missive of the valiant (manhaftige) Burgher Councillors and note therefrom that a misunderstanding appears to exist in regard to the burghers from the Swellendam colonie, since we are described as insurgents (oproermakers).
- 5. We desire that those whom we have appointed shall continue to hold office, or be superseded by persons whom we think competent, since we have endured the yoke of slavery long enough and are now resolved to risk our last drop of blood for our beloved Fatherland and freedom, and declare ourselves a Free Republic.
- 6. We are not unwilling, but even prepared, to come Caabwaards [to the Cape] to wager our last drop of blood as soon as we receive a personal missive from the Hon. Commissary-General stating his views on the enclosed clauses; and we request a banner bearing the device VIVAT DE VRIJHEID [long live freedom].
- 7. If no favourable answer is forthcoming, we shall be obliged to follow another course which will not be pleasant for us; but we fervently hope that with God's will a resolution will be forthcoming, favourable to the whole National Convention and also our descendants.<sup>2</sup>

These articles were adopted as the 'Manifesto of the National Assembly of all Swellendam Burghers'. At the same meeting, the 'Ten Articles of Demand of the Burghers' were also tabled:

Articul 1 is that we all demand exemption from tolls and excise dues, and freedom to choose to whom we desire to sell our produce.

Articul 2 is that since we have paid the country's way for 25 years, we do now not only refuse to pay arrear recognitie [quitrent], but also even to pay it in future on land for which we ourselves have to fight.

Articul 3 that no more querying of the farmers' opgaaf [statistical] returns be permitted and that the figures be accepted as truth, but that the landdrost be empowered to make additions according to his own discretion.

Articul 4 that any unmarried settler squatting with another shall not be obliged to

<sup>2.</sup> Republican Documents, 1795. Cape Archives. Swellendam District Archives 12/90, cited in Burrows, Overberg Outspan, pp. 41-42.

make livestock returns, but only pay poll tax.

Articul 5 that any Bushman or Hottentot women caught singly or on commando either previously or now, shall henceforth be the property of the farmer employing them, and serve him for life. Should they run away, their master shall be entitled to pursue them and punish them na merites.

Articul 6 concerning the ordinary Hottentot farm retainers brought up by Christians: they shall serve their masters up to the age of 25 and not enter another's employ without his consent. No runaway Hottentot shall be allowed sanctuary in any colonie (kraal) but shall be accosted and warned by the District Officers and despatched directly back to their Lord and Master, or else taken into custody by the Messenger.

Articul 7 that no landdrost, Secretary or minor official be allowed to keep livestock (other than to fulfil their household requirements) or stores for the purpose of trading for profit.

Articul 8 that those farmers who sustained great losses (from the Kaffirs) will not be embarrassed by the law, but shown leniency until they are once more on their feet....

Articul 9 we also desire paper money to be abolished, since many people who can neither read nor write, do not know how to use it properly, to their own great detriment. This being the case, we might well hold our Lords and Masters responsible for not providing us with schoolmasters, a fact which we will have to face according to the Law of our Lord: Kings ch. 12, Psalms 58, 82 and 83; and John ch. 4.

Articul 10 that the sea trade be free as in the early times, for the benefit of all concerned.<sup>3</sup>

It seems as though the Swellendam *nationals* had finally cast off the rule of the Dutch East India Company.

As mentioned previously, the British fleet had entered Simon's Bay, prompting Sluysken to issue a general mobilization order. At first the Swellendam *nationals* did not respond to this order, but soon realized that if the Cape passed out of Dutch hands, their demands would not be met and so decided to participate in the war as an independent colony. A commando of 168 burghers under Commandant Delport then left for Cape Town.

On 7 August the Company's forces were defeated at Muizenberg; their mercenaries fled

<sup>3.</sup> Republican Documents, 1795. Cape Archives. Swellendam District Archives 12/90, cited in Burrows, Overberg Outspan, pp. 42-43.

across the Cape Flats and many disillusioned men from the burgher militia made their way home. On 16 September the Articles of Capitulation were signed. British occupation offered favourable conditions and many of the grievances that the *nationals* held against the Company were thus taken care of by their victors.

The National Assembly disbanded and Faure was reinstated landdrost of Swellendam. Hermanus Steyn went back to *Jan Harmansgat* and resumed his former position as one of the heemraden for the district of Swellendam.



# Origins of the Rebellion

What gave rise to the rebellion in Swellendam, prompting the burghers to take up arms and depose the landdrost and other Company officials from the Drostdy? One must remember that resistance towards the Company was widespread; four months earlier the burghers of Graaff-Reinet had driven Landdrost Maynier from his Drostdy and installed their own elected officials. Conditions are said to have been worse in Cape Town and Stellenbosch. If the British had not occupied the Cape when they did, a rebellion in Stellenbosch would probably have followed.

#### **Internal Troubles**

The primary cause of the rebellion in Swellendam was the maladministration of the Company which, as bankruptcy became inevitable, proved intolerable. (The Dutch East India Company was finally disbanded in 1796.) For the Lords Seventeen in the Netherlands, the Cape was simply a trade investment from which they expected to profit. The fact that a volk [nation] was developing here, was of no concern to them. The Company's economic policy ruthlessly suppressed private enterprise; they held the monopoly in trade and purchased goods at prices they determined. Farmers were obliged to buy all their requirements from the Company, and the price of goods as well as slaves continued to rise. Taxes were exorbitant, officials corrupt and fines in court were high.

For farmers in the Swellendam district, the closure of the granary at Mossel Bay caused great hardship. The Council of Policy at the Cape encouraged farmers in the vicinity of Mossel Bay to go in for wheat farming, following a severe drought in 1786 which forced the

Company to import grain from Europe. Originally the Company guaranteed to purchase their grain at a fixed price for fifteen years, and on the strength of this promise, large debts were incurred in purchasing tools and equipment required for grain cultivation. When the whole undertaking was abandoned in 1793, the farmers were enraged because the Company's trade monopoly prevented them from marketing their wheat elsewhere.

From about 1770, a bitter struggle developed on the eastern frontier when trek boers came face to face with the Xhosas at the Fish River. When Graaff-Reinet was born out of Swellendam in 1789, the frontiersmen were prevented from taking their own line in the mutually destructive cattle conflicts with the Xhosas. Landdrost Maynier attempted to set up the 'rule of law' on the frontier and for this, the farmers detested him. The frontiersmen also perceived the Company's attitude towards the Xhosas to be conciliatory because it offered the frontiersmen no protection. Burgher commandos led by the landdrost were expected to deal with the conflicts without reinforcements from the Company's garrison. In 1793 the Swellendam commando was mobilized to assist their eastern neighbours but returned two months later, defeated and with only a dozen head of cattle as booty.

# Political Trends in the Outside World and at the Cape

Revolutionary movements dominated the spirit of the times throughout the Western World. The American War of Independence was declared in 1776 and in 1783 the American Colonies seceded from Great Britain. The French Revolution followed in 1789. In the Netherlands, activists calling themselves *Patriots*, had been campaigning for freedom for generations. At the Cape this movement also gained momentum under the same name. Its origins can be traced back to Adam Tas who was incarcerated in the black hole at the Castle in 1706, but it was only during the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the *Patriot* movement was revived here again. Secret meetings were held, pamphlets were distributed and in 1779 and 1786 deputations of the most influential men at the Cape were sent to the Netherlands to present their grievances to the Lords Seventeen and, ultimately, the States General. The *Patriots* appealed to the States General to take the colony under its protection without the intervention of the Dutch East India Company.



# Was it really a Republic?

The question remains, were they really republics that the *nationals* established in Swellendam, and four months earlier in Graaff-Reinet?

In recent years, two men in particular subscribed to the idea of a republic: Dr. John Muir of Riversdale and Mr. L.L. Tomlinson, first curator of the Drostdy Museum in Swellendam. Muir was a medical doctor, but also a keen and versatile researcher, particularly in the fields of botany and history. In those days, *Die Huisgenoot* provided him with the opportunity to publish his research. On 30 November 1934 his article, 'Hermanus Stijn, Hermsz, Rewolusionêre President van Swellendam' (Hermanus Steyn, Herm/s, Revolutionary President of Swellendam), appeared, which propagated the idea of a republic having been established in 1795.

Tomlinson took a keen interest in the history of Swellendam and over the years, assembled a valuable collection of articles in several scrapbooks. Beneath a later article by Muir about Hermanus Steyn's father, Hermanus the Elder of Bruintjies River, is the following annotation in Tomlinson's handwriting, dated March 1935: 'I accompanied Dr. Muir to the farm Jan Harmansgat, now Nooitgedacht, home of President Hermanus Steyn, son of Hermanus Steyn of Bruintjies River and Voorhuis, and gathered valuable information about the old days.'

The Drostdy Museum was officially opened in 1943 and in the same year Tomlinson published a book, *Geskiedkundige Swellendam* [Historic Swellendam]. On pages 74 - 75 he writes: 'The government of the D.E.I.C. was rejected, a republic was declared with a National Convention and Hermanus Steyn as president - the first holder of this title in South Africa.' The foreword was written by J.A. Wiid, then Professor of History at the University of Stellenbosch. He states: 'It is indeed an impressive achievement for the *colonie* Swellendam. Not only were they among the first to declare a *Boere* republic in South Africa, but they were also the first to give our Fatherland a president, namely Hermanus Steyn.'

In his History of South Africa (1928), Eric Walker states the following about Graaff-Reinet: 'What they had really done was to set up a local republic.' On the other hand, Theal writes in his History of South Africa before 1795 (1910) that 'Hermanus Steyn was appointed landdrost, and a representative body, termed a National Assembly, was established. Thus a majority of the inhabitants of the district of Swellendam had thrown off the rule of the East India Company.'

Tomlinson was convinced that Swellendam was a real republic with its own president. This inspired him to erect a monument to Hermanus Steyn on the hill above the Drostdy. The monument took the form of a large concrete slab, 1.5m high, and bore the following inscription: 'Hermanus Steyn, Rewolusionêre President van die Republick Swellendam'

[Hermanus Steyn, Revolutionary President of the Republic of Swellendam]. The monument was demolished in 1951, following representations about its unsuitability, and when the municipality divided the area up into plots, the slab was rolled down the hill. Tomlinson also fenced off Steyn's grave at the farm and placed a headstone on it.

However, the idea that Swellendam was a republic was disputed by Dr. Coenraad Beyers, head of the State Archives in Pretoria. In 1929 he attained his doctorate with a dissertation on the Cape Patriots 1779 - 1791. A revised version was published in 1967 entitled *Die Kaapse patriotte gedurende die laaste kwart van die agtiende eeu en die voortlewing van hul denkbeelde* [The Cape patriots during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the persistance of their ideals]. In 1951 the authoritative *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* [History of South Africa] was published, a composite work edited by Van der Walt, Wiid and Geyer. Beyers wrote the chapter dealing with internal disturbances and the decline of the Company, which explains what really happened in 1795. The following is a translation:

At first glance, one might think that the people of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam, because of their actions, wished to establish free republics, and this is how it is understood by some writers. But should a different meaning not be attributed to those actions? By casting off the rule of the Company, a symbol of slavery in the consciousness of the *Patriots*, the men of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam achieved autonomy in their own districts - freedom for which they were prepared to sacrifice their lives - and in so doing transferred their allegiance directly to their sovereign, the Dutch Republic in the Netherlands. This was an ideal which the *Patriots* had sought for a long time. It stands to reason then, that with the eviction of the Company as an unacceptable intermediary, the sovereign would be unaffected. The people of Graaff-Reinet stated this unequivocally; 'sacking' the Company 'and all the other unlawful officials' by general consensus: 'Knowing that the Colony as a whole cannot exist without a sovereign; the burghers are not opposed to the States General, nor are they opposed to Commissioner Sluysken, neither do they hold anything against those who are not guilty of ruining the Colony.'

What we find at Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam then, is the introduction of a 'sort of independent own Constitution...'. The people of these regions still speak of the 'Colony' of Swellendam, the 'Colony' of Graaff-Reinet and also of Stellenbosch; never the 'Republic' of Swellendam or Graaff-Reinet. It must also be mentioned that in both these districts, no real secession was made with regard to the system of justice; serious cases would still have been referred to the judiciary in Cape Town.

Relating to Swellendam, another point must be cleared up regarding the historically erroneous idea that one sometimes comes across, namely, that Hermanus Steyn was appointed by the *national* burghers of Swellendam as president of their so-called republic at the time and was therefore *ipso facto* the first president in South Africa.

The fact is that he was appointed National Landdrost of Swellendam - that was also the title that he used - and that president, i.e. chairman, referred to his position when the National Convention assembled.<sup>4</sup>

A long and drawn-out dispute arose between Beyers and Tomlinson on the republic issue, but the latter was never convinced and remained steadfast in his opinion.



# The Dutch Republic under the House of Orange

What did the *nationals* of Swellendam mean by 'a free republic'? Four months earlier, when the people of Graaff-Reinet evicted Landdrost Maynier, they used almost the same words: 'We are willing to sacrifice our last drop of blood for our freedom. We have sacked the Company and want to be a free Republic.' To answer this question, one needs to know how the United Netherlands came into being.

In earlier times the Netherlands was part of the mighty Spanish Empire. In 1581 the Protestant northern provinces proclaimed their independence; the southern provinces remained with Spain where the official religion was Catholic. (The proclamation was only recognized by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.) The United Netherlands consisted of seven provinces with a central authority, the States General, the head of which was the Stadtholder. From the beginning the stadtholders were all members of the House of Orange. The form of government was in essence republican, but the provinces retained a large measure of autonomy.

In time opposition arose against the considerable power held by the House of Orange. The group opposed to them was known as the *Patriots*. In 1789 the French Revolution saw the victory of the people over the king and nobility. The sentiments of the Dutch *Patriots* were with the people of France. With the rise of Napoleon after the Revolution, France was at war with almost half of Europe; Great Britain being her arch enemy. The Netherlands and

<sup>4.</sup> Beyers, C. 'Binnelandse Beroering en Ondergang van die Kompanjie, 1779 - 1795', in Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika geredigeer deur A.J.H. van der Walt, J.A. Wiid en A.L. Geyer, tweede uitgawe verwerk en bygewerk deur D.W.Kruger. Kaapstad: Nasou Bpk., pp. 127-128. (Henceforth referred to as Beyers, 'Binnelandse Beroering...').

<sup>5.</sup> Beyers, 'Binnelandse Beroering...', p. 127.

Britain were allies. As France prepared to invade the Netherlands, the Prince of Orange and his family fled to Britain in 1794. The *Patriots* welcomed the French and planted 'trees of liberty' in their cities. A new government was formed which excluded members of the House of Orange. The old constitution was abolished and the new one limited the power of the nobility and enfranchised all men. On 16 May 1795 the Batavian Republic was proclaimed. (Batavia is an ancient name for Holland, dating back to Roman times. The Batavians, inhabitants of one of the islands off the coast, were considered by the Romans to be the most courageous of the Germanic tribes.)

A comparison of dates proves interesting. The Prince of Orange fled the Netherlands in December 1794. On 6 February 1795 Landdrost Maynier was forcibly evicted from the Drostdy at Graaff-Reinet. On 16 May the Batavian Republic was proclaimed. On 18 June the Swellendam *nationals* evicted Landdrost Faure. Strangely enough, news of the proclamation of the Batavian Republic only reached the Cape on 28 June 1795.

To recall the words of the people of Graaff-Reinet: 'Knowing that the Colony as a whole cannot exist without a sovereign; the burghers are not opposed to the States General...'. The *nationals* of Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam wanted to be part of the States General of the Dutch Republic; they had no knowledge of the Batavian Republic and its liberal political ideals.

The Batavian Republic was short-lived; it terminated in 1806 when Napoleon crowned his brother, Louis, King of the Netherlands. When Louis abdicated in 1809, the Netherlands was incorporated into the French Empire. Napoleon was defeated by the Russians in 1813 and in the same year the Prince of Orange returned to the Netherlands. He was welcomed by his countrymen and crowned King and his descendants still occupy the throne.

After the Peace of Amiens Britain restored the Cape to the Netherlands and for three years, from 1803 to 1806, the Colony was governed by the Batavian Republic. In 1806 Britain reclaimed the Cape at the Battle of Blouberg, again to ensure that it did not fall into the hands of the French



## Hermanus Steyn

Muir's investigation into Hermanus Steyn (*Die Huisgenoot*, 30 November 1934) reveals that very little is actually known about this man and his descendants.

Hermanus Steyn was baptized at Drakenstein in 1743 and at the age of 22, married Anna Margaretha van Staden. At first he farmed together with his father at *Bruintjies River*, but in 1773, he moved to the loan farm *de doornfontein boven aan de Sondags River onder de Camdeboo* on the eastern frontier. Sixteen years later, in 1789, he returned to Swellendam to the farm *Jan Harmansgat*. He remained there until his death in 1806.

Steyn was considered a steadfast, honest and reliable man by both his fellow burghers and the Council of Policy at the Cape. His appointment as heemraad was considered a token of great respect. From his letters, Muir concludes that he was a quiet man; dignified and



courteous in his dealings and eager to act in the correct manner. Perhaps these qualities, and not a revolutionary spirit, made him the obvious candidate to replace Faure as National Landdrost and president of the National Convention. When the rebellion had blown over, he served again as heemraad under Landdrost Faure but retired the following year.

Hermanus Steyn and Anna Margaretha van Staden had seven children, three boys and four girls. Their son, Marthinus, farmed Jan Harmansgat after their deaths but his son, Hermanus, left the district and joined the trek to the north, thus severing the link between Hermanus Steyn and Swellendam.



Figure 4. J. Coenraad, Portrait of Hermanus Steyn, 1784.



Anna Rothmann was born in Swellendam in 1904. After a career in education at the Albany Museum, Grahamstown, she returned to live in her home town. She has been closely associated with the Drostdy Museum since its inception and, with her mother, the writer M.E.R., wrote The Drostdy at Swellendam in 1960. From 1964 until 1974 she occupied the post of secretary of the museum, working with the late Dr. Mary Alexander Cook. Miss Rothmann is still an active member of the Association of Friends of the Drostdy Museum and a tireless campaigner for the preservation of the cultural and natural heritage of the district.